INFORMALITY IN GLOBAL SOUTH CITIES: CASE STUDIES OF KUALA LUMPUR AND RIO DE JANEIRO

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FACULTY OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA KUALA LUMPUR

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INFORMALITY IN GLOBAL SOUTH CITIES: CASE STUDIES OF KUALA LUMPUR AND RIO DE JANEIRO

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ABSTRACT

Global south cities, particularly those suffering a recent booming urbanization, have been in desperate need of urban interventions able to address their deeply rooted inequality. The traditional planning practices have shown their inadequacy of such realities and exposed the importance of an urban practice compromised with different ways of looking at informality within global south cities. The main question that this thesis explores is what are the other ways of addressing informality in global south cities' urban planning practices?

Delving deeply into this question, this study broadens the very term "informality". In order to do that, it reviews the literature associated with both the traditional modernist way of looking at informality as well as the one that critically assessed the structural nature of informality as a strategy of planning. In doing so, the theoretical framework of this thesis is depicted by identifying three critical elements of informality in global south cities, namely history, power and people's relation.

Framed by such critical elements and embedded in a social constructivist approach, this thesis, then, investigates two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of development located in two global south cities: Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro. The case studies of both cities offer, in turn, empirical confirmation of those three critical elements of informality, revealing the implication of modernist urban practices; single accounts of history; state power; market forces; traditional lifestyle handling and stakeholder participation, on the very production of global south cities' urban crisis. Following that and moving away from the idea of informality as an issue of poverty, this thesis proposes an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into informality in a fractal fashion.

As a contribution to scholarship in urban planning, this thesis offers an analytical framework of informality in global south cities. This framework, in turn, supports the required diagnostic effort of planners involved in addressing global south cities' challenges, as well as provides more subsidies for the theoretical development of this growing field of knowledge.

ABSTRAK

Bandar *global south*, terutamanya bandar yang mengalami tekanan perkembangan urbanisasi yang sangat pesat, sangat memerlukan campur tangan dari pelbagai pihak untuk menangani masalah ketidaksamarataan yang telah lama berakar umbi secara serius. Secara realitinya, amalan perancangan secara tradisional telah menunjukkan kelemahannya, dan kepentingan mengamalkan cara moden telah dikompromi oleh cara pandang yang berbeza. Persoalan utama yang ingin dikemukakan dalam kajian ini adalah apakah terdapat cara alternatif untuk mengemukakan aspek informaliti dalam menjalankan perancangan bandar *global south*?

Bagi mendapatkan jawapan untuk persoalan ini, kajian ini juga akan memperluaskan maksud informaliti dengan melakukan tinjauan literatur yang berkaitan dengan kedua-dua cara pandang yang berbeza iaitu cara moden dan tradisional. Begitu juga dengan penilaian kritikal terhadap sifat semulajadi struktur informaliti sebagai strategi perancangan. Dengan berbuat demikian, rangka kerja teori tesis ini akan mengenalpasti tiga elemen kritikal informaliti di dalam bandar *global south*; seperti sejarah lampau, kuasa dan hubungan antara orang ramai.

Tesis ini juga akan menyiasat dua buah bandar yang mempunyai sejarah dan penduduk. Kedua-dua bandar ini terletak di bawah tekanan pembangunan *global south*, iaitu Kuala Lumpur dan Rio de Janeiro. Kajian kes terhadap dua buah bandar ini seterusnya akan mendapatkan pengesahan empirikal daripada ketiga-tiga elemen kritikal informaliti, mendedahkan implikasi amalan pemodenan bandar; sejarah tunggal; kuasa kerajaan; kuasa pasaran; pengurusan gaya hidup tradisional dan penyertaan pihak berkepentingan, di setiap kewujudan krisis di bandar global south. Beralih daripada idea informality sebagai isu kemiskinan, tesis ini mencadangkan

satu rangka kerja analisis di bandar *global south*, terutamanya mencari hubungkait antara formal dan tidak formal dengan cara yang fraktal.

Sebagai sumbangan terhadap kesarjanaan perancangan bandar, tesis ini menawarkan rangka kerja analisis informaliti di bandar *global south*. Rangka kerja ini seterusnya akan menyokong usaha diagnostik yang diperlukan oleh perancang bandar yang terlibat dalam menangani cabaran *global south* ini, serta dapat menyediakan lebih banyak subsidi untuk pembangunan teori dalam bidang pendidikan dan pengetahuan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKLEH : Ampang–Kuala Lumpur Elevated Highway

Cultural Environment Protected Area-Saúde, Gamboa and

APAC/SAGAS

Santo Cristo neighborhoods

CAQDAS/NVivoTM: Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software

Urban Development Company of the Port Region of Rio de

CEDURP

Janeiro

CEPACs : Certificates of Additional Construction Potential

CIAM : Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne

DB1 : Development body one

DB2 : Development body two

DBKL : Kuala Lumpur City Hall

ECOSOC : United Nations Economic and Social Council

EIV : Neighborhood Impact Study

FCP : Port Communitarian Forum [Forum Comunitário do Porto]

FIFA : Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GA : Government authority

GDP : Gross domestic product

GLC : Government Link Company

ICOMOS : International Council on Monuments and Sites

INCRA : National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform

INEPAC : Institute for State Cultural Heritage of Rio de Janeiro

IPHAN : National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage

IRPH : Rio Heritage of Humanity Institute

KB : Kampong Bharu

KB4 : Kampong Bharu development's objective four

KL : Kuala Lumpur

KLCC : Kuala Lumpur City Center

KLCP : Kuala Lumpur City Plan

KLSP : Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan

LRT : Light Rail Transit

LO1 : Local organization one

LO2 : Local organization two

LO3 : Local organization three

LO4 : Local organization four

MAR : Museum of Art of Rio

MAS : Malay Agricultural Settlement

MRT : Mass rapid transit

NEP : New Economic Policy

NGOs : Non-government organizations

PHIS-Porto : Social Interest Housing Plan of Porto Maravilha

Selangor State Development Corporation [Perbadanan

PKNS :

Kemajuan Negeri Selangor]

Kampong Bharu Development Corporation [Perbadanan

PPKB or PKB

Pembangunan Kampong Bharu]

R\$: Brazilian Reals

RA1 : First Administrative Region

RD1 : Resident one

RD2 : Resident two

RJ : Rio de Janeiro

RM : Malaysian Ringgit

SMO : Municipal Construction Secretary of Rio de Janeiro

SP : Specialist

UDA : Urban Development Authority of Malaysia

UMNO : United Malays National Organization

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

UNESCO

Organization

UPP : Pacific Police Units [Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora]

VOT : Catholic Venerable Third Order of St. Francis of Penance

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

For the first time in history the majority of the world's population lives in cities, more specifically in cities of the global south (UN-HABITAT, 2010). The inefficiency of traditional planning in addressing the issues of those booming global south cities have exposed the importance of an urban practice compromised with different ways of looking at informality. Framed by global south urbanists' (Roy, 2009c; Watson, 2009) understanding of informality as a structural planning feature conducted by state power and which happens at the interface between state, market forces and survival efforts of the marginalized, this study investigates two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development in the global south cities of Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro. Following that and moving away from the idea of informality as an issue of poverty, this thesis proposes an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into it in a fractal fashion.

With the objective of describing this research background, as well as indicating the questions and objectives that drive the thesis, this introductory chapter briefly presents the context of this study conceptualizing both global south cities and informality. Following that, the problem statement, research questions, aims and objectives are indicated, and then justified, highlighting the significance of this research. Finally, this study's methodological approach and theoretical framework are concisely explained, and the structure of the thesis outlined.

1.2 Research background

The year of 2006 marked a major moment in the urbanization of the world. In that year, the World Planners Congress and the United Nations Habitat World Urban Forum officially announced that, for the first time in history, the majority of human population lives in cities. Besides that, even more alarmingly, was the pronouncement that the majority of this accelerating urbanization process, by the year 2008, was going to take place in cities in the developing world. Associated with other challenges, such as climate change, inequality and inequity, this growing population in global south urban centers poses a huge pressure on these cities, exposing the inadequacy of the current planning practices in efficiently addressing these core issues. At the outset, these major shifts have shown the urgency of planning practitioners to develop a different approach committed to reduce inequalities within growing cities acknowledging their singularities (UN-HABITAT, 2006, p. iii).

Molded by the complex mixture of colonial background, rapid urban growth and dubious modernist planning practices, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Kuala Lumpur Malaysia are considered insightful examples of global south cities. Although having these similarities, it is their different ways of dealing with informality that might offer another alternative voice at the above-presented dialogue. Most of the challenges that planning practices have posed on those cities, particularly in the case of urban development, highlight the urge for a different approach by planners and governments, acknowledging the multiplicity of urban knowledge in cities everywhere (Robinson, 2006).

1.2.1 Informality and global south

Critically discussing the modernist and Western-centered urban planning approaches, particularly in tackling global south cities' issues, a group of authors (Roy, 2009c; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009b) have advanced in new ways of addressing the *increasing gap between current approaches and growing problems of poverty, inequality, informality, rapid urbanization and spatial fragmentation, particularly* [but not only] *in cities of the global South* (Watson, 2009, p. 2259). Casting a critical eye towards specifically the informality within cities in the global south, these scholars have similarly questioned the assumption of a homogeneous Western way of thinking. They agree that the current economic and liberal perspective of looking at informality is both lacking formal rules [particularly associated with land ownership] and a non-modern situation that should be fixed, based on the best city models of the global north has already shown its inadequacy. For instance, Roy and AlSayyad (2004) explain that the informality that was once associated with poor squatter settlements, *is now seen as a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization* (p. 147). And agreeing with that, Watson (2009) adds:

Finding a way in which planning can work with informality, supporting survival efforts of the urban poor rather than hindering them through regulation or displacing them with modernist mega-projects, is essential if it is to play a role at all in these new urban conditions (p. 2268).

For the purpose of this study, the terms i. **global south** and ii. **informality** refer respectively to, i. a broader and non-hierarchical frame of view that acknowledges the common *colonial past and more recent shared development history* (Miraftab & Kudva, 2014, p. 4) of certain cities and; ii. both a structural planning feature historically conducted by state power, as well as what happened in the interface of encounters between state, market forces and survival efforts of the marginalized (Watson, 2009). In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, these two definitions are briefly presented below.

Global south cities

This research focuses on case studies of two global south city areas. However, it is important to mention that labeling, dividing and establishing hierarchical relations among cities usually diminish their complexity and exclude important parts of which meaning comes from their interrelation (McFarlane, 2011, 2012; Robinson, 2002, 2006, 2011a, 2011b). The global south and global north classification, for example, characterize the geographical north-south division, emphasizing the notion of economic inequalities with the usage of the term global. Used interchangeably with other city categories, such as Developing/Developed and Third/First World, this classification is usually linked with the challenge of development and the strain of poverty (Rigg, 2007).

The term global south was first used in the Brandt report in 1980 (Brandt & Sampson, 1980) indicating the developing countries primarily located in the Southern Hemisphere. Although using this term to indicate the same group of countries, the geographer Jonathan Rigg (2007) suggests that the explicit use of global south expresses his will of going against such hierarchical discourse and examining the numerous geographies of the majority of the world gobal south through lenses that are different from the ones framed by the tyranny of development discourse. Far from hierarchical categories of global south and north, Miraftab and Kudva (2014, p. 4) have also opted for using the term as a frame of reference in order to acknowledge both a shared heritage of recent colonial histories in global peripheries as well as a more recent shared development history — mostly post-World War II development experiences to 'alleviate' poverty.

Agreeing with Miraftab and Kudva (2014), perspective about the usage of the term global south and taking into account McFarlane (2011, 2012); Robinson (2002, 2006, 2011a, 2011b)'s critiques, the present research adopts the term. Conscious of the

risk of simplification, this choice comes from the inevitable decisions one should make in order to focus a research, particularly a doctoral research. Furthermore, drawing on Parnell and Oldfield (2014, p. 3)'s recent handbook on cities of the global south, this study opted for writing the term global south in lower case text in order to emphasize that this is not a physical nomenclature, challenging the intellectual status quo and making way for new modes to illuminate the drivers of urban change.

Informality

Focusing on experiences of cities everywhere, but in particular those of the global south, a group of authors have broadened the understanding of informality. Moving away from the idea of poverty as something that should be 'fixed' by urban development practices, authors such as Roy (2009c); Simone (2004); Watson (2009); Yiftachel (2009b) see informality as a structural planning feature historically conducted by state power and intertwined by both market forces and survival efforts of the marginalized. Watson (2009) clarifies that it is in the interface of state modernization efforts, urban administration or political control, market regulation and their target population that informality takes place. In Roy (2009c, p. 82)'s words, the splintering of urbanism does not take place at the fissure between formality and informality but rather, in fractal fashion, within the informalized production of space.

Deeply discussing the official notion and narrative of development within Africa, AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) critiques what is conventionally known as legality/illegality, formal/informal, etc., documenting and analyzing the emergent forms of social collaboration and their importance in the remaking of a broad range of African cities. As another example, drawing on the Indian context, Roy (2009c) discusses the question why some forms of informality are criminalized and thus rendered illegal, while others enjoy state sanction or are even practices of the state (p. 83). Also

touching the intricate issue of power as a determinant in what is regarded or not as informal, Oren Yiftachel (2009b) examines the case of marginalized communities of urban Israel/Palestine and expands the understanding of contemporary urban colonial relations going beyond the European colonialism or subsequent post colonialism. For him, these new types of colonial relations are materialized in the cities' "gray spaces", positioned between the "whiteness" of legality/approval/safety, and the "blackness" of eviction/destruction/death' (Yiftachel, 2009b, p. 88).

All in all, the common ground of understanding of the studies committed to a new way of looking at informality in the global south cities is strongly rooted in both: the importance of considering cities and citizens everywhere as a potential source of urban modernity, and the need for looking at informality in a fractal fashion. Generally considering history, people's relations and the issues of power as determinants for a broadened understanding of informality: they invite planners to discuss such critical elements as responsible for the very production of the global south cities' crisis.

Saying that and bringing back the groundbreaking data stated in the beginning of this section that refers to the majority of world's population living in cities and, more specifically, in global south cities, this thesis aims to foster this yet incipient body of knowledge. Answering the call from UN-HABITAT (2006) and particularly from the group of authors above presented, the present research seeks to offer examples and add on the discussion about the new urban planning paradigm that invites planners to look at *informality in a fractal fashion* (Roy, 2009c, p. 82).

1.3 Problem statement

Global south cities, particularly the ones suffering a recent booming urbanization, are in desperate need of urban interventions able to address their deeply rooted inequalities and rapid growth if they are to survive and develop in a balanced way.

However, the traditional planning and execution of urban interventions have shown their inadequacy within such realities and exposed the desperate need of an urban planning practice committed to addressing global south cities' on-the-ground demands in a more cosmopolitan way. Recently, a group of authors (Roy, 2009c; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009b) compromised with looking at informality within global south cities as an idiom of urbanization have shown the fundamental importance of developing urban theory that considers everyday practices that take place in non-Western cities as different ways of being modern.

- Research Gap 1: Global south urban theorists (Roy, 2009c; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009b) have advocated the broadening of informality understanding, critically addressing the role of planning on the informality in global south cities.
- Research Gap 2: Given past dominance of the global north in shaping planning theory and practice, ... a perspective from the global south can be useful in unsettling taken-for-granted assumptions about how planning addresses informality (Watson, 2009).
- Research Gap 3: rethinking the role of planning (Watson, 2009) focusing on the potencialities of examining informality within the informalized production of space (Roy, 2009c).

Despite this surge in critical literature on the complex relation between formal and informal in global south cities, it still represents just a small and recent body of knowledge. In order to address these inadequacies and gaps, the present research will contribute to a growing but still limited understanding of informality from a global south's perspective by examining how historical inhabited urban areas under the

pressure of urban development have been handled and the role of planning in addressing informality within this areas.

As demonstrated by this brief research background, despite continuing interest and recurring appeals for studies in this area, there has been little work done addressing informality in global south cities far from the idea of poverty, specifically approaching informality in a fractal fashion. Nonetheless, the necessity for such research is particularly urgent in light of the rapid change experienced by the urban world, particularly in the booming global south cities. The potential of this area of study cannot be accomplished without a better understanding of what is going on in terms of practices and implementation of urban planning in the global south, specially focusing on this tension of what is regarded as formal [accepted] and informal within these cities.

1.4 Research questions

Addressing the three above-mentioned gaps, the research questions of this study are:

- Research Question 1: How has planning addressed informality in global south cities?
- **Research Question 2**: What are the other ways of addressing informality in global south cities's urban development?
- **Research Question 3**: How to critically assess informality in global south cities' urban development practices?

In answering these question and following the discussion presented till now, instead of applying default measures — based on [Western] urban theory already used elsewhere in the global north — to handle the issues, such as what is recognized or not as informal, this research may firstly seek to understand how they have been interpreted and dealt with from other perspectives.

1.5 Aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to critically examine informality in global south cities by investigating two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development.

To achieve the above aim, the objectives of the research are:

- Research Objective 1: To examine the critical elements associated with informality in global south cities;
- Research Objective 2: To investigate two different global south cities' areas, focusing on the critical elements associated with informality;
- **Research Objective 3:** To propose an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into informality relation in a fractal fashion.

1.6 Significance of the research

As mentioned by Watson (2009) an approach from the global south is essential in challenging the 'taken-for-granted' norms used to handle city issues, which are framed by the dominant planning theory and practice from the global north. Agreeing with that and reinforcing the claim that will drive this present research, Yiftachel (2009b, p. 97) argues that this North-West hegemony is not only unjust in terms of distributing scholarly resources and prestige, it also impedes theoretical development on some prominent urban topics of our age. Likewise, most of the above-mentioned authors – namely Holston (2009b); McFarlane (2011); Robinson (2006); Roy (2009b); Roy and AlSayyad (2004); Watson (2009) - Yiftachel (2009b) defends that this is a major gap due to the fact informality is an eminent topic in the new urban cenario.

Having that in mind, the most distinguishing features of the present research—that is to give insights for the urban planning system of global south cities in how to address their everyday issues that are sometimes being solved through other types of relations that are not based on the Western/accepted urban rules and regulations—converge to contribute to the advancement of this body of knowledge. Drawing on the important works of the above-mentioned authors and on the researcher background, the significance of this study lies on the potentialities of learning from two complex and dynamic realities within the global south: Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Looking at the informality within these cities in a fractal fashion, this research seeks to provide more subsidies for the theoretical development of this growing and essential field of knowledge within urban planning, particularly in global south cities. In doing so, the present study expects to reinforces phrases such as the one stated by Yiftachel (2009b):

Planning theorists cannot continue to overlook the importance of this phenomenon, and place it at the center of their inquiry. In so doing they will not only respond to a scholarly need and a moral cry, but also engage with the future of urbanism itself (p. 98).

1.7 Methodology, interpretative approach and theoretical perspective

The exploration of the above-mentioned objectives requires an approach that has as its premise the acquisition of knowledge by understanding how the subjects recognize, sense and relate in a social setting (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011), namely social constructivist approach. More deeply, in order to facilitate the understanding of the complex meaning of a particular human experience and make use of interpretative observations and narratives, this research respects a qualitative methodology. Given the nature of the problem, which is intertwined with people's relations, issues of power and impact of history, and being coherent with the social constructivist approach and qualitative methodology, the chosen strategy of inquiry for

the present research is the case study, more specifically the multiple case studies. Drawing on Stake (1995)'s understanding of multiple case studies, this choice represents a way of understanding the uniqueness of each case and maximizing the possibility of learning rather than using each one of them as a basis for comparison and/or generalization.

With regard to data collection, on top of an extensive desk study gathering historical, official/governmental, media and technical data, 10 in-depth interviews in each city followed by observation have been used. These interviews and observation have been initially delineated by the reviewed literature and then followed a snowballing sampling strategy. Although this data collection represents a continuous effort – particularly in such different cultural settings that requires an ongoing presence of the researcher within the case study area – it has been divided in two complementary phases, namely the preliminary and official field visit. What is more, the collected data is analyzed and interpreted following the social constructivist interpretative approach and makes use of analytical tools, such as the Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software - CAQDAS - NVivoTM. It is important to mention that the interpretative approach, methodology, data collection and analytical methods' choice are further explained at the Research Methodology chapter. In addition to that, the theoretical perspective under which the data will be interpreted has been extracted from the critical literature related with informality in global south cities that will be further explained in Chapter 2.

1.7.1 Choice of case studies

Following the previously quoted statement of Yiftachel (2009b, p. 97) that defends an emphasis on planning interventions in situations in which *the regulation of* space is a central element in building, and hence also deconstructing, the distorted

urban order, the two cases studied in this thesis represent such situation taking place within two different global south cities. Far from comparing what is right or wrong, or even what should be used as best urban practice or not, these cases were chosen in order to exemplify the current challenges and opportunities associated with the three critical elements of informality, people's relations, power and history, and the mainstream urban practices taking place in cities everywhere, but particularly in the global south.

It is worth mentioning that, although culturally different and located in the two opposite points of the globe, Kampong Bharu in Kuala Lumpur and Morro da Conceição in Rio de Janeiro share some similarities, which are pointed out below and are going to be further explained in Chapter 3.

- Areas located in cities with recent booming urbanization [global south cities];
- Areas located in cities with a colonial past;
- Historical inhabited urban areas;
- With significant heritage value;
- Areas with similar challenges regarding the balance of social/ethnical issues: power challenges;
- City areas suffering strong pressure from urban redevelopment practices and the conflict of modernization, as STARchitecture and traditional practices as old or something only for international tourists.

In doing a thick description of the formal and informal relations occurring in the everyday life of Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur, and Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro, the present study has targeted to fulfill the ontological commitment of looking at these communities as an ordinary place able to address their everyday issues in a way that is not necessarily guided by the rules of the city. In doing so, the author wishes to

encourage the urban planners, politicians and other city specialists to look at the urban planning differently.

1.8 Thesis organization

Following the introduction part, this thesis is structured in four main areas divided into eight chapters. Below is a brief description of each area and their related chapters:

- Chapter 1 introduces the study, highlighting this research background, problem,
 questions and objectives, as well as offering an overview of the methodological
 choices and theoretical framework.
- Chapter 2 reviews the relevant related literature and works as an umbrella for the whole research, analyzing the key urban theories about informality.
- Chapter 3 explains this research methodology choice, particularly focusing on the interpretative approach utilized throughout the thesis. Moreover, this chapter addresses each of the chosen methods, justifying the choices and presenting the analytical tools. It is important to highlight that special attention has been paid to explaining the qualitative method and case study approach as a way of addressing the issues of power in planning.
- Chapter 4 reviews the academic, government and other official documents and media files associated with Kampong Bharu, in Kuala Lumpur and Morro da Conceição, in Rio de Janeiro. It describes the research context focusing on the planning history of both areas.
- Chapters 5 and 6 present all the research findings through a comprehensive thick
 description of each case. The findings of Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur are
 presented in Chapter 5, whilst Chapter 6 is dedicated to Morro da Conceição, Rio de
 Janeiro analyses.

- Chapter 7 discusses this study's findings, taking into account the research questions, objectives and theoretical perspective delineated throughout the thesis and empirically framed in Chapters 5 and 6.
- Chapter 8 drafts this research conclusion and limitations, as well as indicates potential future studies.

CHAPTER 2: URBAN THEORIES ABOUT INFORMALITY

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 reviews the urban planning theory and practices associated with informality in global south cities. In order to do that, it commences with a brief explanation of the modernist and postmodernist philosophies followed by an overview of both traditional — mostly originated in the Anglophone cities forged by industrial revolution — and global south cities' urban planning history. After that, particular attention is given to the global south cities' scholars who have then been critically analyzed. It is important to highlight that the order in which this group of authors are presented follows three main critical elements of informality, namely history, people's relations and power, which were identified through the review of the literature associated with informality in global south cities [See Table 2.1]. Although not listed altogether as categories by any author, these main topics in dealing with global south cities' planning have been chosen here to better organize the chapter flow and inform analyses further in this research.

Building upon the global south cities' urban studies, the last part of this chapter delves deeply into the formal and informal concepts in planning. Following the same path as the first session of this chapter, it firstly assesses how both concepts are dealt with within traditional urban theory. Then, informality is scrutinized and re-described through the global south urban scholars' lens.

Table 2-1: Literature review on critical elements of informality in global south cities.

		Literature										
Critical elements of informality in global south cities	Jacobs (1992)	Hammami (2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d)	McFarlane (2011, 2012)	Robinson (2002, 2006, 2011a, 2011b, 2014)	Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b)	Roy (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2011, 2014)	Watson (2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2014)	Holston (2008, 2009)	Sandercock (2003)	Simone (2004, 2006)	Miraftab (2009); Miraftab and Kudva (2014)	Harvey (1989, 2000)
Power					X	X	X				X	
People's relation			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
History	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X

2.2 Informality theories' background

Looking at the dictionary one would notice that the word formal means what is following the correct or suitable official methods (Rundell & Fox, 2002, p. 556). By playing with the prefix 'in', the idea of in-formal is then the negation of formal, meaning what is not official and has no fixed rules (Rundell & Fox, 2002, p. 735). When it comes to urban planning theory, the distinction between informal and formal is one of the most enduring (McFarlane, 2012, p. 89). Exploring the ways in which different regimes of informal and formal practices take shape and impact urbanism, McFarlane (2012, p. 91) has highlighted that formality and informality are often conceived as territorial formations [e.g. the slum as informal], categories of particular groups [e.g. informal labor], or forms of organization [e.g. structured versus unstructured; rule-based versus unruly; predictable versus unpredictable]. Making use of these adjectives, the city is usually explained by both: the part that follows government official methods and economic rules, and the one that does not fit or is not guided by these regulations, namely respectively formal and informal sectors or economy.

On the other hand, the recent studies in urban planning dedicated to global south cities (Miraftab, 2009; Miraftab & Kudva, 2014; Roy, 2009c; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009, 2012; Yiftachel, 2009b) have shown a different way of looking at informality within urban settings. They expose and explore the blurry borders of this dichotomic divide and suggest that informality should be look at in a *fractal fashion* (Roy, 2009c). Instead of considering informal as both the lack of formality and something to be formalized, these authors understand informality as a structural planning feature conducted by state power that happens in the interface between state, market forces and

survival efforts of marginalized. Broadening the understanding of informality away from poverty, they see informality as an *idiom of urbanization* (Roy, 2009c).

Drawing on such different ways of understanding what is formal and informal in cities everywhere, the following section explores the theoretical background that framed such concepts throughout urban planning history. Hence, the two school of thoughts, namely modernist and postmodernist, are presented co-relating their practices, historical time and power forces with the different ways of dealing with informality.

2.2.1 Modernism and postmodernism

Embedded in the social, historical and economical transformations led by the First World War, the rise of the industrial era and cities' rapid growth, the modernist philosophy emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Thought and used by the West, modernism influenced various areas from the structural cubist paintings of Pablo Picasso to the standardized planning exercise advocated by the *Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* – CIAM participants from 1928 to 1959 (Sandercock, 2003). Until nowadays, the modernist way of looking at and intervening in urban areas are seen as the truth of planning and the right way to do it by the mainstream planners (Robinson, 2006).

Casting a critical eye towards such assumptions and defending a more diverse way of looking at the reality, at the end of the 20th century the postmodernist school of thought emerged. Rather than being opposed to modernist beliefs, postmodernism is a critical movement motivated by post-Second World War human rights atrocities that, among other historical events, threw open the failures in finding a framework to deal with differences (Cooke, 1990). Postmodernism has also flourished throughout the arts and planning, celebrating cultural uniqueness and multiplicity (Sandercock, 2003).

Regarding postmodernist urban planning, Cuthbert (2005) clarifies that rather than being compromised with contiguity, control, urban functions and structuralism, the postmodern planner defends the difference, indeterminacy, urban landscape and complexity.

2.2.2 Modernism and development

At the turn of the 20th century, cities faced a major paradigm shift. This happened as a result of dealing with the consequences of more than a century of industrialization and private business-oriented urban growth. Dense urban centers, such as Paris and Barcelona were subjected to huge urban interventions in which old, fuggy and dark paths and quarters gave way to wide avenues and boulevards. Following this aesthetic, sanitary and strategic intervention, the rules and regulations of what is considered to be the foundation of urban planning and the profession of urban planning were formed (Girouard, 1985). For instance, the Baron Haussmann, who was responsible for the reconstruction of Paris in 1852, enforced regulations on public parks, water works, sewage, monuments, etc.

A few years later, at the beginning of the 20th century, the profession of urban planning flourished initially in Europe and later in the United States, mostly focusing on the development of city standards that could minimize the negative health impact upon the working class living in urban centers. With that in mind, new city structures such as the garden cities of Ebenezer Howard (1965), which defended a carefully regulated city with dedicated housing, industrial and agricultural areas surrounded by greenbelts, were thought and enforced as a standard to be followed (Mumford, 1961).

Embedded in this mindset of city order and efficiency, modernist planning emerged in the 1920s. Mostly based on the influential thoughts of the Swiss architect Le

Corbusier, the modernist city was supposed to be, among other characteristics, car oriented, with wide green paths, encouraging pedestrians to be away from the roads, and separated industrial, commercial and residential areas (Jacobs, 1992). Following this trend, many communist cities as well as a great part of post-war reconstruction sites have been shaped and organized this way. For instance, cities such as Brasília, the capital of Brazil, and Zlín, in Czech Republic, have been planned from scratch by architects and planners who were inspired by the ideal of social progress and freedom through technology – especially the car – that was emphasized as the modernist agenda (Sandercock, 2003).

However, alongside other authors – (Harvey, 1989; Holston, 1989; Sandercock, 2003) – Jane Jacobs (1992), who wrote one of the key modernist critiques called *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, argues that this mono-functional space based on a social engineering ideal practiced by modernist planners kills a city's vibrancy and potential creativity. Referring to the modernist's urban renewal interventions as a bulldozer approach, Jacobs (1992) uses the example of a neighborhood in New York to emphasize that it is from the city's chaos and naturally occurring social interactions – and not from the strict regulations and isolated urban spaces – that creativity and liveliness emerge in cities. Expanding on the critiques, Sandercock (2003, p. 21) adds that the twentieth-century role of planning has been to regulate ... not only land uses but, often, who – that is, what categories of people – might use that land; thereby regulating bodies in space, administering who can do what and be where, and even when.

Embedded in such critiques and shaped by the urgent demands that emerged within urban centers after the 1960s, new forms of urbanism have flourished. Reacting against the modernist's city issues, such as the denial of history and everyday life

rhythms (Holston, 1989) and the loss of human fabric in devastating urban renewal and redevelopment practices (Jacobs, 1992), a group of authors (Harvey, 1989; Holston, 1989; Jacobs, 1992; Sandercock, 2003) defend a postmodern planning practice. Supporting this, Sandercock (2003) explains that it requires a people-centered way of planning, focusing more on the community's knowledge instead of an over-controlled and comprehensive plan.

All in all, similar to most of the social field of studies, urban planning is *historically contingent* (Sandercock, 2003, p. 72) and reflects the features of historical moments from which certain schools of thought have emerged. From the 'garden cities' of Ebenezer Howard (1965), passing through to the modernists' thoughts and moving to the postmodern practices, it is important to analyze the historical moment that allowed those types of thoughts to emerge, as well as which dominant group and/or culture it represents. As highlighted by Sandercock (2003, p. 21):

The planning system thus unreflectively expresses the norms of the culturally dominant majority, including the norms of how that majority likes to use the space ... the norms and values of the dominant culture are embodied in the attitudes, behavior and everyday practices of actual, flesh-and-blood planners.

2.2.2.1 Modernity and history

Given the above-mentioned discussion, one could agree that the definition of modernity within urban planning has been strongly shaped throughout the 20th century Western planning practice. More narrowly, the accounts of modernity worldwide have been influenced by the modernist physical and symbolic projection that considered speed, technology – car, household appliances, among other consumer goods –, dynamism, change and material abundance as modern (Sandercock, 2003) and the lack of that as traditional. In this modern world, *alongside material importance, Everyman would have the opportunity to better himself, to shake loose the chains of the past, of*

tradition and custom, to invent himself anew (Sandercock, 2003, p. 14). Nevertheless, the controversial feature of this modern city is that it does not represent everybody's city. Instead, as Sandercock (2003) sharply underscores, this idea of modernity fits the reality of certain types of white, Western men that live in a particular moment and space in history.

Another issue within this idea of modernity is the wrong dichotomy in which everything that is not modern is considered traditional. The postcolonial urban theorist Jennifer Robinson (2006, p. 7) explains that two of the major problems of urban modernity are: first, this opposition of tradition and modernity, and second, *viewing the embrace of novelty as 'innovative' in Western contexts but 'imitative' in others*. Unlike the current mainstream urban planning schools of thought, what Robinson (2006), as well as Sandercock (2003), put in question is the underlying assumption that to be modern one should act like the West.

Discussing the different understandings of history and modernity within urban settings, particularly regarding urban heritage, Feras Hammami (2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d) highlights that the crux of these conflicting understandings lies on the fact that most planners' knowledge is based on Western literatures and on mainstream assumptions that are taken for granted within the urban planning profession. Delving more deeply, he concludes that, based on such terminologies and thoughts, the decision on which type of history is worthy of protection and which power forces and social arrangements are reinforced in such urban interventions are not even noticed. Hence, this Western way of looking at cities and their history and tradition *become taken for granted by the practitioners as both 'true knowledge' and 'the right way to do it* (Hammami, 2012c, p. 13).

More recently, this above-mentioned discussion of what is formally recognized or not as modern and which type of tradition and history should be protected or revitalized can be verified in the continuous urban renewal practices, particularly the ones taking place in global south cities. In such urban interventions, traditional practices, rituals and spaces are usually giving way to high-rise buildings, reshaped spaces and practices focused on offering tourists or other groups of interest a cleaner and more organized experience of such places. As highlighted by the important South African urbanist Vanessa Watson (2009, p. 2262), planning has been used in such contexts to create acceptable urban environments for foreign settlers, which means focus on sanitary conditions and modernist tools in a top-down, bureaucratic and often inappropriate manner.

To conclude, the twin concepts of modernity and history in cities have been strongly impacted by this early 20th-century approach to urban planning, in which the *West's ownership of modernity* (Robinson, 2006, p. xi) is an underlying assumption. However, agreeing with the critiques briefly presented in this section, the present research also casts a critical eye towards these biased understandings of modernity and history. Saying that, the following section examines a group of scholars dedicated to looking at cities' different ways of being modern, particularly focusing on the various understandings of informality within those urban settings.

2.2.3 Development, planning and informality

This section delves deeply into the discussion of how modernist planning has shaped the idea of modernity, development and specially informality. Organized in two different school of thoughts on informality, namely liberal-economistic and global south cities' approach, this section then further explores the underlying assumptions of

development practices within cities of global south revealing how planning plays a pivotal role on the understanding of informality.

2.2.3.1 Liberal-economistic approach on informality

Focusing on what they call informal hypergrowth cities, Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) reviewed the studies related to formal and informal sectors. They explain that from the perspective of the formal sector, informality is always seen as slightly illegal, or at least not respectable, as compared to the well-understood, regulated and functioning formal system (Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000, p. 69). These two authors of the World Report on The Urban Future 21, who openly focus on the challenge presented by growth in developing cities, indicate informalized urbanization as one of the key issues to be addressed by these cities' development. Hall and Pfeiffer (2000, p. 125) argue that this form of urbanization whereby cities grow without a formal economic base is not only restricted to Third World cities, occurring in some cities of the developed world, which in effect are invaded by the developing world. However, in addressing issues related to development in Third World cities, rather than seeing the formal and informal sector's division as something rigid, they understand it as a continuum between the two extremes. In this way, development is seen as a process of slowly growing formal procedures and relationships, gradually moving people from the informal to the formal sector through a delicate set of policies which help them to help themselves (Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000, p. 70). In other words, what underlies their discussion is the need for governments to carefully establish goals and plans that foster the formalization of the informal.

Casting a different eye towards the formal and informal divide, the Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto, one of the exponents in informal economy and recognized international advisor in this area, defends that *the real problem is not so*

much within the informality, but rather in the formality itself (De Soto, 1987, p. 341, author' translation). Author of the bestseller *The Mystery of Capital*, De Soto (2000) argues that the informal sector is created by people's [poor] creativities in coping with a formal system in which they struggle to fit. He advocates for a new system of legal property for developing countries that is *easily accessible to the urban poor* (De Soto, 2000, p. 66) and able to capitalize on the informal energy usually frustrated by a reprehensive legal system. However, it is important to highlight that, not restricted to the formal sector, De Soto (1987) recognizes the existence of rules and regulations within the informal sector that emerge as a result of a voluntary adaptation of the informal organizations to the new circumstances, which in turn has not been addressed by the formal legal apparatus. For him, one of the greatest challenges facing developing countries is the ability to bridge *the informal-formal divide, overcoming the institutional apartheid that impedes the majority, especially the poorest, from increasing the value and productivity of their assets* (De Soto, 2001, p. 43).

All things considered, the assumption underlying both Hall and Pfeiffer (2000)'s informality perspective, which sees it as the crises and absence of formality, and De Soto (1987, 2000, 2001)'s focus on the entrepreneurial energy within informality and the need for a legal framework able to formalize it, is the possibility and need of formalizing the informal. Although both authors have different perspectives towards this formal-informal binary, they understand informality as being totally separate from the formality. For instance, what is implicit in De Soto's notion of legal apartheid *is the promise that the informal sector will eventually be integrated into a modern and manageable economy* (Roy, 2005, p. 148). Similarly, Hall & Pfeiffer (2000), when describing how the urban poor have built their own city without support and not

following any guidelines of the formal city next door, have made clear the assumption of two different entities: the formal and the informal cities.

2.2.3.2 Global south cities's approach on informality

Comparing both Hall & Pfeiffer and De Soto's arguments, the global south urbanist Roy (2005, p. 148) highlights that their frameworks of understanding informality *yield many problematic corollary propositions*. Their key problematic assumption, Roy (2005) argues, is the tricky equation of informality with poverty in which other forms of informality such as the one practiced or legitimated by the state are neglected. She defends that *the splintering of urbanism does not take place at the fissure between formality and informality but rather, in fractal fashion, within the informalized production of space* (Roy, 2009c, p. 82).

In order to further discuss the global south author's critics about the liberal economistic approach on informality, it is important to delve depper into Roy (2009c)'s concept of **fractal fashion**, which is a central element in this research. Once discussing why informality must be understood in a fractal fashion, she defends that rather than something exclusevily practiced by the marginalized, informality existis in the production of everyday urban life. In other words, acting without following the planning rules or city formalities is something that can be observed within state, market and middle class as it is within the poor. For instance, she explains the current privatization of informality. In this situation, Roy (2009c) argues that the privatized and marketized urban formations within the city and suburbs commands infrastructure and public services is an expression of class power that rendered as illegal some informalities while sanctioning other forms as legitimate.

Aligned with Roy's inquiries, other authors have similarly criticized this liberal-economistic way of understanding informality. For instance, arguing that De Soto (1987, 2000, 2001)'s liberal-economistic model ignores its austere gentrification effect, Porter (2011, p. 118) criticizes that *price pressure and potential [if not inevitable] displacement is an intentional cornerstone of formalization policy*. Agreeing with that, Briggs (2011) uses the case of title formalization policies in the Dar es Salaam's periphery. Although a seductive strategy towards extinguishing poverty, this model *tends to be of greater medium and long-term benefit to the already wealthier urban residents, so reinforcing economic inequalities within the city* (Briggs, 2011, p. 137).

Moving towards a broader discussion about such politics of formalization, alternative formal-informal conceptualizations have recently emerged. As an example, Innes, Connick, and Booher (2007) discuss the tensions and opportunities of formality and informality within a collaborative process. For them, *informalistic interaction* orders are the ones that will engage players, develop creative ideas, and build shared responsibility for the region (Innes et al., 2007, p. 207). Saying that, the challenge for the planners, they argue, is finding ways of transforming the ideas [informal relationships] and agreements into a more enduring form, without losing the flexibility and adaptiveness of what emerges from the informal system (Innes et al., 2007, p. 207).

On the other hand, Roy (2009c, p. 82) argues that Innes et al. (2007)'s framework quite drastically depoliticizes the concept of informality by misrecognizing systems of deregulation and unmapping as casual and spontaneous. Although highlighting the importance of their work, Roy (2009c) claims that Innes et al. (2007) neglect the structural idiom of state power within the informality. Conversely, Roy (2009b, 2009c) calls into question the division between law and informality as well as propositions – such the one of Innes et al. (2007) – that consider informality as something casual and

spontaneous within the planning system. Questioning these approaches, she conceptualizes informality as a way in which space is produced and defined by territorial logic of deregulation. Considering it as a state of exception and ambiguity, Roy (2009b, p. 9) adds that informality is *inscribed in the ever-shifting relationship* between what is legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized.

Committed to this alternative conceptualization of the formal-informal evershifting relationship, Ananya Roy (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2011, 2014) as well as Vanessa Watson (2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2014) and Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b) add a different perspective to the politics of formalization. Through a comprehensive study about planning in global south cities, such as African, Israeli, Indian and other Asian cities, these authors shed light into the role of the state in the reproduction of informality. Broadening the understanding of informality far beyond the discussion of land ownership and economic sector, they agree that *informality must be understood as an idiom of urbanization, a logic through which differential spatial value is produced and managed* (Roy, 2011, p. 233).

Drawing on the idea of informality as an idiom of urbanization, AbdouMaliq Simone (2004, 2006) adds the potential of considering this informalized production of urban space as a potential source of different ways of being modern. What is more, similarly to the authors just mentioned above, he acknowledges the existence of many studies about urban informality and stresses the lack of urban planning research committed to this perspective of formal and informal in global south cities. For him, these studies should examine the way in which the experiences derived from such structural nature of informality as a strategy of planning (Roy, 2009c, p. 82) might act

as a platform for the creation of a very different kind of sustainable urban configuration than we have yet generally know (Simone, 2004, p. 9).

