

SUMMARY

Against the background of the ongoing debate on "urban social movements" in Brazil, this study aims to reconstruct the development of neighborhood associations in the northeastern city of Recife (Pernambuco) between 1964 and 1988. It highlights the processual and relational aspects of this development and views neighborhood associativism as a diversity of practices and social constructs shaped "in and by" diverse discursive and organizational matrixes involving diverse actors. This approach brings into focus the interaction between the various actors and agencies involved in the process of social construction of forms of neighborhood associativism as well as the dynamics of this process in the context of the broader social and political developments in Brazilian society. Furthermore, it brings into view the role of theorizations of "urban social movements" in their double relation to neighborhood associativism, as a discursive matrix for "understanding" as well as a medium for "self-understanding," or as theory as well as project, subject to constant redevelopment.

The theorizations of "urban social movements" which became available in Brazil in the course of the 1970s effectively contributed to the shaping of the neighborhood associations that emerged after the disarticulation of this type of organization in the aftermath of the 1964 military *coup*. These theorizations articulated with, and served to specify the "discursive matrixes" of Liberation Theology and the Left in pursuit of a new relationship with "its base." They provided the groups most involved with promoting neighborhood associativism, as well as local leaders, with a theoretical perspective and a more specific program of action. This development contributed to a reification of the notion of "urban social movement" in what can be called "the paradigm of the 1970s."

The early 1980s witnessed the deconstruction of this rather consensual understanding of what the newly emerging neighborhood associations were all about, due to developments in theoretical reflection in conjunction with the practical process of "democratic transition" in Brazil. This deconstruction of the "paradigm of the 1970s" revealed the range of actors and agencies involved in the social production of forms of neighborhood associativism. In this study it is argued that the reemergence of neighborhood associativism in the 1970s and its impact should be analyzed in conjunction with the emergence of the Brazilian "new middle classes," the role played by segments of these groups as "translators and articulators of social demands" and its repercussions on the shaping of forms of neighborhood associativism. Furthermore the deconstruction of the "paradigm of the 1970s"

problematized the relation between "urban social movements" and the state. While until then it had been thought of in terms of mutual negation, the focus now shifted to the relation between "social movement" and "institutional system" itself and the exploration of ways to democratize this relation. In this way it linked up with the "reassessment of democracy by the Left" and the practical challenges of the transition to a civilian government.

After an introductory overview of the development of the city of Recife and its history up to 1964, the study follows the trajectory and role of neighborhood associativism in Recife through the period of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism (1964-1979), the gradual political "opening" and the transition to a civilian government (1979-1985). Finally, it discusses one of the first large-scale experiments in municipal democratization carried out by a left-wing administration that sought to promote "the participation of the organized social movements of civil society" (1985-1988). During the 1964-1979 period, new forms of neighborhood associativism emerged under the protective wing of the Church. By the end of this period these groups increasingly came to be signified as "urban social movements" which were expected to contribute to a substantial transformation of Brazilian society. This new signification and its practical implications were a source of tension since they tended to subvert the discursive and organizational matrix provided by the Church, which simultaneously tended to narrow under the pressure of conservative Catholicism and the reorientation in the context of the Brazilian democratization process. The 1979-1985 period witnessed the efforts on the part of the departing authoritarian regime to steer the transition to civilian rule in the desired direction, including new policies aimed to outflank the oppositionist neighborhood associations. The dispute over the hegemonization of neighborhood associations resulted in a rapid proliferation and diversification of neighborhood associativism which increasingly took a dynamics of its own, taking advantage of the opportunities opened up by the changing "environment." In the 1985 municipal elections, the first to be held in Recife since 1963, a left-wing "popular front" carried the day. The issues of participation and democratization of the municipal administration played an important role in the electoral campaign and resulted in efforts to promote the "participation of the organized social movements of civil society" in the administration of the municipality. Despite these favorable circumstances, the groups that had become the spokespersons of the Recife "neighborhood movement" lost the initiative in the democratization experiments as they failed to develop any viable proposal. Meanwhile grassroots organizations started to actively participate in the democratization policies gradually developed by the municipal administration. This disencounter between the local organizations and the group of spokespersons of "the movement," in the context of the specific political conjuncture of the early years of the Brazilian *Nova República* contributed to the reduced impact of the democratization policies and the failure to result in significant institutional change.

Este estudo procura reconstruir o desenvolvimento das associações de moradores na cidade do Recife (Pernambuco) entre 1964 e 1988, tomando por base o debate sobre os "movimentos sociais urbanos" no Brasil. Destacam-se os aspectos processuais e relacionais desse desenvolvimento, considerando o associativismo de bairro como um conjunto de práticas e construções sociais diversas, moldadas por várias matrizes discursivas e organizacionais e implicando diferentes atores. Dessa maneira procura-se tomar conta da interação entre os atores implicados no processo de construção social de formas de associativismo de bairro como também da dinâmica desse processo no contexto mais amplo de mudança social e política no Brasil. Também toma-se conta do papel das teorizações sobre os "movimentos sociais urbanos" na sua dupla relação com o associativismo de bairro, tanto como matriz para "entendimento" quanto meio de "auto-entendimento", tanto como teoria quanto projeto, sujeito a constante reelaboração.

As teorizações sobre os "movimentos sociais urbanos", que começavam a ser disponíveis no Brasil no curso dos anos 70, efetivamente tiveram um papel no resurgimento do associativismo de bairro depois da desarticulação desse tipo de organização após o golpe militar de 1964. As teorizações serviram para especificar as matrizes discursivas da Teologia da Libertação, e da esquerda em busca de uma nova relação com a "sua base". Para os grupos envolvidos na promoção do associativismo de bairro e para as lideranças