Having the above-mentioned discussion in mind, it is probably reasonable to conclude the urgent need for more research into the formal and informal dimensions of city making, particularly focusing on global south cities. Furthermore, such researches should consider [i.] the planning history and its impact on the urban space, [ii.] the various nuances of people's relations and [iii.] the issues of power intertwined in the whole planning practice. In doing so, it might offers a path towards a planning that is both committed to different ways of being modern, and that acknowledges informality in its diversity of expressions and sources, seeing it in a fractal fashion.

All in all, this thesis draws on the broad understanding of informality as an idiom of urbanization defended by Roy (2009b, 2009c), which is expressed in both the built environment and the decision-making processes of all kinds that disregard the formal rules and regulations. However, limiting the spectrum of this research approach, the present study will give more emphasis on aspects of informality expressed at the built environment. Rather than neglecting the informality expressed within the state and market, this emphasis keep looking at the decision-making processes, particularly within urban planning practices, however delving deeply into how informality is expressed at the built environment.

2.3 Critical elements of informality

Based on the global south urbanists' discussion presented in the previous section 2.2.3.2, which critically assess the structural nature of informality as a strategy of

planning, this section further explores the three critical elements of informality in global south cities, namely history, power and people's relation.

At the turn of the 21st century, some scholars critically examined those Western/conventional urban planning approaches and advanced in new ways of addressing the *increasing gap between current approaches and growing problems of poverty, inequality, informality, rapid urbanization and spatial fragmentation, particularly* [but not only] *in cities of the global South* (Watson, 2009, p. 2259). Watson (2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2014), Roy (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2011, 2014); Roy and AlSayyad (2004), Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b), Holston (1989, 2008, 2009a, 2009b); Miraftab (2009); Robinson (2002, 2006, 2011a, 2011b, 2014); Sandercock (2003); Simone (2004, 2006) are some of the key authors of this area. Casting a critical eye towards such global south cities' issues, these authors make use of themes such as power, history and people's relations in order to defend cities and citizens everywhere as a potential source of modernity. Furthermore, despite using examples of cities everywhere, these authors mostly explore the challenges and opportunities of a postmodern planning practice compromised with a different approach towards informality.

The following three sections further discuss the **three critical elements of informality** – namely **history**, **people's relations and power** – identified through the
review of the literature associated with global south cities. Although not exclusive to
global south cities, these critical elements are mostly used once explaining how
informality is shaped and framed withing such southern urban environments.
Beforehand, it is important to highlight that although not discussed by all authors,
history, people's relations and power are the most mentioned elements to be addressed
when critically assessing and working with informality in global south urban areas.

2.3.1 History

In order to explore other ways of knowing within global south urban settings and promote a democratic dialogue among cities everywhere, one should both critically assess the planning history of such places, as well as understand whose history is being uncovered and by whom. By critically assess, David Harvey (1989) means the consideration of different voices and interlayered processes that constitutes the history and past in one place. Harvey (2000, p. 3) argues that knowledge of the past should be seen as a political resource, and that the control and interpretation of a particular version of the past is related to power differentiation and the legitimization of authority. Delving into Harvey's thoughts, Hammami (2012c, p. 16) also argues that the consideration of history as a single movement or personal project often indicates a particular version of the past and defends that collective memories are constructed in relation to the way the past is understood and negotiated. In addition to that, Miraftab (2009) historicize the notion of citizenship and defends the decolonization of planners' imagination proposing an upside-down look in the world of development. In doing so, he suggests that a conscious planning exercise should address questions such as whose history? and critically assess the underlying assumption that associates deep informality in global south cities with failure. Instead, he argues, informality could be seen as a triumphant sign of their success in resisting the Western models of planning and urban development (Miraftab, 2009, p. 45).

Taking the urban homogenizationation promoted by the modernist city discourse presented on the previous sections as an example, the existence of one widely accepted story of planning history reinforces certain urban practices as correct and expected, whilst others are not welcome. For instance, the 19th century understanding of urban problems as a disease of the social body, *provided the urban reformers justifications for*

the 'Haussmannization' of cities throughout Europe and Americas (Holston, 2009b, p. 248). Another example is the planning legislation of some countries in Africa and cities in India that are still based on the previous colonies' laws, namely British and/or European. About that, Vanessa Watson (2009, p. 2262) highlights that in much of the global South, master planning, zoning and visions of urban modernism are still the norm.

Having such examples in mind, one should agree that a democratic dialogue among cities everywhere demands both a critical eye towards the 'taken for granted' urban history of each place and an investigative attention to grassroots and often neglected urban experiences. Taking history as one of the critical elements to deeply understanding cities and then imagining their future differently, Leonie Sandercock (2003, p. 45) affirms that the planning exercise needs to take into consideration those different accounts of the past. In order to do that, she suggests, planners should draw their attention to *some of the glaring absences in mainstream accounts of history* and make the effort to give voice to different experiences. For her, an essential part of urban planning is

... familiarity with the multiple histories of urban communities, especially as those histories intersect with struggles over space and place-claiming, with planning policies and resistances to them, with traditions of indigenous planning, and with questions of belonging and identity and acceptance of difference (Sandercock, 2003, p. 47).

Insurgent planning histories

The planning exercise, comprised with looking at an urban community and searching for histories other than the official, represents a paradigm shift. Using the James Holston (2008, 2009b)'s term *insurgent*, Sandercock (2003) highlights the existence of alternative traditions of planning that are different from those practiced by

the state. James Holston (2009b) has created the concept of *insurgent citizenship* to express the alternative formulations of citizenship that take place once the *marginalized citizens and noncitizens* (p. 246) contest their exclusion within their everyday life. Sandercock (2003), in turn, has smartly used the expression 'insurgent' to qualify planning histories different from those of the state, emphasizing the multiple and revolutionary characteristics of such different accounts of the past.

As an example, both Sandercock (2003) and Holston (2008, 2009b) have pointed out how the 19th century urban single historical and geographical focus plays a pivotal role in what is accepted as the righteous city image. What is more, Sandercock (2003) has described the planning history of certain invisible minorities within urban settings, such as women, the black population and different religious groups shedding light on to the hidden meanings of certain planning practices, such as urban redevelopment, etc.

All in all, based on a planning exercise committed to multiple histories of urban communities, the present research agrees that insurgent planning histories *provide a foundation for an emerging alternative [to the modernist] paradigm for planning in multicultural cities* (Sandercock, 2003, p. 38).

2.3.2 People's relations

A group of urban theorists, namely Innes et al. (2007); Lomnitz (1988, 1998, 2006); McFarlane (2011); Roy (2005, 2009c); Simone (2004, 2006); Watson (2009), consider a deep and multiple understanding of the various nuances of people's relations – in their socio-economical and political dimensions – as a key to a conscious planning exercise, and so does the author of the present study. Before advancing on this discussion, it is important to clarify that, for this research, the term people's relation means the social relations that happen within the various setting of everyday life.

Steming from the social networks of reciprocity among the marginalized or within formal organizations to the ever-shifting relationships taking place in the interface of the various development planning stakeholders, this thesis draws on the idea that one could learn from people's relation that both provides platforms of new urban views [from marginalized ways of been modern - (McFarlane, 2011, 2012; Simone, 2004)] as well as *actively utilize informality as an instrument of accumulation and authority* (Roy, 2009c, p. 81) [within the state itself - (Roy, 2009c; Watson, 2009)].

Delving deeper into this matter, people's relations has usually been examined by this group of authors in three interlayered ways. The first focus is on solidarity and trust ties that assure a basic social security for the urban poor and/or marginalized groups. The second way of looking at people's relations is to shed light on the collaborative systems that takes place within formal organizations, such as government and enterprises. And the last perspective mostly focuses on the relations occurring at the interface between what is considered formal and official – such as government and planning structures –, and what is conversely considered informal and illegal.

As an example of the first approach, the Mexican anthropologist Larissa Lomnitz (1988, 1998, 2006) argues that the urban poor usually fills the gaps caused by the lack of jobs, social security and access to basic needs with a strong sense of solidarity. This sense, in turn, is based on social networks of reciprocity sustained by symbolical and cultural dimensions. Through this perspective, people's relations are seen as a key for survival within excluded urban settings. Calling such survival strategies as *Improvisation*, the post-colonial urbanist McFarlane (2011) adds that although this is not a process to be celebrated, it represents an important way to cope with severe urban challenges. Saying that, one should agree on the importance of planners to consider

such social networks of reciprocity as a potential source of grassroots creative experiences of dealing with everyday challenges in those secluded areas.

Also focusing on the collaborative bonds, particularly – but not only – on African cities, the global south urbanist Abdul Maliq Simone (2004) re-describes some of Lomnitz's anthropological approaches to urban planning demands. In this perspective, he is concerned about the association of people's social interchange and cooperation with the capacity of living and operating in adverse situations. Using multiple cases to demonstrate his perspective, Simone (2004, p. 12) stresses that different from a *detailed ethnographic examination*, it requires planners a *practice of being attuned to faint signals, flashes of important creativity in otherwise desperate maneuvers, small eruptions in the social fabric that provide new texture, small but important platforms which access new views.*

On the other hand, Innes et al. (2007) have analyzed people's relations that take place within official institutions/associations and how they may impact planning exercises. Looking at the collaborative system underneath the official functions and job descriptions of a program for managing the system of waters, levees, and habitat in California, Innes et al. (2007, p. 207) conclude that these *informalistic interaction* orders are the ones that allows the program to really engage players, develop creative ideas, and build shared responsibility for the region. On the contrary, the authors say, the lack of such people's relations may cause the program to fail since the stakeholders were going to work alone focusing on their particular job.

Nevertheless, Roy (2009c) underlines the danger of considering this informalistic interaction as something that happens casually. Delving deeply into the informality discussion – which will be further explored at section 2.2.3.2 – Roy (2009c) emphasizes

the strong influence of state power on what is considered or not to be informality. However, for this point of discussion exclusively about people's relations, it is important to highlight that both Innes et al. (2007) and Roy (2009c, p. 82) agree that official forms and regulations are *in and of themselves permeated by the logic of informality*.

Finally, in dealing with a broader discussion about informality in the global south – see section 2.4.2 – Vanessa Watson (2009) offers an example of the third perspective towards people's relations. Shedding light onto the '*Interface*' of encounters, she focuses on the interactions happening between the official state and market forces and survival efforts of the marginalized. For instance, further discussing this zone of encounter, particularly in the case of groups under the pressure of urban development and modernization practices, Watson (2009) affirms that the nature of such interactions can vary greatly. She clarifies that it is in the intertwining of 'modernization' state efforts, urban administration or political control, market regulation and their target population, that confrontations happen and foster insurgents' ways of dealing with such relations and tensions.

Calling those ways as insurgent or creative practices, James Holston (2008, 2009b) also studies such everyday encounters. He clarifies that it is through the tensions and pressures of everyday people's interactions that the established forms of living and being in a city are *entrenched with alternative formulations of citizenship* (Holston, 2009b, p. 246). In other words, it is through such everyday encounters that some urban challenges faced by marginalized groups are contested and sometimes creatively redescribed. Further, both Watson (2009) and Holston (2008) defend the possibility of learning from *these adaptive practices at the 'interface' between different systems, to*

develop urban development approaches which are more appropriate to the conditions of rapidly urbanizing and poor cities (Watson, 2009, p. 2270).

With regards to that, one may notice that when discussing people's relations, all the above-presented authors have mentioned the word creativity. Therefore, and using a key quote of Holston about the reasons to focus on such creative practices in cities, the following section is going to further explore the notion of creativity, more specifically the concept of *creativity of practice* or *insurgent citizenship* (Holston, 2009b; Miraftab, 2009).

To focus on this creativity is not to neglect the impositions of global forces ... Nor is it in any way to deny factors of class and race in structuring urban life chances. Nor is it to wax romantic about the difficulties of putting new citizenships into practice. But it is to rub these forces, factors, and difficulties against the grain of local vitalities, to show that they do not preclude them, and that they are, often, reshaped by them (Holston, 2009a, p. 249).

Creativity of practice or insurgent citizenship

Focusing on the creative practices within the cityscape, Landry (2008) offers in his remarkable book *The Creative City* a methodology to identify and foster creativity in cities. Exploring the underlying dynamics of creativity, Landry (2008) shows the importance of understanding both the formal city dynamics and the culture and other symbolic resources for creativity. Considering creativity as *applied imagination using qualities such as intelligence, inventiveness and learning on the way* (Landry, 2008, p. xxi), he highlights the need to get beyond the idea that creativity is the exclusive domain of artists or that innovations are largely technological: *there is social and political creativity and innovation too* (p. xiv).

In order to reformulate or see things in a different way, one needs to use their historical and cultural background. This process, which Landry (2008) calls creative

thinking, is intertwined with past knowledge and individual's history, rituals and habits. Moreover, these resources are not only material 'things' such as buildings, but also traditions or attitudes ... (Landry, 2008, p. xxx).

As briefly mentioned at the end of the last section, calling it *creativity of practice* or *insurgent citizenship*, James Holston (2009b, p. 249) defends that an emphasis on residents' daily creativity in adapting, connecting and inhabiting the modern cities on better terms than those enforced by the local and international powers that would have them segregated and servile brings up that very opportunity among various conditions that exist as potential in the city. Building on Holston (2009b)'s concept of insurgent citizenship, Miraftab (2009) argues that such insurgences represent a deliberate effort in destabilizing the status quo through *consciousness of the past and imagination of an alternative future (Miraftab, 2009, p. 44)*.

Critically addressing the idea of participation, Miraftab (2009) identifies two intertwined and fluid arenas in which citizenship is negotiated through people's relations: the invited spaces – controlled and mediated by power players such as government, donors or NGOs – and invented spaces – collective actions that challenge the status quo. Putting into question the routinization of community participation, Miraftab (2009, p. 39) encourages planners to see the insurgent citizenship practices as something fluid between invited and invented spaces that *engage both the formal and informal arenas of politics, and aim to combine the struggles for redistribution and for recognition.* What is more, as underscored by Yiftachel (2009b, p. 97), this approach of paying attention to such insurgencies is applicable and beneficial to all cities, *but particularly to planning interventions in situations ... in which the regulation of space is a central element in building, and hence also deconstructing, this distorted urban order.*

Furthermore, for the above-mentioned authors, creativity is the *capacity to imagine a different story, a different outcome, a different way of being or relating* (Sandercock, 2003, p. 218), which may differ from the *official story devised by the power brokers of the city* (Friedmann, 2002, p. 94). Contrariwise, marked by a *technomanagerial and marketisized* rationality (Watson, 2006, p. 2267), the notion of creativity defended by recognized authors in the development of creative world cities, such as Richard Florida (2002, p. 5), is related to *the ability to create meaningful new forms that is now the decisive form of competitive advantage* in cities.

Rooted in Richard Florida (2002)'s way of thinking, the everyday negotiations of public standings and the grassroots solutions of city dwellers in coping and dealing with the pressures of, for instance, modernization state efforts are seen as incivility, informal or illegal. Contrariwise, in opposition to such notions of creativity, Holston (2009b) invites planners to examine those incivilities as expression of insurgent citizenship or creativity of practice. What is more, as highlighted by McFarlane (2011, 2012), they should be learnt as a different way of being modern instead of suppressed by rules and regulations from only one type of modern city model.

Based on this overall discussion, one would not go too far to suggest that the investigation of those creative ways of reinterpreting the dominant norms and/or forms would offer a tentative repertoire of ways of being modern in cities. However, as highlighted before in one of Holston (2009b)'s quotes, this exercise should not neglect global forces, ethnical and social issues, or being naïve about the hardship of coping with marginalized circumstances. In other words, creativity as an asset in cities should only be considered after a conscious and deep consideration of one of the main variables discussed by global south scholars: Power.

2.3.3 Power

Before delving deeply into the details of power as a critical element of informality, a brief conceptualization is needed due to its complex meaning.

Brief conceptualization

Power is a challenging concept with long history of discussion within philosophical realm — main authors are Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas — and that find in the planning field an 'unresolved difficulty' (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Such unresolved difficulty, Flyvbjerg (2001) argues, comes from the conflicting views of power within planning in which in one side has a Habermasian communicative rationality — defended by Innes et al. (2007), for instance — and in the other a group of authors addressing the problematic treatment of power in such approach — e.g.: Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b). In order to clearly present the power assumptions used in this thesis, one would agree on the importance of briefly presented the understanding of power within Habermas and Foucauld theories. Saying briefly, this thesis emphasizes that there is no intention of discussing both theories, which deserves a profound research by themselves due to their complexity. The solely objective here is to generally offer the grounds for the understanding of what the present research meant by power.

The communicative theory of Habermas (1984, 1990) understands power as something that can be removed once a discourse ethics and communicative rationality' specific procedures are followed. Considering the effects of power in the discourse as something negative, Habermas (1984, 1990) defends that the impartiality of the process of judgment is a must that could be achieved through a mix of self-reflection and rules settled in advance about how the speech should be done. Criticizing the usage of Habermasian communicative theory in planning as something problematic due to the

fact it 'hampers an understanding of how power shapes planning', Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002, p. 1) defends the power analytics of Foucault as offering better grounds for 'understanding and bringing about democratic social change through planning'.

For Foucault (1990, 1995), on the other hand, the modern power is anchored in the micro practices of everyday life. Rather than located in a central strong hand, such as the capital or state, power is seen as taking place in a capillary mode. In its post modern critique to power, Foucault (1990, 1995) identify the role of modern professions – including planning profession – as key agents of power, whom internalize the values of the dominant regime of power and then replicate it in their own everyday relations and practices. This disciplinary power, as Foucault (1990, 1995) emphasizes, is historically produced and reveals how one should critically assess the totalizing discourses that are intrinsically embedded and forged by structures of power.

All in all, this study understanding of power draws on both the Flyvbjerg (2001); Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002) critiques of the negligence of power within Habermas communicative theory in planning and Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002) appreciation of the ineliminable presence of power in planning. Saying that, this study includes power into the conceptual framework, benefiting from Michel Foucault's centrality of power and conflicts in order to openly and fairly address the realities in global south cities.

Power as a critical element of informality

Addressed by the majority of global south authors quoted throughout this chapter, the issues of power within urban planning are usually examined under two main topics: the ideological and the state power. For instance, Roy (2005, 2009c); Sandercock (2003); Watson (2006); Yiftachel (2009b) make use of upgrading and urban

development experiences to exemplify the political and market forces within planning territorial practices, and homogenization of planning interventions across the globe. Casting a critical eye toward the hidden forces within planning, they have questioned both the generalized assumptions regarding 'good planning' and the legal apparatus responsible for legitimization, eviction and oblivion of urban areas and population.

The ideological issues of power are mostly related to such 'good planning' assumptions that are informed by a set of taken-for-granted universal values. As highlighted by Vanessa Watson (2006, p. 38), planning decisions of all kinds are inevitably value-laden. Agreeing with Watson, both Roy (2005, 2009c) and Sandercock (2003) emphasize that from the mainstream planning solutions to the culture of a dominant group expressed in practices and comportment of planners, a set of dominant values and ideology can be seen. For instance, anchored in the micro-practices of everyday life, such power forces are embedded in both the legislative framework of planning (Sandercock, 2003) as well as the 'modern' planning strategies, such as gated villages, competitive city strategies and public service privatization (Watson, 2006).

Furthermore, addressing intricate questions such as Who sets the urban upgrading agenda? and Can the public interest of the city be left in the hands of private developers?, Roy (2009c, p. 77) adds another example of ideological power within planning: the private forces. She argues that when private means emerge as an alternative for the lack of public presence, the upgrading agenda very often addresses only the space and physical amenities rather than the real population's demands. Calling it the hegemonic market rationality, Watson (2006) uses the promotion of competitive cities as an example for how the real state and private interests quite often drive the planning spatial choices. For instance, she explains, in order to attract global investment, tourists and a residential elite through up-market property developments,

waterfronts, convention centers and the commodification of culture and heritage ...

New spatial policies are thus reinforcing social divides (Watson, 2006, p. 37).

Also concerned about issues of power associated with legal apparatus responsible for legitimization, eviction and oblivion of urban areas and population, those authors have explored the complex topic of state power within planning. Before advancing on the discussion of state power, it is important to highlight the meaning of state for this research. Consious that every attempt to define 'the State' runs up against the question of whether such a constantly changing, abstract and complex structure can be reduced to one clear concept (Anter, 2014, p. 9), this study clarifies that state here means the modern state. Drawing on Roy (2009c, p. 81)'s, critical definition of state as the sovereign keeper of the law, the idea of modern state includes, for instance, the federal and municipal government institutions that rule over the urban planning in cities of the global south.

Talking about the Indian planning system, Roy (2009c, p. 81) sharply declares that the state *is able to place itself outside the law in order to practice development*. Exploring the urban development dynamics of Indian cities, she defends that state power plays a pivotal role in defining which forms of living and being will thrive and which will disappear in the urban scenario. Broadening this perspective to other global south cities, Watson (2006) affirms that such state power definitions usually triggers world-view clashes between the everyday survival experiences of city dwellers and the state assumptions regarding what is a *proper urban environments [free of informal settlements and street-traders, and with a citizenry attuned to the marketization of public services]*(p. 38).

Using the colors white, black and gray as a metaphor for territorial state and ideological power, the Israeli planner Oren Yiftachel (2009b) grounds this theoretical discussion in a didactic manner. Drawing on how Israeli/Palestinian cities' struggles in handling the urban policies impacts fostering or maintaining a deeply unequal urban society, Yiftachel (2009b, p. 90) sees those experiences as *hyper-examples of structural relations*, which may be found in many other cities around the changing globe. The tools and discourses of planning, he argues, are used by the state as a way of legitimizing and recognizing – whiten – and criminalizing and delegitimizing – blacken – of entire urban areas and populations.

Given that, Yiftachel (2009b) offers a practical tool for a critical analyses of planning in global south cities: the identification of white spaces as the accepted, black as unaccepted/criminalized and gray as purposely forgotten. It is important to notice that the usage of such divisions brings out the power relations and set of values that informs such definitions in cities. The highlighted issue posted by the author is the very existence of planning as a tool used by state and ideological powers responsible for both the existence and criminalization of informal or 'undesirable' city spaces. For him,

Urban plans design the city's 'white' spaces, which usually create a little or no opening for inclusion/recognition of most informal localities and population, while their discourse continuously condemns them as chaotic danger to the city. Under these circumstances we must of course consider selective non-planning as part of planning, and as a form of active or negligent exclusion. In these pervasive settings planning is far from a profession promoting just and sustainable urbanism; it is rather a system managing profound societal inequalities – a system of 'creeping apartheid' (Yiftachel, 2009b, p. 93).

Based on this overall discussion, the notion of informality in urban planning is further explored on this study.

2.4 Summary

Outlining the impacts of 19th century Western urban theory and practices in planning among cities everywhere, this chapter has addressed the issues of formal and informal divide in city making. Particularly focusing on debates within global south urban studies, such issues have been re-described and grounded in examples of various global south cities worked by authors of this field of study. Furthermore, the global south urban debates were organized in three main critical elements of informality, namely history, people's relations and power, allowing the emergence of an analytical framework for further considerations about informality in global south cities.

The specific discussion of formal and informal concepts in planning, on the other hand, brought to the surface the issues of years of implementation of a liberal economistic model as a developmentalist strategy and the mainstream understanding of what is informal in global south cities. Conscious of the role of history, people's relations, and state and ideological power within planning in such cities, the chapter reviews the sharp critiques against the association of informality with poverty and development. Drawing on the global south authors' methodologies and understanding of informality, particularly considering informality in a fractal fashion, this chapter has presented a broader discussion about an urban planning committed to different ways of being modern.

In addition to that, as an illustrative effort, highlighting the three critical elements of informality, namely power, people's relations and history – and the main authors where they have been extracted from – this thesis theoretical framework is depicted below. It works as a conceptual framework to the analysis and discussion undertaken in the present research. The diagram also illustrates this study's key methodological choice and the two case study areas, which has been arranged under the name of analytical

tool. Furthermore, an overview of the structure of Findings and Discussion is depicted at the bottom of the Figure 2.1, highlighting the research inputs for the creation of the analytical framework of informality in global south cities, proposed at Chapter 7.

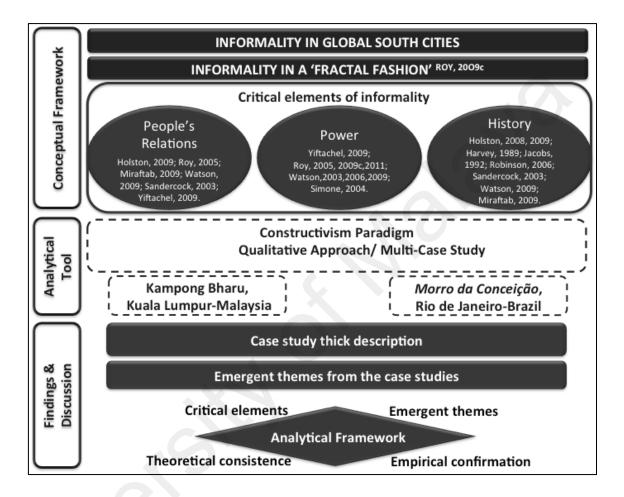


Figure 2-1: Theoretical framework

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Taking into consideration the literature discussed in the previous chapter and adding a brief review on the research methodology theories on top of that, particularly the ones related to a qualitative approach, this chapter presents the methodological choices of this thesis. Starting from the broader perspective of explaining the social constructivism paradigm, the chapter then explores the qualitative approach and the multiple case studies as the strategy of inquiry chosen in order to achieve the present research objectives.

Furthermore, the remainder of this chapter is dedicated to a detailed discussion of the specific methods used for data collection, interpretation, and presentation of the proposed study. As depicted in the research methodology diagram below [Figure. 3.1], these methods comprehend the secondary data review, preliminary field visits and conversations, semi-structured interviews and observation. Following that, the analytical tools are indicated with emphasis on explaining the Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software [CAQDAS] role in qualitative studies, in particular the NVivoTM. Once these methods and analytical tools are presented, the main effort is to answer whether they are adequate for answering the questions that this thesis has posed, and for clarifying this research's trustworthiness and authenticity.

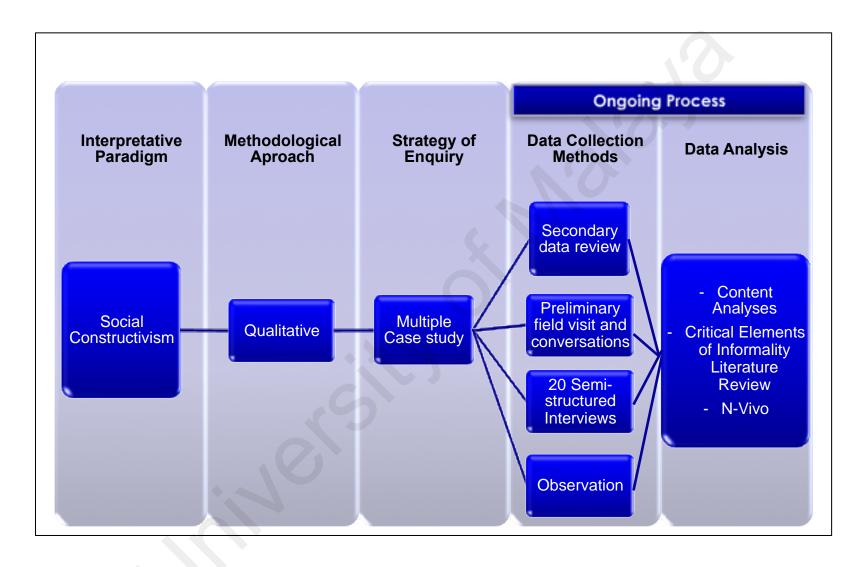


Figure 3-1: Research methodology diagram

3.2 Interpretative paradigm positioning

Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 11) defend that 'every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretative community, which cons, in its special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act'. Agreeing with that, the positioning of this thesis' author within an interpretative paradigm becomes necessary. The Macmillan English Dictionary defines paradigm as a 'formal set of ideas that are used for understanding or explaining something' (Rundell & Fox, 2002). Within the research realm, Guba (1990) explains the paradigm as a 'set of beliefs that guides an action' (p. 17). Having in mind that a set of beliefs varies throughout history, one should agree that there are many interpretative paradigms created as a way of understanding and assessing the world within a certain time and space.

The different paradigms are divided and explained according to the inquirer's position in: first, the way they understand the nature and the world [ontology]; second, how it can be assessed or known [epistemology]; and third, using specified instruments [methodology]. Lincoln et al. (2011) selected some other key features that support the understanding of each paradigm and its basic beliefs in a more didactic approach. In the study *Paradigmatic controversies*, *contradictions*, *and emerging confluences*, they revisited their previous discussion (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) about the positivist and newparadigms. As a consequence, they have included the participatory paradigm among the other three postmodernist paradigms, namely postpositivist, critical theory and constructivism. These paradigms, as well as their respective basic beliefs and some key features, discussed by Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Lincoln et al. (2011), are presented in the table below.

Table 3-1: Interpretative paradigms, respective basic beliefs and key features.

Interpretative Paradigm	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology	Inquirer posture How does the	Type of narration
Basic beliefs	What is the nature of reality? [Creswell, 2007]	What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched? [Creswell, 2007]	What is the process of research? [Creswell, 2007]	researcher approach the inquiry process? [Guba & Lincoln, 2005]	паттацоп
Positivism	Naïve realism – "real" reality but apprehendible	Dualist/ objectivist; findings true	Experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	"Disinterested	Scientific
Post positivism	Critical realism – "real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendible	Modified dualist/ objectivist; critical tradition/ community; findings probably true	Modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	scientist" as informer of decision makers, policy makers, and change agents	report
Critical Theory	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	Transnational/ subjectivist; co- created findings	Dialogic/ dialectical	"Transformative intellectual" as advocate and activist	Historical, economic, sociocultural analyses
Constructivist	Relativism – local and specific co- constructed realities	Transnational/ subjectivist; co- created findings	Hermeneutical / dialectical	"Passionate participant" as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction	Interpretative case studies, ethnographic fiction
Participatory	Participative reality – subjective- objective reality, co- created by mind and given cosmos	Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing; co- created findings	Political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context	Primary voice manifested through aware self-reflective action; secondary voices in illuminating theory, narrative, movement, song, dance, and other presentational forms	

Source: Adapted from the table 1.2 of Denzin and Lincoln (2011), and tables 6.3, 6.4, 6.5 of Lincoln et al. (2011).

Being the only set of beliefs in existence over the last four hundred years, positivism is considered to be the conventional paradigm or the received view (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In this context, the researcher and object are totally separate entities and one cannot affect or interfere with the other. Although trying to expand on the critiques of its immediate predecessor without developing any relevant differentiation, as Guba and Lincoln (1994) have mentioned, the postpositivism paradigm refers to a critical and modified realism. Grouping these two conservative paradigms and referring back to Table 3.1 above, the main difference to the other three alternative paradigms is remarkable. Whilst positivism and postpositivism understand that there is an apprehensible process of acquiring knowledge, an objective way of discovering the truth, the critical theory, constructivism and participatory paradigms believe that the relationship between the researcher and object is subjective and that the 'findings are created through the interaction of inquirer and phenomena' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107).

In the particular case of critical theory, the reality [or the idea of truth] is still understood as something that exists but has been changed and affected by the historical and ideological structures that are then perceived to be the truth. Emerging from the 1980s, as Creswell and Miller (2000) highlighted, this perspective has challenged and critiqued the modern state and alleged that 'researcher should uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts are constructed, read and interpreted' (p. 126). On the other hand, the main feature of the constructivist interpretative paradigm is the assumption that the reality is relative and co-constructed. In other words, it is as a result of people's interaction. The remaining paradigm, namely the participatory, is based on the primacy of practical knowing and leads to action to transform the world (Lincoln et al., 2011).

After the above discussion on the different interpretative paradigms and reverting to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 11)'s opening quotation of this section, which says that 'every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretative community', one would agree that it is correct to manifest the present research interpretative paradigm: the constructivist.

3.2.1 Social constructivism

Social constructivism, as an opposition to positivism, has emerged as an alternative for the researcher interested in looking at the reality as socially constructed. Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 11) Lincoln (2001) flesh out Reinharz [1978]'s metaphor of the difference in approach between these two ways of conducting research. Other than following a rape model of research, where the 'researcher takes what he wants and leaves', the social constructivism investigator undertakes the research as a lover, in a 'state of mutual concern' (Lincoln, 2001, p. 127). From the researcher's side, for instance, this concern is manifested in a means of acquiring the knowledge by 'interpreting how the subjects perceive and interact within a social context' (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 110).

However, a word of caution is pertinent here. There is also the concept of social constructionism which, although based on similar premises of considering the creation of knowledge through personal experiences, puts more emphasis on the context and social process (Delanty, 2005). Nevertheless, avoiding unnecessary misunderstandings, the basic guiding beliefs of the present research are the social constructivist. Therefore, as Lincoln et al. (2011) describe, the present researcher is committed to the construction of knowledge through her experiences and interactions with other members of society. Furthermore, in stating the social constructivist commitment, one would agree that this study has a relativist approach, emphasizing the 'experiential and personal

determination of knowledge' (Stake, 1995, p. 102) that is most addressed by the qualitative researchers.

3.3 A qualitative research

The pursuit of complex meanings is an enormous task, which requires the investigator's deep awareness throughout the whole research process. In showing the differences between the qualitative and quantitative research, Stake (1995) highlights that this required attention is seldom sustained when the dominant instruments of data gathering are objectively interpretable checklists or survey items. For him – and to which the researcher of the present study is committed – an 'ongoing interpretative role of researcher is prominent in qualitative studies' (Stake, 1995, p. 43).

Nevertheless, one would agree on the importance of discussing the main features of both qualitative and quantitative methodology, fleshing out their differences in order to understand the choice made by the present research. Stake (1995), for instance, highlights three major differences related to the role of the researcher, purpose of inquiry and comprehension of how the knowledge is pursued. Furthermore, other relevant scholars, such as Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have similarly focused on the distinctive features of qualitative and quantitative research, highlighting five main differences that are actually key areas of divergences among the quantitative and qualitative scholars. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have reviewed the discussions within the two traditions about the usage of positivism and postpositivism approaches; the acceptance of postmodern sensibilities; the ways of apprehending an individual's point of view and the constraints of everyday life; and the securing of vivid descriptions.

Going through some of these above-mentioned contrasts [organized in Table 4.2], regarding the investigator function, both Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Stake (1995)

argue that, whilst the quantitative effort has a premise on 'value free' research, the qualitative relies on the interpretative role of the researcher. This means that, assuming the limited or inexistent space for interpretations, it is expected that the quantifiers define the research variables and their interrelation in order to avoid personal interference, 'reduce weakness in explanation and upgrade their generalizations about the variables' (Stake, 1995, p. 41). On the contrary, the qualitative researcher assumes its interpretative role and focus by studying things in their 'natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3).

Another argument debated by both authors is the purpose of inquiry. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) argue that the qualitative researchers are more likely to examine the constraints of everyday life than the quantitative ones. Indicating what drives each researcher, Stake (1995) affirms that this willingness to look at these complex interrelations between everything is what drives the qualitative approach. In contrast, the quantitative purpose of inquiry focuses on explaining the causes and effects of things, which can dramatically differ from the gaining of experiential understanding that underlies the qualitative effort. The output of each inquiry process also differs, as the quantitative research's main product is represented in tables, mathematical models and graphs. Qualitative research products, on the other hand, are usually multi-voiced and comprise a thick description in a narrative format (Stake, 1995).

Table 3-2: Comparison between qualitative and quantitative main features

Key Quantitative Research Features	Key Qualitative Research Features
Cause and effect explanation	Understanding of human experience
Main allocation of expertise prior data gathering	Main allocation of expertise at the site
Instrumentation and quantification	Interpretative observation and narratives
Mathematical models, statistical tables & graphs	Rich descriptions of multiple realities
'Value free' researcher	Researcher sensible to its personal responsibility

Source: Developed by the author, based on Stake (1995) and Denzin and Lincoln (2011).

Following this comparative discussion, and bearing in mind that the present research focuses on i.) understanding the complex meaning of a particular human experience; ii.) making use of interpretative observations and narratives that are expected to be richly described, it is easily assumed that this research would follow the qualitative methodology.

3.4 Strategies of qualitative inquiry: the case study

As highlighted by Creswell (1998, p. 15), the 'qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem'. Calling it slightly different, Denzin and Lincoln (2011) also affirm that a qualitative investigator must approach the natural setting based on a strategy of inquiry. It means that the researcher, who is already committed to a paradigm, should carry out the qualitative research's interaction and interpretation supported by a set of 'skills, assumptions, enactments, and material practices' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 246). Despite this name difference, both authors have similarly indicated five traditions or strategies of inquiry: biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study.

The present research is guided by the case study strategy of qualitative inquiry. Although some scholars defend the case study as a research strategy (Yin, 2009), methodology (Flyvbjerg, 2011) or object of study (Stake, 1995), the common ground of understanding is that it represents the effort of deeply exploring and describing a real-life experience within its context. Stating that the definition of case study is not a simple task due to the existence of many different explanations, Flyvbjerg (2011) analyzes the concept of key scholars and concludes three main case study features that support its definition: a bounded system, intensive and context focused.

Regarding the first feature, bounded system is a term utilized by Creswell (1998) to conceptualize the case study. For him, the case study comprises the 'exploration of a bounded system or a case [or multiple cases] over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context' (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). Therefore, the demarcation of the unit's boundaries and, consequently, its context is an important path to the development of a case study. In addition to that, explaining the second mentioned feature, Flyvbjerg (2011) clarifies that by intensive work he means the depth of involvement, details, variance and richness of a case study. Thus, this depth is only pursued through intensive work, based on multiple sources of information, including observations, interviews, audio-visual material, documents and reports (Creswell, 1998).

Finally, the last feature has already been highlighted in Creswell (1998)'s definition, when at the end he concludes that a case study should be rich in context. Reinforcing this affirmation, Stake (1995) defines a case study as 'the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (p. xi). In this assertion, the important circumstances to be studied are exactly the context and the interaction of the case with it.

Despite being identified by Creswell (1998) and Denzin and Lincoln (2011) as traditions or strategies of qualitative enquiry, it is important to highlight that Yin (2009), who is an influential specialist in the area, argues that the boundaries of case study are not restricted to the qualitative realm. For him, 'case studies can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence' (Yin, 2009, p. 19). Although clarifying his qualitative approach, Stake (1995) also mentions the possibility of undertaking a case study within both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. However, Stake (1995) also highlights the danger of using the dominant instruments of data gathering that are

commonly used in quantitative research in the pursuit of complex meanings as the ones in case study. In his words, the pursuit of complex meanings ...

... seems to require continuous attention, an attention seldom sustained when the dominant instruments of data gathering are objectively interpretable checklists or survey items. An ongoing interpretative role of the researcher is prominent in qualitative case study (Stake, 1995, p. 43).

Another relevant discussion within the works of these two key methodology specialists is the different types of case study. Yin (2009) and Stake (1995) consider the existence of both single and multiple cases. Moreover, Yin (2009) discusses the three rationales or types of case studies: the critical – when the case is used to test a hypothesis or a well-formulated theory –; the extreme or unique – it deeply analyzes a rare and extreme phenomena or behavior –; and the revelatory case – happens when a researcher has access to a case never before investigated.

Stake (1995), on the other hand, also identifies three types of case study that can be closely related to Yin (2009)'s rationales. The first one is the intrinsic case study that represents the effort in deeply understanding the uniqueness of the case without interest in learning 'about other cases or about some general problem' (Stake, 1995, p. 3). This type of case study can be related to the extreme or unique, and the revelatory case study of Yin (2009). The second type is the instrumental that represents the cases that are used to understand something else and can have a parallel with what Yin (2009) has called critical. The last type identified by Stake (1995) is actually another denomination of Yin (2009)'s multiple case study, which he called collective case study. Besides their differences, both of them look at multiple case studies as a variation of case study and that should follow the same organization and premises of the single one.

Nevertheless, although showing these similar points, an incompatibility of approach makes some of these two author's assumptions quite different. For instance,

the idea of generalization represents one of these divergences. While Yin (2009) believes that is always possible to generate hypotheses to be tested in other contexts, and if it is confirmed, being then generalized, Stake (1995) stresses the danger of this commitment to generalization or theorizing being so great that the attention of the research shifts from what really matters: the understanding of the case itself. Following the before-mentioned social constructivism and qualitative approach, the present research will draw, then, on Stake (1995)'s affirmative that the case is a complex entity with its own history, context, subunits and situations that requires a holistic examination and focus in order to apprehended its complexities. And that it is through the researcher's commitment to a thick description that the reader will be able to have a vicarious experience of the case, and consequently be able to compare it with their own experiences and make generalizations themselves.

3.4.1 Multiple case studies

Delving deeply into the case study strategy of qualitative inquiry, some scholars identify the possibility of using more than one case to support a broader and deeper understanding of a theme. Calling it both collective case study by Stake (1995) and multiple case studies by Yin (2009) and Creswell (1998), the usage of more than one case is presented as an opportunity to enhance the interpretation. Nevertheless, choosing to use multiple case studies is still a delicate terrain due to different authors' understandings of the purpose of such strategy.

As an example, drawing on Yin (2009)'s understanding of multiple case studies, Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2009) explain that 'the rationale for using multiple cases focuses upon the need to establish whether the findings of the first case occur in other cases and, as a consequence, the need to generalize from these findings' (pp. 146, 147). Stake (1995), on the other hand, criticizes this focus on the need for generalization

and argues that the use of one or more case studies is 'likely neither to establish a generalization nor to modify one, but may increase the confidence that readers have in their [or the researcher's] generalization' (p. 8). Furthermore, he explains that different from the case study design, more traditional comparative and correlational studies are the ones focusing on optimizing production of generalization. Saying that, Stake (1995) clarifies the importance of using the multiple case studies as a way of understanding the uniqueness of each case and maximizing the possibility of learning rather than using each one of them as a basis for comparison and/or generalization.

Drawing on Stake (1995)'s understanding, the present research has chosen multiple case studies as a way of maximizing what can be learnt from both global south cities' urban experiences. Saying that, rather than comparing the two areas, this research seeks to give voice to these cities' uniqueness, adding on the insipid repertoire of experiences associated with the informality of global south cities.

3.4.2 Choosing the case study areas

Based on the discussion presented on the previous section 3.4, the selection of the case study areas for this study is guided by the aim of understanding the uniqueness of each case and maximizing the possibility of learning from both global south cities' urban experiences. Adding on the insipid repertoire of experiences associated with informality in global south cities, Rio de Janeiro and Kuala Lumpur are chosen for what can be learned from each one, rather than be considered as representative of all global south cities in the world.

The process of choosing both case study cities' areas was based on an extensive literature review and field visit in order to confirm the research potential of both areas. It is important to mention that, initially, this research have chosen Brasília, the current

capital of Brazil, to be the case study in Brazil. The reason for that was the idea of using the capital city of Malaysia and Brazil. After an extensive secondary data review, the informal area called *Vila Estrutural*, in Brasilia, was chosen, whilst Kampong Bharu was the option for Kuala Lumpur. The first field visit of Kampong Bharu on June and December 2012 [See Appendix A] has confirmed the case study area choice for Malaysia. Nevertheless, after field visit in Brasilia on November 2012 [See details at Appendix B], the place has shown to be not representative of how informality has impacted the built environment. Delving deeply into the case of Brasilia, one would agree that it is such unique case in the world, which has been totally designed from scratch to be a capital city of a country, that this research decided to search for another case that could enhance the understanding of the phenomenon studied.

In doing so, after a second round of secondary data review this research have finally opted to use the case of Morro da Conceição, in the port area of Rio de Janeiro. Although not been the current capital city of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro was the capital from 1793 to 1960. In addition to that, like Kuala Lumpur, Rio de Janeiro has a strong colonial history past shaping the city's built environment and identity. Furthermore, both Morro da Conceição and Kampong Bharu are historical inhabited urban areas suffering a strong pressure from urban development practices. Both areas are located in the heart of a prestigious and expensive land and, although located in different parts of the world, with different ethnic, religious and political divides, they face similar challenges regarding the balance of social/ethnic issues and power forces.

3.5 Data collection

The present qualitative research used four main methods of data collection, namely: secondary data review, preliminary field visit and conversations, semi-structured interviews, and observation. This section further discusses each of these

methods, clarifying both the sampling approach as well as the ethnical principles that guide the face-to-face interactive data collection inherent to such methods within the qualitative research. As a way of supporting the visualization of this research process, Figure 3.2 depicts these methods of data collection in a flowchart highlighting the timeline and main deliverables of each phase. In addition, the diagram also indicates the analytical process of this study, underscoring the timing dedicated to each moment in order to achieve the three research objectives, as well as the final thesis writing.

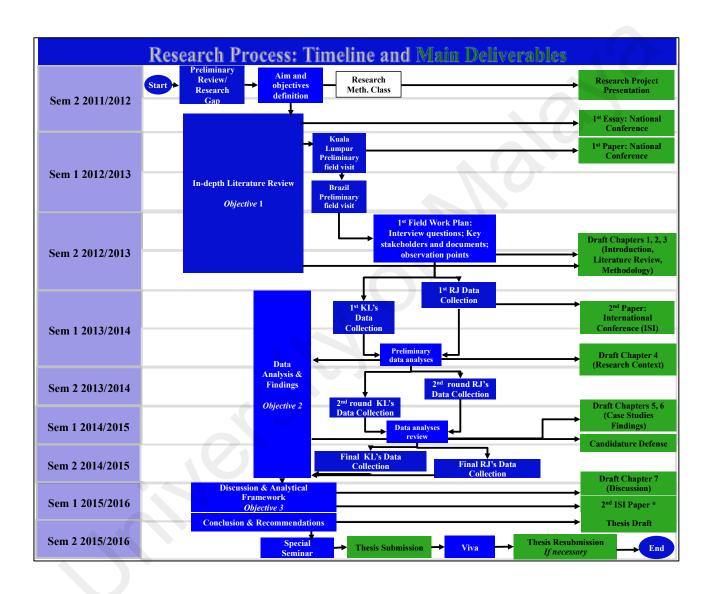


Figure 3-2: Research process: timeline and main deliverables

3.5.1 Sampling

In qualitative research, Silverman (2011) argues, 'the aim is usually to gather an 'authentic' understanding of people's experiences' (p. 44). For him, rather than sample size, the real effort in any qualitative research is to seek the authenticity of stories and reports. In order to do that, he suggests that interviews based on both open-ended questions as well as small samples predominantly defined by political rather than scientific terms 'are the most effective route towards this end' (Silverman, 2011, p. 44).

Delving deeply into the strategies for sampling selection within case studies, Flyvbjerg (2011) presents two types: random and information-oriented selection. In random sampling, size matters and it is usually used in order to both avoid systematic biases and support generalizations. On the other hand, in information-oriented selection, as the name suggests, what is important is to identify sources that deeply clarify causes and consequences behind the case studied, maximizing 'the utility of information from small samples' (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 307).

Aiming to gather an authentic understanding of both cases, this research uses an **information-oriented sampling selection**. The places and events to be observed, as well as the individuals to be interviewed, have been purposefully selected in order to best help understand the complexity of informality within both historically inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban redevelopment. As Miles and Huberman (1994) highlight, the main guidelines for a qualitative sampling are both the knowledge and expertise of the participants, as well as the information-rich settings and events.

Hence, based on a substantial literature review and desk study gathering historical, governmental, media and technical data, as well as an extensive preliminary

field visit, a population profile composed by 10 key stakeholders of each case study has been developed. As per O'Leary (2010)'s recommendation, this population profile has initially been developed from the literature for later field comparison in order to reassure the representativeness of the sample. In order to refine it, a snowballing approach was used, tracking the key informants and potential respondents for the research throughout the fieldwork [Figure 3.3]. Simply put, the key stakeholders of both urban redevelopment experiences were identified through a combination of secondary data review, as well as primary source referral, following both an organizational and area connection criteria in order to reveal a context rich information.

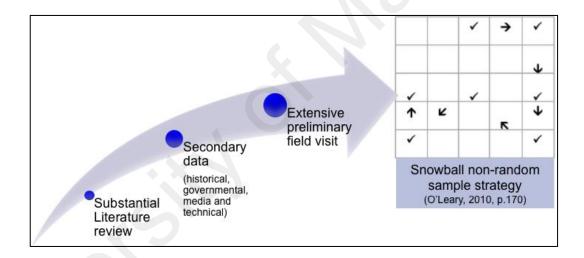


Figure 3-3: Information oriented sample selection

Hence, the literature related to informality relations in global south cities highlights the one-sided version of planning history in cities and the importance of giving voice to other accounts of the same experiences [see section 2.4.2]. As Sandercock (2003, p. 227) highlights, the challenge in working towards a more creative and sustaining multicultural city, embedded in a new planning imagination, is the 'ability to tell, to listen to, and above all, make space for stories to be heard'. In order to warrant that the different accounts of the case study areas' planning history is going

to be acknowledged, the connection with the area criteria has been used associated with the official sources of the development interventions, such as government, development bodies and specialists.

The stakeholders chosen under the criteria of connection with the area represent the region's gatekeepers. Creswell (1998, p. 117) considers the gatekeeper an individual who is 'a member of or has insider status with a cultural group'. Also discussing the importance of such individuals and the organizations they might be representing within a certain group, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) add that being the first contact of the researcher, gatekeepers usually offer precious insights about the cultural group's disguised challenges and opportunities, as well as indicate other important stakeholders. Saying that, the **connection with the area criteria** is organized as stated below:

- Residents: who live in the case study area and are somehow involved in its urban history.
- Local organizations: representatives of organizations with an important role in the everyday life of the area, with special influence on rituals [churches, mosques, etc.], in attracting people and promoting different dialogues in the area [homestays, universities, etc.] or in the political aspects of the community.

In addition to that, the **official criteria** in this research comprises the following categories:

- Government: a federal, state or municipal government representative who is connected with the area;
- Development bodies: representatives of the organizations specially formed to plan and execute the urban development of the case study area;

• **Specialist:** researcher, professional body representative or another expert who has studied the area.

The Tables 3.3 and 3.4 summarize the stakeholders' profiles for Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, respectively. It is important to highlight that compromised with the privacy and confidentiality as ethical requirements of a qualitative research, rather than designate the study participants by their names, each of them are 'secured behind a shield of anonymity' (Christians, 2011, p. 66). As one may notice on the tables below, each participant receives a code as per the initials letters of the category to which they belong.

Further explaining the process of choosing the interviewees' of this research, it is important to highlight that they are identified following a two-folded strategy. As previously depicted at Figure 3.3, first, a list of potential interviewees is identified through the literature review and extensive desk study. In this case, newspapers, previous researches, official documents, documentaries and books are the main sources of potential interviewees. Based on this list, the second strategy takes place through the preliminary field visit. Working as a reality check for this list, the preliminary field visit, which embedded at the snowball non-random sample strategy, re-define the interviewees based on the case study realities experienced by the researcher. In summation, this crosschecking exercise triangulate the interviewees, making sure representatives from both groups, namely gatekeepers and officials, are represented at the research.

Table 3-3: Population profile of Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro.

Morro da Conceição			
Key stakeholders			
Category		Code	
Gatekeepers	Residents	RD1	
		RD2	
	Local organizations	LO1	
		LO2	
		LO3	
		LO4	
Officials -	Government authorities	GA1	
	Development bodies	DB1	
		DB2	
	Specialists	SP	

Table 3-4: Population profile of Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur.

Kampong Bharu				
Key stakeholders				
	Category	Code		
	Residents	RD1		
		RD2		
Cotalraamana	Local organizations	LO1		
Gatekeepers		LO2		
		LO3		
		LO4		
Officials	Government authorities	GA1		
Officials	Development bodies	DB1		
		DB2		
	Specialists	SP		

3.5.2 Secondary data review

Secondary data is the existing empirical material that can be found in documents, records and artifacts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The secondary data review or desk study, as emphasized by Yin (2009), is the explicit gathering of a variety of documents considered relevant to the research topic. Nevertheless, Yin (2009, p. 105) also highlights that in reviewing any documents, one should 'understand that it was written for some specific purpose and some specific audience'.

Conscious of the need to search for documents, records and images that support the 'multiple histories of urban communities' (Sandercock, 2003, p. 47), this research has gathered secondary data from different sources and contexts. Stemming from media records, minutes of meetings of local organizations and religious institutions' description of traditional events to official zoning and master plan documents, this research desk study was committed to learn from 'different ways of knowing' (McFarlane, 2011; Sandercock, 2003).

Although considered an ongoing process, the **secondary data review took place principally from June 2012 to April 2014**. During each field visit, for observations or interviews, the researcher approached gatekeepers as well as local institutions – such as mosques, churches, schools and libraries – looking for any documents, pictures or records related to the study. Besides that, professional bodies, such as Badan Warisan Malaysia, in Kuala Lumpur – professional heritage organization – and Pereira Passos Institute in Rio de Janeiro – urban planning governmental body – were visited and relevant documents collected.

3.5.3 Preliminary field visit and conversations

Discussing the many sources of data that a qualitative researcher uses that is different from an in-depth interview, Susan Chase (2011) highlights the use of diaries, autobiographies and the field notes of naturally occurring conversations. In culturally complex settings – such as the ones into which the present research is delving – she highlights the importance of a preliminary field immersion able to both connect the researcher with the social setting and allow the occurrence of natural parallel conversations.

Looking more narrowly to the field work exercise and emphasizing the importance of these naturally occurring conversations, Erickson (2012) suggests that preliminary field work is best if guided by answering the following questions:

- What is going on, particularly, in social action that happens in this specific setting?
- What is the meaning of these actions to the people engaged in them?
- How is and what is happening in this setting as a whole related to happenings at other system levels outside and inside the setting [e.g. the school building, a child's family, the school system, federal government mandates regarding mainstreaming]?
- In which ways is everyday life in this location structured if compare with other ways of organizing social life in a varied range of locations and/or at other times?

Based on such questions and conscious of the complexity and differences between the two case study settings, a series of **preliminary field visits took place from June 2012 until June 2013**. It is important to highlight that, particularly in the case of Kampong Bharu, the preliminary field visit requires more effort and presence on the field. This is due to the fact that the researcher is considered an outsider or stranger within this context. Hence, in order to be accepted and really understand the intertwined

forces within this culturally diverse context, a continuous participation in different community events and situations is required. The preliminary fieldwork in Kampong Bharu with the schedule breakdown and comments is pictured in Appendix 1.

In Brazil, on the other hand, due to a restricted timeframe and the present author's familiarity with the culture and lifestyle of the study area, the time dedicated for a preliminary field visit was limited. Besides doing interviews and observations during the months of November 2012 and May 2013 in the port area of Rio de Janeiro, particularly in Morro da Conceição, some participation in everyday life situations – such as having lunch with residents, participating in traditional Samba gatherings or visiting some historical monuments with local guides – has taken place. More details about such preliminary field visits in Brazil, such as timeframe and general comments are included in the table in Appendix 2.

All in all, the main benefits the present research gathered from such preliminary field visits and conversations are indicated below:

- Cultural sensibility, particularly regarding Kampong Bharu's Islamic and Malay values, identity and *modus vivendi*. In Morro da Conceição, it allowed the comprehension of local cultural norms and veiled assumptions about the social behavior and status. Such experience allowed the researcher to allocate the right types of questions, as well as better identify the main sites and events for observation.
- Understanding the community network and the power forces among local
 organizations and community leaders/gatekeepers. Based on that, the main
 stakeholders to be interviewed was initially framed and triangulated with the
 tentative sampling drafted from the literature and other secondary sources.

3.5.4 Observation

As highlighted by Silverman (2011), participant, ethnography and fieldwork observations are all used interchangeably. They can all possibly mean spending long periods 'watching people, coupled with talking to them about what they are doing, thinking and saying, designed to see how they understand their world' (Silverman, 2011, p. 114). Creswell (2009, p. 181) agrees that the qualitative observations are those in which the researcher takes comprehensive notes on the behavior and actions of individuals at the research site and explains that in these field notes, the researcher 'records in an unstructured or semi-structured way [using some prior questions that the inquirer wants to know], activities at the research site'. With a more general comprehension of the observation method, Stake (1995, p. 60) argues that it 'works the researcher toward greater understanding of the case'. For him, rather than looking for repeated observation situations, 'the qualitative case study researcher keeps a good record of events to provide a relatively incontestable description for further analysis and ultimate reporting' (Stake, 1995, p. 62).

Guided by this overall understanding of observation, this research undertook this strategy as a way of achieving a comprehensive understanding of the case study areas. Making use of pictures, and the researcher's on-the-ground experiences and notes, this study aims to achieve the incontestable description for further analysis and ultimate reporting mentioned by Stake (1995). Being in the field in different opportunities, such as events, interviews, resident's visits and local guided tours, the observation took place from July 2013 to June 2015. During this period of time, this research recorded: naturally occurring conversations, description of physical settings and their changes throughout the time, accounts of a particular event, as well as the researcher's personal thoughts, such as speculation, feelings, problems, ideas, hunches, impressions, and

prejudices (Creswell, 2009, p. 182). All these points of observation were first recorded in a field notebook and with photos, which were later organized in the Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software, NVivoTM.

3.5.5 Semi-structured interviews

Framed by a constructivist interpretative paradigm, one of the key methods for data collection in this study is the semi-structured interview. As highlighted by Silverman (2011), the implication of a constructivist approach in the research practice, particularly in the case of interviews, is that a successful interview does not only depend on the interviewer skills usually written in the methodology books. Different from that, an interview in a constructivist approach is a 'local and interactional work carried out by both interviewer and interviewee, without losing sight of the cultural resources which they draw upon' (Silverman, 2011, p. 205).

Given that the present research deals with two distinct and complex cultural scenarios, and drawing on Stake (1995, p. 64)'s understanding of interview as 'the main road to multiple realities', the interview method is considered a suitable instrument for this study. Using a semi-structured form, which is an open framework of themes to be explored, this research 'makes a flexible list of questions, progressively redefines issues, and seizes opportunities to learn the unexpected (Stake, 1995, pp. 28, 29).

3.5.5.1 Interview construction and implementation

After a profound secondary data review, preliminary visits and in parallel with an ongoing observation, a discussion guide was developed. Following the social constructivism approach, this discussion guided the interviews through a 'a flexible list of questions, progressively redefining issues, and seizing opportunities to learn the unexpected' (Stake, 1995, pp. 28, 29). In order to capture particular nuances and better

explore the intangible elements through people's discourse and behaviors, the interviews were carried out face-to-face and mostly on a one-to-one basis.

As one may see in Appendix 3, based on the three critical elements of informality in global south cities identified through the literature review and presented in Chapter 2, 15 guiding questions have been delineated and reviewed. However, it is important to highlight that as a qualitative research open to what could happen on the ground these guiding questions were just delineated after the preliminary field visit period, allowing emerging topics to be included. Therefore, the first field contact of this research was open, not following a specific set of questions and framework in order to allow the researcher a less biased picture of both realities. After this preliminary field visit period [explained at Section 3.5.3], the discussion guide was delineated based in both the 'on the ground' experience as well as the three critical elements of informality in global south cities identified through the literature review.

Saying that, about the interview construction, from the critical element History, four concepts were identified and four questions developed. Their objective was to address the various perspectives about the origins and rationale of the same phenomena – development in historical inhabited urban areas in global south cities – recognizing the different voices and interlayered processes that constitutes the history and past in one place.

Following, from the critical element Power derived other three concepts and four questions, in which questions 6 and 7 are under the same concept: status and importance of certain social or ethnical groups over another. They, in turn, have indirectly added in the interview a brief space to discuss both the ethnical and social issues, as well as the ideological and state power games within the planning practice. Finally, from People's

Relations two concepts and two questions were designed. Besides that, the theme of creative urban experiences was added impressing in this latter category the idea of culture and other symbolic resources for creativity that enhance the understanding of the relations that take place in the interface between the official planning practices and the grassroots urban experiences.

It is important to highlight that a session dedicated to future perspectives was added at the interview in order to identify the participant's perceptions and expectations about the future of the case study area. Since the areas are under a huge public and private pressure and change is the only way forward, the indication of which direction these changes should or are expected to take gives insights for further analyses. In addition to that, two last questions were addressed – questions 14 and 15 – as a way of officially asking if the participant have both: something else to say associated with the theme of the interview, as well as someone they believe must be interviewed – snowballing approach. The table below depicts those above-explained categories and concepts, identifying by the symbol Q1, Q2, etc., the questions derived from each concept.

Table 3-5: Categories, concepts and questions

Categories	Concepts and Questions	
	Urban redevelopment plan's origins [stimulus] - Q1	
Historical	Impetus [rationale] behind the urban intervention - Q2	
background and	Stakeholder's participation and endorsement throughout the	
urban intervention	time - Q3	
rationale	Traditional sites and practices at the urban redevelopment -	
	Q4	
Issues of power	Rationale behind the renovation of religious/ethnical	
	constructions - Q5	
	Status and importance of certain social or ethnical groups	
	over another - Q6, Q7	
	Real state development and public services [housing, etc] -	
	Q8	
People's relation and	Local beliefs, attitudes and identities at the urban	
creative urban	redevelopment - Q9	
experiences	Creative urban experiences - Q10	
Future perspectives - Q11 to Q13		

Regarding the questions, they were written in an open way – semi-structured manner, offering a general guideline rather than a single path – allowing new ideas to come up. For instance, during the interviews, the questions were continuously reframed following the directions that the interview process was taking. Nevertheless, in the beginning of each meeting, the same interview guide was handed to each of the 20 interviewees – 10 participants from each case study area – highlighting the research objectives, purpose, list of issue-oriented questions and a consent form [see Appendix 3 and 4]. Each interview lasted between 30 and 120 minutes, depending on the eloquence and willingness to share and to be heard of the participant. The present researcher's role was to guide the interview in order to warrant that the main questions were answered, as well as to ensure that the interviewee felt confortable to share and clarify points that could inform further analyses.

All the interviews took place in the most convenient site for the participant. As an example, whilst a great part of residents' interviews were done in their homes and local

food shops, the government and development authorities' interviews usually took place in their offices. In addition to that, all the interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed word by word. As a way to warrant the trustworthiness of data, the transcribed interviews were sent back to the interviewees by email for validation. Afterwards, together with the data from observation and secondary review, the validated interviews were used for data analysis.

3.6 Data analysis

As Creswell (1998, p. 142) highlights, at the end of the analytical process the 'researchers relate categories and develop analytic frameworks'. At the preset study, the analytic framework is presented and discussed at the end of the findings section – Chapter 7 – as a way of fulfilling the third objective of this research: To propose an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into informality in a fractal fashion.

The collected data is going to be analyzed and interpreted following the social constructivist interpretative approach and making use of the Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software – CAQDAS – NVivoTM. In the next sections this qualitative software as well as the procedures for an individual case analyses is going to be further explained. Once these analytical tools are presented, the main effort is to address whether they are adequate for answering the questions that this thesis has posed, clarifying this research trustworthiness and authenticity.

3.6.1 Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software: NVivoTM

NVivoTM is one of the most popular Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software – CAQDAS – and, as the name suggests, is used to support qualitative research management and interrogation. Saunders et al. (2009) underscore that although the use of software in qualitative research is not as commonly used as the statistical programs for quantitative studies, the CAQDAS has increasingly become popular and accessible: the NVivoTM software being one of the most widely used. Working with various content, such as interviews, field notes observation, focus groups, web pages, surveys, audio, video and literature, the software allows the researcher to manage large amounts of data, gain insights, and visualize the analytical work.

Rather than being a substitute for complex human qualitative work, Welsh (2002, p. 1) highlights that NVivoTM helps the researcher in their search *'for accurate and transparent picture of the data whilst also providing an audit of the data analysis process as a whole'*. Using coding for gathering material around a theme and different coding and text queries to uncover data connections and patterns, NVivoTM has proved to be an efficient instrument for the present research. Furthermore, for this study, NVivoTM features served several purposes including:

- Keeping track and storing in a safe and organized way the whole data gathering process and content;
- Working with data in different languages;
- Simplifying the mechanical tasks of qualitative analyses such as the paper and pen activities of coding, segmenting, etc. – with tools such as color stripes, code and delete, and word frequency.
- Enhancing the research findings' understanding with visualization tools that depict the data connection in word tree structure and other graphical tools.

In this research, each case study has a specific project in NVivoTM due to language issues and specificities of each area. Since this research is a multi-case study, the point of inscribing each case within a specific project also warrant a rich analyses of the cases without imposing any comparative attempts. Hence, one NVivoTM project is in English and dedicated to Kampong Bharu, while the other is in Portuguese – original language of all interviews and majority of secondary sources.

3.6.2 Individual case analyses

As highlighted above, the objective of using multi-case studies in this study is to maximize the learning process from different accounts of urban modernity. Saying that, each instrument of data collection was used twice – once in each case – and the raw material stemming from interview transcripts to field notes and pictures have been analyzed as indicated below:

- Two separated NVivoTM projects were undertaken. One in Brazilian Portuguese
 containing all the interview transcripts, pictures, documents and field notes
 relating to Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro. The other in English with some
 government documents in Bahasa Malayu containing all the interview
 transcripts, pictures, documents and field notes relating to Kampong Bharu,
 Kuala Lumpur.
- All the verbatim transcript interviews are reviewed and coded using NVivoTM.
- A transversal analyses throughout all the empirical data associated with each case has been carried out. In doing so, each of the nine concepts is analyzed using data from the various sources. For instance, some findings identified through a sentence-by-sentence analysis of interview transcripts have been reinforced, exemplified or opposed by a picture or an episode recorded at the observation material.

In order to connect and organize the vast amount of data gathered through the preliminary field visits, secondary data collection, interviews and observation, the three critical elements of informality and nine concepts [extracted from the Literature review and that guided the data collection] were distributed over four major headlines in the analytical Chapters 5 [Findings and analyses – Kampong Bharu] – and 6 [Findings and analyses – Morro da Conceição]. These four headlines are Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders involvement and Future perspectives. Furthermore, as depicted in Figure 3.4, it is important to highlight that, as a result of the whole analytical process, two themes emerged from each critical element of informality. Hence, the three critical elements [from Literature review] and six emergent themes [from Findings and analyses] guided the organization of Chapter 7, conducting the flow of the discussion through cross-referencing the empirical confirmations found throughout Chapters 5 and 6 with both the theories reviewed in Chapter 2 as well as the Research context presented in Chapter 4.

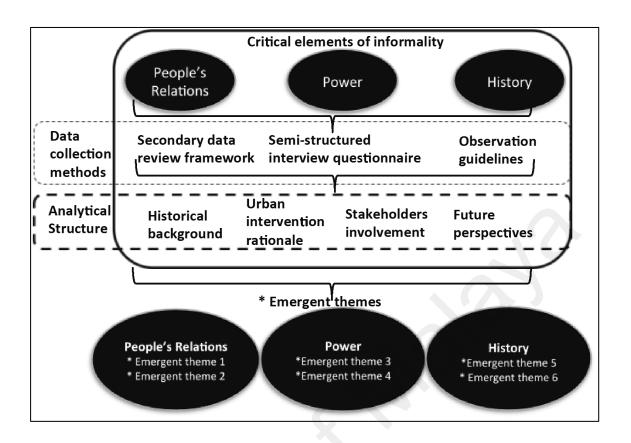


Figure 3-4: Critical elements of informality, data collection methods, analytical structure and emergent themes

3.7 Trustworthiness and authenticity

Broadening and reconceptualizing the idea of validity and reliability, some proponents of the qualitative research reviewed those terms and perspectives in order to better address the issues and potentialities of these types of studies. For instance, Lincoln et al. (2011) defend that the quality criteria to judge and evaluate qualitative and, more specifically, constructivist researches should be based on the study's trustworthiness [methodological validity] and authenticity [interpretative validity].

By trustworthiness, Lincoln et al. (2011, p. 120) mean a kind of a rigor in the application of methods allowing someone to consider a research 'sufficiently authentic' to the extent that would feel secure about the usage of such findings in influencing social policy or legislation. Unique for the constructivist assumptions, authenticity, in turn, is considered by them as a way of evaluating the research quality outside the methodological realm. Using fairness, knowledge sharing and social action as an authenticity criterion, Lincoln et al. (2011, p. 122) defend a constructivist inquiry with 'strong moral and ethnical overtones'.

Concerning considerations of criteria to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research, in particular the ones guided by the constructivism paradigm, Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 13) argue that terms such as 'credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity'. Following the above-mentioned understanding of trustworthiness and authenticity, these four criteria are presented below, highlighting how the present research deals with each of them [see Figure 3.5 for a summary of these four criteria, related methods and authors who defend each approach].

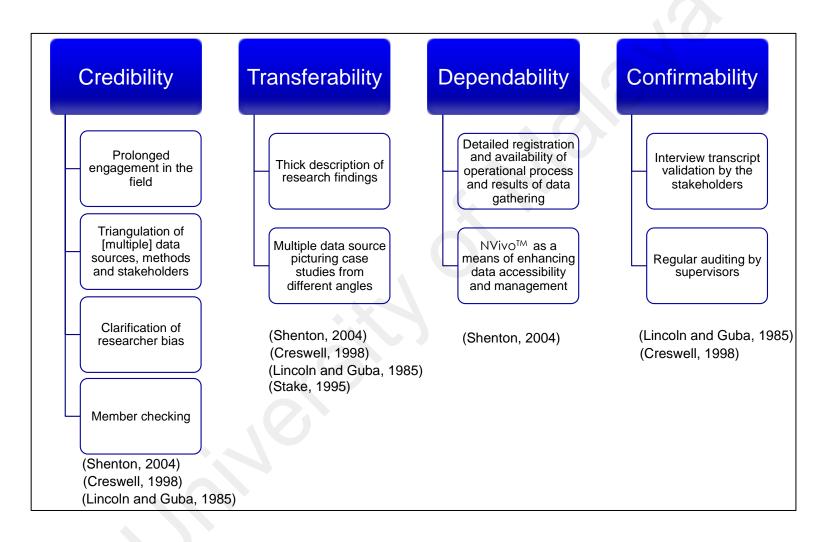


Figure 3-5: Research trustworthiness and authenticity

3.7.1 Credibility

Addressing the question, How congruent are the research findings with the reality?, Shenton (2004) suggests the usage of the term credibility in preference to the positivist internal validity. Delving deeply, Lincoln and Guba (1985) clarify that the credibility of a qualitative study is measured through the ability of the research to depict the participants reality in such a way that both the research stakeholders as well as the readers are able to recognize the integrity of what is written. In order to operationalize this new way of looking at internal validity, both Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell and Miller (2000) propose techniques such as prolonged engagement in the field and the triangulation of data sources, methods and investigators to establish credibility. Among other procedures, Creswell (1998) adds to this list the clarification of researcher bias and member checking.

Saying that, the credibility of this research is assured through:

- Prolonged engagement in the field: respecting the time, cultural/language and geographical constrains, the present research has sought all the opportunities to be engaged in the field. The usage of preliminary field visits and conversations as one of the methods for data collection underscores this intention. From June 2012 to April 2014, the researcher attended community meetings, visited residents' houses, and participated in key cultural events, such as Ramadan in Kampong Bharu and Carnival in Morro da Conceição [see section 3.5.3 and Appendix 2 for further details].
- Triangulation of data sources, methods and stakeholders: aiming to provide corroborating evidences to explain how informality have been addressed within the urban planning practices of the two case studies' areas, this research makes use of multiple i. data sources, ii. methods and iii. stakeholders.

- The various sources of empirical material for this study stems from preliminary visits and conversations notes, observation records, secondary data reviews and interview transcripts.
- ii. The triangulation of methods takes place in this research through the usage of interviews, preliminary field visits and conversations, secondary data reviews and observations.
- iii. Stakeholders: Two global south cities are used as case studies. Within each of these case study areas, 10 stakeholders total of 20 in both cases were heard, covering five categories Residents, Local Organizations, Government Authorities, Development Bodies and Specialists. Making sure that 'sufficient data to account for all aspects of the phenomenon have been obtained' (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008, p. 18), the multiple stakeholders supporting an in-depth understanding of the studied phenomena corroborate to enhance the credibility of the present research.
- Clarification of researcher bias: in clearly stating the constructivism commitment of the present researcher [see section 3.2], this study clarifies the assumptions and biases that impact the inquiry (Creswell, 1998).
- Member checking: in order to enhance the 'accuracy and palatability' (Stake, 1995) of the research, each of the participants of this research were asked to review the material generated from their interview. Their answers regarding the appropriateness and precision of the verbatim transcript of their interview which was sent by email also confers credibility to the present research.

3.7.2 Transferability

As per Shenton (2004)'s explanation, transferability is the potential for the research findings to be understood and consequently transferred to another research context. Parallel to external validity within the positivism realm, the question one should answer in order to address the transferability of a qualitative research is, How far the conclusions of a study can be generalized or transferred to other contexts? Answering that, Creswell (1998) highlights that in order to guarantee that the qualitative research findings are transferable between the researcher and those being studied, the researcher should engage in a thick description.

Furthermore, Stake (1995) emphasizes the inappropriateness of seeking formal generalizations from a qualitative case study and invites the qualitative researcher to an ethical and conscious exercise. For him, 'following a constructivist view of knowledge does not require the researcher to avoid delivering generalizations. But a constructivist view encourages providing readers with good raw material for their own generalizing' (Stake, 1995, p. 102). Hence, embedded into this ethical mindset and conscious about this overall explanation, the transferability of this research is maintained through:

- Thick description of the research findings, providing others enough details of the context and situation studied.
- Multiple data sources, picturing the case studies from different angles and perspectives.

It is believed that these above-mentioned efforts allow other researchers to make their own judgments and envision the potentialities of transferring such findings to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995).

3.7.3 Dependability

Rather than calling it reliability, the challenge of securing data stability over time is called dependability. Shenton (2004, p. 71) highlights that the 'changing nature of the phenomena scrutinized by qualitative researchers' requires an exhaustive effort in registering, describing in detail and securing the accessibility of the whole research process as a way of enhancing the study's dependability.

Based on that, the present study's dependability is enhanced and secured through:

- The detailed registration and availability of all the operational processes and results of data gathering. All the empirical material collected by this research audio-recorded interviews, preliminary visits, and observation field notes, pictures and secondary data is described in minutiae and stored in an accessible manner.
- The use of NVivoTM software as a means of enhancing both the data accessibility and management. What is more, in using Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software CAQDAS, the present research shed light on the coding steps, which are easily retrieved and visualized through the NVivoTM query tools.

3.7.4 Confirmability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain that rather than using the positivist objectivity to establish the value of the data, a qualitative inquirer looks to confirmability. Established through an auditing of the research process (Creswell, 1998), the confirmability represents the researcher's effort in assuring the accuracy of his interpretation in relation to the original empirical material. Following this explanation, the confirmability of this research is assured through:

- The validation of interview transcripts by the stakeholders.
- The regular auditing process through the reviews of this research's supervisors.

3.8 Summary

In short, given the complexity of the theme of informality in global south cities, which is intertwined with the critical elements of people's relations, issues of power and impact of history, and being coherent with the social constructivist approach and qualitative methodology, the chosen strategy of inquiry for the present research is the case study, more specifically the multiple case studies. Drawing on Stake (1995)'s understanding of multiple case studies, this choice represents a way of understanding the uniqueness of each case and maximizing the possibility of learning, rather than using each one of them as a basis for comparison and/or generalization.

Moreover, the methods utilized in order to fulfill the research objectives through this methodology are primarily focused on examining the underlying intangible elements within the two case study's contexts. These methods are the secondary data review, preliminary field visits and conversations, semi-structured interviews and observations. What is more, the chosen analytical tools represent the author's effort of a conscious qualitative analysis making use of Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses Software [NVivoTM]. Finally, this study emphasizes the conscious commitment with a broader reconceptualization of the idea of methodological interpretative validity, deeply explaining the methods used in order to warrant the trustworthiness and authenticity of the present research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction

This descriptive chapter reviews the urban planning in Kuala Lumpur, focusing on Kampong Bharu, and Rio de Janeiro, concentrating on Morro da Conceição, which are two historical inhabited urban areas. Aiming to address the challenges of these two areas and the opportunities associated with urban development pressure throughout time, this section is divided into two parts. The first offers an overview of Kampong Bharu's features and planning history associated with development, and the second discusses the same topics but focuses on the area of Morro da Conceição.

As shown in the map below, Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro are two cities at the opposite sides of the globe. Focusing on Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro's specificities and exploring their urban planning history, this section aims to indicate the complex interconnections between state planning, city history and identity within these two cities. In addition to that, conscious of the broad and complex planning history of these two global south cities, this Chapter focuses on the description of the main planning intiatives that have major impact on the informality expressed in these both cities' built environment. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that identity is a complex and broad concept with various discussions stemming from philosophy to social sciences that are not the focus here. Hence, the objective in briefly outlining the main challenges of identity in both cities is to further inform analyses regarding the three critical elements discussed in Chapter 2: history, people's relations and power.



Figure 4-1: Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro in the world map Source: Composed by author from CartoGIS, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University – http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/

4.2 Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur

Based on historical, government and academic documents and books, as well as newspapers, magazines and official websites, the area of Kampong Bharu is presented in two steps. First, the urban planning history of Kuala Lumpur is reviewed, beginning with a brief introduction to the city followed by a description of planning transformations and their impact on the city's identity. After that, the discussion narrows down to Kampong Bharu, assessing the urban redevelopment practices within this area.

4.2.1 Introduction to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Located in Southeast Asia, the capital city of Malaysia has an area of 242 square kilometers (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2006). The name Kuala Lumpur means in the local language – *bahasa melayu* – 'muddy estuary' and has its origin at the confluence of Gombak and Klang rivers. With a multicultural population of 1,768,000 (Ministry of Communications and Multimedia, 2015), Kuala Lumpur's main ethnical groups are the Malays [45.9%], Chinese [43.2%] and Indians [10.3%] (Kuala Lumpur City Hall,

2010). Another interesting fact is that this tropical humid city has its political power mainly concentrated in Malays' hands, known as *bumiputra* – Malaysian of indigenous Malay origin – with the Chinese predominantly possessing the economical power.



Figure 4-2: Kuala Lumpur in peninsular Malaysia map Source: Kuala Lumpur City Hall (2006)

This undercurrent of power and political division is a consequence of more than a century of colonial history and subsequent choices of state policies. Due to its oral tradition, the Malays' history in the region has very few writings before the 17th century, which tells the story of the great Malay maritime empire (Gullick, 2000). After that, Malaysia's – and consequently Kuala Lumpur – accounts of history are mostly from a western and colonial perspective. Being first under the colonial power of the Portuguese

from 1511 to 1641, followed by the Dutch and then under the British Empire for more than 120 years, it is easy to assume that 'the colonial influence is deeply ingrained in the mainstream Malaysian history' (Maliki, 2008, p. 27). What is more, other than its history, the Malaysian economy and urban society is also deeply explained by its colonial past. For instance, Thompson (2000) highlights that Malaysia's urban growth originated from both the British colonial activities [such as tin mining, administrative centers, and trading hubs] and the influx of immigrants, encouraged by the British colony, mainly from China but also from India and Indonesia.

Dating back to 1857, Kuala Lumpur's history is deeply marked by such a 'colonial-immigrant' process (H. K. Lim, 1978). Chinese merchants, with the financial and political backing of Malay royalty, first established Kuala Lumpur as a trade center serving the region's tin mining. Under British rule, the settlement first became the capital of Selangor state in 1880 and then the capital of the whole Federated Malay States in 1896 – formed by the four major states of Peninsula Malaya: Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, and Selangor. Witnessing both economical development led by the tin market and socio-political movements of different Malay family aristocracies within a British colony, Kuala Lumpur had taken on a 'distinctly 'Malaysian' character – manifested in the British colonial legacy and an ethnic mix of Malays, Chinese and Indians' (Thompson, 2000, p. 55).

Likewise, Harvey (2000)'s assertion about the control, neglect and interpretation of the past being related to power and legitimization of authority – see section 2.3.2 - with a bit more than 150 years, the history of Kuala Lumpur is often regarded as problematic for '*inspiring a national identity*' (Thompson, 2000, p. 56). Authors such as Bunnell (1999, 2002, 2004); King (2007, 2008); Rasdi (2005); Thompson (2000, 2004) have critically assessed Kuala Lumpur and its recent history as a capital city of

independent Malaysia. A few years after the Japanese domination during World War II, in 1957, the British agreed on Malaysian independency and, as highlighted by these authors, a nationalist discourse emerged emphasizing both a particular interpretation of Malay (King, 2007, 2008; Rasdi, 2005) and a future-oriented ahistorical modernity discourse (Bunnell, 1999, 2002, 2004; Thompson, 2000, 2004).

The following section will focus on how the literature reviews such contemporary challenges of identity, modernity and nationalist discourse in Malaysia using the urban planning history of Kuala Lumpur as a guideline.

4.2.2 Planning and identity in Kuala Lumpur

After 14 years of geo-political turmoil and internal ethnical clashes within independent Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur witnessed a major modernization movement led by development plans. Following the independency in 1957 and the formation of Malaysia in 1963 – with the British colonies of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak joining in – the geo-political turmoil began with Singapore being separated from the newly independent country in 1965. The internal ethnical issues, on the other hand, had their worst episode on 13th May 1969, with Chinese and Malays riots taking place in Kuala Lumpur. Followed by two years of closed parliament, a new prime minister assumed power in 1970 and with that the National Front coalition – *Barisan National* – was formed, announcing the first New Economic Policy [NEP] in 1971 (Bruton, 2007).

More precisely, the NEP represented the first attempt in planning based on local demands rather than colonial guidelines. As Bruton (2007, p. 55) highlighted, NEP 'effectively redefined the meaning of development from a Malaysian perspective'. Nevertheless, embedded into the 1969's ethnic riots' claims, this planning system strategies focused on balancing the social and economical opportunities for all races,

which at that time meant a greater intervention by the government to 'bring the Malays up in the economic field' (Mahathir, 1979, p. 32). Hence, the NEPs started the 'constructive protection' (Mahathir, 1979) or positive discrimination for Malays, in which the government introduced minimum quotas for Malays in education, business and civil service (Cheah, 2002). Building on such policies, four five-year Malaysian plans [NEPs] were developed from 1971 to 1990 and in King (2008, p. 88)'s words, they mark 'the clear initiation of the great national project of Malay representation'.

Around the same time, in 1974, Kuala Lumpur became a federal territory with an increase of national government intervention mainly guided by NEP policies (Andaya & Andaya, 2001). Although the Malaysia Plans were responsible for socio-economic progress within Kuala Lumpur, their main focus in providing employment opportunities with no 'similar preoccupation on with either housing or the effects of increasing infrastructure development on the physical and social fragmentation of communities' (King, 2008, p. 90) impacted the city's housing, flood and transportation issues in the beginning of 1980s. What is more, as Bruton (2007, p. 259) highlighted regarding the physical implications of such socio-economic developments, from the early days of NEP implementation the government had shown its inability in addressing those issues through the land-use planning system.

Aiming to address these issues, the government developed the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan [KLSP] in 1984. Despite the existence of three older plans – Zoning Plan of 1931, Town Plan of 1939 and a group of plans in 1967 – this first comprehensive urban plan presented strategies for areas such as housing, transportation and provision of public utilities. Regarding that, King (2008) explains that rather than a simplistic single focus on land use as the previous plans, the 1984 Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan concentrated on how to provide basic needs through projects and programs.

Furthermore, drawing general guidelines, the 1984 KLSP proposed the further development of more detailed planning for some 'action areas' within Kuala Lumpur, such as the Malay reservation area of Kampong Bharu (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 1984).

Despite being a more comprehensive and feasible plan if compared with the previous ones, the 1984 KLSP has never been fully applied and was updated almost 20 years later. The draft of Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020 was released in 2003 and was thoroughly reviewed under the umbrella of Malaysian vision 2020. Aiming to transform Kuala Lumpur into a 'world-class city', the KLSP 2020 has taken into consideration the new city developments after the economic boom of the 1990s,, such as the Petronas Twin Towers [1996], the new international airport [1998] and the multimedia super-corridor project [1996]. Following the guidelines of KLSP 2020, in 2006 the Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020 was drafted, detailing the physical proposals such as the land use specifications and transportation improvements.

The vision 2020, on the other hand, was introduced in 1991 by the former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad and has, as its main icon, the Petronas Twin Towers in 1998, which is part of a larger real estate development called Kuala Lumpur City Center [KLCC]. As highlighted by Bunnell (2004, p. 299), in addition to providing world-class commercial space, KLCC is a 'cultural landmark for Kuala Lumpur and Malaysia, putting the city and the nation on world maps'. Hence, calling it 'grand narrative of modernity', the Malaysian urbanist Goh (2002, p. 51) highlights that it was the government's own vision about Kuala Lumpur's future that has transformed the city into a modern icon, attracting foreigner investments and shaped the Malaysian mindset.

Nevertheless, although acknowledging such important economic and urban development of Kuala Lumpur, Bunnell (2002, 2004) and Goh (2002), as well as other

specialists of research into Malaysia, have questioned the single interpretation of modernity, urban Malayness and history embedded in vision 2020 discourse and related urban practices. For instance, King (2007, 2008) and Rasdi (2005) criticize the controversial construction of the new administrative capital city of Putrajaya. For them, rather than being inspired by Malaysia's own history and present culture, Putrajaya's Middle East Islamic orientation is a meta-symbol of what is going on in Malaysia, and, more specifically, Kuala Lumpur. More broadly, King (2008, p. xxiv) highlights that:

'The underlying agenda [of all such huge constructions as part of an extraordinary national project] is the advancement of Malaysia as a Malay-Muslim polity, a new kind of high-modernist Muslim nation... However, ... the old, disordered KL also constantly transforms, expanding rhizome-like through the ordered garden of the national dream, problematizing all ideas of identity and nation'.

4.2.3 Introduction to Kampong Bharu

Kuala Lumpur's traditional urban village Kampong Bharu was set up as a Malay Agricultural Settlement in 1899, when the Malay states were under British rule. Before that time, the land was abundant and no regulatory land system was needed. However, with the British domination from 1874 onwards, the city received a great contingent of immigrants, particularly British and Chinese mining workers, triggering a foreign urban sprawl causing eviction of indigenous Malays in Kuala Lumpur (Ju, Omar, & Ko, 2012). In order to minimize such effects, the colonial government separated a piece of land in the north of Kuala Lumpur, exclusively dedicated to Malays: the Kampong Bharu – which is also spelled as Kampong Bahru, Baharu or Baru.

In Bahasa Malayu, Kampong Bharu means 'New Village' and, as highlighted by Maliki (2008), the word kampong 'originated in rural locations and the word itself

Settlement, such as the Enactment of 1897 or the Federation of Malay Agricultural Settlement, such as the Enactment of 1897 or the Federation of Malay Agricultural Settlement, such as the Enactment of inflection is that both the name 'Malay Agricultural Settlement' as well as Kampong Bharu are associated with agricultural and rural activity, which despite the last 20 years of massive 'Melayu Baru' or 'New Malay' discourse (Goh, 2002, p. 55), which refers to the mentally and culturally ['modern'] transformed Malays, till nowadays frames the Malay identity (Maliki, 2008; Thompson, 2000, 2004).

Located between Klang River and Batu Road, Kampong Bharu is 378.93 acres divided into two main areas: the one administrated by MAS and comprised of seven villages [Kampong Periok, Masjid, Atas A, Atas B, Hujong Pasir, Paya and Pindah] covering 225.89 acres, and the other with five neighborhoods [Chow Kit, Dang Wangi, Sultan Ismail, Kampong Sungai Bharu and PKNS Flat] and an area of 153.04 acres (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2008). What is more, with an estimated total population of 14,768 people (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2008), finding the exactly number of dwellers of Kampong Bharu is still a difficult task. For instance, due to the presence of illegal immigrants and political issues regarding who is responsible for the area, other sources believe this number could reach approximately 17,000 residents (Azuidah, 2011). In order to delve deeply into the core area of Kampong Bharu, the present research focuses exclusively on the 225.89 acres administered by MAS [see Figure 4.4]. Being the central area of Kampong Bharu, where the mosque, Sultan Suleiman Club, and other key historical places are located, the MAS area has a local office, and documents and memories of the urban village from its origins until the present day.

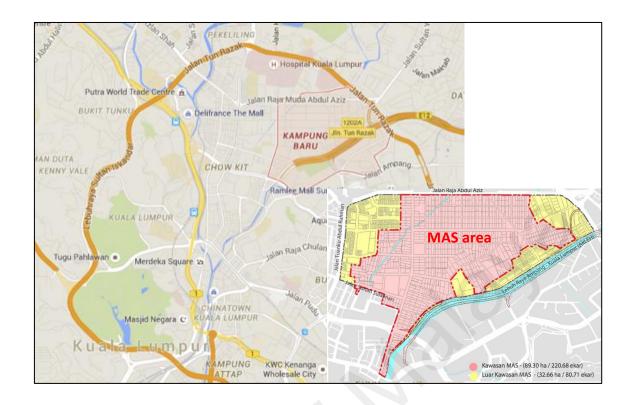


Figure 4-3: Kampong Bharu map and MAS area.

Source: Composed by author from googlemaps.com and PPKB (2014)

Kampong Bharu's history reveals its pivotal role in the political directions of Kuala Lumpur. For instance, it was during the Japanese occupation in World War II from 1942 to 1945 that the first spark of nationalistic spirit arose in Kampong Bharu (Azuidah, 2011). It was this spirit that drove 146 Malay associations to meet at the iconic Sultan Suleiman Club to reject the formation of the British-inspired Malay Union in 1946. Later on, the same iconic Sultan Suleiman Club was the place where the first federal election for Kuala Lumpur areas was held in 1955. Furthermore, the 1969 ethnical clashes had its origins in Kampong Bharu, decrying the area 'as a hotbed of radicalism' (King, 2008, p. 36).

Finally, Kampong Bharu – that in the beginning was a muddy and isolated area – is nowadays surrounded by the most expensive area of the city and is located just across Kuala Lumpur's Golden Triangle, where the Petronas Twin Towers dominate the

skyline. Although maintaining its village lifestyle and not-so-vibrant economic activity – especially if compared with the neighboring China Town – throughout time the area has become the place of origin of some important and influential Malay politicians and businessmen. As highlighted by King (2008), this complex urban village can be seen as the 'epitome of the Malay dilemma' that, although certainly being the Malay space, it is definitely not a Malay economic space. What is more, it is recognized as the 'symbolic heart of Malay Kuala Lumpur' (King, 2008, p. 39).

4.2.4 Planning interventions and Kampong Bharu

Strongly marked by its history and continuous state-led urban interventions within and surrounding Kampong Bharu, this urban village represents a complex terrain. For instance, Kampong Bharu's almost insoluble land issue has its origin in 1900, when the Malay Agricultural Settlement [MAS] was created. The allowance to live in that region was ethnically guided – only Malays – and registered in the Federation of Malaya Government Gazette of 1951 was the description of what it meant by Malay. Malays, the document says, are those who belong to 'any Malay race who habitually speaks the Malay language, professes the Muslim religion and practices Malays customs and a person approved by the board as Malay' (Selangor, 1951, p. 18).

To complicate matters further, the political governance of Kampong Bharu is still a sensitive issue. For instance, although Kuala Lumpur became a Federal Territory in 1974, Kampong Bharu is still being mentioned in the 1987 Selangor State Government Land Enactment, under section 6 (Azuidah, 2011). Besides the Kuala Lumpur City Hall and Selangor State governance responsibility over Kampong Bharu, the first official MAS documents assign a management board to have full strategic and executive powers over the Kampong Bharu area. This board still exists today and, as per the Federation of Malaya Government Gazette of 1951, is still responsible to frame by-

laws, authorize and register dwellers, etc. (Selangor, 1951). In addition to that, another example of governance and land issues in Kampong Bharu is that it was only in 1964 that the settlement dwellers – who used to be allowed to live on but not own the land – were granted the ownership of their land by the state of Selangor (Teng, 2014).

After independency and following the New Economic Policy [NEP] era, Kampong Bharu attracted a large contingent of Malays migrating from all over Malaysia and neighboring Malay countries, and Kuala Lumpur City Center became the most strategic area of government investment. From that time onwards, Kampong Bharu has remained the bastion of a Malay Kuala Lumpur strangled by the 'new modern Malaysia' symbolized by the shopping, business skyscrapers and high-end condominiums. As King (2008) sharply accuses, after so many 'modernizing' interventions surrounding Kampong Bharu, the settlement...

'... stands as a symbol of past oppressions, of Malay economic stagnation, of radical responses in a generally docile community and of economic opportunities lost or stolen by misguided law' (King, 2008, p. 38).

On top of that, Bunnell (2002) suggests that the very existence of a kampong within the heart of a would-be world-class city and nation reveals the urban limits of such authoritative urban practices. Explaining the history and investigating the values underneath the rise of such new *urban malayness discourse*, in which 'modern' and 'clean' city landscapes have been inherited as a barometer for the progress of Malaysia, Bunnell (2004, p. 302) highlights that the term kampong is usually associated with urbanization failure and something undesirable.

Bearing that in mind, it is important to highlight that since the 1984 Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan there were different government efforts in 'solving' the Kampong Bharu issue. In the 1984 KLSP, for instance, there is a whole section

dedicated to Malay Reservation and more specifically to Kampong Bharu. In this document, Kampong Bharu is explicitly considered the area with 'highest potential for development' due to its 'close proximity to the urban opportunities of the city center' (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 1984, p. 174). Stating that the major problems of Malay Reservation's low path in changing 'from the basically rural settlement and activities to the modern urban norms' stems from legal to socio-psychological constrains, the Kuala Lumpur City Hall (1984, p. 175) underscores that Kampong Bharu is expected to be the locus for fostering 'Bumiputera's presence in the Federal territory urban economy'. In order to achieve that, the plan suggests both the formation of a dedicated corporation to facilitate the development of all Malay Reservation areas and the support of private-led anchor projects, such as the Kampong Chedana development and commercial complexes along Jalan Raja Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 1984, p. 176).

However, it was during the 1990s that Kampong Bharu witnessed the biggest pressure of 'modernization'. Embedded in the Vision 2020 principles [see section 4.2.2], major developments in KLCC have demolished the bridge connecting Kampong Bharu and the city center [Jalan Ampang] and built a wall contiguous to the newly constructed Ampang–Kuala Lumpur Elevated Highway [AKLEH], the first elevated highway in Malaysia, in 1996. Another example is the construction of Kampong Bharu subway station [LRT - Light Rail Transit] in 1999, also next to this wall. All in all, most of the urban interventions and mega projects associated with Kuala Lumpur City Center development throughout the decade of the 1990s had an immense impact on Kampong Bharu's everyday life.

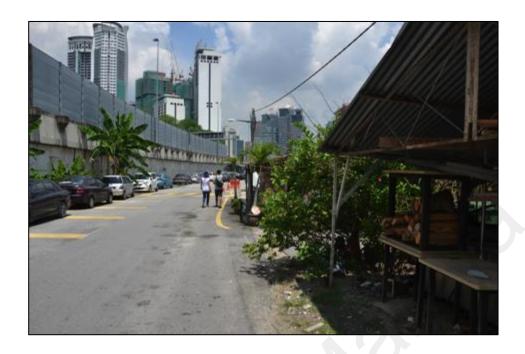


Figure 4-4: Wall isolating Kampong Bharu contiguous to AKLEH Highway. Source: Brant (2014)

Produced as part of the Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020 (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2006), in 2008 Kampong Bharu received a new Development Plan. Although launched two years later, this study was considered the Volume 4 of the whole City Plan and had a strong focus on real estate development in and around Kampong Bharu. In detail, the plan presents four potential development scenarios for Kampong Bharu. Increasing the level of interventions and real estate development, the scenarios were: 1st 'Following the trend', 2nd 'Developing selected lands', 3rd 'Re-integrating the area to the surroundings', 4th 'Comprehensive development'. Besides that, a detailed set of development suggestions for each area of Kampong Bharu and a potential governance structure and estimated costs were presented. The suggestions stemmed from the development of 'Auto City Mall' to the design of a backup water supply system for the region (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2008).

In 2014, however, a further step was taken towards Kampong Bharu redevelopment. Following some of the general guidelines of 1984 and 2003 KLSP and Kampong Bharu 2008 Development Plan's governance indications, the Kampong Bharu Development Corporation – PKB [*Perbadanan Pembangunan Kampong Bharu*, in *Bahasa Melayu*] was officially formed in 2011 (Parlimen Malaysia, 2011). Based on the fourth scenario of the 2008 Kampong Bharu Plan, the one contemplating major changes and intervention, the PKB launched in 2014 the Comprehensive Development Master Plan of Kampong Bharu. With a strategically powerful message, the mission and vision of this master plan highlights both the Malay culture and economic boost of Kampong Bharu, as well as the importance of landowners to not be '*left behind in the future development path*' (PPKB, 2014, p. 1.2, author's translation).

Seeing it always as an issue and a place to be 'modernized', from the first attempt in 1985, followed by the comprehensive Kampong Bharu Development Plan in 2008 and currently the Kampong Bharu Master Plan launched in 2014, Kampong Bharu has always been a conflicting arena of political and economical discussion, legal lacunas, and ethnical and religious affirmation.

Table 4-1: Kampong Bharu timeline

Kampong Bharu timeline	
1900	Malay Agricultural Settlement [MAS] constitution.
1942 -	Japanese army invaded KL during World War II and nominated a new
1945	MAS chairman.
1946	Initial formation of the political party UMNO – United Malays National
	Organization at Sultan Suleiman Club.
1955	First federal elections for Kuala Lumpur at Sultan Suleiman Club.
1965	940 lots received a 'Qualified title' from Selangor state.
1969	The ethnical clashes episode originated in Kampong Bharu.
1984	KL City Hall launched the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan and included a
	session for Kampong Bharu.
1990's	Major developments in KLCC area.
2003	Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020.
2006	Draft Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020.
2008	KL City Hall launched the Kampong Bharu Development Plan, Vol.4 of
	Draft KL City Plan 2020.
2011	Act 733 established the Kampong Bharu Development Corporation –
	PKB.
2014	PKB launched the Comprehensive Master Plan of Kampong Bharu.

Source: Adapted from Malay Agricultural Settlement Kampong Bharu brochure, 2014.

4.3 Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro

Based on historical, government and academic documents and books, as well as newspapers, magazines and official websites, the area of Morro da Conceição is presented in two steps. First, the urban planning history of Rio de Janeiro is reviewed, beginning with a brief introduction to the city followed by a description of planning transformations and their impact on the city's identity. After that, the discussion narrows down to Morro da Conceição, assessing the urban development practices within this area.

4.3.1 Introduction to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Well known for its exuberant natural attributes, Rio de Janeiro is the second largest city in Brazil and one of the most visited places in South America. Located in the southeast of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro extends through an area of 1.225 square kilometers (SMU, 2014) and has a population of 6.320.446 people (IBGE, 2010). Loosing only for São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro has the second highest GDP of Brazil and the main economic activity is the service sector, representing 75% of the city's economy (CEPERJ & Janeiro, 2010). The capital city of Brazil for almost two centuries, from 1793 to 1960, Rio de Janeiro still retains a central role in Brazil's socio-economy, political scenario and urban dynamics.



Figure 4-5: Rio de Janeiro in southeast region of Brazil map Source: adapted from www.luventicus.org.

Rio de Janeiro dates back to 1565 and was the only city in history that managed to go from colonial to imperial capital, and later a republican capital city. Slowly spreading along the seashore and developing on top of, and limited by, four hills, the city took almost 300 years to properly blossom. The turning point happened with the arrival of the entire Portuguese Court in 1808 and consequent transference of the Kingdom of Portugal from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Sigaud, 2000). Escaping from the Napoleonic forces in Europe, the King of Portugal declared Rio de Janeiro the new capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve and implemented huge transformations within the city. From allowing the commercial exchanges between Brazil and all nations considered friends of Portugal, to urbanizing the city to properly house the Portuguese Court, the presence of the King John VI propelled Rio de Janeiro's development, particularly surrounding the port area where the city was born.

Throughout the 19th century, Rio de Janeiro was the stage for key historical events of Brazil. After declaring Brazil independent from the Portugal colony in 1822, the previous colonial prince Don Pedro I transformed Rio de Janeiro into the capital of the newly formed Empire of Brazil. Housing the court and being the center of political, economical and intellectual forces of the Empire, the city also played a pivotal role in the country's history of slavery. Receiving more than 500,000 African slaves through its port only in the first half of the 19th century (Karasch, 2000), Rio de Janeiro was the place where the Slavery Abolition was signed in 1888. One year later, in 1889, Brazil became a republic and Rio de Janeiro its first republican federal capital.

The 20th century, on the other hand, has marked the huge government-led urban transformations of the city and culminated with the transference of its capital city title to Brasília. From 1902 to 1906, for instance, Rio de Janeiro's mayor Pereira Passos implemented the first major modernist urban reform of the city. Fifty years later, following the same trend of mega urban redevelopment and focusing more on the elimination of slums, Carlos Lacerda, who was the mayor of Rio de Janeiro from 1960 to 1965, developed the second major urban transformation of the city. During the same period of time, the developmentalist president of Brazil Juscelino Kubitschek built Brasília from scratch and transferred in 1965 the federal capital from Rio de Janeiro to the center of Brazil.

In the recent years, following the widespread belief that hosting mega-events represents a way to expedite the country's economic and social development, Brazil, and in particular the city of Rio de Janeiro has channeled efforts in attracting such events. Within this mindset, Rio de Janeiro hosted the Pan-American Games in 2007, had a major participation at the Confederation's Football Cup 2013 and FIFA World Cup 2014, and will exclusively host the Olympic Games 2016. Although recognized by

its positive impacts on cities, such mega-events have some downsize that is going to be further discussed in the following sections. However, it is worth mentioning that the mega-events' urban impacts stem from eviction and gentrification to rises in social inequalities (Gaffney, 2010).

All in all, it was this race mix and historical background within such urban landscape that deeply shaped Rio de Janeiro's identity, which is going to be further discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 Planning and identity in Rio de Janeiro

Historically, planning in Rio de Janeiro has been noticeably guided by megaprojects, eviction and selective urban development, which favors certain areas of the city and makes invisible other secluded neighborhoods. Major land claims, demolition of hills, big avenues, evictions and 'invisible' informal settlement growth have dictated and were incorporated by Rio de Janeiro's current way of living (Nunes & Moura, 2013). Stemming from the first major urban interventions and eviction movement led by the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in 1808 to the recent mega-events' city transformations, Rio de Janeiro's planning history explains much of its contrasts. As Ventura (1994) stated, the logic underneath Rio de Janeiro's urban development throughout history was to segregate, transforming it into a divided city.

Delving deeply into the planning history of Rio de Janeiro, Cardoso, Vaz, Albernaz, Aizen, and Pechman (1987) explain that both the 19th century events [arrival of the royal family, slavery abolishment and Republic proclamation] as well as the increasing migration to the city, has accelerate the need for Rio de Janeiro's modernization, sanitation and civilization. Known as Pereira Passos's Renovation, from 1902 to 1906 Rio de Janeiro went through its first major urban redevelopment. Based on

big demolitions, evictions and mega constructions, Pereira Passos's reform marked the beginning of a concentration of evicted population in informal settlements (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006).

Furthermore, the 'mega constructions logic of administration' created by Pereira Passos later inspired other governments throughout the time (Nunes & Moura, 2013, p. 93, author's translation). Another example of major urban reforms and eviction in Rio de Janeiro was the Carlos Lacerda's government [1960-65] followed by the years of military dictatorship's [1964-85] urbanization program. From 1960 to 1975, more than 100,000 people were removed from their homes in informal settlements – mostly located in the south zone of Rio de Janeiro – and some of them were re-located in government houses built in suburbs with little or no access to basic public services, such as transport, education, etc. (Burgos, 2006).

In the second half of the 20th century, the Brazilian president Juscelino Kubitschek, guided by his developmentalist government plan and associated with the modernists architects Lúcio Costa and Oscan Niemeyer, built from scratch the new capital of Brazil, Brasília (Holston, 1993). Being the icon of the modern and developed nation they envisioned Brazil was going to be, Brasília was built in five years and replaced Rio de Janeiro's administrative power in 1965. Although losing its capital city status, and economical power throughout that time to cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro's role as a hub of national identity and political power still remains strong (Nunes & Moura, 2013).

Nowadays, Rio de Janeiro is facing huge urban transformations associated with the hosting of the mega-events. However, as Gaffney (2010) argues, the mega-events' transformations go beyond the punctual urban interventions realm and have a subjective impact on identity, social gaps and democracy in Rio de Janeiro. The city is facing huge urban transformations that are mostly guided by the extra-governmental entities, which drives the transformation of the city from a place for living and working, to a place to be consumed (Gaffney, 2010). As highlighted at the National Coalition of Local Committees for a People's World Cup and Olympics (2012) report, from the transportation system to the Olympic Villas that will be constructed, the transference of public money to serve the private interest is clear. What is more, the number of people forced to leave their homes during the pre-Olympic period reaches the incredible number of 67,000, which is more than what Pereira Passos and Lacerda's urban reforms have evicted altogether (Faulhaber & Azevedo, 2015).

All the above-mentioned urban interventions and the lack of them had a huge impact on Rio de Janeiro's identity, social relations and violence history. For instance, Nunes and Moura (2013) explain that the consequence of years of public policies favoring the south zone of the city and the absence of them in other areas have associated the binary north and south zone with poor and rich, creating a correlation with the city area in which one lives and social group identities. What is more, without proper governance and public services, such deprived areas were then occupied by organized crime and drug dealers, creating a parallel power and raising the violence issues (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006). However, it is worth mentioning that mostly due to the mega-events, the government has taken some comprehensive measures to increase the state presence in such areas with what they called Pacific Police Units [UPP-Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora].

Finally, due to its physical landscape of mountains, forests and beaches, and such historical ways of using and inhabited the territory, Rio de Janeiro has a particular and complex social organization. The physical proximity between rich and poor fosters

different types of conviviality. Although sometimes entangled in tension, the delicate balance of such relations reflects the *Carioca*'s [who is born in Rio de Janeiro] way of life [in Portuguese: 'modo de ser carioca'] (Nunes & Moura, 2013, p. 98, author's translation). In addition to that, the inter-racial mixture between the afro-descendants slaves, the Portuguese, Spanish and other Europeans, the first native Brazilians and other races that later arrived in Rio de Janeiro breed today what is considered the original carioca.

4.3.3 Introduction to Morro da Conceição

Being one of the first populated areas after the Portuguese arrived in Brazil, Morro da Conceição is one of the last hills that still exists as it used to be within Rio de Janeiro's port area. Dating back to the year 1590, the area's name is a reference to a small chapel built on top of the hill in 1634, which was dedicated to Conceição's Saint. Hence, the translation of the name Morro da Conceição from Portuguese to English is Hill of Conceição. Localized within the *Saúde* neighborhood, Morro da Conceição has approximately 2000 inhabitants (Sigaud, 2000). Nevertheless, it is often difficult to be precise about Morro da Conceição's numbers due to the official statistics of the area being usually aggregated for the whole *Saúde* area, which is one of the three old maritime neighborhoods – *Saúde*, *Gamboa and Santo Cristo* – that formed the port area of Rio de Janeiro.

Previously located on the seashore and then separated by large claimed lands, Morro da Conceição is strongly connected with the city's origins within those three maritime neighborhoods. Surviving more than 450 years of transformations, Morro da Conceição is the last hill standing out of the four that used to surround this primary settlement of Rio de Janeiro's port area. Arguing about the role and significance of the hills in Rio de Janeiro, Sigaud (2000) clarifies that initially used for defense – building

forts and churches – and later sheltering immigrants, slaves and other excluded population – residential neighborhoods and *favelas* –, they represent both the birthplace of most of Rio de Janeiro's cultural manifestations as well as the place of mixture and contradictions. The Conceição Hill, on the other hand, is the only residential hill that managed to survive since the 18th century and, as most of its residents and media emphasize, although being in a hill it is not a favela (Costa, 2010). There, both the Christian European architectural history of the 18th century and the African roots from the black population that used to be based in this area are intertwined in a unique neighborhood.

In its narrow stone roads, Morro da Conceição materialized the history of Rio de Janeiro and the origins of the Brazilian race mix. In there, one can find five federal, one state and one municipal heritage sites (Sigaud, 2000). Stemming from a gathering and ritual place for afro-descendants [Pedra do Sal] to Catholic monuments [São Francisco da Prainha Church and Episcopal Palace], and from imperial gardens [Valongo Garden] to military forts [Conceição's Fort], Morro da Conceição is a metonym of Rio de Janeiro's mixture. Although having such a variety of roots and races, Morro da Conceição is continuously portrayed as a 'little Portugal in Rio de Janeiro' (Araújo, 2015), where the genuine and desirable residents were descendants of Portuguese and Spanish. However, as Araújo (2015, p. 2) explains, this Eurocentric history of the region 'excluded residents from the Northeast of Brazil and those who had been occupying abandoned spaces: they were seen as 'undesirable' and 'disposable' by the permanent residents as well as by urban planners'.







Figure 4-6: Heritage sites in Morro da Conceição.

Source: author.

In order to better understand Morro da Conceição, this study takes into consideration the whole port area's history, numbers and connections. However, it is important to highlight that the present research focuses on the particular case of Morro da Conceição area. Delimitated by Camerino, Sacadura Cabral and do Acre Roads, and Mauá Square, this 'hidden pearl of Rio de Janeiro' (Grumbach, 2005) carries lots of particularities from its history, location, population and endurance. Being now under public scrutiny due to the mega-events, this area is under the management of both the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, as well the Porto Novo Consortium, which is the Public Private Partnership running the major urban redevelopment project in the whole port area [see section 4.3.4].



Figure 4-7: Morro da Conceição map

Source: Composed by author from google.maps and LTDS (2012, p. 8)

Due to a sequence of urban and political interventions discouraging people to live in the port area, in particular throughout the 20th century [further explained in section 4.3.4], the area is now hidden behind Rio de Janeiro business center (Sigaud, 2000). Whilst the city was being modernized, Morro da Conceição had its forms, activities and traditions crystalized (Cardoso et al., 1987). What is more, the demographic numbers of the port area reflects this abandoning situation. As an example, the area that is considered the first Administrative Region [RA 1] by the municipality has the 24th Human Development Index between the other thirty-two Administrative Regions of Rio de Janeiro. In addition to that, whilst the population of Rio de Janeiro's has augmented, between 1991 and 2000, the port area has witnessed a decrease in population, in which the ones who stay are mostly living in deprived conditions. In 2000, from the 40,486 people who were living there, 43%, or 17,409 people were living in slums (Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 2010).

4.3.4 Planning interventions and Morro da Conceição

As mentioned in the sections above, the urban interventions in Rio de Janeiro, particularly during the 20th century, marked the separation between the port and the city. Particularly in the case of Morro da Conceição, such state-led urban transformations have materially delimitated the differences between what was understood as modern and what was deemed to be forgotten (SMU & IPP Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 2003).

From 1902 to 1906, the Pereira Passos renovation took place in Rio de Janeiro and impacted Morro da Conceição. During this time, the port was constructed [1903-1910] and with that the history of the whole area changed. As Melo (2003) highlights, the history of Rio de Janeiro's port area is interwoven by this first major city urban renovation. The port was erected in a huge area of claimed land and beside that avenues and buildings were constructed to serve the maritime demands. This urban design has resulted in what can still be seen today: the contrast of the city of the hills and narrow streets on one side of Sacadura do Cabral Road – at the bottom of Morro da Conceição – and the Cartesian and land-claimed city on the other (Melo, 2003).

In 1930 and 1965, Rio de Janeiro had its first physical-territorial, extremely technical and detailed master plans, respectively the Agache and the Doxiadis Plan. The Agache Plan, in particular, had a major impact at Morro da Conceição. Establishing for the first time a master plan for Rio de Janeiro focusing on its city center, this plan inspired the construction of Getúlio Vargas President Avenue in 1940. At more than 3.5kms in length and connecting the *Mauá* Square at the bottom of Morro da Conceição and the north region of Rio, this four-lane avenue was built as a way of modernizing the capital of Brazil at that time (Cardoso et al., 1987). Nevertheless, most of the embellishment and modernizing interventions were taking place on the west side of

President Vargas Avenue, and not integrating the old maritime neighborhoods to the east of the 'modern' part of the city.

The second major avenue that marked the isolation of Morro da Conceição is the *Perimetral* Avenue. The construction started in the 1950s and was only completed at the beginning of 1970, after Rio de Janeiro had lost its post of capital city of Brazil for the newly constructed Brasília. At 4km in length, the elevated avenue connected the main entrance road of Rio de Janeiro, called Brazil Avenue, directly to the city center, crossing over the port area, entirely segregating Morro da Conceição. All in all, other than the Pereira Passos's urban interventions, the construction of *President Vargas* Avenue and the *Perimetral* Highway throughout the 20th century have magnified the physical urban divide between Morro da Conceição and the rest of the city.

In 1992, based on the Federal constitution review of 1988, which required each city with more than 20.000 people to have a master plan approved as a municipal law, Rio de Janeiro Master Plan 1992 was developed. Defining Morro da Conceição as an Integrated Area of Environmental Protection [APA – Área de Proteção Ambiental in Portuguese), this plan delimited the land use of Morro da Conceição as residential, only allowing local businesses. Other than that, the 1992 plan specifies both the importance of increasing the population ratio and revitalization of Morro da Conceição, focusing on tourism development through entertainment and cultural services (Rio de Janeiro City Hall, 1992).

Hidden by such reclaimed lands and big avenues, Morro da Conceição can be considered a metonym of Rio de Janeiro's social relations. This surrounded urban growth has crystalized in this old maritime neighborhood the conflicting and complementary social relations of evicted people, naval-worker immigrants, mostly

Portuguese and Spanish, and the black population that used to be based in these maritime neighborhoods, who after the abolishment of slavery, also remained in the area (Cardoso et al., 1987). More importantly, such urban interventions have consolidated the grassroots character of the area.

The remarkable character of the port area population is what explains the area being the cradle of samba and other cultural grassroots manifestations that are so associated with the Brazilian melting pot of cultures, races and beliefs. The Catholic celebrations and other cultural traits from the Portuguese and some Spanish have mixed with the African roots of the black people that were also historically connected with the area. Being the place where the slave market was established, where the African Gods were worshiped [in Pedra do Sal, place that until the present day hosts samba and other cultural manifestations] and where most of the slaves and free men worked and lived, the port area has also been known as Little Africa [Pequena Africa in Portuguese]. Actually, all the urban interventions and the lack of them have somehow fostered the segregation of this area from the rest of the city, as well as the crystallization of Morro da Conceição as the living history of Brazil and metonym of the country's mixture.

Nevertheless, following the global trends of revitalization of old industrial and port zones in a reconfiguration of land use, the port area of Rio de Janeiro regained government attention in 2009. With the advent of the mega-events, the federal, state and municipal governments have joined efforts and launched the *Porto Maravilha* project. Managed by the biggest Public Private Partnership [PPP] in Brazil, with an investment of 7.3 billion Brazilian Reals, this project covers 5 million square meters of the city and includes the three old maritime neighborhoods, which includes Morro da Conceição (Mello & Gaffney, 2010). The main objective of *Porto Maravilha* is to change the current status of the neighborhood, developing a new cultural and entertainment center.

Attracting both private investment and an ampler population profile, it aims to increase the number of residents from the current 22,000 to 100,000 within 15 years (CEDURP, 2013a).

Finally, as Nunes and Moura (2013) highlighted, the port area, as well as Morro da Conceição have been historically shaped by the mega-projects and the absence of coordinated urban interventions. Still, others argue that what is happening now is the privatization of urban planning and transformation of Morro da Conceição from a place to live to a place to be consumed (Gaffney, 2010; Mello & Gaffney, 2010). This highlighted fact can easily be confirmed when checking the vertiginous increase of the land price within the port area, which since the beginning of the project in 2010, has already increased 300% (Passos & Sánchez, 2011). What is needed now, Bartholo, Botelho, and Egrejas (2014) suggest, is the assurance of the basic urban conditions demanded by the contemporary world, as well as the recognition of already existent cultures, territories and ways of living.

Table 4-2: Morro da Conceição timeline

Morro da Conceição timeline	
1590	Origins of Morro da Conceição.
1808	Portuguese Royal Family arrives in Rio de Janeiro and transforms the
	area.
1903-	Pereira Passos Reform.
1906	
1910	Rio de Janeiro Port official construction.
1930	Agache Plan: First Rio de Janeiro Master Plan.
1940	Getúlio Vargas President Avenue construction.
1965	Doxiadis Plan: Second Rio de Janeiro Master Plan.
1950-	Perimetral construction deepening Morro da Conceição seclusion.
1970	
1992	Law 16/92: Rio de Janeiro Master Plan.
2009	Porto Maravilha project was launched.
2014	World Cup in Rio de Janeiro and Morro da Conceição as a tourist place.

Source: author

4.4 Summary

Presenting first an overview of both places and then delving deeply into the planning interventions in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, this chapter emphasizes the close relation between these global south cities' urban planning and the historical challenges both case study areas face.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND ANALYSES - KAMPONG BHARU

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the primary data of Kampong Bharu collected from July 2012 to June 2015. As explained in Chapter 3, making use of instruments such as the preliminary field visit and conversations, observation and semi-structured interviews, the research findings of the Kampong Bharu case study are descriptively presented here. Furthermore, in order to explore such findings within the urban area context, such data is depicted within official and media discourses found in both government documents and newspapers quotes. All in all, this chapter presents the findings related to the current Kampong Bharu development intervention origins, rationale, challenges and opportunities, particularly focusing on the underlying assumptions of informality within such context. The Kampong Bharu Master Plan (PPKB, 2014) is explained based on the answers for the 10 qualitative interviews and on the observation efforts undertaken during participation in local events and everyday practices, such as religious festivals and food gatherings. In addition to that, the description of such data is counterposed by the data collected during the secondary data collection phase, particularly local newspapers and the official documents from Kuala Lumpur City Hall [DBKL], Kampong Bharu Development Corporation [PPPKB] and Malay Agricultural Settlement [MAS].

It is important to clarify that, as explained in Chapter 3, section 3.6.2, [and depicted in Figure 5.1 below] in order to connect and organize the vast amount of data gathered throughout the data collection process, the three critical elements of informality and nine concepts [extracted from the Literature review and which guided the data collection] are distributed over the four major headings that have structured the

analyses in this Chapter 5 [Findings and analyses – Kampong Bharu] – as well as in the next Chapter 6 [Findings and analyses – Morro da Conceição]. These four headings are Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders involvement and Future perspectives.

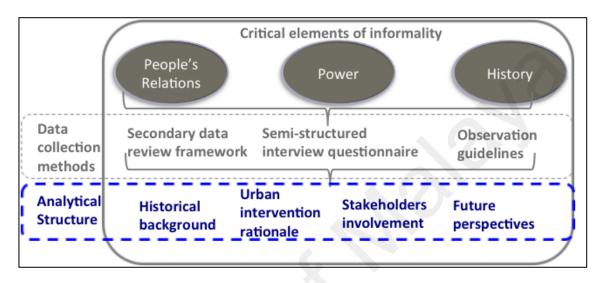


Figure 5-1: Headings of analytical structure of Chapters 5 and 6.

5.2 Historical background

Throughout the two years of field work in Kampong Bharu, a myriad of life-histories, and how they have had an impact on the way people perceive the area, opened up multiple interpretations of Kampong Bharu's current issues through its past. From a 'welcomed hometown' to a 'place to be fixed' these diverse ways of perceiving Kampong Bharu's reality can be exemplified by these two interviewees' opinions about the area:

RD2: I have been living here, growing here and saw lots of development. Back then no twin towers, no KL towers. I've seen all these buildings rising up and for me it is just enough. Because if they keep building more and more modern buildings, who will keep our traditions and our culture? ... Here is my hometown!

SP: It may be nostalgic for some people ... but that is why I don't like some of my colleagues, architects and planning colleagues who want to retain Kampong Bharu as the model Malay village for the tourists. I said: 'I don't agree with that'! It is like going to USA to see the American Red Indian village. We are not a zoo, you know?! And I don't agree with that. It needs to be fully developed. We must not keep it for the sake of some tourist dollars. No way! I prefer that they don't visit us.

Overall, once asked about Kampong Bharu's historical background, the three most frequent words used by the interviewees were land and people, respectively. Figure 5.2, depicts the NVivoTM word cloud result related to the node Historical background, which aggregates all the answers associated with the explanation of Kampong Bharu's history and recurrent issues to be solved. Delving deeply into the two most frequent words, **land** and **people**, the following sections describe the main challenges of Kampong Bharu's development based on the interviewees' opinions, as well as media and official sources.



Figure 5-2: Word cloud for the node Historical Background

5.2.1 Land

The frequent usage of the word **land** throughout the interviews confirms what has been continuously indicated by the media and official documents as one of the biggest challenges for the development of Kampong Bharu: the **multiple ownership** of the land and the **Malay reserved** land status. As an example, The Star newspaper, 30 July (2011), had the following statement as one of its headlines: *Land dilemma: the redevelopment of Kampong Bharu [beneath the KL city skyline] is potentially a very problematic one due to multiple ownership of land.* More recently, on 1 September (2015), under the title *Kampung Baru residents have 'attitude problem'*, *Federal Territories minister says*, the online tabloid Malay Mail signposts that the ... problem in the Kampung Baru redevelopment project is the multiple ownership of land titles, due to the Malay reserve land being passed down through generations.

Delving into the specific numbers, the development body representatives [DB1, DB2] as well as the PPKB (2015) official website highlighted that Kampong Bharu Corporation area has over 300 acres owned by 4300 people, divided into 1381 lots. In addition to that, the majority of the land is privately owned and 31% belongs to five owners on average. Nevertheless, they have also indicated that there are some lots with more than 100 owners, which are currently under the process of identifying each of these proprietors.

Calling it co-proprietorship, the section 342 of National Land Code (1965) defines **multiple ownership** as *the holding of alienated land by two or more persons or bodies in undivided shares*. It also indicates that in order to deal with such land, it is necessary to have the consent and approval of all the parties involved. Aware of such consensus requirements in order to develop any land in Kuala Lumpur, Volume 4 of Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan (Kuala Lumpur City Hall, 2008), which deals specifically with

Kampong Bharu, highlights the identification of all the land owners of a single lot and the consensus agreement in dealing with their plot as one of the major barriers for development of the area.

Agreeing with that, the Local Authority 3 [LO3] emphasizes:

LO3: PPKB do[es] need the consent of the landowner so how they want to do, it is not an easy task, one land probably got 10 owners or 20 owners, 30 owners, because this is heritage land. So one land have a lot of owners, so if one owner does not want to sell it is very difficult.

Actually, the government authority [GA] as well as resident 2 [RD2] highlight the main reasons for why the consensus among the various land owners is still a huge challenge as being both the intangible and priceless value of such family land and the small amount each of the multiple-owners will get once the money from the same piece of land are equally divided. Regarding the intangible value of the land, the GA further acknowledges that, for Malays, the family land has an invaluable meaning.

GA: you can do your own literature review and you will see how attached Malays are to the land. Being a Malay myself, I can understand their feelings. A Malay community is attached to the land ... to their land. They have the land for their own ... even if they can't develop it. It carries a deep meaning for them.

Regarding the amount of money received once the land is divided, RD2 also highlights that it usually represents the vision of landowners who are still living and depending on the land. In RD2 words:

RD2: Lets say one land has 5-10 names. So one land 2 Million ringgits divided by 10 is only RM200,000. So, let's say if only one person owns that land? Most people who sell the land have only one name and only one owner.

On top of that, the specialist [SP] indicates the discrepancies between the real market value of Kampong Bharu land and what the landowners expect as another key reason for the lack of consensus. SP explains that besides the generation land ownership trust that underlies Malay family relationships, the landowners also demand for an equivalent price for their lands if compared with the surrounding area square meter value.

SP: some of the residents' argument is 'why can't our land value equal the land around here. If it is RM3000 in KLCC, why are you giving us RM300 here?' But would you give them RM3000 then? You won't give, even the government agencies, the GLCs will not give them RM3000.00. They are not in the equation of the market price and the market valuation. And then they say: 'then don't talk to us! We rather remain like this for the next generation. We do not want to be quoted in the future saying that we did this, that this generation betrayed the trust of land ownership'.

Another reason that has appeared through the interviews is the difficulty of finding one representative out of all the owners of one land. And even, in some cases, when there is one person appointed [following the local tradition], it is usually the eldest of the family, who, after a few meetings, dies and with that all the agreement perishes. Regarding that, SP gives an illustrative example:

SP: I know of a group in my vicinity, we have met many times. Every subsequent meeting we met they will announce, oh sorry sorry so-and-so has just passed away. Gone, one person gone. And that is going to complicate it further. Because of the divisions after that. And they will spend time ... 'I don't understand, I wasn't here the last time'. And this will take all the time, this person has died and taken all this information to their grave.

Keeping these challenges for a consensus in mind, the solution proposed by the government authority [GA] and the development body [DB1, DB2] representatives as well as mentioned by the specialist [SP] is the vertical development, with the maximization of the land value through the construction of high-rise buildings as the best way forward. In DB2 words:

DB2: Inside we have 300 small acres but we can redevelop the whole area until 90 million square feet, at the same time the issues of multiple ownerships over small area like that, they can't go anywhere. The only way is to go up and then they can share on the floor issue and we can get strata titles on that.

With regards to that, it is important to highlight that with the creation of Kampong Bharu Development Corporation through Act 733 (Parlimen Malaysia, 2011), the plot ratio of Kampong Bharu's area has been increased from 1:6 to 1:10, which is the highest of Kuala Lumpur – only KLCC area has similar plot ratio. In addition to that, the land use for the area that was mostly for agricultural and residential purposes has been changed to business and commerce. For GA, DB1 and DB2, both strategies – namely the increase of the plot ratio and the new possibilities of land use – represent a major government step towards increasing the land value. For them, the major beneficiaries of such changes are the Kampong Bharu landowners, who can receive a higher amount of money for their piece of land.

GA: our plan has provided them with a plot ratio of 10. So if your land is 20,000 square feet you will actually have 200,000 square feet of gross-floor area. And that is how it will multiply the land value and benefit the landowners.

DB1: In terms of zoning of Kampong Bharu, the Kuala Lumpur City Hall has now assigned the zoning as what we call, Commercial City Centre, which means that you can build anything, from housing to business buildings ... So then I believe the development can benefit Kampong Bharu people for what is left for their whole life.

DB2: ... we have really made sure this area is well developed and supported by the correct Act, the law. So, to take the full potential of this area we have given a plot ratio of 10. The highest plot ratio that has ever been given to any specific area in KL ... That was actually the impetus behind these strategies, that is to enhance the value of Kampong Bharu.

On the other hand, LO3 argues that these above-mentioned strategies are mostly benefiting the private companies and other groups of interest. For LO3, rather than looking after the public's interests, the government is interested in developing the land and getting the best value out of the private investments in the region. In addition to

that, LO3 as well as RD2, shed light on the fact that the price and style of such high-rise constructions usually attract foreigners or other groups with money, which would completely change the Malay character of the area.

LO3: ... everything is going to turn into offices or condominiums. The population here will drop a bit, because people who usually buy condominium, do it as second home or as investment. So the daily business here and the small business here will not do so well. ... They [government] actually are doing all this not for the people, but is because if they do that, they attract the big guys and then they don't have to invest on the land.

RD2: this [plot-ratio] is for them to build high-rise condo or apartment whatever. But who's gonna buy if you sell it for more than 1 Million 1 condo? Our local here cannot afford. Yes. Locals cannot afford. Everybody, the Malays, we are gonna leave.

These last arguments open the grounds for presenting the other most mentioned point when discussing the land challenges for the development of Kampong Bharu, and that is the **Malay reserved** area status. As explained in Chapter 4, section 4.2.3, Kampong Bharu was created in 1900 as a Malay Agricultural Settlement. Regulated by the Malay reservation enactment of 1933, cap 142, Kampong Bharu as well as other Malay reservation areas of Selangor, Perak, Pahang, Negri 9 and Kuala Lumpur have this status in order to assure that the land that is held by the Malays can still be controlled by the Malays in the future. More specifically, the Malaysia Federal Constitution (2010) art. 89[6] understands the Malay Reservation as the *land reserved* for alienation to Malays or to natives of the State in which it lies.

When discussing the Malay-reserved status of Kampong Bharu, different interviewers have shown distinct impressions about it. The RD1, for instance, defends that this land status should be kept and that it is a way to protect Malays' rights and use it as an example for urban Malays.

RD1: they want to bring up the Malays ... The Malays will stay at a very nice place at the Malay Reservation area. No Chinese can buy here, with the present policy. Only the Malays or Muslim can stay ... because the Government must make this as an example. To make the Kampong Bharu people see: 'we do all this for the Malays!' That's an example!

Conversely, the government authority representative [GA] sees it as a challenge that requires flexibility in order to warrant the value of the land. LO3 also offered a different perspective, emphasizing the lack of trust that is still present in the relationship between the government and the locals. In their words:

GA: The title used to say that the property can only be owned by Malays. So a way out is to allow land to be rented or to be leased out to the non-Malay. So, they have worked it out and to get the consent of the property owner, because that is the title of the land, it is their rights. So if the landowner agrees to those terms, so they can rent to non-Malays. So it is up to them, it is their property. If they want to get a better value, they have to open a little bit...but as I iterated to you earlier, the Malay is very attached to land. This flexibility is really hard for them.

LO3: I think they just want to buy this land at a cheaper price and develop, and then maybe they want to revise back the Malay Reserved title in the future so that they can sell back at a higher price or rent it or whatever.

With regards to that, SP is also in favor of keeping the land status as it is and suggests:

SP: we must restructure the land, and still keep it a Malay reserve. And then, try to get Malay and bumiputra participation, you know, to do their own land, it is your land...there are a lot of bumiputra individuals who are rich and capable, invite them to do this development, have a, not only a business contract but a social contract with the landowners and convince them. I am just like you. Trust me. I will do this development with you, not for you, but with you. So that hasn't happened.

What is more, the government authority representative argues that this Malay reservation status does not exist anymore. As per GA's words:

GA: this land we think used to be a reserved land, Malay agricultural land, used to be reserved land before, but in the 80s, almost 95% of the land has been granted ownership so slowly the status of reserved has been slowly ceased off.

Nevertheless, as stated by the National Institute of Land and Survey (2015), the land can have its status revoked but this must be declared and gazetted by the parties concerned. In saying that, it's important to mention that until September 2015 nothing regarding Kampong Bharu's Malay-reserved status has been gazetted.

As one may notice, Kampong Bharu's land issues have been historically a delicate theme. As highlighted in Chapter 4, section 4.2.4, since 1984 there were different attempts in developing the area. However, the fact that Kampong Bharu stands as a symbol of the Malays in the heart of Kuala Lumpur City Center carries a strong meaning when it comes to the political decision of how to develop it. About that, LO2 explains that the development of Kampong Bharu's Malay-reserved land should take into consideration that the area represents the last Malay bastion located in the heart of Malaysia's capital city and that this carries a strong political value.

LO2: First thing, they [the government] need to know what people want ... Here, as I mention, is for the Malays. We want to project. But why we want to project? Should be because this is the Malays' bastion and they need to take care of that ... Kampong Bharu folks agree with development but not in their [PPKB] way. Not with the plan as it is ... In this way they are gonna fail and it reflects on the government. I'm telling you: the way they are doing it the Barisan Nasional will collapse.

Another example of the political challenge of dealing with such an area can be seen in the strong words used by RD2 when discussing [during the observation field visit] some of Deputy Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin's words during the launch of Kampong Bharu Master Plan in January 2015. As reported by the New Straits Times

(2015) newspaper, when asked if the government would intervene in the area since the development still did not have a consensus among all the landowners, he answered that the government will acquire the land if necessary, following what is permitted by law. For RD2, a government representative should not talk in such way and threatened the political party currently in power saying:

RD2: If they do things like that to us they will see Barisan Nasional falling soon. And I'm sure I'm not talking only for myself. More old generation people here think like me.

5.2.2 People

As depicted in Figure 5.2, the second most frequent word used by the interviewees when explaining Kampong Bharu's history was **people.** Multiple topics were related to that, but two in particular were explored by all the participants: Kampong Bharu as a place for **Malay people** and the different relations with the area, depending on if they are part of the **old or new generation group of people**.

Unlike the arguments related to Malay-reserved land, the discussion about **Malay people** in Kampong Bharu have addressed the local beliefs, attitudes and other features of the Malay community who have historically inhabited the area. With regards to this, it is worth mentioning the different approaches taken by the official bodies and gatekeepers once inquired about Kampong Bharu Malay character. Whilst the official bodies [DB1, DB2, GA] focused on the physical attributes of the area, the gatekeepers [RD2, LO1] concentrated on the creative urban experiences taking place in the area that could be considered embedded in the Malay culture. As an example, DB2 and GA explains:

DB2: ... the basic values that have already been established in this area, in this context is Islam and Malays ... With the redevelopment, Kampong Bharu must be seen as one of the specific iconic development which carries a lot of special

images. In particular it must be Islamic and Malay architecture. About that, a guideline has just purposely been prepared to ensure that any redevelopment in Kampong Bharu must be based on this. We already have the master plan and the redevelopment must be based on this Islamic Architecture guideline ... So the Malay character any construction in Kampong Bharu must follow strictly before it can be approved.

GA: That is one of the biggest design considerations. The need to maintain the Malay culture, the Malay architecture, you know. PPKB have had a few workshops on Malay Islamic Architecture. How the new KB will represent the Malay characteristics, the architecture? If you see Malay architecture, it is not just a mere symbol ... To me, as long as those Malay values can be replicated in the modern buildings you can still consider that a good Malay architecture. It is not just having a pitched roof, has to have the meaning. Then you can see that this is a Malay architecture.

On the other hand, when discussing Kampong Bharu's Malay character, RD2 gives the example of the local funeral practices and LO1 explains the some of the religious rituals during the holy fasting month of Ramadan.

RD2: Whoever passed away have their own special cemetery at Jalan Ampang, which is especially for Kampong Bharu people. So back then, when someone passed away over here, they follow the Malay local tradition. They would take the body at the mosque and then they would hand-carry it passing by my house, and then using the bridge to go to the cemetery.

LO1: We have the Malay elements here. For example all the cultural village events: the Bubur Lambuk and Bazar Ramadan, our food and the other gathering activities, and all this things. This is our heritage. We don't want Kampong Bharu to become a totally new concept urban area. We still want the new elements but we want to keep the village, the kampong traditions in the town ...

Another point regarding people in Kampong Bharu, is the different aspirations between the **old and new generation**. Both LO1 and GA argue that the younger generation have other types of experiences outside Kampong Bharu and are looking forward to what he called 'modern development'. Having a similar discourse, RD2 explains that it is exactly these young people who are willing to sell their land. On the other hand, LO1 explains that the older generation, particularly the ones who are still living and/or actively participating in Kampong Bharu's everyday life – such as going

to mosque, involved in Bazar Ramadan, etc. – agree on the need for a major investment in roads, public services and other infrastructure improvements. Nevertheless, they are also the group that demonstrate major concerns with the changing of the 'Malay village character' of Kampong Bharu and its main identity. In their words:

GA: ... during engagement, we realized we are dealing with two groups of people in Kampong Bharu. We have seen the old and the new generation. Obviously they have a different kind of aspirations. For example, the sons and even the grandchildren think one thing that is different from the elders. So the whole spectrum of the community have different values on what should be their living conditions in the future. For the young group they are ready to be in apartment sort of development. But for those older generation they still believe that the kampong style is better.

RD2: The old citizens are the ones who stay in Kampong Bharu. Lots of young generation, like my generation, they don't stay here. They have life outside Kampong Bharu. They have their own house and own life outside here. It is like if Kampong Bharu has become their hometown. So, lots of them did not care about their community, their own hometown. So when the parents or maybe the elders passed away or whatever, so, no one is taking care of the house, the land. Because they have their own life outside. And this is the kind of people that want to sell the land.

LO1: because you have the older and the younger generation. And you have also all the development taking place around KL, especially here surrounding Kampong Bharu. The new generation they are looking forward for this changes around KL to happen here. These young people they study, get educated and with a good profession they have a different mentality if comparing with some local old folks ... Of course they [young generation] want changes. They prefer new things rather than the old stores and the small village houses with the improper logistics ... So we must change because this in turn will attract the youngsters. Otherwise it will be the same thing for another 100 years.

5.3 Urban intervention rationale

The rationale of the current Kampong Bharu Master Plan was addressed during the interviews, as well as observed throughout the fieldwork. More specifically, the observation of such rationale was possible when participating in some of the events promoted by the development body, together with visiting areas under major redevelopment. Putting in perspective both what has been officially written in the plan and presented at public events, as well as indicated in the interviews, the major ideas used to explain this urban intervention rational are presented in the next section. Those three major ideas congregate the different arguments used to explain this urban intervention rationale. They organize the thoughts in this section following the idea that the current Kampong Bharu urban development is based on **intensive mixed-use development** comprised of a **modern approach** although seeking to **showcase traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values** of the area [see Figure 5.3].

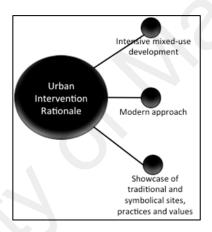


Figure 5-3: Urban intervention rationale findings in Kampong Bharu.

5.3.1 Intensive mixed-use development

Based on Kampong Bharu development's first two objectives stated at both Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020 (2006) as well as Kampong Bharu Master Plan (2014, p. 29), this urban intervention should enhance growth by *encouraging innovative solutions in planning land development* and redeveloping *areas with catalyst activities*. Overall, within the package of innovative solutions, PPKB (2014) included the intensive mixed-use development, based on vertical growth, increasing the density of residents from 18,372 to 70,000 (PPKB, 2014, p. 33) and attracting a variety of businesses to enhance the value and usage of the land. Further, as highlighted on the PPKB (2015) website, in

order to make Kampong Bharu a profitable business area, the development focuses on strengthening trade and financial activities towards international trade and knowledgebase.

Regarding the new population density and business space, Kampong Bharu Master Plan expects that by 2035 both more optimal business spaces [from 123,539 sq. feet to 53,336,130 sq. feet in 2035 (PPKB, 2014, p. 34)], as well as 17,500 housing units of various sizes and levels of capability, are going to be available for a new and diverse population of Kampong Bharu. Regarding the vertical growth, as highlighted in section 5.2.1.a above, it is boosted by the recent increase of Kampong Bharu's plot ratio from 1:6 to 1:10, and is the approach defended by the official bodies [DB1, DB2, GA] as the best way forward for the development of Kampong Bharu.

Corroborating with PPKB (2014)'s assertions about the intensive mixed-use development, but critically addressing the challenges of building condominiums and businesses as a way to increase the population density and value of such specific area, SP argues:

SP: They have given a plot ratio of 10 to develop the original land area. So you can go up, and that is very good. But again, you don't just get excited by that. You must know whether it would be viable and what kind of composition you would have. You have more offices, there is a glut. Want to have more residences, there is also a glut of high-end residences. Because it costs a lot to build so you cannot sell it cheap. So you must build manageable housing, people's housing. Have a hierarchy of housing. The low cost, the medium cost, the upper-medium cost, the low luxury, extreme luxury, you must have that hierarchy.

Nevertheless, when asked about the coping issues the residents might be faced with when moving from *kampong* houses to condominium-style apartments, SP explains:

SP: They must change their lifestyle. They are going to stay in apartments now. ... The whole Kampong Bharu is instable. In the current houses, when you make love the whole village knows. Because it is all done from timber. So this is the kind of quality of life they have in Kampong Bharu today. So that is the type of things you need to understand. It is good for them to change.

About this last statement from SP, it is worth mentioning that Kuala Lumpur City Hall (2003) highlights at the Structure Plan 2020, section 6.4.5, item 181, that cultural aspects of the areas should be maintained, giving as an example the extended family housing tradition. The interviewees RD2 and LO2 have also addressed the impact of this intensive type of development on Kampong Bharu resident's way of dwelling:

LO2:.... They [Kampong Bharu old residents] don't want to live in a pigeonhole. They are used to their lifestyle, their courtyard, to meet people at the main door... What to do? They will kill the elders!

RD2: They want to increase the people here [density] but they should pay attention on which kind of residents they are really targeting. In the way is going now they are not building for the Kampong Bharu residents, for the ones that are living here now... First we will not have the money to pay for a condominium like that. And if we have it is going to change so much the life that lots of people will go out.

Regarding the redevelopment of catalyst actions, PPKB (2014) suggests the upgrade of existing economic practices, as well as the implementation of new catalyst activities in order to attract other businesses and people for the area. In the Master Plan, six categories are identified as catalysts: the traditional food and commerce, education, travel and tourism, car, fashion and medical (PPKB, 2014, p. 29). Stemming from *Songkok* production – traditional Malay cap – to traditional therapies, 13 groups of initiatives are indicated as already existent in the region and that should be enhanced (PPKB, 2014, p. 29). On the other hand, nine other general activities, such as hotel and serviced apartment construction, are indicated as catalysts to be implemented throughout the development intervention in order to attract people and investment to the area. As indicated by DB2, as well as published on the website of one of the biggest

private real estate and property developers in Malaysia – Urban Development Authority of Malaysia [UDA] – the construction of more 1,780 hotel rooms is expected in the area.

DB2: We are going to have various mixed use development consisting of residences, business entities and food court ... The market, business, the house units and more than 1700 hotel rooms will be other catalysts. Hopefully we have another 10 more, mega projects coming in, but everything must adhere to the Islamic and Malay architecture.

Nevertheless, as published by Gartland (2015) – a journalist who lived for four months in Kampong Bharu researching about the current development in the area – the current small and medium commerce will give way to new retailers and international brands. And, giving voice to a local business owner, she highlights that *the character* and uniqueness of the Malay culture will slowly disappear. Agreeing with that, LO3 expresses his frustration saying:

LO3: PPKB keeps saying that they are helping us but they will let the big business companies kill the local business here.

5.3.2 Modern approach

Both official and media writings, as well as interviewees' testaments emphatically state that Kampong Bharu's urban intervention seeks to modernize the area. As an example, the Kuala Lumpur City Plan (2006) indicates that *Kampong Bharu should be redeveloped as a modern precinct maintaining the Islamic Malay culture and meeting high quality standards and development*. As one may notice the word 'modern' appears as a way to qualify which types of developments and experiences are expected to be implemented in Kampong Bharu. Another example is the media coverage of the Kampong Bharu Master Plan which is highlighted below:

The Sun Daily, under the headline New look for Kampung Baru, says: Kampung Baru folks are ready to face massive changes at the settlement as planned by

Kampong Baru Development Cooperation ...PPKB president Datuk Astaman Abdul Aziz added that Kampung Baru has all the potential to be developed into a modern commercial area ...(Mahendiran, 2014)

The Star online, under the headline Kampung Baru does its part to preserve Malay heritage amid modernization, says: Kampung Baru, which will undergo a RM43bil facelift in the next 20 years, is expected to change Kuala Lumpur's landscape ... Although initiatives by the Government to modernise the area has been welcomed by some quarters, there are others who remain skeptical about development plans. (J. Lim, 2015)

Nevertheless, an interesting fact is that the word 'modern' is usually used in opposition to slum, kampong and poor. This can be observed in DB2, SP and LO4's explanations of the Kampong Bharu Master Plan rationale. For them, this urban intervention is supposed to reduce the gap between Kampong Bharu's current situation and the surrounding modern-built environment [see Figure 5.4 for visualization of such differences]. In their words:

DB2: ... The issue is the disparity between this area, the so called Malay area, as compared to the whole Golden Triangle area like Bukit Bintang and Jalan Ampang. The issue is that it [Kampong Bharu] is a really **impoverished** area. So what we plan to do, after so many ideas mooted from the former prime ministers until the present one – since 1978 if you can remember very well – is to make sure to bridge the gap between the well-developed area and this what is called **slum** in a way [Kampong Bharu].

SP: The land everywhere around Kampong Bharu is being developed. Just across the street is a high-rise. You go to Kampong Bharu, just opposite, there is a high rise, 30 storey, 40 storey developed by Malays and non-Malays, and yet Kampong Bharu prime land, a prime location, still not developed. It is baffling isn't it? ... they are really living below the subsistence and the standard level. You know, sanitary and health-wise and all that, because it is just left as a kampong.

LO4: In my opinion, nowadays the development is a must. If you google the Kampong Bharu, you will see that we area surrounded by all the high rise building.

We are looking like a **slum** area. So they have to develop. Kampong Bharu must be moving forward, to become part of the city centre ... so those who are the young people, who are intellectuals, can work in the city center over the day and night. They can live and work here. They can help develop KL and KL will become more competitive like Singapore, Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila.



Figure 5-4: Contrast between Kampong Bharu-built environment and contemporary surroundings

Source: author

More specifically, using physical architectural concepts such as green technologies and livable city, the Kampong Bharu development's objectives four, five and six – KB4, KB5, KB6 – presented in the Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020 (2006) as well as the Kampong Bharu Master Plan (2014, p. 31) describe the high infrastructure and design standards necessary for the development of a modern Kampong Bharu. For instance, KB4 addresses the increase of connectivity of the area, particularly concentrating on the transportation problems. Regarding these issues, SP exemplifies:

SP: The infrastructure, the roads are narrow, you park a car, you cannot drive and this kind of thing. You park cars on both sides then there is only one lane in the center of the road.

Other than targeting such road issues, the objective KB4 also stands for the construction of the MRT as a way to increase the connectivity of the area. Explaining that, DB2 argues:

DB2: ... we already have a well-established LRT and in addition to that a MRT will be well connected there. Then Kampong Bharu will be more accessible. So all that will be the catalyst for development into the area.

On the other hand, when discussing about the transportation strategies of the current Master Plan, LO2 criticizes the construction of the MRT. For him, the MRT construction represents private interests over the area, which is already well served by the Light Rail Transit - LRT and monorail.

LO2: We are not against development but they should be the responsible to keep the tradition and respect the resident's way of living... They need to understand that we have already a very good LRT, the monorail nearby and don't need another mega project for MRT construction. We need respect and to let the residents decide what they want for their land.

As another example, the objective KB5 states that the development must be comprised of the best urban design for the well being of society. Furthermore, PPKB (2014) explains, this means both to provide parks and open spaces as well as create

iconic building and landmarks. Although agreeing with the need for infrastructure and other government investments in the area, RD2 criticises the type of development the current Master Plan is based on. For him, the Twin Towers and the other various iconic constructions in the KL city center area since 1990 are enough examples and argues that there is no need to build more iconic buildings and landmarks in the central area of KL.

RD2: ... we have history here. Houses, mosque, architecture. But they don't see like me. They want to build new. I don't understand. Is like the KL railway station. What's wrong with our original Railway Station Kuala Lumpur that they didn't use it, they abandon it? And then they built another one that is KL Sentral. Yes the railway station is beautiful. It has been, I don't know for how many hundred years over there. They want to build a new one. I don't know why they are so obsessed with their modern buildings... I don't know. We have already twin towers. We don't need more of these buildings here.

5.3.3 Showcase of traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values

Following the discussion of historical buildings and symbolical sites expressed in RD2's last quote, this subsection presents the overall points of view regarding Kampong Bharu's heritage. It is worth mentioning that, when it comes to heritage, the majority of interviewees address it mainly by highlighting the 11 **traditional houses** that have been identified in Kampong Bharu for protection. What is more, the idea of protection comes along with the relocation of such buildings into a dedicated space for tourists within Kampong Bharu in order to showcase the Malay culture. As an example, GA, LO4 and DB1 explains:

GA: In fact they have identified 11 buildings that are worth conserving. So those buildings can be relocated onto one site, where we can showcase the old traditional Malay houses. And we can always use those buildings for cultural purposes. For art and culture. I think you may have seen a lot of these enclaves in Korea, in Japan, where they use it for tourist purposes.

LO4: Kampong Bharu Corporation has identified 11 individual houses, which has unique character, represent Malay character to be preserved. ... The rest are ok to remove. So in the master plan, all these 11 houses will be relocated to a dedicated place that will become the tourist attraction area.

DB1: We even have identified 11 unique houses in terms of architecture that they represent Malays. Those will be retained. We will relocate all those 11 houses to a place that we will identify, and in terms of activity it will be changed. It is not meant for people to stay. Maybe we will change into Tourist Information Centre, or it will be a chic hotel, something like that.

Clarifying the protection options under the Kampong Bharu Master Plan, DB2 explains that other than the 11 houses that are going to be relocated, other sites have been identified. DB2 also highlights that, although not protected under global heritage standards, those constructions carry a value for the community and are considered in the Master Plan as touristic icons. In DB2's words:

DB2: We have two alternatives, first option we let the heritage entity there - heritage houses, Malay houses — but we develop it to become part of the development. The other option is the idea of relocation, where we have 11 units of heritage homes. The question of heritage also need to be defined clearly, because nobody regard them as heritage in the perspective of world heritage standards by UNESCO, ECOSOC, ICOMOS. So although it has never been registered we take care as good as if they are heritage. And is with this mentality that we maintain our Kelab Sulaiman, the Mosque, Gurdwara the sikh temple there, the Chinese Temple and Pakistan mosque. So we have a lot of buildings that need to be preserved, reserved and restored ... And all the iconic area will be the center of attraction for tourist program.

About the type of tourism envisioned for Kampong Bharu, it is important to highlight that the Kampong Bharu Master Plan indicates the promotion of urban tourism as a catalyst for urban economic growth by making Kampong Bharu as the center of culture and tourism (PPKB, 2015). In addition to that, as shown in section 5.2.2, the Malay Architectural Guideline is also indicated as a way to ensure that the Malay architecture and traditional way of living are going to be respected and potentially used as a tourist attraction. Delving deeply into that, The Malay Architectural Guideline suggests 67 criteria framed under two components: Space and Form. By space, the document means the features of the built environment that support the Malay community activities, as well as enhance the neighborhood cohesion. By form, in turn,

the document means the construction attributes that warrant a variety of iconic buildings that foster the community image.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that the word *suggest* is used to explain the 67 criteria in order to emphasize that these are not norms but guidelines. As Datuk Astaman Abdul Aziz – chairman of PPKB – explained at the launch of the document in June 2015, *it was not mandatory for the guidelines to be followed in full at the expense of creativity in the development process of Kampong Bharu*. Based on these features, it is important to say that the Malay Architectural Guidelines reflect the official arguments [see DB2 and GA quotes at section 5.2.2] about how the architectural form and space of the new Kampong Bharu is going to completely address the intangible aspects of Malay Islamic culture in the area development.

Critically assessing the ongoing interventions regarding the protection of traditional sites in Kampong Bharu, LO2 underscores that it is not the physical house that carries the real meaning for the locals. Rather, it is the place, the surroundings, and what that whole sacred place means to the family and community that is important. And LO2 further explains:

LO2: Again we are talking about soul. Let's say you remove a house somewhere far from here. You think people want to visit there? Maybe one day someone come and they want to pray, to pay their respects to their ancestors or whatever. I mean there is something very meaningful there... Is not only the house, but the area. Is like when you are talking about France. Every now and then they have the ceremonies in the Omaha Beach. Why they go to the Omaha beach, and only that beach? It is because the American soldiers died there. Although they have a memorial in another place they go to that area. You see? There is a meaning.

Also casting a skeptical eye towards the Master Plan's heritage approach, RD2 argues that is not through hipped roofs and meeting areas that the Malay culture is made of. Suggesting that Kampong Bharu's valuable cultural aspects and way of life are not

been respected by the current Master Plan, RD2 gives the traditional Sunday Market – Pasar Minggu – as an example.

RD2: Every Saturday night all the tourists come here, and ask: where is the night market? They think all the restaurants along the road are the night market. But actually the Pasar Minggu was supposed to be somewhere here. But there is no more market! I know the market was not vibrant anymore. But instead of helping this tradition of Kampong Bharu to become alive again, they just demolish everything. And that is the way things are happening ...

Agreeing with that, LO2 adds that Kampong Bharu is well known for its food – *foodie paradise* – and environment [see Figure 5.5 illustrating a few of the various food stalls in Kampong Bharu]. And saying that, he argues:

LO2: Changing all these food stalls to a shopping mall with local food is not gonna sell... It is gonna be like all malls food court. Here we have a way of eating, of chitchat, of coming. People come walking, eat together, listen to the mosque, talk to the untie cooking and pay cheap ... If you pay expensive rent and bills in the mall you have to sell more expensive. No choice.





Figure 5-5: Food stalls in Kampong Bharu.

Source: author.

Calling them the iconic activity of Kampong Bharu, DB2 compares Pasar Minguu with other traditional experiences, such as Bubur Lambuk distribution and Bazar Ramadan and assures that they must be kept and enhanced. To clarify, Bubur Lambuk is a famous local porridge that is produced and distributed by the mosque during Ramadan, and the Bazar Ramadan is the street market that attracts people from different parts of Kuala Lumpur to Kampong Bharu during Ramadan month [see Figure 5.6: Bazar Ramadan and Bubur Lambuk distribution].



Figure 5-6: Bazar Ramadan and Bubur Lambuk distribution Source: author.

Particularly about Pasar Minggu, DB2 explains that, although now under a major redevelopment, the area is going to house a new attraction, which is cleaner and more presentable.

DB2: And when it comes to Pasar Minggu, it is a bit difficult right now, as they have to move somewhere. But the type of food, cuisine and delicacies is going to still there. But now even more presentable as the area will be clean and people can come in from outside. The area will be well established with all the buildings there, so it is going to look like a new attraction to the area.

The newspaper New Straits Time Online also addresses the *Pasar Minggu* development, indicating the benefits of private investment in the area. Explaining the strategic private acquisition – by UDA Holdings – of Pasar Minggu area, which is a City Hall-owned land, the media highlights that the development of Kampong Bharu is finally gathering pace.

UDA Holdings, the catalytic developer for the redevelopment, is talking to Kuala Lumpur City Hall and the Federal Territories Ministry to help develop a portion of the City Hall-owned land. It recently acquired 1.15ha near Pasar Minggu from City Hall for about RM38 million, which includes RM17.4 million compensation to 204 traders operating in the area. UDA will develop Legasi Residen Kampong Bharu, which is Phase 1 of the Kampung Baru redevelopment, on the 1.15ha land. It will feature 639 units of condominiums and 96 retail lots with a gross development value of RM435 million. "It is a three year project and we will be selling the condominiums for between RM288,000 and RM500,000. The retail lots will be either sold, or leased to traders," he said. (Kaur, 2014)

RD1, who has a strong connection with Pasar Minggu area, has also high hopes about the total redevelopment of this particular space. For him:

RD1: ... We have been here for almost 50 years. And we were doing very well with our gas business through our hard work. And suddenly development came in and so we have to follow. It is my style. I am an obedient type. I never go against the government. I will follow because I should think that they also put us into high consideration and they are going to do what is the best for people. And they gave us quite high amount of compensation... The Government wants to bring up the Malays. They want the Malays to do their business at this shopping complex instead of in an open market as we were doing. Whether you run it or you buy it, it is up to you! They are also gonna build up a condominium here. Very exclusive. So you see?! The Malays will stay at a very nice place inside the Malay Reservation area. No Chinese can buy here with the present policy. Only the Malays or Muslim can stay.

Nevertheless, RD1 also shared the challenge that the group of traders and residents of the *Pasar Minggu* area have faced in order to warrant what RD1 called *fair compensation*. In the beginning, RD1 explains: the developers were treating us as someone who has invaded this land. But we are here for more than 30 years and who gave us this land was the government itself. Highlighting the *Pasar Minggu* history,

RD1 also explained that the market used to be at the Jalan Raja Alang, and the government itself transferred it around 1965 to the current location. In saying that, RD1 explained that once feeling threatened by the developer's initial approach of not recognizing their compensation rights, a group of approximately 30 representatives of the area went to court and won the case. Emphasizing the different strategies used for recognition, from appealing to the court to local meetings and mobilizations, RD1 sums it up with an optimistic statement:

RD1: I'm not against development. We just needed to have our rights respected. And they were really good with us. The court understood our claims. They took us in higher consideration and ask for fair compensation. So everybody is happy now.

All in all, during the observation fieldwork, two pictures were taken [Figure 5.7]. The first shot was in March 2013 and shows the area as it used to be for decades, and the second one was taken in December 2014 and reveals the area totally demolished. Particular attention is given to the historical stage, which was used to present traditional Malay music, hosted weddings and other local cultural activities. It is important to highlight that this stage has not been used since 2004, when a fire destroyed a major Stakeholders' involvement





Figure 5-7: Comparative pictures of Pasar Minggu.

Source: author. Shooting date: March 2013 and December 2014.

Kampong Bharu Master Plan's stakeholders comprise five different groups. As highlighted by PPKB chairman Datuk Astaman Abdul Aziz at the official launch of Kampong Bharu Master Plan in 5th April 2014 at Kelab Sultan Sulaiman, the development's main stakeholders are: the landowners and their beneficiaries, financial agencies, government agencies, non-governmental organizations and the public. More specifically, on that occasion, he invited all those stakeholders to visit and give their feedback at the PPKB office, where the plan was displayed from 7 April to 6 May 2014. Explaining the hearing and participatory process undertaken by PPKB, Datuk Astaman said:

From June to November 2013 PPKB held a series of briefing sessions. Out of a total of 4,304 stakeholders, 2,388 attended the briefings... After some discussions, 88 per cent of those who attended the briefings gave their consent for their land to be developed.

As per the statement above, it is clear that the landowners of Kampong Bharu are the main group of interest and discussion among the others. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that, when asked who were the main stakeholders of Kampong Bharu's development, DB2 firstly answered the prime minister, and after that, highlighted the importance of the landowner and other indirect stakeholders, such as non-governmental organizations.

DB2: The Prime Minister is the main stakeholder. The landowner also we consider as main stakeholder. So we have two different types of stakeholders. One stakeholder is from the government side: Ministers, Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and the cabinet itself. The other stakeholder we have is the landowner and the beneficiaries ... In between we have the indirect stakeholders, which is all the NGOs and the Mayor of KL. We consider Mayor of KL also as our own indirect stakeholder.

Besides that, all the other interviewees pointed to the landowners as the main stakeholders in Kampong Bharu's development. More specifically, even in the official documents of Kampong Bharu's development – Master Plan and press releases –, the population addressed and invited to the public talks, which is the group from whom the opinion is supposed to be heard, the Malays who own the land. As explicit at the mission of PPKB, *no landowner and inheritor shall be marginalized in the mainstream of Kampong Bharu Redevelopment by the year 2020.*

Nevertheless, analyzing the Kampong Bharu residents' numbers, one would agree that there is a major group of stakeholders that are not involved and heard throughout the process: the tenants. Following a basic mathematical approach, it is possible to notice that out of 18,372 Kampong Bharu residents (PPKB, 2014) only 4,300 – number of landowners published by PPKB (PPKB, 2015) – are considered main stakeholders. Therefore, at least 76% of the population – 14,072 people – does not have the same involvement and status within Kampong Bharu's development. This percentage might be higher due to the fact that most of Kampong Bharu's landowners [60%] do not live on their land. As explained by one of the development body representatives [DB2]:

DB2: Most of the dwellers, the people in Kampong Bharu, are not landowners. They are tenants. 60% of the landlords are actually staying outside Kampong Bharu and 40% stays here... And we are actually dealing with the landlord, not with the tenant.

More specifically, when asked about the plans for such groups of Kampong Bharu residents – the tenants – DB1 and GA answered:

DB1: We don't like to deal with this. During our first few months of engagement, we tried to go to whoever was occupying the land. When we wanted to have their details- who is the landowner, where they work, etc. — most of them had refused. It is because they know that if the development takes place, they will have to go out. So they tend to refuse. So only if that person that occupies the land is the landowner that the information we get is ok. Otherwise everything is really complicated.

GA: Those properties are rented out to the foreign... no local want to stay there because of that living conditions. And that is what we have been telling the landowner. Ok? Your land has a potential to be developed, Ok? It can fetch better value. It can get better income by developing your property. Obviously, if the area is developed according to the plan, these people will be displaced in some sense, but to me that is part of urban development exercise. The tenants have chosen to rent there because of the lower rent. But once things get improved, prices of rent will have to go up, so they have to move away.

Another issue identified when checking the number and origins of tenants in Kampong Bharu, is the difficulty in getting the exact and reliable data. When it comes to the exact numbers and origins of the tenants, it is well known – and verified during the observation period – that a significant portion of them are immigrants. The Master Plan indicates the existence of 13,368 Malaysian Malays, 1,491 Malaysians of other races and only 3,513 dwellers that are not originally from Malaysia living in Kampong Bharu (PPKB, 2014, p. 23). Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that there is a group of immigrants that do not have legal permits, a fact that obviously forced them to avoid any contact with government representatives resulting in their invisibility in terms of official numbers. In addition to that, as highlighted by DB1, they are explicitly not considered a stakeholder of Kampong Bharu's development. About the immigrants, LO2 and DB1 clarify:

LO2: but those allowed to talk, are the owners. Illegals, they know themselves. They know what're their rights so they won't voice out anything.

DB1: If you walk through, some people say that Kampong Bharu has currently been occupied. Not by the real Malaysians, but by other parties. Indonesians, Javanese. ... We don't deal with them [immigrants]. If they have the capability

and possibility to be in the new Kampong Bharu to do their business, I think in terms of PPKB it won't be an issue. But we are really embarked on ensuring that when business entity been developed, the activity being operated by KB or Malaysian people. That is really our main focus.

On the other hand, it is important to highlight that most of the interviewees, particularly the ones who live or work in Kampong Bharu, recognize the important role of such immigrants in Kampong Bharu's economy. Due to their similar Muslim background and ability to speak the local language, these immigrants are usually welcomed to the area as a working class, running small food stalls mostly owned by Malay. LO3 and RD2 explains:

LO3: Usually people who migrate are hardworking people, and these people usually they stay here and they don't create many problem, the problem is from the local youth. So not many people complain about them.

RD2: I like and then I don't like at the same time. First thing, these kind of people, is like, I mean immigrants, who stay here, is, in some sort help to develop our economy. At the same time, they try to dominate all the small entrepreneurs, especially in KB. If you go to the night market nowadays, the majority who are selling over there are immigrants, especially Indonesians. ... Maybe, our people want to make it an easy life, just rent out the place, and make their own business. Just make it simple. So maybe our people have become lazy and lazier and lazier. Maybe, it is not about cheap workers. The business is owned by them, ok. Let's say I have a small shop, ok, I am very lazy to operate the shop. OK? I rent it out, the shop, the empty shop to one of the immigrants. OK? They take the shop and they can do whatever they want. They own the business and I just own the shop.

Furthermore, LO3 critically addresses the 'real intentions' beneath the portrait of Kampong Bharu as an area full of illegal immigrants, which is often associated with violence and illegal practices. For LO3, this type of discourse directs the public opinion towards the development of Kampong Bharu as suggested by the 'powerful groups'.

LO3: They can talk anything they want that Kampong Bharu has a lot of illegal immigrants here, a lot of high crime, and that there is drugs here in Kampong Bharu, but is it Kampong Bharu's fault? That is enforcement's fault, if the illegal immigrants is KB's responsibility, it is Immigration's responsibility. They want to portray KB as a bad place, as an illegal immigrant spot. Illegal immigrants

hideout whatever, but it is not KB's fault. If you want to develop KB, these illegal immigrants will move somewhere else and this is not KB's fault. The big businesses, politicians and whoever is gaining with this development have also interest to spread this image.

All in all, there are no exact numbers to provide a real map of tenants in Kampong Bharu. Nevertheless, one may agree that based on the above-mentioned interviewees' and official documents' quotes it does not represent an issue, since the main stakeholder is the landlord. Particularly about that, the development body representatives DB1 and DB2 elucidate:

DB1: But during all the specific engagement, I've been told that at the previous plans they used to open to everybody to come and give their opinion. However in our plan, we refocus. We want to make sure that the people who benefit are the landowners and their beneficiaries. So we called them and we have small groups. What we call focus group discussions, small plan, focusing on the behaviors and where is the division in Kampong Bharu. Our engagement is really focused. ...So during our engagement, in our meetings with the landowners, we said we will only deal with you as a landowner, as a beneficiary. Whoever occupies your land, legally or illegally, you need to settle it on your own.

DB2: And so actually this people who are now as tenants in the area, they are not, you won't actually deal with the tenants but with the landlord, so what happens to the tenant is not really an issue to the Corporation. However we always get the feedback and we always care. We actually look into their welfare, through their own landlord. There is a case for us to assist the landlord, so we may look into it. For the time being we always deal with the landlord.

5.4 Future perspectives

As a way of understanding both the expectations of the development as well as the potential of the current Master Plan to address them, the interviewees were asked about how they see Kampong Bharu in 10 years' time, in 2025. Not surprisingly, the expectations vary, based on the attitude of the participant towards the development. The group that agree with the current Kampong Bharu Master Plan – namely DB1, DB2, GA, LO4 – are mostly expecting that some intensive mixed-use developments are going to be ready by 2025, showcasing the success of the approach advocated by PPKB. As a

consequence, they argue, by 2025 more people will be willing to participate in the development.

DB1: The total program that has been outlined and prepared by the government is supposed to take about 20 to 25 years. So hopefully in 10 years from now at least 20% of Kampong Bharu in terms of their build environment will be totally changed. You will see the new buildings 40, 50 storeys being built. This is what I feel you will see in the ten years. Some parts will look like KLCC kind of development... And 'seeing is believing. So we are focus on an area, which is easier to deal first. After they see and they believe that it works, they will join.

GA: Once they kick off, they can show these are 10 different lot owners have come and have agreed to redevelop their land, and now we can show to the others, in return how we have managed their potentials of developing individual lots and coming with other 9-10 owners... Hope at that time [2025] they can have some successful plot that can take off and serve as an example. Then it will be very fast.

DB2: By 2025 I think we actually are gonna be in the middle of enhancement or redevelopment or KB. Our target is to accomplish the whole total package of the redevelopment of KB until 2035. So we actually is going to be halfway of embarking into redevelopment of Kampong Bharu. Hopefully by that time we can see a lot of new things coming up... And more people will say 'this is the place we must come', or 'this is the place we would like to stay'. Yes! And that time you can bring your children along and have a good visit.

LO4, who represents a local organization and is a member of the PPKB board, also shares the same view as the official body representatives.

LO4: So if you ask me, now we are moving to develop, there is a 7 lots already agreed, all ready to kick off for high rise development, so I will say for the next 10 years, the progress will be at the 30-40%. It will be around 30-40%. From whatever the Master Plan has started, because the demand by the KL is a high demand. We are not talking about KB. Development of Kampong Bharu also representing KL. If KL has a demand to compete with their competitors in Singapore, Jakarta, Bangkok and so on. We are not talking about locality issue, but to me Kampong Bharu is a national issue.

Different to the above-mentioned interviewees, SP argues that although being a strong enthusiast of the full development of the area, he is still skeptical about the future

of Kampong Bharu's development. Agreeing with the idea that the government should start the development in the easiest areas and then use the successful cases as a way to convince the other residents, SP indicates the issues of trust between the landlords and the government authorities as one of the biggest challenges to overcome. For SP, it requires the right leadership to handle a major and categorical effort – which, in his opinion, has not yet been done – in order to move the development forward. In SP's words:

SP: ... the political will isn't there. And the trust isn't there between the parties: between the landowners, the developer and the government... But you have to start, one step at the time. And to start now you have to get the people on board. Leadership. The leader should not be someone who wants to make money on the job. Who needs to serve on this job should be the man who are driven by the will of leaving behind the legacy of breaking this impasse that has happened for the last 40-45 years. So, this is the first thing: you must want to redevelop at all costs... You don't believe me? Don't do all. Just give me a small sector. Just to prove that physically we can design something and repeat it again and again and again because we have the master plan, it is like a jigsaw puzzle. The components are there, just clock in it. If it is not there, leave it until it does. In the mean time, start the ball rolling.

On the other hand, the group that does not agree with the proposed strategies of the Kampong Bharu Master Plan reveals a major concern about the future of the last Malay urban village of Kuala Lumpur. For instance, being aware of the above-mentioned expectations of the official bodies, the resident RD2 uses the expression 'clamped community' to explain that the current development approach is silently spreading throughout the community, using high rises and mega projects as a way of indirectly displacing the local population, which will not be able to keep their lifestyle in the middle of such an environment. In RD2's words:

RD2: And you don't have choice... They are building everything here and if you don't want to sell you will be clamped. Imagine that poor old untie over there [pointing to an old resident sat in front of her traditional house]. Imagine if they build a big building in both sides she will not be able to see nothing anymore.

Then she has no choice. We will have to leave. Kampong Bharu will become a clamped community and they know that. That is the plan actually.

Different from RD2, the local organizations' representatives LO2 and LO3, who are also against the development as it is currently proposed, do not expect any major change in Kampong Bharu built environment. Indicating the lack of interest of landowners on the options given by PPKB, both LO2 and LO3 believe the development will take a slow path, once not able to acquire land for the major constructions as well as convince the locals to change their way of living.

LO2: I can see Kampong Bharu taking very slowly in terms of development. Because they are not doing what people want. At the end of the day people here don't want to live in the high-rise building. As I said, they will miss the interaction. Because these are the things we want to carry on. It is our lifestyle. When you have your own pigeonhole, slowly you eradicate this lifestyle. These are things they must have been looking for.

LO3: ... Not that different. I think Kampong Bharu will still be the same. Because still there is an issue about the redevelopment formula, the strata title or other forms of agreement: there is a trust issue, do you understand? I don't see in the near future that there will be high-rise building in Kampong Bharu. I don't see it at all!

As a possible way forward, RD2 and LO2 suggest that the government should prepare the grounds and foster the local owners' own way of developing their own land. In their words:

RD2: What I hope is that Government can help people in Kampong Bharu. They must let us develop our own land, our own kampong... I believe the population here will still develop buildings. But no high-rises! Maybe some small apartments or a big bungalow or whatever... Let them build what they want! But not like what is going on now. This is very high end.

LO2: Right now, based on the way they have been doing it the past two years, I don't think they can win the heart and minds of people here. The People want their own idea, because actually the land belongs to them. So the government should give them the freedom to develop, give and take. They should only be acting as a coordinator.

Having a mixed attitude towards the current Master Plan, RD1 and LO1 explain their future expectations about Kampong Bharu in a multifaceted scenario. RD1 and LO1, for example, argue that although the individual land titles will always represent a major barrier for the development to take place, the strategy used by the government to work by phases will slowly prove that it is possible. Critically addressing the private interest and corruption issues underneath such major urban intervention, both of them believe the Master Plan is driving Kampong Bharu to a better future.

All in all, different from previous development plans and intentions towards the area, the Kampong Bharu Master Plan is the first to bring together an official development body and legal framework to support the urban intervention. Based on that and on the current status – up to June 2015 – of the development works in Kampong Bharu, one would agree that the future envisioned by the official body interviewees seems to be on the way to happen. Nevertheless, the question posted by LO2 remains uncertain: *is Kampong Bharu 'soul' going to manage to survive throughout this full development urban intervention?*

5.5 Summary

Drawing on the massive amount of data gathered about Kampong Bharu through the secondary data collection, preliminary field visit, interviews and observation, this chapter presented the Kampong Bharu findings following four themes: Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders' involvement and Future perspectives. The content of these four analytical themes have been structured based on NVivoTM and individual case analyses, and can be summarized as follows:

 Historical background: the NVivoTM word frequency tool revealed that the words 'land' and 'people' were the most used once explaining the historical background of Kampong Bharu's development. Particularly about land, the chapter explains how multiple ownership of Kampong Bharu's land and its status as a Malay reserve is considered a key challenge for development in the area. When discussing people, the chapter indicates the strong identity of the area with Malay people and how the old and new generations establish different relationships with the area.

- Urban intervention rationale: putting in perspective both what has been officially written in the Kampong Bharu Master Plan and presented in public events as well as indicated in the interviews, three major ideas guided the explanation of this development intervention. They are the Intensive mixed-use development, the Modern approach embedded in the traditional planning idea of informality, and the Showcase of traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values.
- Stakeholders' involvement: drawing on both the existent spaces of stakeholder participation, as well as those who have officially been recognized as key stakeholders by Kampong Bharu Development Plan, this section identified the immigrants invisibility and the selective focus on landowners, whilst the majority of dwellers are tenants, as challenging factors of the urban intervention.
- Future perspectives: expectations vary based on the attitude of the participant towards development. The interviewees who demonstrated a positive attitude expect the intensive mixed-use development to take place until 2025 and, based on the success of this first intervention, other people will be in favor of such upgrading practices. The ones with a negative attitude, on the other hand, highlighted the issues of trust between the various stakeholders and particularly between landowners and government as one of the key bottlenecks of the development. In addition to that, the loss of traditional lifestyle and

gentrification processes were indicated as expected development outcomes in Kampong Bharu by 2025.

All in all, critically assessing the development practice within Kampong Bharu, this chapter has emphasized the role of planning on the production of informality. With empirical exemples steming from the informality expressed through the attitude that regards as undesirable the planning history of a specific group to the land issues restricted by the same planning that is supposed to solve them, this chapter shedded light into the underlying assumptions of informality in Kampong Bharu development.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND ANALYSES: MORRO DA CONCEIÇÃO

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the primary data of Morro da Conceição, collected from July 2012 to June 2015. As explained in Chapter 3, making use of instruments such as preliminary field visit and conversations, observation and semi-structured interviews, the research findings of both case study areas were gathered and the ones related to Morro da Conceição are descriptively presented here. Furthermore, due to their intricate connection – since Morro da Conceição's urban interventions are part of the big requalification project of the whole Rio de Janeiro port area – this section descriptively presents the general development framework of Rio de Janeiro's port region, addressing the origins, rationale, challenges and opportunities of such urban intervention and its impact on Morro da Conceição.

All in all, based on the answers for the 10 qualitative interviews and on the observation efforts undertaken during participation in specific local events, neighborhood street conversations and everyday practices, such as a samba gathering and chats in the local bars, the Morro da Conceição development process is explained, particularly focusing on the underlying assumptions of informality within such context. In addition to that, the description of such data is counter-posed by the data gathered during the secondary data collection phase, particularly local newspapers and the official documents from the Urban Development Company of the Port Region of Rio de Janeiro [CEDURP], *Porto Novo* Concessionaire, Rio de Janeiro municipality, Rio Heritage of Humanity Institute [IRPH] and Institute for State Cultural Heritage of Rio de Janeiro [INEPAC].

As explained in the introduction of Chapter 5 and depicted in Figure 5.1, the content of this chapter follows an analytical structure comprised of four headlines, namely Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders involvement and Future perspectives.

6.2 Historical background

After two years of researching into Morro da Conceição and being in the field for approximately three months, one would agree with Guimarães (2014)'s conclusion that it is impossible to explain Morro da Conceição as a coherent and stable urban scenario. Rather, in order to understand this historical inhabited land in the heart of Rio de Janeiro's city centre, it is important to review its past and how different images and experiences could explain its complex present and impacts on its future perspectives. As an illustrative example, the definition effort undertaken by both LO4 and SP offers a glimpse of such multifaceted reality:

LO4: You have a bit of everything here and at the same time it looks like it is the same traditional, village like, Portuguese descendant neighbourhood. You have here the conflicts of the Quilombolas [African descendants], you have people from Northeast [region of Brazil], you have the Portuguese descendants, you have people associated with the church [catholic] and others with African cults, and you have artists and intellectuals... And each one of them have their history here — recent or not — and are part of the everyday struggle of living in the 'little princess of Rio de Janeiro's port region'.

SP: It is important to respect Morro da Conceição acknowledging its plural past and conflicting urban arena. It is a mistake to homogenize the area as a Portuguese heritage only or as if it has been **abandoned** and nothing has happened there for so

many years. **Different groups of people** have been negotiating their ways of living in that space for many and many years, and still.

Overall, once asked about Morro da Conceição's historical background, the two most frequent words used by the interviewees were people [gente] and region [região], respectively. Figure 6.1 depicts the NVivoTM word cloud result related to the node Historical background, which aggregates all the answers associated with the explanation of Morro da Conceição's history and recurrent issues to be solved. Delving deeply into the two most frequent words, **people** and **region**, the next sections describe the main challenges of Morro da Conceição's development as per interviewees' opinions, as well as media and official sources.



Figure 6-1: Word cloud for the node Historical Background

6.2.1 People

Before considering the most frequent historical challenges identified when discussing 'people' in Morro da Conceição, it is important to make a translation note. The Portuguese word often used during the interviews was *gente*, which could be translated as people or folks. Since the word has been mostly used when trying to

associate Morro da Conceição with a specific group of people, the word 'people' has been chosen as a better way of expressing such a concept. More specifically, two major accounts of Morro da Conceição's history were identified within interviewees', official documents' and media discourses. They express the conflicts and claims belonging to two groups of people: the European/elite/Catholic and the Grassroots/Afrodescendant.

As highlighted in Chapter 4, section 4.3, the early history of Morro da Conceição shows the conflicting but continuously existing ways of living of both groups in the area. Referring back to the above-mentioned SP quotation, these *Different groups of people have been negotiating their ways of living in that space for many and many years, and still.* About that, the ethnographic researcher Roberta Guimarães (2014) explains that Morro da Conceição has always been a fragmented space with various groups having their own ways of recognizing spaces and history. Furthermore, she adds that the association of the area with a single group of people's history is a result of both heritage and urban interventions as well as symbolical discourses 'valuing certain inhabitants and regarding others as unwanted' (Guimarães, 2014, p. 19, author's translation).

Delving deeply into the first heritage practices taking place inside Morro da Conceição in 1938, one would notice that they have openly privileged a specific history of the area that is Catholic, Portuguese and military. For instance, one year after the creation of the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage - IPHAN, four properties of Morro da Conceição were considered national heritage monuments. Following a homogenized government movement interested in unifying the nation under patriotic symbols, IPHAN was created in 1937 and until 1960 have only declared heritage symbols of the nation monuments related to the Catholic church, military and

public institutions (Gonçalves, 1996). Hence, among other accounts of history, the specific Catholic, military and Portuguese past of Morro da Conceição was chosen. Therefore, in 1938, the Conceição Fort, Episcopal Palace, *São Francisco da Prainha* church and Valongo Garden were considered national heritage [see Figure 6.2].



Figure 6-2: Conceição Fort, São Francisco da Prainha church and Valongo Garden
Source: Conceição Fort picture from LTDS (LTDS) and others from author.

Reproducing the official discourse embedded in such heritage practices the government authority explains the Portuguese history of Morro da Conceição and qualifies the area as *'the little Portugal in Rio de Janeiro'*. In GA's words:

GA: Morro da Conceição history can be seen through its architecture and population. The strong influence of the port region explains the majority of the population been formed by civil servants, and army and navy workers, who were in most of the cases European descendants. In addition to that, the Portuguese architecture in the streets and in so many houses, churches and other constructions that have already been recognized as heritage, gives the European flavor of the region that is usually called 'little Portugal in Rio de Janeiro'.

In addition to such heritage policies, three other major urban interventions helped to portray Morro da Conceição as a European area, focusing on the economic impact of investing in such memory as a touristic attraction. Towards the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, first *Pro-Rio*, followed by *Porto do Rio* and then the current *Porto Maravilha* project [further discussed in section 6.3] have actively used the Portuguese heritage discourse as a way of both 'protecting' Morro da Conceição and justifying the type of urban interventions. For instance, the Oriented Regeneration Program called *Pro-Rio*, which developed in 1998 a set of heritage actions, urban studies and guidelines in order to value the Lusitanian heritage of the area, explained:

The way cities were developed and used to function throughout the Atlantic Portuguese expansion reveals similarities among Brazilians and Portuguese cities, particularly cities from the north of Portugal... It is this landscape that is intended to be valued in Morro da Conceição (Sigaud, 2000, p. 19, author's translation).

Following that, Rio de Janeiro's municipality launched in 2001 the *Porto do Rio* project aiming to establish the guidelines for the revitalization of the whole port area. Defining Morro da Conceição as one of the priority intervention areas and considering the neighborhood as *a symbolic locus of Portuguese origins*, the project defended *the*

investment at the cultural heritage as a way of attracting innovation and development to the port region (Rio de Janeiro City Hall, 2001, p. 48, author's translation).

Besides official documents and government discourse, the Portuguese account of Morro da Conceição's history can be observed in media coverage [e.g. one of the most popular newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, *O Globo*], residents' and local organizations' discourses [e.g.: RD1 and LO1], which are further indicated in the three quotations below:

O Globo: Most of the residents are Portuguese. The occupation there is mostly of white people and never had drug traffic dominating the place. This can be explained by both the Fort and Army, as well as by the fact that who used to live there has always had a job in the Port (Leite, 2013).

RD1: ... they were Portuguese families who came here to try a new life. They came in colonial ships. They were actually from Portugal but we also had from Spain and some French. They brought their faith, their catholic faith, their way of building, of living and of working. You have here the Conceição's Chapel, you have the small shops and some houses. We have a lot of things that they did as they were used there in Portugal...

LO1: Our port region has not so many poor people, who are concentrated in certain areas like Morro da Providência... Morro da Conceição is different. Most of the high port positions, people connected with the Catholic church, the Portuguese descendant used to live peacefully there. Altogether, army, church and then university formed a really safe neighborhood.

Both LO1 as well as the *O Globo* quotation underscore another underlying assumption associated with the European white Catholic past of Morro da Conceição, which is the opposition of such past with the unwanted Afro descendants' and grassroots' accounts of history. Making use of adjectives such as safe, Catholic, white and elite or rich in opposition to violent [drugs, prostitution, etc.], African cults [candomblé and Muslim cults], black and poor, the Afro-descendant as well as northeast immigrants, which are mostly part of the poor population of Morro da Conceição, have been neglected and made invisible.

Although Morro da Conceição's attributes such as safety, absence of drug traffic, etc., are going to be further discussed in the next section [6.2.2], a historical note is worth here. Such underlying association of black people with poverty, drugs and violence are embedded in Brazil's history and dramatically exposes the Brazilian disguised racism. About that, the American newspaper *New York Times* (Barbara, 2015), in an article denouncing the disturbing connection between race and class in Brazil, explains:

Racial inequality has obvious historical roots. Slavery in Brazil lasted for approximately three centuries, from the start of the 16th century to the mid-19th, a period during which five million slaves were shipped here from Africa—around 11 times more than to North America. The nation was the last in the Americas to abolish slavery, in 1888. But many Afro-Brazilians are still confined to the margins of society. Today, almost 70 percent of people living in extreme poverty are black. And they are almost totally absent from positions of power. All 39 ministers of President Dilma Rousseff's cabinet are white, except one: the head of the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality.

Aware of such Afro-descendant invisibility in Brazil's historical claims, SP criticizes how the white European single account of Morro da Conceição's history represents only a partial truth about the area. Casting a critical eye towards such unique Portuguese accounts of Morro da Conceição's past, SP indicates the Afro-descendant

historical claims in the region. SP, for example, makes use of research findings from Roberta Guimarães' PhD work published in (2014) at the book *A utopia da pequena África* [The Little Africa's Utopia] in order to address this issue. For SP,

SP: ... the municipality and Porto Maravilha have created and portrayed a specific social memory for Morro da Conceição. This memory advertises and advocates that Morro da Conceição is an area that belongs to Portuguese immigration families. But this is definitely a myth, a partial truth. There is Portuguese immigration. There are architecture, houses and attributes of the landscape of Morro da Conceição that has Portuguese elements. Nevertheless, in analyzing the memory through the residents discourses she [Roberta Guimarães (2014)] reveals the tensions between an Afrodescendant memory, which is strong and alive among Morro da Conceição residents, and this portrayed and advertised image of Morro da Conceição being different of other areas, having predominantly a Portuguese heritage in its cultural foundation... I believe both Portuguese and African heritage are strongly there in Morro da Conceição. And I think it is important to have works showing the strong presence of the African heritage inside Morro da Conceição because what I really see is the production of memory committed to classified that area as European. And I don't think it reflects how most of the residents expresses and sees themselves.

Delving deeply into the African roots of Morro da Conceição, one may notice that the discourses and recognition claims came first into the public eye in 1984 and then, later in 2005 onwards. The first movement culminated in 1984 with the declaration of the land marking of *Pedra do Sal* [Salt Stone] as a cultural heritage monument, which happened at the end of the military dictatorship in Brazil, with the rise of the minority's movement, specially acknowledging the 100th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the country. The second movement, in turn, took place in the middle of a land ownership conflict between the Catholic Church and Afro-descendants living around *Pedra do Sal* area, which resulted in the recognition and certification of the area as belonging to the *Quilombo remnants of Pedra do Sal* in 2010.

Particularly about *Pedra do Sal* heritage declaration in 1984, the landmark proposal was developed by the Institute for State Cultural Heritage of Rio de Janeiro –

INEPAC and registered under the number E-18/300048/84. Criticizing the fact that since 1934 the national heritage institute [IPHAN] has only recognized the Catholic and military assets of Morro da Conceição, the E-18/300048/84's proponents defended that more than a Black-Brazilian monument, Pedra do Sal is a historic and religious monument of the city of Rio de Janeiro (INEPAC, 1984, author's translation). About Pedra do Sal's importance and history, LO2 clarifies that the area has been always used by Afro-descendants as both a ritual place – with the Candomblé celebrations – and socio-cultural space – where the Brazilian samba was born.

Also explaining the historical and cultural importance of *Pedra do Sal*, LO1 qualifies the area as *the place where the Afro-Brazilian culture was materialized*. Regarding its daily usage, schoolchildren, people eating in the cheap restaurants around, some tourists and samba circle participants – Samba circles usually happen every Monday – are often seen in the area [see Figure 6.3]. Other than that, the area is used on special occasions for religious rituals and celebration of Afro-Brazilian festivities.



Figure 6-3: Pedra do Sal

Source: author

Representing a controversial historical land claim among residents, government authorities and local organizations, the recognition of the *Pedra do Sal* area as belonging to *Quilombo* remnants in 2010 shed light on the social tensions in Morro da Conceição. As widely covered by Rio de Janeiro's media, as well as passionately explained by some interviewees, these recognition claims started in 2002 and were brought forward for more than eight years through legal and media battles. At that time, the Catholic Venerable Third Order of St. Francis of Penance [VOT], which is responsible for a philanthropic school in Morro da Conceição and owns several houses around *Pedra do Sal*, launched a social project requiring back those houses where poor families [among them some *Quilombo* remnants' families] used to rent and live. This eviction notice aroused the afro-descendant movement in the region and in 2005 the Community of *Quilombo* Remnants of *Pedra do Sal* legally claimed the *Pedra do Sal* area, as well as the ownership of some of the surrounding houses.

Hence, it is possible to observe the disagreement around the topic when comparing the various versions about the conflict. For instance, two of the most important national newspapers – *O Globo and O Estado de São Paulo* – published in 29 October 2007:

At the root of the case, five people who invaded a house and claimed for themselves 70 properties, each worth an average of R\$ 250 thousand. None of them were even born in the neighborhood. They have already obtained reports entitling them to the real estate. The ideologists of social justice must be very pleased with this [real] attack against the justice of children and adults of every color whose lives are being harmed. The drug traffickers in the area leave the community alone, but the vigilantes of social cause do not (Rosenfield, 2007, translated by Guimarães in Guimarães [2013]).

About the same dispute, on the other hand, the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform [INCRA] developed a comprehensive report in 2010 containing anthropological, historical, physical and social analyses. In this technical report, the

specialists qualified the *Quilombo* of *Pedra do Sal* community's claims as legitimate and explained:

Most of the members of Quilombo Remnants of Pedra do Sal association lives surrounding Pedra do Sal, which is the area where the conflicts with Venerable Third Order [VOT] has been registered... The Pedra do Sal quilombo remnants' claims the area as a place to live and celebrate; as a sacred place in which the black religious memory was brought to Brazil by their African ancestral. They represent the maintenance and revitalization of the afro-Brazilian memory in the area, which is the iconic place of the samba, candomblé and black workers in the port... They represent the reference for the identity and memory of the different groups that originated the Brazilian society, among them the afro-descendants (INCRA, 2010, p. 81).

Questioning the authenticity of such claims, RD2 ironically explains that the 'Quilombo' presence in Morro da Conceição is something that has only recently become history. Making use of commonly used social labels, such as 'Paraíba' to describe migrants from the northeast of Brazil and 'favelado' as a way to describe people who live as squatters [which is explicitly associated with black people], RD2 criticizes:

RD2: ... these type of movements have just recently started. This thing of black movement in the area dates back from few years ago only. Not more than 15 years. Before there was nothing about that here. Black was black, white was white and that is it! Black was 'favelado' and white was Portuguese or 'Paraíba'. The neighborhood was simple like that.

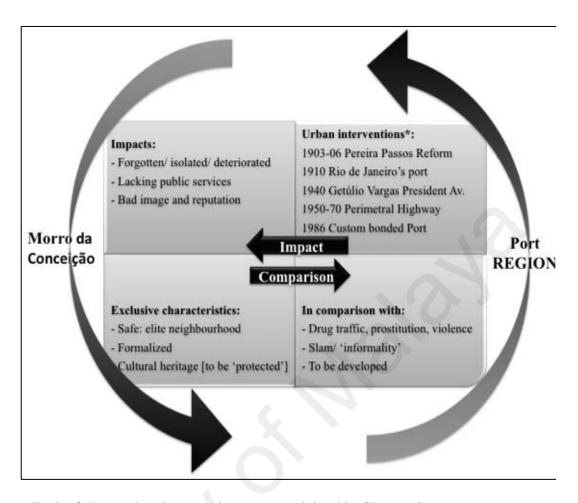
On the other hand, passionately defending the 'Quilombo' claims, LO2 discusses the importance of such an area as both a symbol of the black memory of the port and one of the few places that is not going to struggle with gentrification. About that, LO2 explains that since the area is protected and no one is allowed to sell it, it is going to be the only one not affected by the gentrification process that is taking place in the whole port area because of the revitalization project. For LO2:

LO2: Nowadays, the only place that is really protected and safe, where you can be sure you will find original residents, is in Pedra do Sal region. Because the other areas of the Morro... you know already the old stories of people who can't afford to live here anymore. Because the Quilombo area cannot be sold, isn't it? So if we now have a Quilombo in the area, that place does not have a market value. So we can't sell it or build anything around. So it is a devalued area and only because of that the 'quilombolas' can afford.

All in all, such different historical claims associated with both the European/elite/Catholic and the grassroots/Afro-descendant **group of people** clearly exposes the tensions that exist from and within the everyday struggle of memory, land ownership and recognition in Morro da Conceição.

6.2.2 Region

As depicted in Figure 6.1, the second most frequent word used by the interviewees when explaining about Morro da Conceição's history was **region**. In that context, the term 'region' was mostly used together with the word 'port', meaning Rio de Janeiro's port area, which confirms the strong connection Morro da Conceição has with its old maritime surroundings. Among the various themes discussed when associating Morro da Conceição and the port region, two topics were repeatedly stressed: the challenges of **urban interventions** in the region throughout history and its impacts on Morro da Conceição, and **the exclusive characteristics** that differs Morro da Conceição from other parts of the port region. Figure 6.4 presents an overview of the connections and associations between Morro da Conceição and the port region established by the interviewers, highlighting both the port region's urban interventions and the related impacts, as well as the exclusive characteristics of Morro da Conceição in comparison with other port regions' features.



^{*} Each of these urban interventions was explained in Chapter 2.

Figure 6-4: Scheme of the topics stressed by interviewees when comparing Morro da Conceição and the port region.

Source: author based on interviews.

Delving deeply into each of the **urban intervention's impacts** on Morro da Conceição [depicted in Figure 6.4] one would notice that the common ground of understanding among interviewees is that such urban interventions were identified as one of the main reasons for the deteriorated situation of Morro da Conceição at the end of the 20th century. Making use of words such as **isolated and forgotten**, both DB1, DB2 as well as RD1 reveal the close relation between the series of urban interventions in the port region – such as the two major road constructions that separated the neighborhood from the city, namely Getúlio Vargas President Avenue in 1940 and

Perimetral Highway from 1950 to 1970 – and the physical and social segregation that Morro da Conceição dwellers were going through. Specifically about the physical divide and focusing on the effects of the dramatic decrease on Rio de Janeiro's port activities in the second half of the 20th century, DB1 explains:

DB1: ... The changes at the port's 'modus operandi' towards the end of 1950s fostered the abandonment movement of the infrastructure that has been built to support the port activities. The port was abandoned. Throughout he 1960s, the Perimetral highway has been constructed and was launched in the 1970s. And the construction of such elevated highway ended up increasing the isolation of the area. From that time onwards, the area start a long and plunging cycle of degradation.

Mentioning the major land claims of Pereira Passos' reform from 1903 to 1906, as well as the isolation and the absence of quality commercial infrastructure, DB2 indicates the lack of attractiveness of the area for tourists and other city residents, reinforcing the abandonment, segregation and deterioration.

DB2: ... this is a result of a sequence of transformations in the whole region like the big highways construction that transform the area in a transit place, while isolating others such as Morro da Conceição. Although everybody know the importance of such roads and other things like the major developments of Pereira Passos, they have also impacted how the things degenerated... The region was totally degraded. People used only to pass by here. They didn't have any leisure here and no one used were interested to come here. The commercial establishments, for instance, were really old establishments. Bars and taverns followed old patterns and the quality was bad. You didn't have any big venture, business or organization attracting people here.

In addition to that, LO2 also associates Morro da Conceição's isolation with stateled transformations in the region. LO2 brings the attention to the impact of the transformation of the port in 1986 into a Customs Bonded Area, when the various port access gates were closed, limiting the connections of the maritime neighborhoods with the port. LO2: When the port is transformed in a Custom bonded area in 1986, all the warehouse, which were located across the whole port region, were not allowed to open their outside gates anymore. No one could enter the port from the warehouses. Just from the main gates that were located at the extreme end of the port. When this thing happened, the whole port region dies: the bars, restaurants, small lodges, all these things. And why that? What really happened is that the trucks that used to park and stay throughout the region while bringing the goods were required to enter only from the main gates and then go inside the port. So he stayed inside the port and once they left they just go away without any connection with the region anymore. And these people that were not walking and using the region anymore impacted the situation that the region went through. Everywhere here felt the consequences: from Morro da Conceição, Mauá Square to Providência and Pinto.

Furthermore, focusing on the social exclusion and on the **reputation** challenges faced by the residents, RD1 reveals the complex correlations between the port region and Morro da Conceição. Comparing the fact that most of Morro da Conceição's residents have to pay government land taxes, while residents of some other regions of the port – more specifically *Providência* Hill, which is the first slum of Brazil and is located besides Morro da Conceição – do not pay them due to their land ownership status, RD1 underscores the complex dramas, **lack of public services** and prejudices related with living in the area:

RD1: Some people say that people in Morro da Conceição does not pay anything. This is a big lie! Here we pay everything! We pay a supper expensive IPTU [land tax], electricity and water - and for a long time we didn't have water in our sinks. Nevertheless, I can't say that same thing happened in Providência hill, for example ... And people mix everywhere in the region. They don't know the difference and this ended up downgrading our neighborhood and raising some problems for us who live here. For instance, sometimes we needed to put in our Curriculum that we live in another place to send it to a big company. So you have a good cultural and educational background but was living in a place that was not considered a good neighborhood. Then after you got hired, you have to say: 'Now I'm going to move to Morro da Conceição'. And people who don't know the differences here used to say: 'But is not too dangerous?'

This contrasting reality clearly exposed by RD1 can also be seen throughout interviews and official documents, particularly identifying certain **exclusive**

characteristics of Morro da Conceição in comparison with other neighborhoods in the port region, more specifically *Providência* Hill. For instance, making use of exclusive and special attributes of Morro da Conceição such as historical value, the Porto Maravilha Project presentation given by the Rio de Janeiro Port Region Urban Development Company [CEDURP] in a public audience for the port population in 2013 justifies why the neighborhood has been chosen to be in the first phase of the project out of the other areas of the port region. Explaining the strategic importance of including Morro da Conceição in the first phase of Porto Maravilha project, which was financed with public money, the document highlights that such priority investment would attract the investor attention for the following phase that is financed by private money [further explained in the next section 6.3]. In addition to that, at the same public audience presentation, the map of the whole port region is presented indicating that the land use is going to reinforce the existing vocation of each region. In this case, which is depicted in the map below, the identified vocation of Morro da Conceição is tourism/culture.



Figure 6-5: Vocation of each area within the port region

Source: [Rio de Janeiro City Hall, 2009, p. 17]

Besides explaining the downside of being isolated and forgotten, DB1 and RD1 have also indicated such fact as one of the reasons for the survival of Morro da Conceição's historical constructions and practices. As an example, emphasizing the historical importance of the area, DB1 affirms:

DB1: A major part of this region is considered a protected heritage area, including Morro da Conceição, Gamboa and Santo Cristo. Curiously, it is exactly due to the abandonment they went through that they managed to be preserved ... You have places like Morro da Conceição with such an important historical collection that was separated from the city, abandoned and forgotten by the city.

Also addressing the isolation as both an issue and opportunity, RD1 compares the **safety** of Morro da Conceição with drug trafficking, prostitution and violence that are common in other parts of the port region. For RD1, the neighborhood is considered safer than other port areas due to both such isolation as well as the presence of government facilities in the neighborhood – university, military fort, etc.. For them:

RD1: ... The government for decades has forgot Morro da Conceição. And we believe it is because of that we managed to have our village lifestyle for so long here. I am not saying this is all good. We never had a proper public service here... but at the same time throughout this period we could leave our doors open, the kids could play in the streets and we never had the problems that you see around. Here you could find the vagabonds in the Valongo Garden... but even them were different. They used to sit and talk to the kids like that: 'Look you have to study. Don't think that I'm in such life because I like it. You have the opportunity to be a good person...'

Another attribute revealed throughout several conversations during observation time are phrases such as: We live in a hill but we are not a slum or They put everybody that lives in the port region in the same pot. But Morro da Conceição is different is the formal status of the neighborhood, especially comparing it with other areas in the port region. Such association with slum [often used as a synonym of informality] is due to the fact that most of the slums in the south zone of Rio de Janeiro [rich area] are

localized in hills, and the oldest slum in Brazil – Morro da Providência – is just besides Morro da Conceição, in the port region.

Although agreeing with the safety status that has historically been given to Morro da Conceição by its residents, LO4 criticizes the current urban development practices in the area, revealing that they might have brought some improvements but have also brought violence and drug trafficking. Also addressing the fact that the area has been forgotten, LO4 puts a question mark over the most recent urban interventions and affirms *I don't like the word revitalization*. *It looks like something was dead, which is not true*... For LO4:

LO4: We didn't have drug traffic issues here. Nowadays Morro da Conceição lives with the traffic. If you go behind and around the school throughout the day you will see all that young people associated with the traffic. We didn't have robbery here. And now I know residents that have already been robbed here. I used to walk around at midnight or one in the morning without any worries. Nowadays I cannot do that without worries. Do you understand? So, I think it is hard to say that all these transformations [development] are going to increase the quality of life here. Because the quality of life of Morro da Conceição's residents as per their opinion was great. And nowadays is not as good as used to be. Now they complain about their privacy, security, etc. They usually say: 'here was a good place because we have been forgotten by the government'. They have created a village lifestyle here. And now that Morro da Conceição has been transformed in a trendy area, most of this quality of life the used to see as the benefit of living here has gone.

All in all, one may conclude that Morro da Conceição is inseparable part of Rio de Janeiro's port and its hills, rituals and population reflect all the mixture, suffering and glory of the port region. Furthermore, based on the above-mentioned historical context, the challenges and opportunities of the latest urban interventions in the area are going to be discussed in the next section.

6.3 Urban intervention rationale

The rationale of the current Morro da Conceição development has been addressed during the interviews, as well as observed throughout the fieldwork. However, it is important to highlight **two major specificities** of such urban intervention that impacted both the conduction of the research in the area and the way the data collected has been analyzed. They are the advent of the **mega-events** as the driving force of these urban transformations and the fact that Morro da Conceição is just **one area inside** the Saúde neighborhood that, on the other hand, is one of the three neighborhoods under the 5 million square meters of **'Porto Maravilha' Project**. Saying that and based on the strong relationship of Morro da Conceição with the whole port region — explored in section 6.2.2 above — one would agree that, in order to fairly analyze the rationale of the ongoing transformations of Morro da Conceição, a broaden perspective is required.

Therefore, conscious of the impact the mega-events in Rio de Janeiro – particularly the World Cup 2014 and Olympic Games 2016 – have on the rationale of Morro da Conceição's urban intervention, such transformation areas analyzed through the lenses of the major urban intervention taking place in the whole port area, the Porto Maravilha project. What is more, putting in perspective both what has been officially written and presented as part of the Porto Maravilha project and indicated in the interviews, the major ideas used to explain this urban intervention rational are presented below. Those three major ideas congregate the different arguments used to explain this urban intervention rationale. They organize the thoughts in this section following the idea that the current Morro da Conceição urban development is based on the improvement of **urban infrastructure and vertical development** compromised with a **modern approach** although seeking to **showcase traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values** of the area [see Figure 6.6].

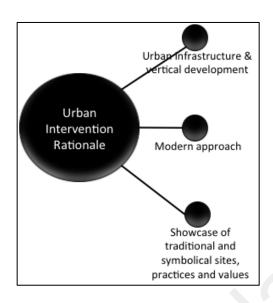


Figure 6-6: Urban intervention rationale findings in Morro da Conceição

6.3.1 Urban infrastructure and vertical development

Under the official name of Porto Maravilha Urban Operation – *Operação Urbana Consorciada Porto Maravilha* – the Porto Maravilha project aims the requalification of the whole port area. The two major fronts of action within the project are the **urban infrastructure** upgrade and the increase of the constructive potential – plot ratio – as a financial instrument, in other words, **vertical development** (CEDURP, 2013b). With the expected duration of 15 years [from 2010 to 2025], the project is divided into different phases - the Morro da Conceição redevelopment being included in the very first phase.

Delving deeply into the **urban infrastructure upgrade of Morro da Conceição**, as briefly mentioned in section 6.2.2 above, the area has been chosen to be in the first phase due to both its heritage value and the potential of attracting private investors for the following phases. About that, the Extraordinary Secretary of Development of Rio de Janeiro, Mr Felipe de Faria Góis, explained during the public audience about Porto Maravilha project on 11 September 2009:

... there is a relevant historical importance that we are looking into with extremely care in this project. I would like to highlight the case of Morro da Conceição. We believe the heritage protection is an important matter and we decided to already include it in the first phase of the project, which is financed by public money, the Municipality investment. We are going to invest in Morro da Conceição in order to improve the urban infrastructure of the hill. (Monteiro, 11 Sep 2009, p. 10, author's translation.)

Hence, the first phase of *Porto Maravilha* took place from 2010 to 2012 and cost 139 million Brazilian Reals [approximately 34 million US dollars in January 2015 conversion] paid by Rio de Janeiro's municipality (CEDURP, 2012). In a press release published in July 2012 explaining the completion of the first phase, CEDURP emphasized both the re-urbanization numbers and the municipality intention of showcase the transformation potential of *Porto Maravilha* project:

... the Municipal Construction Secretary – SMO – re-urbanized 24 roads – 8 in the down part of Saúde and Gamboa neighborhood and 16 in Morro da Conceição. Since 2009 the municipality is responsible for this area of 350,000 square meters m² as a way of showcase what is going to be implemented in the 5 million m² under the responsibility of Porto Maravilha Urban Operation. The first phase, executed with municipal money, focused on re-urbanization constructions, including services and changes in both the sewage, pluvial and potable water, telecommunications and electricity networks, as well as pavement and pathways. (Braga, 2012)

The execution of the first phase was under the responsibility of the Saúde-Gamboa consortium. Composed of three companies, namely Odebrecht, OAS and EIT, this consortium operation faced several criticisms regarding the quality of the work delivered and lack of dialogue during the process. Once inquired about such criticisms, the *Porto Novo* Concessionaire, which although being composed of two of the corporations that were part of the *Saúde-Gamboa* formed later in order to manage the current second phase, emphasizes both that these two consortiums have totally different attributes, responsibilities and operations, and that *Porto Novo* could just respond for the activities under their responsibility, which means the second phase.

Delving deeply into the first phase urban interventions, it comprised the reurbanization, embellishment and upgrade of urban furniture in the central area of Rio de
Janeiro's port, which Morro da Conceição is part of, as highlighted in *Porto Maravilha*project (CEDURP, 2013b), the urban intervention focused on the upgrade of local
roads, the burying of electrical networks and the restoration of historical heritage, such
as *Valongo* Garden and Salt Stone. Nevertheless, during the preliminary field visit
phase in Morro da Conceição [2012], a group of three artists [residents] who were
explaining how Morro da Conceição's development has impacted their life, put a
question mark on the quality of such interventions and the lack of dialogue during the
process. In their words:

Artist 1: our street here is totally made of pave stone that for centuries have survived the sun, rain and everything. This people come here and start digging that for sewage, electricity or whatever and when they close they cover it with tar. With simple cement that in the first rain and sunshine expands, brakes and live this mess here. Even an uneducated people know that these stones need space to expand and contract and that cement is not the suitable material here.

Artist 2: ... what is even worst is that they cover the role but kept all the electricity cables outside. I don't know what happened but they did all this mess and now we still with the same exposed cables plus the road full of roles... I have pictures to show that they have dug the street and then cover it again more than 3 times.

Artist 3: They came one day without asking any permission and made a role in my centenary facade – that in theory is supposed to be protected by the heritage law – to nail an ugly pipe for something the municipality wants. I was shocked and really fight till they took that thing out.

It is important to mention that even during the observation period in 2014, the issue of exposed electricity cables and cement in the streets were still being noticed. About that, the picture of *João Homem* Slope [Figure 6.7] – taken in February 2014 – shows both the old poles connecting the exposed cables as well as the new poles for the subterranean electrical network sharing the same sidewalk. Another detail is the cement used in both corners of the road to cover the holes where they used to have stones.

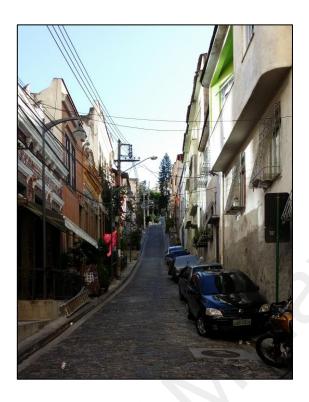


Figure 6-7: Situation of João Homem Slope in 2014: exposed electrical cables and roadside pavement.

Source: author

Interestingly, even the development authority [DB2] agrees that there was a lack of dialogue and quality of the constructions during the first phase of the project. Clearly blaming the previous consortium group for the issues in Morro da Conceição constructions DB2 argues:

DB2: When the constructions started we were not involved. It was the Saúde-Gamboa consortium. At that time they used to arrive with everything and start the constructions without any previous talk. Once we arrived we needed to deal with such passive and challenges... It was a different consortium. It wasn't us. We heard lots of negatives feedbacks about all the constructions there in Morro da Conceição... But then they finished and left behind lots of things that were not that good. And we took the responsibility to maintain whatever they left. All the services in that small area of the first phase became our responsibility, because the bidding process was like that. The first bidding was juts for that part and then the whole project had another one, the one we are now responsible for.

Regarding the rationale behind **vertical development** in *Porto Maravilha* project, the official website (CEDURP, 2013b) clarifies that it is part of a two-folded strategy in which the increase of the constructive potential – plot ratio – functions as both a

financial mechanism as well as a drive for the requalification of the whole area. About the usage of the vertical development as a financial mechanism, it is going to be further explored in the next section 6.3.2, when discussing the modern approach of *Porto Maravilha*. By requalification, on the other hand, Rio de Janeiro City Hall (2009) means i. changing the population profile, increasing the number of people from 22,000 in 2009 to 100,000 by 2019 and valorizing the city center as a place to live; ii. diversifying the area vocation, attracting big companies headquarters, technology and innovation businesses, modernizing and improving the port activities and the maritime tourism, and investing in culture and entertainment.

About the attraction of big companies and corporations, one of the most important newspapers of Rio de Janeiro – *O Globo* – has brought to the public eye in 2014 the existence of 15 ventures that are supposed to *bring the future to the port region*. Nevertheless, in the same article, two issues are identified as potential holdups of the project. They are the economic slowdown and its impact on the real estate development, and the changes in the types of companies attracted to the area [see quote below]. Those issues, particularly the economic slowdown, and their impact on the project are going to be further explored in section 6.5, once discussing the future perspectives.

O Globo, 11 Oct 2014: Despite the speed of the real state announcements in the region, the project still in a low path. Blaming The Port zone businessmen blames the economy retraction in the country ... The Port is not going to be occupied by new enterprises coming to Rio, as was predicted in the beginning of the project. There is a strong demand in Rio from the companies that are already installed in old buildings, facing huge queues in lifts, and that need to split it in four or five different addresses. (Lima, 2014)

Discussing the importance of attracting more people to live in the port region,

DB1 refers to the failure of old urban planning models based on encouraging people to

live far from the city center and explains the expected impacts of such changes in the whole area.

DB1: ... this idea dates back to 1960s. It actually comes from an American urban model that suggests the separation of the residences from the city center. What is more, there is a law in Rio that forbids people to live in the city center. Lots of properties that used to be residential were converted to commercial. And then we revert this with Porto Maravilha project. The idea is exactly the opposite: to attract people to live in the city center. Next to the job, which means less demand in urban mobility with all the good effects that it may causes.

Although agreeing with the importance of populating the city center as a way of minimizing the violence and reducing mobility issues, SP, LO3 and RD2 indicate the failure of the Porto Maravilha project in attracting investment for housing. Focusing on housing for the low-income and middle-class population that are still struggling and hoping to live in the area, they argue:

SP: One of the main criticisms against Porto Maravilha is that it is a project that is not generating housing ventures and constructing residential buildings. Neither for middle class nor for the residents of the grassroots neighborhoods that have historically live in the area and are feeling the impacts of these changes. They are neighborhoods with social and cultural history strongly connected with the port and with a lot of informal commerce that has been subtly vanished.

LO3: ... this revitalization is neither for low-income residents nor for middle class that live in the region. It looks like the housing investment for these classes are not interesting for the real state development and engineering companies... What I know is that only mega constructions for business use or hotels are what is expected for the region.

RD2: ... until nowadays there is no project saying that it is going to build residences for the low-income population. For the time being they have only announced the medium-high ventures. Apartments costing more than 500,000 Brazilian Reals. Porto Atlântico venture is gonna be an office and hotel. And that is it for the moment. Only for people who has money. Nothing for us who live here.

Aware of such criticisms, the development body representative DB1 argues:

DB1: Developing social interest housing in urban centers is difficult. Because the rationale of housing programs for this classes is usually of big constructions, which reduces the cost per unit in order to achieve the subsidy value. So we are currently discussing with the Ministry of Cities in order to adapt the rules of 'Minha Casa, Minha vida' [My house, my life: federal government low-income housing program] in order to address the requirements of urban centers.

Also in response to such criticisms, Rio de Janeiro's Municipality published on May 2015 the decree number 40.140/2015, which created a work group to conceive the Social Interest Housing Plan of Porto Maravilha [PHIS-Porto]. It is important to mention that the present research timeframe was limited to June 2015 and the consequences and results of such PHIS are not included here. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that, although defending the importance and hoping for the success of such an initiative, SP argued on May 2015 that the plan lacked some formal requirements in order to guarantee this type of investment. In SP words:

SP: Regarding the low-income people, the process has been really marked by exclusion... This topic has been recently debated in a seminar to formulate a local plan for low-income housing. It came as a requirement from the Federal Ministry of Cities in order to release the new payment installment to the managers of Porto Maravilha project... Nevertheless, based on what I have followed as a researcher, there are no legal requirements in the plan to guarantee this type of investment. The instruments required in order to assure that these investments are really going to be channelized to housing were not created.

In addition to that, specifically about the **vertical development within Morro da Conceição's** redevelopment process, it reveals to be a controversial topic when exploring the real impact of such practice in the neighborhood. In a first moment the increase of the plot ratio does not affect Morro da Conceição, since such rise on the constructive potential has just been assigned for certain areas outside of the hill. About that, the *Porto Maravilha* official website (CEDURP, 2013b) clarifies that out of the total 5 million m² of project area, 1.2 million m² had an increase in its plot ratio. More specifically, this piece of land is mostly located in reclaimed lands under federal

government ownership. What is more, the other 3.8 million m², which did not have its constructive potential changed, are protected since 1988 by Rio de Janeiro Municipality heritage decree number 7351/1988, called APAC-SAGAS – Cultural Environment Protected Area-Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo neighborhoods.

Furthermore, as a legal requirement for the approval of urban interventions such as *Porto Maravilha*, a Neighborhood Impact Study-EIV has been analyzing the various impacts of the project. Among several variables, the study (O. U. C. Porto Maravilha, 2009) evaluates the Urban Operation's visual pollution impacts and both positive and negative effects generated by the transformations to be implemented. Analyzing the current view that Morro da Conceição and other hills of the region have, the study asserts that they are not obstructed and must be kept as they are in order to not have a negative impact in the region:

There is nowadays an urban area covering all Porto Maravilha region. But it does not obstruct the privileged sea views of Pinto, Providência and Conceição hills. The future constructions must keep such balance in order to not have a negative impact in the region's landscape. (O. U. C. Porto Maravilha, 2009, p. 426, author's translation.)

Nevertheless, LO2 as well urban specialists such as assistant professor Claudia Nóbrega from the Architecture Faculty of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Baima & Nóbrega, 2012), have claimed that such vertical development is going to have a strong impact on the heritage protected view of Morro da Conceição. Calling Porto Maravilha as a private interest-driven project, LO2 ironically denounces that having government agreement of full exploration of such a privileged view and location, the real estate developers are not really worried about the visual or any other impacts of such big constructions. Pointing out the 'excessive government flexibility' LO2 explains:

LO2: They don't need and they don't want to care about what is going on behind them. They are developing social responsibility strategies and whatever the government may require – which is not a lot. At the end, they had the green light to build high rises in ventilated and open areas, with not much people living – so less trouble – and an amazing view and location. They – real state developers – have everything in hands and are enjoying it... If it is affecting any hill or anything in the region, the government should say... and this is not gonna happen.

Depicting the impact at Morro da Conceição's field of view [see Figure 6.8], Baima and Nóbrega (2012) argue that the vertical development within certain areas might impact Morro da Conceição, due to both the facts that it is the smallest hill in the region and the characteristics of its heritage constructions. In addition to that, Baima and Nóbrega (2012, p. 78) argue:

... implemented under the discourse of infrastructure improvements and quality of life, the potential impacts of uncontrolled urban entrepreneurship fostered by the mega-events have always been justified. They always qualify the rise in the real state value as 'good for the region'. Nevertheless, the voice of the local population, researchers and specialists, etc., regarding all the changes in this area urban life is missing. Another point of view about the real impacts of these big ventures in such a remarkable historical and cultural landscape [Morro da Conceição] is needed.

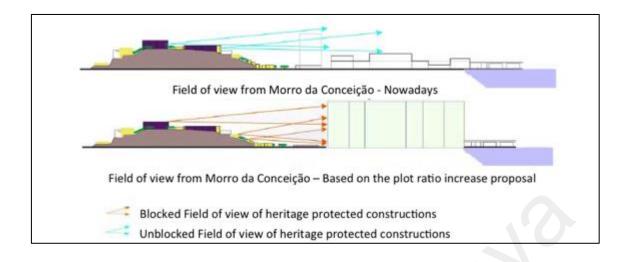


Figure 6-8: Impact of plot ratio increase in Morro da Conceição's field of view

Source: (Baima & Nóbrega, 2012, p. 76)

All in all, analyzing the urban infrastructure choices and the impacts of the vertical development in Morro da Conceição, one might agree that rationale behind such interventions to attract private investment to the area. In doing so, it is possible to release the government from such a big investment. Nevertheless, as SP has highlighted, although bringing development and a series of embellishments for the area, they do not necessarily address the issues and needs of the local population. In SP's words:

SP: ... we can already notice in Morro da Conceição various elements showing a requalification and re-use of the space for tourism. So you have bistros, new restaurants, art galleries, you have art spaces. And this is enjoyable and generates an interesting space for us, intellectual middle class. It is really nice. Morro da Conceição is really beautiful. You leave that dynamic and busy city center and then climb the stairs and enter such a charming small area. With a beautiful architecture, totally recovered ... but with clear signs of what we call gentrification, which I think they give reasons to worry if you are someone who works with the production of space, with urbanism. If you work trying to address the possibility or impossibility of serve that people who lives or have their lives based on that place you might need to pay attention in such issues. Hence this gentrification process might generate an attractive place for us or for a World class that comes to visit Rio de Janeiro, or even for who are interested in visit the touristic circuit of the port region. But for the local population, there are lots of tensions. There are people resenting from the fact everything is more difficult now, that their staying I the area is threatened by the process of valorization.

The next section further discusses those issues pointed out by SP, such as the focus on a world-class consumer and the new economic dynamics that drive Morro da Conceição's urban intervention.

6.3.2 Modern approach

The common ground of understanding among interviewees, as well as official documents is that the Porto Maravilha project aims to modernize the port region, which includes Morro da Conceição. For instance, making use of words such as **new**, **future**, **innovative** and **modernity** both the Porto Maravilha website as well as DB1 qualify the type of development and experiences that have been implemented – and is expected – in the port region, and more specifically in Morro da Conceição. Shedding light onto the mega-events as a drive for 'new economic dynamics' in Rio de Janeiro, the Porto da Maravilha website (CEDURP, 2013b) explains:

Boosted by the mega-events that are going to take place in the city on the next years, Rio de Janeiro is giving sings of a **new economic dynamics**. The Porto Maravilha Urban Operation is preparing the Port Region, which has been left behind, to join this development process... bringing **future**, socio-economic **development** and **modernity** as well as recovering and valuing the historical and cultural heritage.

Also addressing the urban intervention's role in integrating the port region into the new economic dynamics of Rio de Janeiro, DB1 adds:

DB1: Is Porto Maravilha part of a bigger idea of enhancing the role of Rio de Janeiro as a global metropolis? It is. This is not denied. I believe there is no way to avoid that. I believe this is important for the city, for the population of Rio de Janeiro and for the country. It represents the promotion of a new economic dynamics, based on an **innovative** model of management and financing.

A clarification is advisable here in order to briefly explain what DB1 has called innovative model of management and financing. As stated on the Porto Maravilha official website (CEDURP, 2013b), this innovative model is based on five principles, namely: urban operations in consortium as a funding instrument; mixed-economy enterprise to manage the urban operations; tax breaks in the first years of the urban operations; real estate investment fund to handle the sale of the 'additional constructive potential' and real estate; and urban renewal via administrative concessions — public-private partnership. Delving deeply into the financial method, it is grounded in changes in land use and increased construction potential for plots. Based on these two variables, the project is able to collect funds from the sale of such increased construction potential. As CEDURP (2013b) clarifies, in order to use the Additional Construction Potential the interested parties should purchase the CEPACs [Certificates of Additional Construction Potential, that is, titles used to finance Urban Operations in Consortium] as depicted in the scheme [Figure 6.9] below:

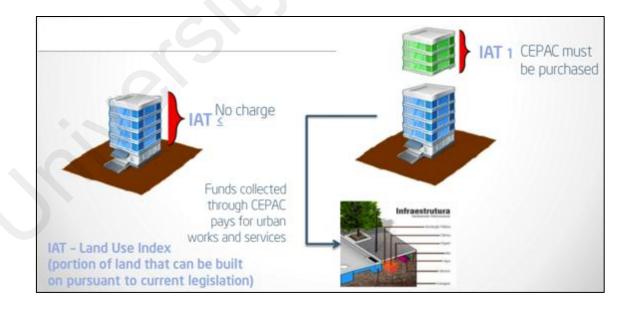


Figure 6-9: Innovative financial model: CEPACs scheme.

Source: CEDURP (2013b)

Briefly explaining the challenges and opportunities of such a financial market component in Porto Maravilha's urban intervention, DB1 highlights the commitment of the project in driving and encouraging the private interests towards the city interests:

DB1: So, you have the Real State Investment Fund that follows the financial market rationale, which is driven by maximization of their assets. Which in this case are the lands and the CEPACs. But this cannot be done over the price of damaging the city. Actually, we have already received some proposals for the construction of the biggest shopping mall and other stuff like that. But this is not needed. The biggest shopping is the whole region. So we must be vigilant and conscious about what is both economically feasible as well as good for the city. And this is our role. Because of that we created other incentives to foster the housing constructions in the region. In order to drive the market towards what we want. The commercial spaces have a higher value. So you need to find a way to divert that and canalize the market greediness. Then we kept the production costs of the commercial market and reduced the costs of residential space. In this way the mathematics of the investors make sense and they address the city needs.

Criticizing the underlying assumptions of such an innovative management and financial model, which is – in SP's words – *mainly driven by mega-events and private interests*, SP highlights the issues of such city concepts and their impacts in Morro da Conceição's urban intervention. Further exploring this matter, SP explains:

SP: Throughout different times we had various other redevelopment projects for the port region. But recently, since a bit before 2010 and just after the announcement of Rio de Janeiro as Olympic city, a set of new regulations and political arrangements allowed the development of a major urban intervention in this important historical and socio-cultural part of the city. This project is embedded in a city project that has been developed for more than 20 years, which is a neoliberal project... And all this process was crowned by a power coalition between the federal, state and municipal governments as well as private companies that allowed the real launch of such major urban project. Although been based on a public-private partnership law, what we truly notice is that this project ended up been driven by 3 enterprises. And this really looks like a privatization of the whole part of the city... Particularly in Morro da Conceição, what we see is these private forces directing the type of investment – mostly in tourism – and consequently the type of public the development might serve.

Agreeing with SP's criticisms, LO4 adds:

LO4: And out of other projects this one managed to go through all the bureaucratic process and finally been implemented. Because other than the obvious State interests in this project, there is a strong private interest behind this entire thing. They are going to tell you millions of justifications for this project, that 'everything is going to be better, etc.'.. But the idea of port redevelopment is strongly based in the real state development and big infrastructure constructions. Everything else comes afterwards.

All in all, based on the official documents one would notice that the Porto Maravilha project aims to return a historical treasure to Rio, and at the same time integrating areas with great housing, cultural and economic potential, which will be transformed into an example of modernity (CEDURP, 2013b). Making an extensive use of the word new, this example of modernity has been framed by the official discourse through the development of a new economic dynamic, new constructive potential and land use, and new population profile – section 6.3.1. Nevertheless, casting a critical eye towards such discourses, SP as well as LO4, have raised some challenges that could be addressed by the question: For whom will Rio de Janeiro's port area be an example of modernity?

The next section is going to further analyze – as in SP's words – the *various* elements showing a requalification and re-use of the space of Morro da Conceição for tourism, particularly focusing on the 'recovering and valuing the historical and cultural heritage' (CEDURP, 2013b) advocated by Porto Maravilha's urban intervention.

6.3.3 Showcase of traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values

As above quoted, CEDURP (2013b) affirmed the commitment to *bring future*, socio-economic development and modernity as well as recover and value the historical and cultural heritage. In order to assure such historical and cultural heritage protection, the complementary law number 101/2009, which establishes the Porto Maravilha Urban Operations, required that three percent of the money raised through the sale of the

CEPACs must be applied to the recovery and promotion of the region's historical and cultural heritage (Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 23 Nov 2009, pp. VI, 7). Based on that, CEDURP has created the Cultural Porto Maravilha Program responsible for managing the application of this money.

Specifically in Morro da Conceição, a series of investments have been made in order to both recover, protect and celebrate its memory and cultural heritage, as well as *leveraging tangible and intangible heritage as an economic resource (CEDURP, 2013b)*. For instance, during the first phase of the project, the São Francisco da Prainha church [17th century] was recuperated, as well as some spaces and buildings associated with the region's African roots, such as the *Valongo* and *Imperatriz* wharves, and the Salt Stone. These latter were then integrated into a touristic route created during the first years of Porto Maravilha's implementation called African Heritage Circuit, which is currently open and promoted for visits. About that, SP reviews:

SP: regarding the African Heritage Circuit, I believe it reveals the homogenizationation and simplification of such important social memory, forcing it to fit inside this big marketing behind the renewal framework ... once framed within a urban renewal project that rather than cultural purposes has an explicit economic intention, the underlying rationale of heritage polices ended up producing only one more way of controlling and discipline the space. Therefore, the various African elements of our national cultural memory that were born there in the region, such as samba and capoeira, ended up being 'sold' as a folkloric element. As an special element designed to be a touristic attraction rather than a process of valuing the memory and respecting the identities of such excluded group that has been struggling in that space for so many years.

In addition to the Cultural Porto Maravilha Program, a prize was created in order to canalize 3.8 million Brazilian Reals into people and organizations involved with culture in the region. Up until the end of 2015, 34 projects such as courses, traditional festivities, publications and documentaries have been awarded. Discussing the Cultural Porto Maravilha Prize, GA underlines:

GA: ...so the Cultural Porto Maravilha Project is part of the effort of investing that percentage of CEPACs revenue back to the projects, cultural initiatives and people of the region. Lots of people and institutions already won the prize. They participated and won with merit... It helps to mobilize the culture in the region with new ideas, formats and practices, as well as protecting things in order to warranty that this area is gonna be economically viable.

Nevertheless, although agreeing with the importance of reverting back the CEPAC's money to local cultural initiatives, some interviewees criticize both some of the prize's criteria, as well as the investment restriction to certain activities. For instance, LO2 claims that some important local initiatives formed by people with no knowledge in writing formal project proposals were not able to compete in equal terms. What is more, classifying groups as 'authentic or not', LO2 as well as RD2, have also denounced the fact that a considerable number of 'new artists and initiatives' have recently moved to Morro da Conceição seeking ways of getting a share of this money. In their words:

LO2: ... for example, these people are more competent than us in writing projects. I was born and raised here with not so many opportunities. I don't know how to write a good project. I don't have anything against the new guys that are arriving here looking for money for their projects. What I don't agree is with the municipality that does not acknowledge artists and initiatives that are here for many years.

RD2: We have the 3% that they are obliged to invest in culture here. The part of old buildings they are doing a good job. Just recently some people receive money to recuperate their houses facades... So they are pumping money here. For sure they chose to invest in what is good for them, that is to show off for the tourists... But money is coming and everyday new people and projects are coming to the region. Everyday you hear about a new producer, etc. Everybody is trying to make money, isn't it?

Further analyzing such criticisms, SP and LO4 add that both the prize as well as the specific choices of what should or should not be invested reveals the inequalities of such urban practices driven by economical interests. Given the example of the lack of investment in basic public services in the region, such as education, they explain:

SP: ...the fact is that the place is being redeveloped for a specific type of people and social class, which is formed by an emergent class of young entrepreneurs related with culture. The investments in recovering historical sites as well as canalized to cultural projects invites and consolidate this specific type of new resident. So there is a kind of selectiveness, an inequality in the way such investment and infrastructure is distributed... And this leaves important institutions and services in the region unattended. This is the case of schools, basic health and social housing ...

LO4: The municipality has used a good part of the 3% to do the Museum of Tomorrow, the renewal of 'José Bonifácio' Fundation, have pass some of this money to the MAR [Museum of Art of Rio], did the constructions of 'Meu Porto Maravilha' and the direct investment in culture has been only done in 2014 through the prize. But everybody knows that a part of this money has been given to certain cultural agents as a way of buying their agreement with the project. As a way of silencing the conflicts... There are investments and improvements in some things, but there is also a lack of understanding of the real impact of this for the local population and society. A good example of that is the case of education in Morro da Conceição. The problem is that they don't fund education, school, thing that really brings benefits to the region. They just invest in this selective type of culture for tourism and in what they called 'income generation'.

Drawing an argument about the investments in education, particularly focusing on the complex case of a historical Catholic school in Morro da Conceição that 1300 students attend – for free – for more than a century, DB2 argues:

DB2: ... it has been a long and complex process that at the end we concluded that the school was not our responsibility. We used to call for meetings that they didn't come. In other times we also didn't want to talk because we didn't have any guidelines about it. Who needs to solve that issues is the Municipal Education Secretary, maybe changing some guidelines. And while they [school] don't clarify the bills and other issues we will never give any financial support. What we have been doing, which is covered by our Social Responsibility policy, is to give some gifts for the June Party or helping in a mother's workshop.

Giving a brief historical background of the school situation, LO4 criticizes both the lack of interest in educational investment as well as the challenges of having such a traditional space closed. LO4 clarifies the unfortunate embezzlements of the Catholic management in the past and its consequences with the threats of closing the school due to lack of money. Since 2013, LO4 explains, a group of teachers and local population

have organized an association in order to keep the school and its social services alive. Challenging the government's initial thoughts of incorporating the school into the municipal educational system — which usually struggles in terms of quality and investment — this association has raised a counter-hegemonic collective voice, making use of media and other alternative ways of claiming the *community right for a good education* [LO4]. Disappointed by the huge challenges faced to keep something that was supposed to be embraced by the government, especially in a development urban intervention, LO4 vents:

LO4: ... at the time the Catholic Venerable Third Order have decided to close the school the municipality told they would absorb it. But they didn't want to open a new school here. They wanted to close the school, sell this building, which costs lots of money, to the private sector and distribute the kids to other municipal schools everywhere. But this is a shame because of both, the terrible quality of the municipal schools and the big troubles of dissipating these kids everywhere, asking them to travel outside the neighborhood. Many kids are going to drop the school... So we sacrifice to keep this school alive. But it is not easy with no help ... What shocks me is that the municipality can establish a public private partnership with big corporations but cannot do something similar with a school. The legal framework is terrible and there is not interest from the government in changing it...

Overall, the Porto Maravilha project is driven by a strong cultural appeal. It has both constructed big cultural spaces and recovered symbolical sites as a way of attracting investments and tourism to the region. In addition to that, it has canalized money to some specific cultural initiatives in the form of a prize. Nevertheless, one also might agree that such investments in showcasing traditional and symbolical sites, practices and values reveal other underlying economical powers, as highlighted by SP:

SP: ... the real driving force of this project is the public private arrangement with the dominance of corporations and connections with the international financial market and real state to redevelop the area. To transform it in a business area that uses the culture as a bite to attract tourism and real state development.

6.4 Stakeholder's involvement

Drawing on both the official discourse concerning stakeholder involvement, as well as criticisms about the underlying economical and state powers that drive the spatial and cultural choices of the port development intervention – such as the just-mentioned specialist [SP]'s critical quote [end of section 6.3.3] and the arguments posed by Leticia Giannella (2015) in her thesis identifying Porto Maravilha as a project of privatization of a public space – this section describes the identified official spaces of stakeholder participation and the ones created by the local population as a way of negotiating their perspectives about the development. As highlighted on the Porto Maravilha (2016) website and indicated by DB2, the official channels of communication of this urban intervention are organized under the program Citizen Porto Maravilha [Porto Maravilha Cidadão in Portuguese] and aim to promote a continuous dialogue with community associations and non-governmental local organizations as a way of keeping the population updated on costs and interventions, as well as receive feedbacks for projects and actions' improvement.

Among these official channels of communication, DB1, DB2 and the Porto Maravilha (2016) website underscores the CEDURP participation into the Community Security Council of the port region [Conselho Comunitário de Segurança da Região Portuária in Portuguese], that is an advisory body comprised of local representatives that meets once a month to analyze, discuss, and monitor the solutions of problems related to the development in the region. In addition to that, such official sources recognize as the main development stakeholders the local population [micro and small business owners/workers, residents and local representatives]; the private sector [investors]; government [municipal, state and national]; university and urban specialists; and non-governmental organizations and the general public. Reinforcing the

development body commitment with dialogue and the importance of deeply knowing who are the development stakeholders, in particular the local population, DB2 describes the community assessment carried out by Porto Novo that has mapped the economical, social and demographical situation of the whole port region. In DB2's words:

DB2: At the time that the technical proposal was drafted we mapped all the local organization here in the region. We got to know the who are these people, their expectations ... So we have a detailed socioeconomic diagnosis of the whole port region that works like a starting point for everything we do here... It is much more complete than a census. Nowadays, when they tell us they need to build something at Francisco Bicalho street, we just go to this system and checked all the information related with that area: business, contacts, population, etc. Then, when I go to these people to talk about the intervention I have already my discourse ready and with enough information about whom they are and what are their needs. With this information I can design all my strategy, do you understand? So this system guides both the urban intervention constructions and services, as well as the communications, events and other things under the Social responsibility policy. Nowadays, this is the way I know the population.

On the other hand, putting a question mark into such official spaces and mechanisms of stakeholder involvement SP and LO4 argue:

SP: we must acknowledge that few participation channels were created. But these spaces are based on institutional requirements. They serve more as a way of fulfilling some participatory rituals that must be done nowadays in Brazil... In other words, the participation exists, but it is an institutional participation, which does not represent spaces of change. These arenas don't really affect the project design and execution. It represents a controlled participation, in order to legitimate the development action.

LO4: ... the participation here works not as a way of changing something. They do it because they cannot do everything here without at least saying they have heard the population. They open up these few spaces because they need to say: 'we listen to everybody', 'we follow all the expected procedures'...

Agreeing with these criticisms, LO4, SP and RD2 add another issue when it comes to the effectiveness of stakeholder participation in the project. In addition to describing the spaces of official dialogue as a unilateral arena for keeping people

updated about the project rather than for hearing what the community has to say about it, LO4, SP and RD2 denounce the cases of conflict of interest within such effort of convincing people to agree with the development. In their words:

LO4: ... there is a channel of dialogue. But this channel is based on individual interests. Do you know what I mean? Five thousand in a project here, three or ten thousand for someone else there, and the things move like that. They usually use the investment in culture as an excuse. But what really happens is a social 'shut up'. Then, who was once against development is now defending it.

SP: But there is some groups more connected with culture that somehow are trying to adapt themselves to what the project [Porto Maravilha] offers. So they ended up associating themselves with the project because they are interested in the benefits that come from the investment in culture that is one of the pillars of Porto Maravilha. This is another discussion and is a polemic topic among some old residents.

RD2: ... there are always lots of things to be discussed but when they [Porto Maravilha representatives] come to us everything is already done, do you understand? They show how its is gonna happen and that is it! For example, we almost don't have parking spaces here in Morro da Conceição. There is no place for the resident to park their own car because most of the houses here doesn't have parking. Another example is the Camerino Street, in a small area already revitalized. You don't have place for loading and unloading of goods and you have an enormous quantity of commerce there – bars, small markets, shops, etc. They are not doing these upgrades for the local population... They have organized a resident's commission to help to develop the projects, to give the opinion. But at the end everything follows their [Porto Maravilha] way and people who are there to say something [some local leaders] don't do because they have already bought their agreement.

Nevertheless, quoting the PhD thesis of Giannella (2015), SP indicates the creation of a grassroots alternative group for discussing the development intervention in 2011 as an insightful example of collective organization for negotiating local rights. As Giannella (2015) elucidates, composed of local leaders, residents and university representatives the *Forum Comunitário do Porto* [Port Communitarian Forum - FCP] was consolidated as a space for the denunciation of the challenges and rights violation that has been taking place since the beginning of the Porto Maravilha project.

Discussing the potentialities of such space of participation, SP argues:

SP: ... in my opinion, a very interesting experience is the Communitarian forum of the port region, which put together some resident's organizations, research groups and NGOs. They played an important and active role bringing the local population together and collectively organizing in order to address the conflicts and challenges coming from the development process.

All in all, this section identified both the *pro forma* public participation as well as the conflict of interest revealed through the payment and/or hiring of community leaders as a way of 'buying' project supporters, as two challenging factors of the urban intervention.

6.5 Future perspectives

As a way of understanding both the expectations about the development as well as the potential of the ongoing Porto Maravilha project to address them, the interviewees were asked about how they see Morro da Conceição within 10 years, in 2025. As urban transformations have already been taking place in the neighborhood since 2009, all the interviewees share the belief that Morro da Conceição is going to be significantly different by 2025. Identifying both the mega-events and political momentum as the main reasons to believe the project is going to keep moving forward, what divides the opinions among interviewees is the attitude towards the type of changes that are supposed to happen.

Not surprisingly, the interviewed official representatives of Porto Maravilha – namely DB1, DB2 and GA – have shown a positive attitude towards what is going to be, in their opinion, delivered by 2025. As an example, DB1 optimistically foresees *Morro da Conceição with both a higher standard of life as well as keeping its traditional way of life.* And adds that *besides enjoying a much better mobility pattern and services, the local population is going to have access to a great cultural collection.*

Having a populist approach, GA defends that Morro da Conceição is going to materialize people's will. Nevertheless, GA also indicates the tourism and cultural vocation of the region, arguing that the neighborhood is going to follow its vocation. In GA's words:

GA: When do you ask me how Morro da Conceição is going to be in 2025, I believe it is going to be whatever we choose it should become. Which is the vocation? Is it culture with big museums or using grassroots experiences to mobilize the culture and tourism in the region? So this is how it is going to be!

Although not been an official representative of the Porto Maravilha project, LO1 and RD1 also demonstrate a positive attitude towards the urban intervention. LO1, for instance, repeats one of the objectives of Porto Maravilha as a way to describe Morro da Conceição by 2025:

LO1: this region is going to be all redeveloped and with new opportunities, markets and business, which I have faith it is going to include we, the local residents... Through an important process of recovering of real state and urban re-organization of the port region, Morro will see its economy, social and cultural spaces improved.

Interestingly, although envisioning that Morro da Conceição is going to be radically changed by 2025, RD1 understands this transformation as something good and as the 'natural movement towards the progress.' In RD1's words:

RD1: Morro da Conceição will become a big artistic showcase with few residences. You will not find anymore this 'village lifestyle' that we enjoy here... due to the natural progress that is on the way. I don't see any harm on that. We are going to have benefits from it.

While being part of the group with a positive attitude, DB2 also identifies two potential challenges the area might face in 10 years' time. For DB2, the security issues are an important topic to be addressed by the public authorities in order to warrant the success of the development.

DB2: I believe safety is a key success factor for our project. We are bringing big enterprises to the region. The investor is building their venture and close to there you have a drug dealer point or a beggar lying down in a bench. It does not suit, isn't it? So I believe in a short term we must have a strong role of the public policies in giving a 'Shock and Order' [Choque de ordem in portuguese]. Otherwise we are going to have a face some delicate issues in the near future.

Different from the above-mentioned interviewees, SP, RD2, LO2, LO3 and LO4 have shown a negative attitude towards Morro da Conceição's development. Having as one of their major concerns what RD2 has called 'white eviction' all those interviewees agreed that the current population and lifestyle of Morro da Conceição will not last until 2025. As one may notice in the two quotations below, RD2 and LO2 make use of words such as **eviction** and **expensive** to explain the concept of gentrification, which is associated with urban renewal practices in other various places in the world.

RD2: ... it is going to be different. If you think that today they are already managing to slowly evict the residents. It is a white eviction [expulsão branca in Portuguese] ... Every three months something new happen and ended up pushing someone out. For example, the rent is getting really higher and who lives in a rented place for many years cannot afford it anymore. Everything is really expensive. By 2025... within 10 years the geography here will be different. Because nowadays you can already find lots of middle class people coming from the South Zone of Rio to live in Morro da Conceição. So we are going to become like Barcelona: a noble and expensive area in which the residents that have always dreamed about seen their home like that will not be able to use it. The reality is that this development is not being done for us. It is for the enterprises, tourists and people with money.

LO2: It is going to be really beautiful. Actually it is already becoming really beautiful! But as I was explaining to you it has never been thought for us. And what I'm afraid of is that I'm not going to be able to enjoy. I have my doubts if I'm going to be able to have my apartment here after this become such an **expensive** place.

Also worried about the future of the area, LO3 adds another concern that is the loss of Morro da Conceição's 'village lifestyle':

LO3: ... I believe that in 10 years time Morro da Conceição will loose the village lifestyle and become more cosmopolitan. If this is going to be good or bad? We need to wait to see...

Finally, using the expression gentrification, SP and LO4 briefly share their criticisms about who are the real beneficiaries of such urban intervention. On top of that, both interviewees highlight the challenges and potential impacts of the project deliverables under Brazil's current economic slowdown that is affecting both corporations as well as people's everyday lives. In their words:

SP: In Morro da Conceição gentrification is already a fact... Although this gentrification process might generate an attractive place for us or for a World class that comes to visit Rio de Janeiro, or even for whom are interested in visit the touristic circuit of the port region. But for the local population, there are lots of tensions... And we are going through a crisis now. So event that ideal image of a fully redeveloped and re-organized place is now put under question. What I can picture in a medium term future is some islands with renewed fragments. Renewed in a sense that will be under a new usage, particularly filled with enterprises in their big glass towers...

LO4: This is a process that is already taking place here with some residents. They can't afford living here anymore but their property has a good value. So they sell it and buy another thing in a cheaper place. I mean... this gentrification is a process of attracting people with more money and evicting those with less money that used to live here for years... The future is unknown. We are going through a moment of crisis. They were counting on the growing economy. Enterprises were supposed to massively come. But the economy is not growing and lots of enterprises are downsizing. Some companies are coming because of other interests. They could go anywhere but decided to come here because of some advantages that no one really knows what they are. But I really doubt it that they are going to attract big ventures to occupy the whole region.

6.6 Summary

Drawing on the massive amount of data gathered on Morro da Conceição through the secondary data collection, preliminary field visit, interviews and observation, this chapter presented the Morro da Conceição findings following four themes: Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders' involvement and Future perspectives. The content of these four analytical themes have been structured based on NVivoTM and individual case analyses, and can be summarized as follows:

- Historical background: the NVivoTM word frequency tool revealed that the words 'people' [gente in Portuguese] and 'region' [região in Portuguese] were the most used once explaining the historical background of Morro da Conceição's development. Particularly about people, the chapter explains the conflicts, struggles and claims of belonging and recognition of two different groups: the European/elite/Catholic and the grassroots/Afro-descendant. When discussing region, the chapter indicates the strong relation Morro da Conceição has with the port region, focusing on the challenges of the urban interventions in the region throughout history and its impacts in Morro da Conceição.
- Urban intervention rationale: conscious of the impact of mega-events in Rio de Janeiro and putting in perspective both what has been officially written in the Porto Maravilha project [port region's development plan] and presented in public events, as well as indicated in the interviews, three major ideas guided the explanation of this development intervention. They are the urban infrastructure and vertical development, the modern approach embedded in the traditional planning idea of informality, and the showcase of traditional and symbolic sites, practices and values.
- Stakeholders' involvement: drawing on both the existing spaces of stakeholder participation, as well as the ones created by the local population as a way of negotiating their perspectives about the development, this section identified both the *pro forma* public participation as well as the conflict of interest revealed through the payment and/or hiring of community leaders as a way of 'buying' project supporters, as the challenging factors of the urban intervention.

Future perspectives: expectations vary based on the attitude of the participant towards development. The interviewees who demonstrated a positive attitude understand change as a natural movement towards 'progress' and identify the growth of tourism, business and real estate areas as the examples of the development success in Morro da Conceição by 2025. The issues explored by the interviewees with a negative attitude reveal strong criticisms about the gentrification process already taking place in Morro da Conceição, as well as the loss of the 'village lifestyle' – praised by most of the long-term residents. In addition to that, some of these participants shared their worries regarding the impact of Brazil's recent economic slowdown on the expected development outcomes of Morro da Conceição by 2025.

All in all, critically assessing the development practice within Morro da Conceição, this chapter has emphasized the role of planning on the production of informality. With empirical exemples steming from the informality expressed through the attitude that regards as undesirable the planning history of a specific group to the private interest' driven financial mechanisms embedded in the same planning that is supposed to regulate the city for the citizens, this chapter shedded light into the underlying assumptions of informality in Morro da Conceição development.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The findings from the study presented in Chapters 5 and 6 span a broad range of challenges embedded in the development practices of both case study areas. They demonstrate that the understanding and limits of informality vary depending on the interest and interventions of power players. The findings also suggest that intertwined with such power choices, the definition of informality is affected by both the single accounts of history manifested through structural planning approaches [such as the ethnical and social choices embedded in urban upgrading agenda] as well as the selective/authoritative perception of the impacts of people's relations in global south city making. Finally, the findings of this research highlight the emergent themes underpinning the understanding of informality in these two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development.

As explained in Chapter 3, section 3.6.2, after the whole analytical process depicted in Chapters 5 and 6, two themes emerged out of each critical element of informality. As depicted in Figure 7.1, under the critical element:

- People's relations: the emergent themes are stakeholder participation and traditional lifestyle handling.
- Power: the emergent themes are state power and market forces.
- History: the emergent themes are modernist urban practices and single accounts of history.

Hence, the three critical elements [from Literature review] and six emergent themes [from Findings and Analyses] guides the organization of this Chapter 7,

conducting the flow of the discussion through cross-referencing the empirical confirmations revealed throughout Chapters 5 and 6 with both the theories reviewed in Chapter 2, as well as the Research Context presented in Chapter 4. Lastly, this chapter discusses the findings of both case studies combined in order to clearly outline the emergent themes that are the central foundation of the analytical framework of informality in global south cities developed later in the chapter.



Figure 7-1: General overview of the emergent themes

7.2 History

Drawing on Holston (1989, 2008, 2009b); Jacobs (1992); Robinson (2006); Sandercock (2003); Watson (2009) Miraftab (2009); Hammami (2012)'s understanding of history as a critical element of informality [see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1] this section discusses the findings from both case studies. This discussion examines how, in this instance, both the traditional planning embedded in development practices as well as the ethnical and/or religious groups invisibility through the dominance of another collective accepted history impacts the idea of informality in these two global south cities. To that end, the following two subsections respectively explore the two emergent themes associated with history, namely **modernists' urban practices** and **single accounts of history**. Further, reflecting on empirical confirmations from both case studies, each of these themes is explored through examples such as the gentrification process; the

'catching up' mechanisms; the utilization of zoning, Master Plan and other controlling instruments ruling what is the 'formal modern city'; struggles over space and place and questions of belonging, identity and acceptance of difference.

7.2.1 Modernists' urban practices

As explored in Chapter 2, Harvey (1989); Holston (1989, 2008, 2009b); Jacobs (1992); Robinson (2006); Sandercock (2003); Watson (2009) have critically indicated how the 19th century urban single historical and geographical focus plays a pivotal role in what is accepted as the righteous city image. Supported by such understanding and based on both the research context explained in Chapter 4 and the findings presented in earlier Chapters 5 and 6, this study highlights the role of modernists' urban practices throughout history as a producer of informality in both Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição. A close look into the empirical examples of either the gentrification process, referred to by RD2 in Morro da Conceição as white eviction [section 6.5], or the catching up mindset embedded in the Kampong Bharu Master Plan idea of modernity [section 5.3.2], or the zoning and other controlling strategies applied in both development interventions [sections 5.3 and 6.3], empirically reinforces the argument that modernist development practices still dominating what is the 'formal modern city' and regarding as informal what does not fit into such framework.

As explained in Chapter 4, section 4.2, after Malaysia's independency in 1957, Kuala Lumpur witnessed the rise of a future-oriented ahistorical modernity discourse (Bunnell, 1999, 2002, 2004; Thompson, 2000, 2004) led by development plans. Both the discourse as well as modernist development plans have culminated in the construction of KLCC as the symbol of modern urban Malayness (Bunnell, 1999) and regarded Kampong Bharu as the locus of Malay economic stagnation and un-ruled organization (King, 2008). This comparative approach could be verified in Chapter 5,

section 5.3.2 through the explanations of the current Kampong Bharu Master Plan rationale, in which words such as slum, poor and informal have been used to qualify Kampong Bharu, while Kuala Lumpur city center was depicted as modern, clean and developed. It reveals, as explained by Robinson (2006, p. 11), the catching up mechanism that modernist practices posed over the cities, particularly in the global south, in which *imitative urbanism and the regulating fiction of catching up to wealthier*, *Western cities* is the norm.

Also embedded in such *catching up* mindset, modernist urban practices historically implemented in the port area of Rio de Janeiro and surroundings gives another empirical example of how development interventions are mostly driven by *copy-cat policies that aim to reproduce the experiences of cities everywhere* Robinson (2006, p. 11). As briefly introduced in Chapter 4 and explored in Chapter 6, section 6.2.2, the bulldozer approach of developmentalist urban interventions of Pereira Passos from 1903-1906 and Carlos Lacerda from 1960-1965 have profoundly marked the boundaries of what was then recognized as the modern formal Rio de Janeiro and regarded the other areas – among them Morro da Conceição – as informal and to be forgotten. In addition to that, more recently, the gentrification effects of Porto Maravilha urban intervention in Morro da Conceição – see Section 6.5 – have also demonstrated the exclusionary effects of such urban upgrading agendas.

Another example of the strong presence of such catching up/copy-cat approach embedded in the development practices of both case studies is the focus on the increase of the plot ratio and zoning as a way of attracting investment and development to the area. This study reveals in Chapters 5 [section 5.3.1] and 6 [section 6.3.1] that both the Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição urban development rationale are based on vertical development, intensive mixed use of the land and requalification of the area

through a controlling strategy based on zoning and plot ratio strategy. In line with Watson (2009)'s criticisms, this study concludes that the usage of zoning, master planning and visions of urban modernism is still the norm in the global south and reveals the need for a revitalization of such approaches in order to release global south cities from the imaginative straightjacket of imitative and regulatory urbanism.

The above findings are in line with what Harvey (1989); Holston (1989); Jacobs (1992); Sandercock (2003) have critically suggested as one of the challenging modernist city issues, which is the deep loss of human fabric as a result of devastating urban renewal and redevelopment practices [see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2]. Although not explicitly associating such issues of modernist practices with the production of informality itself, these authors (Harvey, 1989; Holston, 1989; Jacobs, 1992; Sandercock, 2003) have criticized the regulative and controlled role of modernist planning and how these practices have raised a strong dichotomy in cities, embracing the idea of modernity that fits an specifically group of people and interests, which, as a consequence, excludes other city's experiences as not welcomed, traditional and 'to be fixed'.

All in all, reinforcing the idea of informality as an issue to be solved, and as something to be formalized, the modernist practices have shown their strong influence in determining what is regarded as accepted and what should be 'fixed' within Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição's development process. With symbolical landmarks such as the Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur and the large avenues and business buildings in Rio de Janeiro city center, both Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição have been shadowed and trapped by the binary formal-informal discourse embedded in modernist urban practices that framed the idea of modernity and formality in those cities. Based on that, one would agree that this study clearly reveals the impact

of modernists' urban practices throughout history as a mechanism that legitimizes what is considered formal and modern in these global south cities, whilst leaving aside what is regarded as informal and that should be 'fixed' by the same practices that have helped generate it.

7.2.2 Single accounts of history

Findings in Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate that the association of history and informality goes beyond the realm of modernists' urban practices and can also be seen when critically analyzing the predominance of a single account of history within both global south cities' urban settings. Such conscious assessment of whose history is privileged as the only version of the past of these areas reveals both how specific ethnical or religious groups are silenced or made invisible through the dominance of another collective accepted history and the impact of that on this groups struggles over space and recognition.

These findings are in line with Hammami (2012c); Harvey (1989, 2000); Holston (2008, 2009b); Miraftab (2009); Sandercock (2003)'s claims for a multicultural interpretation and acknowledgment of different versions of the past as a way of addressing issues of informality in global south cities [see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1]. What is more, such findings have as key empirical confirmations from the cases studies [Chapters 5 and 6] both the **struggles over space and place** as well as the **questions of belonging, identity and acceptance of difference** that take place in both historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development agendas.

In the case of Kampong Bharu, for instance, these challenges are seen through the complexity of land ownership and its intricate relation with ethnicity. As highlighted in Chapter 5, section 5.2.1, the official criticisms about the multiple ownership as well as Malay status of Kampong Bharu's land as an issue to be solved expose the incapacity of the current historical understanding of the area to comprehend and value indigenous Malay planning practices. Delving deeply into this example, the findings demonstrate that the subliminal association of kampong and Malay lifestyle being something old and in need to be 'modernized' Bunnell (2002) [as underscored in Chapter 4, section 4.2.4] fueled the official discourse that diminishes the deep intangible value a land carries in Malay culture.

On the other hand, this intangible value is usually re-described as the Malay's lack of market vision and uses it as a justification for the need to 'open up' the Malay reserve status of Kampong Bharu in order to attract 'heavy weight' investors that would foster the development on the expected modern terms [see Section 5.2]. As highlighted by Sandercock (2003) and Holston (2008, 2009b), this attitude that regards as undesirable the planning history of a specific group sheds light into the hidden meanings of urban development practices in cities, more specifically in global south cities.

Drawing on the above, the study suggests the existence of similar struggles over land and questions of identity embedded in the single claim of a European white Catholic past of Morro da Conceição. As an example, the legal and media battles between the Catholic Venerable Third Order of St. Francis of Penance [VOT] and the Afro-descendants living around *Pedra do Sal* area presented in Chapter 6, section 6.2.1, clearly expose the tensions that exist from and within the everyday struggle of memory, land ownership and recognition in Morro da Conceição. Furthermore, this controversial historical land claim and the recognition of *Pedra do Sal* as belonging to *Quilombo* remnants after eight years of negotiations within different formal and informal arenas is

consistent with Sandercock (2003) and Holston (2008, 2009b)'s concept of insurgent planning history reviewed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1.

In summation, the above findings stress both how ethnical and religious discourse configures or consents with what is regarded as informal in such historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of development, as well as the importance of planning to be aware of such alternative formulations of citizenship as a way of emphasizing the multiple and revolutionary characteristics of such different accounts of the past.

7.3 Power

The literature reviewed at Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.3 have indicated the role of power in determining the idea of informality in global south cities. Drawing on both the literature explored (Roy, 2005, 2009c, 2011; Watson, 2003, 2006, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009b) and on the findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6, two emergent themes related to issues of power in informality were identified, namely **state power** and **market forces**. Those themes, as one may notice in the following sub-sections, are explored through empirical examples from both case studies such as state urban interventions dictating what is consider a proper urban environment; delegitimization and disregard of specific urban areas; real estate and private interest driving planning spatial choice; and commodification of culture and history. All in all, both these two themes, as well as the empirical confirmation are consistent with experiences of other researches around the world — particularly global south researches — that call into question the ways informality is often used in urban planning.

7.3.1 State power

As explored in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.3, in studying Indian, African and Israeli/Palestinian city's planning systems, Roy (2009c), Watson (2006) and Yiftachel (2009b) have identified the pivotal role of state power in defining which forms of living and being will thrive and which will disappear in the urban scenario. Drawing on the findings in Chapters 5 and 6, this study suggests that the urban reality in both Kuala Lumpur as well as Rio de Janeiro, more specifically in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, does not differ from that of other global south cities. For instance, both official and media writings, as well as interviewees' talks emphatically emphasize that the main objective of upgrading interventions in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição/port area is to modernize the area.

Delving deeply into the findings of Kampong Bharu explored in Chapter 5, the underlying meaning of modernity is usually used in opposition to slum, kampong and poor. Referring back to Bunnell (2002)'s statement about the term kampong being usually associated with urbanization failure and something undesirable [see Chapter 4, section 4.2], the government urban interventions surrounding Kampong Bharu offers a great example of the Malaysian state's power role in dictating what is considered a proper urban environment in the world-class city of Kuala Lumpur. As an example, these **legitimization efforts from the state**, which consider a certain concept of cleanliness, organization and landscape as modern – whiten in Yiftachel (2009b)'s words [see section 2.3.1.3] – **and criminalizing, delegitimizing** – or blacken (Yiftachel, 2009b) - can be observed in the talks of development body representatives as well as the specialist presented in section 5.3 about the current Kampong Bharu Master Plan. For them, this urban intervention is supposed to reduce the gap between Kampong Bharu's current situation and the surrounding modern built environment.

Drawing on the above and exploring the notion of greyness as the blurry space between what is officially whiten/accepted/enforced and blacken/delegitimized/ criminalized by state power as the space of informality, this study demonstrates that the very construction of such iconic modern surroundings of Kampong Bharu has put pressure and diminished this historical inhabited area as the locus of informality in the heart of Kuala Lumpur. In other words, both the massive and continuous investment in the surrounding area, as well as the lack of it and abandonment throughout the years of Kampong Bharu reinforces its inequality, leaving the place as a 'grey' area, revealing the sharp **role of state power in the production of informality** through the urban development discourse and practices.

Following the same discussion, this study found strong similarities when analyzing the official discourse of Morro da Conceição's urban development in Chapter 6. Critically assessing both the legal framework created since early 1938 in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the various planning interventions in and surrounding Morro da Conceição [see section 6.2], which recognized and privileged as heritage a specific type of architecture and version of the past – Catholic, white and military –, this study further demonstrates the role of such legal frameworks implemented by state power in portraying Morro da Conceição as a symbolic locus of Portuguese origins (Rio de Janeiro City Hall, 2001). Such findings are consistent with global south authors' claims (Harvey, 2000; Holston, 2008, 2009b; Miraftab, 2009; Sandercock, 2003) and previous discussion in section 7.2 about the role of history in portraying a specific version of the past as accepted and regarded another as informal. In addition to that, this empirical example of Morro da Conceição also suggests the essential role of state power in legitimizing a certain type of past as welcomed in the formal city and neglect other accounts of history that usually represent marginalized groups, such as the Afrodescendants and their struggles for recognition in Morro da Conceição.

Further exploring Yiftachel (2009b)'s white, black and grey spaces within global south cities [see section 2.3.1.3], particularly in the case of Morro da Conceição, the **delegitimization and disregard** of the port area through the exclusive investment in urban infrastructure in different parts of Rio de Janeiro as a way of changing the epicenter of the 'new modern city' – see details in Chapter 4, section 4.3.4, and Chapter 6, section 6.2.2 – offers another clear example on the **role of state urban interventions dictating what is considered a proper urban environment**. In addition to that, having a look into the recent upgrading agenda defended by the Porto Maravilha project [see Chapter 6, section 6.3], one might notice the state effort in 'whitening' certain spaces and attitudes within the port area as example of modernity attracting world-class tourists and investments, whilst 'blackening' certain experiences and spaces, such as 'informal' local commerce and dwellers that are not able to 'pay the price of development' [see section 6.3]. As a consequence of this dichotomic effort, other neglected experiences and spaces that are in between this divide configured what Yiftachel (2009b) called gray spaces, which is exactly the locus of 'informality' in global south cities.

Finally, drawing on the above discussion, this study offers empirical examples from both case studies that reinforces Roy (2009c), Watson (2006) and Yiftachel (2009b)'s claims that informality in global south cities represents a structural planning feature conducted by state power.

7.3.2 Market forces

Another influential theme that emerged throughout the exploration of issues of power within urban development practices in Kampong Bharu [Chapter 5] and Morro da Conceição [Chapter 6] was the market forces. Making use of the provoking question posed by Roy (2009c, p. 77), which critically asks *Who sets the urban upgrading agenda?* and *Can the public interest of the city be left in the hands of private*

developers? this study agrees with her and Watson (2006) [reviewed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.3] demonstrating that both real estate and private interests quite often drive the planning of spatial choices in Kampong Bharu, Morro da Conceição and surroundings. Although revealing different attitudes towards the market forces driving both Kampong Bharu as well as Morro da Conceição's development, both official documents as well as interviewees acknowledge the predominance of such hegemonic market rationality within the urban upgrading agenda of the areas. Making use of examples such as infrastructure development and commodification of cultural aspects for attracting world-class tourists and businesses as well as real estate developers, this research recognized the close relation between the issues of private power in reinforcing social and ethnic divides.

As an example, for the government authority and development body representatives, some of the Kampong Bharu Master Plan strategies, such as the increase of the plot ratio and the new possibilities of land use – presented in Chapter 5, section 5.3 – represent a major government step towards increasing the land value. For them, the major beneficiaries of such changes are the Kampong Bharu landowners, who can receive a higher amount of money from their piece of land. Nevertheless, local organizations as well as residents argue that the above-mentioned strategies are mostly benefiting the private companies and other groups of interest [see section 5.3.1]. For them, rather than looking for the public good, the government is interested in developing the land to get the best value out of the private investments in the area. In addition to that, the price and style of such high-rise constructions usually attracts foreigners or other groups with money, which is going to completely change the Malay character of the area.

In line with the Kampong Bharu case, Morro da Conceição offers as well an

insightful example on how real estate, private interests and commodification of culture are driving planning spatial choices. A close look into the financial mechanism created in order to drive the vertical development of the area [see section 6.3.2] reveals what was denounced as the predominance of private interest and strong presence of financial markets driving the destiny of the area. Another two examples of such hegemonic market rationality in the Porto Maravilha upgrading agenda discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3.1, are the failure of the project in attracting housing investment, particularly for medium-low income population, and the excessive government flexibility regarding the vertical development impacting the heritage protected view of Morro da Conceição. In portraying the Porto Maravilha project as a privatization of a whole part of the city, the findings presented in Chapter 6, section 6.3, are consistent with Watson (2006) and Roy (2009c)'s argument [Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.3] that when private means emerge as an alternative for the lack of public presence, the upgrading agenda very often addresses only the space and physical amenities rather than the real population's demands.

All in all, casting a critical eye towards official phrases such as 'promotion of urban tourism as a catalyst for urban economic growth and intensive mixed-use development as a way of attracting businesses, enhancing land value and attracting private investment' – from Kampong Bharu Master Plan [Chapter 5], as well as 'Porto Maravilha aims to return a historical treasure to Rio, and at the same time integrating areas with great housing, cultural and economic potential, which will be transformed into an example of modernity' – from Proto Maravilha project [Chapter 6] this study suggests the alignment of those urban practices with the already-proven inadequate traditional planning practice. Embedded in such a mind-set, which has mostly originated in the Anglophone cities forged by industrial revolution, the above explored state power and market forces within the urban development practices and have proven their share

of responsibility in the very production of informality in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, and consequently in both global south cities of Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro.

7.4 People's relations

Following the same path of discussion used in the two previous critical elements of informality presented in this chapter, this section explores the two emergent themes related to people's relations, namely **stakeholder participation** and **traditional lifestyle handling**. Drawing on Holston (2009b); Miraftab (2009); Roy (2005); Sandercock (2003); Watson (2009); Yiftachel (2009b), reviewed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.2, each of these themes are confirmed through empirical examples described in Chapters 5 and 6, such as the 'invited' public participation; selective inclusion; ideology of space; and insurgent creative practices.

Nevertheless, since the idea of creativity is briefly discussed in this section, a word of caution is advisable here. As highlighted at the end of section 2.3.1.1, in Chapter 2, creativity should only be considered an asset in cities after a conscious and deep consideration of the role of power in planning, particularly in development interventions within global south cities. Therefore, this section explores the two emergent themes associated with people's relations conscious of the role of power and history in the very production of informality in global south cities.

7.4.1 Stakeholder participation

When analyzing the development plans and interventions in Kampong Bharu [Chapter 5] and Morro da Conceição [Chapter 6], this study disclosed the importance of having a critical eye towards stakeholders' participation as an instrument of both dominance as well as **selective inclusion**. Delving deeply into the channels for

participation created by both development bodies responsible for the urban interventions in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição [see section 5.4 and 6.4 respectively], one might agree that they served more as a *pro forma* instrument for sharing information about the projects, rather than a transformative dialogical channel. These findings further suggest that these spaces have been used by the development bodies as a way of both fulfilling the mandatory planning regulations [e.g.: City Statute in Brazil] and uncritically following the underlying assumption that a good planning exercise should have such channels.

The importance of critically assessing stakeholder's participation in development practices is consistent with Miraftab (2009) and Holston (2008, 2009b)'s discussion about both the underlying interests intertwined in the official channels of participation, as well as the alternative forms of influence invented as a way of collectively challenging the status quo [see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.2]. As explained in Chapter 5, in the case of Kampong Bharu, for instance, all the official representatives clearly indicated the landowners as the key stakeholders in Kampong Bharu, highlighting that although all the residents were welcomed the land owners were targeted as the public invited for the 'sharing/discussion sessions' about the master plan.

Making use of Miraftab (2009)'s discussion about such sanctioned spaces of participation [see section 2.3.1.2], which he called 'invited spaces', the selective choice of landowners as the public to be invited for participation in an area where the majority of residents are tenants clarifies that such spaces of participation, rather than serve as a flexible arena of decisions aiming the public good, it usually works as an instrument of control and maintenance of the status quo. Drawing on the above, one might agree that since the tenants are not the public with governability to solve the underlying real estate interests in the area, they are then selectively excluded from the discussions, keeping the

development agenda under the control of the major power players [market forces and state] who are mostly interested in keeping the status quo.

As another example of the powers in place within such **invited spaces of participation**, delving into Morro da Conceição's case presented in Chapter 6, more specifically at the first phase of the development intervention in the port region – which, as explained in section 6.3.1, focused on Morro da Conceição – two subliminal assumptions could be seen within the channels of participation created as a regulatory requirement during the process. The first one is the historical value of the area as a commodity to be explored by market forces in order to attract world-class tourists. The second, on the other hand, is the portrait of the solely European heritage of Morro da Conceição associating ideas of cleanliness, safety and a higher class community with the area in order to both foster the touristic movement as well as support the attraction of a certain type of population for the region [artists, medium/high class, etc.].

Drawing on the above findings and on Miraftab (2009)'s critiques presented in Chapter 2 [section 2.3.1.2], one might agree that these invited spaces of participation are examples of how domination is smartly worked through the discourse of inclusion. Furthermore, adding the example of immigrants' invisibility/exclusion in the Kampong Bharu development process – explored in section 5.4 – these findings reveal how the state's choices can reinforce which segment of the population is welcomed and which one is both not welcomed and collectively regarded as informal.

7.4.2 Traditional lifestyle handling

In analyzing how the traditional way of living has been handled throughout the development intervention in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, this study suggests that those development practices are both driven by an **ideology of space** as

well as challenged by **insurgent creative practices**. Consistent with Roy (2005)'s understanding of ideology of space [reviewed in Chapter 2], which claims that the limitations of an urban upgrading agenda can be seen in the policy choices in redeveloping the built environment rather than people's livelihoods, this study further suggests that such ideology drives the choices of which type of experiences are worth becoming marketed for world-class tourism and that will attract a new population profile in both case study areas. The insurgent creative practices [as explained in section 2.3.1.2], on the other hand, usually take place at the *interface* (Watson, 2009) of such upgrading interventions and represents the *collective voice* (Miraftab, 2009) of people who challenge the *powerful local and international forces that would have them segregated and servile* (Holston, 2009b, p. 249). Thus, this study reflects insightful empirical examples of such insurgent creative practices the cases of the negotiations of education rights through the centenary school in Morro da Conceição, as well as the negotiation of ownership and commercial rights in the traditional market of Kampong Bharu.

Focusing on the **ideology of space**, both case studies have demonstrated the limitations of such ideology intertwined in development practices. Mostly focusing on the attraction of a certain type of tourist and population through aesthetics and business transformations, the study shows that the development interventions in Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição have left aside the potential knowledge and symbolical meanings embedded in people's relations intertwined in such physical structures. For instance, the usage of expressions such as *they must change their lifestyle* [section 5.3.1] and *the architecture will showcase the Malay culture* [section 5.3.3] as well as the indication of practices such as the relocation of 11 old Malay houses changing their usage in order to become a tourist attraction reveal few of the findings that demonstrate

how the *traditional Malay way of living* has been handled within the development of Kampong Bharu. Whilst worries about changing the *Malay village character* is openly expressed by local residents, particularly the older generation, [see section 5.2.2], the counter argument of official representatives reinforces such claims when it is mainly focusing on the physical upgrade and Malay architecture features of the building environment as a way of *keeping the culture and identity* [section 5.3.3].

Furthermore, the development practices in Morro da Conceição also suggest that the claimed village lifestyle of the area, mostly associated with the idea of safety and trust collaborative ties [see section 6.2.2], are under a rapid changing process led by underlying economical powers. As highlighted at the end of section 6.3.3, Morro da Conceição and port region physical transformations reveal the real driving force and 'client' of such development practices, which are the public private arrangements to transform the area into a business environment that uses *culture as a bite to attract tourism and real estate development*.

These findings in both case study areas are in line with Roy (2005)'s critiques about the limitations of urban development practices. As highlighted in Chapter 2, the major focus of such planning interventions is on the improvement of build environment rather than on upgrading people's political capacities and livelihoods. This selective focus of development practices results then in an aesthetically organized areas embedded in the discourse of improvement and integration of people's lifestyle in one hand, but with an exclusionary effect usually translated in 'planning failure' and informality. Although organized and aesthetically structured, such developed/upgraded and 'modernized' reveals – other than the power interests behind urban interventions choices [section 7.3] – the lack of planning commitment with the potential meanings local people could give

to such interventions as well as the exclusionary effect of solely physical upgrading strategies (Roy, 2005).

Further discussing the development interventions **challenged by insurgent creative practices**, the two empirical examples indicated at the beginning of this section [and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6] highlight how local population could invent their own ways of challenging the status quo. Delving into the example of the association created in order to keep the quality and operations of the centenary school in Morro da Conceição outside the realm of municipal education system [section 6.3.3], this study found that the engagement of formal and informal arenas of politics promotes a counter-hegemonic effect that redefines the distribution of resources and recognition of a group sometimes regarded as 'informal'. Also collectively organizing in order to negotiate their rights that were initially neglected by the state and allied private forces, the group of people involved with the compensation claims in *Pasar Minggu* in Kampong Bharu [at the end of section 5.3.3] also offers insights of how insurgent creative practices play within invited and invented spaces of participation in order to transgress, in this case, the private interests.

These findings are in line with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 that defend the role and importance of planners to critically assess insurgent creative practices. Drawing on the authors discussed in Section 2.3.1.2 and based on the above-presented evidence, this study demonstrates that such insurgences are fluidly created within invited and invented spaces of participation (Miraftab, 2009) as way of deconstructing the one-sided urban order (Yiftachel, 2009b). Furthermore, they are fuelled by people's capacity to imagine a different story and way of being or relating (Sandercock, 2003) that cannot be readily assimilated into already established conceptual frameworks (Holston, 2009b).

7.5 Analytical framework of informality in global south cities

As a conclusion of the discussion process undertaken in this chapter and based on global south urbanist's debates about the urban developmentalist's practices and their structural impact in the notion of informality explored throughout this study, an analytical framework of informality is proposed. The framework encourages a three-fold analyses that consider each of the three critical elements of informality reviewed in Chapter 2 in a fractal fashion. Drawing on Roy (2009c)'s argument of the need of addressing informality in global south cities as taking place within the informalized production of space, by fractal fashion this study means an approach towards informality considering it as something practiced by the various stakeholders involved in the construction of everyday life. Looking it as an idiom of urbanization, informality is then addressed in a broad perspective, critically assessing the way the various stakeholders of development practices – steming from the government and real state developers to the local population – plays a role in the production of informality within global south cities.

As depicted in Figure 7.2, in order to understand the complex meanings of informality within development practices, it is initially important to consider the impacts of structural planning within the production of space in such urban areas. This zooming in process is represented in the analytical framework through the emergent themes within each critical element of informality. For instance, in order to analyze how power impacts the very production of informality within these cities, one should critically assess the intricate elements of state power and market power. Following this approach with the other two critical elements, in order to assess the role of history as well as the impact of people's relations in the understanding of informality in these cities, one should critically assess the modernist urban practices and the single accounts

of history [History]; and the stakeholder participation and traditional lifestyle handling [People's relations], respectively.

The analytical framework depicts one critical element – with its respective emergent themes – inside each of three interlayered circles and the concept of informality at the intersection of these three circles. Saying that, this study aims to emphasize through this analytical framework the importance of considering Power, People's relations and History as intertwined forces in a multi-dimensional understanding [fractal fashion] of informality in global south cities. Furthermore, in depicting the two emergent themes within each critical element, this framework offers an initial guideline for policy makers encouraging a zooming in analyses that challenges the deregulatory and exceptionalism logic embedded in the production of informality.

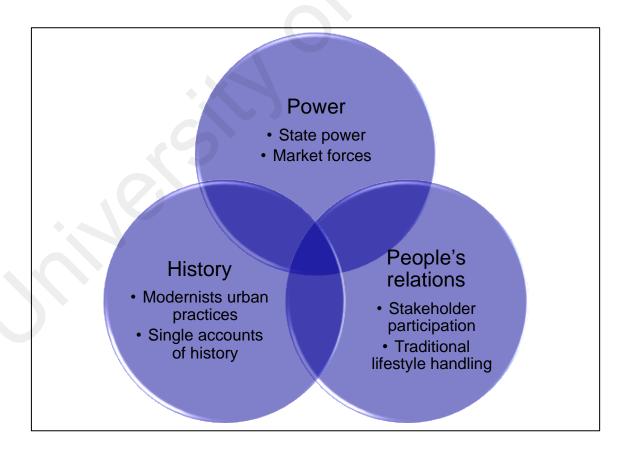


Figure 7-2: Analytical framework of informality in global south cities diagram

7.6 Summary

This chapter explored both the emergent themes as well as empirical confirmation from the two case studies through the lenses of the three critical elements of informality previously identified in Chapter 2, namely history, power and people's relations. The analyses of such findings revealed the implication of modernist urban practices; single accounts of history; state power; market forces; stakeholder participation and traditional lifestyle handling on the very production of global south cities' urban crisis. Those implications were organized as emergent themes and explored throughout the chapter. Following that and moving away from the idea of informality as an issue of poverty, this chapter proposed an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into it in a fractal fashion. Table 7.1 summarizes the discussion process undertaken throughout this chapter, highlighting the critical elements of informality, emergent themes, empirical confirmation and conceptual consistency cross-referenced throughout the exploration of this study's findings.

Table 7-1: Cross-referencing discussion table

Critical Elements	Emergent Themes	Empirical Confirmation	Conceptual Consistency
of Informality [Literature Review]	[Findings: Case Studies]	[Case Studies]	[Literature Review]
History	Modernists urban practices	- 'White' eviction - 'Catching up' mechanisms - Zoning, Master plan and other controlling instruments ruling what is the 'formal modern city'	Harvey (1989); Holston (1989, 2008, 2009); Jacobs (1992); Robinson (2006); Sandercock (2003); Watson (2009)
	Single accounts of history	-Struggles over space and place: land ownership as an issueQuestions of belonging, identity and acceptance of difference	Hammami (2012); Harvey (1989, 2000); Holston (2008, 2009); Miraftab (2009); Sandercock (2003)
Power	State power	-State urban interventions dictating what is consider a proper urban environment -Delegitimization and disregard of specific urban areas	(Roy, 2005, 2009, 2011; Watson, 2006; Yiftachel, 2009)
	Market forces	-Real state and private interest driving planning spatial choice -Commodification of culture and history	(Roy, 2009; Watson, 2003, 2006, 2009)
People's Relation	Stakeholder participation	- 'Invited' public participation - Selective inclusion	Miraftab (2009) and Holston (2008, 2009)
	Traditional lifestyle handling	Ideology of spaceInsurgent creative practices	(Holston, 2009; Miraftab, 2009; Roy, 2005; Sandercock, 2003; Watson, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009)

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The aim of the study is to critically examine informality in global south cities by investigating two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development. In order to do that, this research reviews the critical elements of informality in global south cities and, by adopting both a qualitative methodology and a social constructivist approach, it explores the case studies of Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur and Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro. The research also takes into account the socio-economic, political and urban contexts [see Chapter 4] and aims to establish an understanding of the complex association of informality with planning failure through the analyses of urban development practices in global south cities within each case presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Exploring both the emergent themes as well as empirical confirmation from the two case studies through the lenses of the three critical elements of informality [history, people's relations and power] previously identified in Chapter 2, Chapter 7 discusses these research findings and proposes an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into it in a fractal fashion. In this final chapter, the three research objectives are revisited and discussed in light of this study's findings. In addition to that, this conclusive chapter elucidates the challenges, limitations and contributions of this study, as well as highlights the recommendations for future research.

8.2 Research objectives achievement

Based on a thorough review of literature, which deemed as problematic the idea of informality as something that should be 'fixed' by - rather than 'produced' by urban development practices, this study has addressed its first research question, explicitly: what are the other ways of addressing informality in global south cities? In answering this question, three critical elements were identified as important to be assessed once analyzing the intertwined forces that determine what is considered or not informal in global south cities, particularly within developmentalist urban practices. Having that in mind and based on the research methodologies employed [social constructivist, qualitative, multi-case study, making use of preliminary field visit, secondary data review, semi-structured interviews and observation as data collection methods], this study tackled the second research question, which is how planning addressed informality in global south cities' urban development? Exploring the origins, rationale, challenges and opportunities of urban development interventions taking place in Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur and Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro, this thesis delved deeply into the underlying assumptions of informality within these two global south cities. Finally, exploring both case study areas' findings and driven by the literature suggesting that the definition of informality is affected by power players, single accounts of history manifested through structural planning approaches, as well as the selective/authoritative perception of the impacts of people's relations in global south city making, this research addressed its third question, namely: is there another framework of analyses able to critically address informality in global south cities' urban development practices? Hence, encouraging a three-fold analyses that consider each of the three critical elements of informality explored throughout the thesis, as well as the themes that emerged from the case studies' findings in a fractal fashion, an analytical framework of informality in global south cities was proposed.

All things considered, the following three sections are dedicated to discuss the achievement of all the three objectives of this study.

8.2.1 Objective 1: To examine the critical elements associated with informality in global south cities

Reviewing, first the literature associated with modernist and postmodernist philosophies, followed by an overview of both traditional and global south cities' urban planning history, this study identified and examined three critical elements associated with informality in global south cities [see Chapter 2]. This study further demonstrates that although not listed altogether as categories by any author, these three critical elements, namely power, people's relations and history, are repeatedly indicated when informality is scrutinized and re-described through the global south urban scholars' lens [see Figure 8.1]. Hence, casting a critical eye towards issues of years of implementation of a liberal economistic model as a developmentalist strategy and the mainstream understanding of informality in global south cities, the role of history, people's relations, and power were examined and disclosed as elements to be assessed in order to critically address informality in such cities.

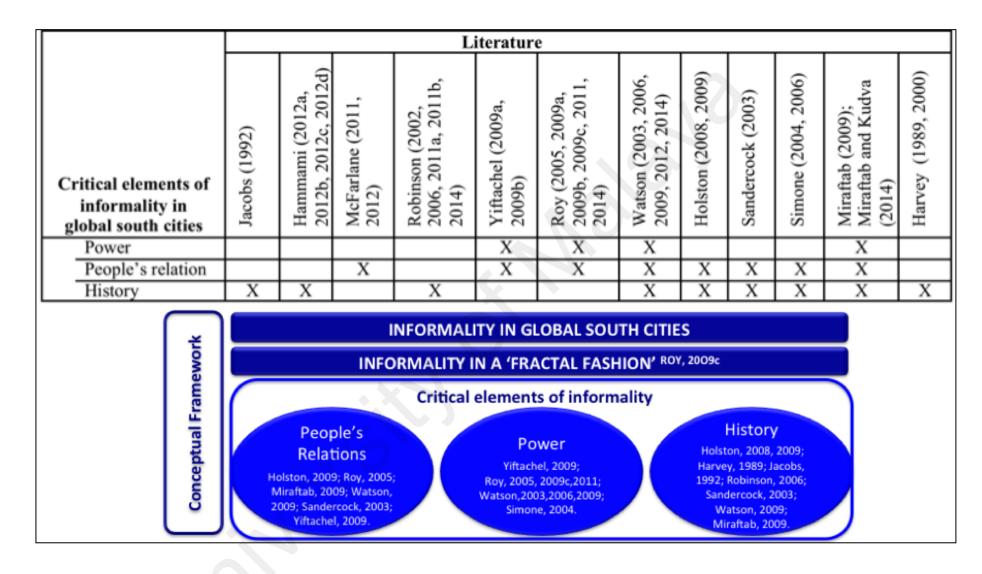


Figure 8-1: Objective 1 achievement: critical elements of informality examined

8.2.2 Objective 2: To investigate two different global south cities' areas, focusing on the critical elements associated with informality

Framed by the three critical elements of informality examined in Chapter 2 and following the methodological choices explained in Chapter 3 [social constructivist, qualitative, multi-case study, making use of preliminary field visit, secondary data review, semi-structured interviews and observation as data collection methods] this thesis investigated two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of development located in the global south cities of Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro. Following an analytical structure comprised of four headlines, namely Historical background, Urban intervention rationale, Stakeholders' involvement and Future perspectives, the findings of Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição demonstrated that informality is a controversial concept, which understanding and limits vary depending on the interest and interventions of **power** players. Both case studies also suggested that intertwined with such power choices, the definition of informality is affected by both the single accounts of history manifested through structural planning approaches [such as the ethnical and social choices embedded in urban upgrading agenda] as well as the selective/authoritative perception of the impacts of people's relations in global south city making. Finally, the findings of this research highlights the emergent themes underpinning the understanding of informality in these two historical inhabited urban areas under the pressure of urban development, which are further explained in the next section.

Figure 8.2 offers an overview of the map and diagrams used to depict and describe the analytical process undertaken in order to investigate Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição, which were thoroughly explored in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

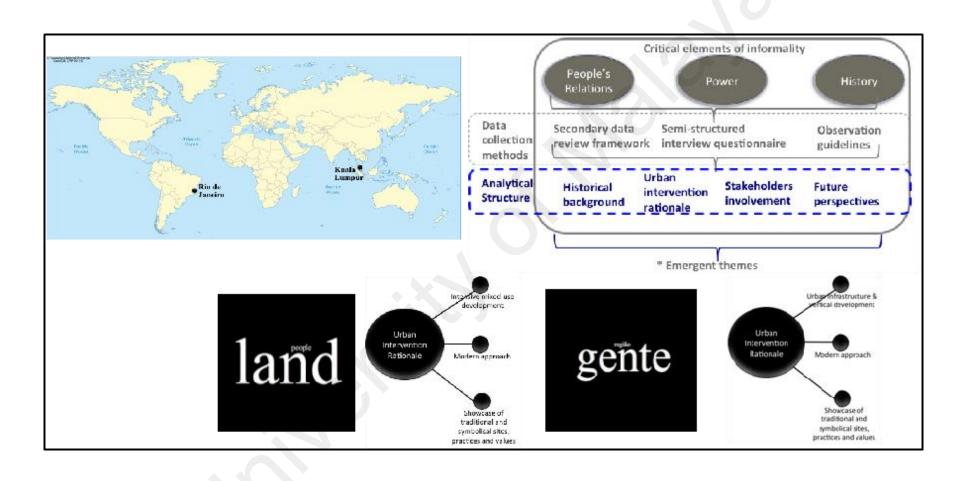


Figure 8-2: Objective 2 achievement: two global south cities investigated

8.2.3 Objective 3: To propose an analytical framework of informality in global south cities, particularly looking into informality in a fractal fashion

This objective was fulfilled through the proposal of the three-fold analytical diagram depicted in Figure 8.3. Based on the three critical elements of informality, as well as on the definition of fractal fashion as an approach towards informality that considerers it as a multi-dimension phenomena rather than framed by the binary formal-informal or legal-illegal [reviewed in Chapter 2] this framework addresses informality in global south cities as taking place within the informalized production of space.

Furthermore, as depicted in Figure 8.3 below, the analytical framework depicts one critical element – with its respective emergent themes – inside each of three interlayered circles and the concept of informality at the intersection of these three circles. The six emergent themes, on the other hand, were the result of the analytical process of both case studies' findings and were discussed in Chapter 7. From these emergent themes, this thesis revealed the implications of modernist urban practices, single accounts of history, state power, market forces, traditional lifestyle handling and stakeholder participation on the very production of global south cities' urban crisis.

In summation, this study emphasized through this analytical framework the importance of considering power, people's relations and history as intertwined forces in a multi-dimensional understanding [fractal fashion] of informality in global south cities. Furthermore, in depicting the two emergent themes within each critical element, this framework offered an initial guideline for policy makers encouraging a zooming-in analysis that challenges the deregulatory and exceptionalism logic embedded in the production of informality.

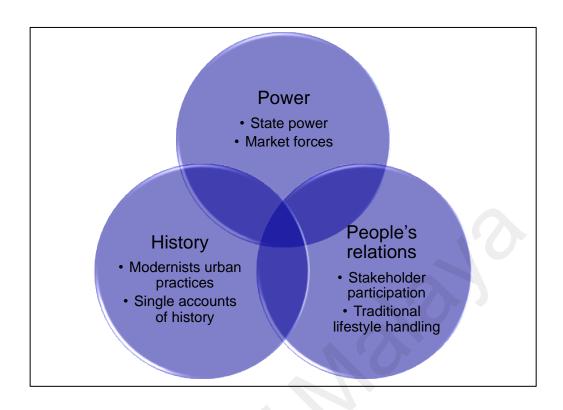


Figure 8-3: Objective 3 achievement: analytical framework proposed

8.3 Challenges and limitations of the study

As further explained in Chapter 3, this research follows a social constructivist approach [section 3.2.1] and is aligned with the trustworthiness and authenticity criteria to judge a qualitative research [section 3.6.3]. Saying that, this study recognizes its limitations regarding the research bias particularly associated with the language and cultural interpretative challenges. Although critically assuming the importance of a social constructivist approach, particularly followed by the majority of global south authors (Robinson, 2006; Roy, 2009b; Roy & AlSayyad, 2004; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009), this study has also taken the following series of actions in order to ensure this research is *sufficiently authentic* (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 120) to the extent that one would use such findings in influencing social policy or legislation.

Actions taken:

- Cultural challenge: longer field exposure in Malaysia associated with a deep literature review about the area. The latter includes the review of historical, governmental and academic documents, media coverage, old pictures, novels and cartoons about Malay culture, Malaysia and Kuala Lumpur history and Kampong Bharu background. Particularly about the fieldwork in Kampong Bharu, June 2012 to June 2013 preliminary field visit followed by an ongoing process of observation and extended presence on the area as a way to immerse in and understand the intertwined forces within this culturally diverse context.
- Language challenge: The attendance of *bahasa Melayu* course is a requirement in the University Malaya and the international students are usually encouraged to do it during the second year. Aware of the language barriers, this researcher requested a letter from the supervisors endorsing the need for an earlier attendance of the classes, which was accepted by the Institute of Post Graduates of the University of Malaya IPS and the classes were attended during the first year of research, in 2012. In addition to that, a translation support during the interviews and observation occurred. Particularly during the Bazar Ramadan period of July 2013, when two Malay researchers and one Indonesian immigrant resident were hired to support the research and immersion process, explaining both the cultural aspects as well as the language challenges during this basilar cultural experience in Kampong Bharu.

In addition to that, because this study deploys a case study approach, it is important to highlight the already-discussed [see Chapter 3, section 3.4] divergences on the idea of generalization. This research was conducted in Kampong Bharu, Kuala Lumpur and Morro da Conceição, Rio de Janeiro, and, therefore, the participants as well as data collected were mostly experienced and related to Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, a limitation of this study is that it is likely that not all the findings of this

research apply to other global south cities. Nevertheless, drawing on both Stake (1995)'s understanding of case as a complex entity with its own history, context, subunits and situations that requires a holistic examination in order to apprehended its complexities as well as on this researcher's commitment to a thick description, this study provides sufficient details offering the reader a vicarious experience of the case, allowing to compare it with their own experiences and make generalizations themselves.

Another limitation of this study is related to the timeframe restrictions. Since both investigated global south cities are under a huge development pressure and transformations, particularly boosted by the mega-events [Rio de Janeiro] and market/state forces [Kuala Lumpur], this study is conscious about the limitations of its findings due to the timeframe constrains. In other words, this study's findings reflect the reality of both areas until June of 2015. It is important to highlight that the urban upgrade agenda within both areas is still under development and deeply transforming the reality of Kampong Bharu and Morro da Conceição.

8.4 Research contribution

This study has contributed to an emerging discussion on different ways of addressing informality in global south cities. The main aspects of such contribution can be outlined as follows:

- Empirical resource about development practices and informality from two global south cities: Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro. It is important to highlight that these two cities have rarely appeared together in the same study before.
- Significance of addressing issues of power, history and people's relations as critical elements of informality in global south cities.

- Analytical framework of informality in global south cities: as a contribution to scholarship in urban planning, this thesis supports the required diagnostic effort of planners involved in addressing global south cities' challenges. It offers an alternative analytical approach towards informality considering the interlayered impact of history, power and people's relations and offering an operational guide through the emergent themes.
- Theoretical planning discourse on informality: Looking at the informality within
 these cities in a fractal fashion, this research contributes to providing more subsidies
 for the theoretical development of this growing and essential field of knowledge
 within urban planning, particularly in global south cities.

8.5 Recommendations for future research

The challenges and limitations of this study outlined in section 8.3, as well as research gaps highlighted throughout this thesis, opens the grounds for the recommendations for future research as follows:

Addressing global south urbanists' claims of more research committed to a different way of looking at informality, this study delved deeply into two different global south cities. Nevertheless, as highlighted by these authors and discussed in Chapter 1, many more cities and experiences of modernity in ordinary cities around the world must be added in the construction of this new body of knowledge within planning. Therefore, in order to enhance and further validate this study's findings related to informality in global south cities, this thesis recommends that more research should be carried out in other global south cities, further exploring, for instance, the emergent themes identified in the case studies of Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro.

- Delving deeply into global south urbanists' claims, particularly focusing on Bunnell (2015); Bunnell and Das (2010), Robinson (2011b, 2014, 2015) and McFarlane (2010, 2011); McFarlane and Robinson (2012)'s recent works on post colonial comparative urban studies, a potential further study to be carried out from this research is to go beyond the multicase studies methodology, comparing both global south cities using the post colonial urban studies lenses.
- Further exploring informality in both global south cities of Kuala Lumpur and Rio
 de Janeiro, another future research suggested is to focus on the process happening
 within state and market realms. Delving deeply into Roy (2009c) broad concept of
 informality, one could tap into the way both state and market avoid and plays
 around rules as much as residents do.
- As argued in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.2, it is through everyday encounters that some urban challenges faced by marginalized groups are contested and sometimes creatively re-described. Briefly exploring this notion of insurgent creative practice, this study discussed only one example within each case study area. Aware of the transformative potential of such creativity in global south cities, this study suggests that further research in analyzing insurgent creative practices embedded in everyday negotiations of city-making will be very much desirable to support a broad understanding of the different ways of being modern within global south cities.
- Drawing on the timeframe limitations discussed in section 8.3, this research recommends that further studies are required in order to update the development directions and impacts of such practices in Kuala Lumpur and Rio de Janeiro, after June 2015. As highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6, both case study areas are supposed to be under massive development transformations until 2025. Hence, other research focusing on the development transformations and the understanding of informality within these new timeframes would add to both the global south urbanism body of

knowledge as well as broadening the understanding of the challenges and opportunities of upgrading practices within these two cities.

Finally, it is important to highlight that this study has endeavored to broaden the very term of informality far from both the binary formal-informal divide as well as the idea of planning failure [something 'to be fixed'] that is so common within development practices in global south cities. By bringing together examples of two global south cities and drawing an analytical framework of informality from these two experiences, the research provides a starting point for further researches on the new urban planning paradigm that invites planners to look at informality in a fractal fashion.

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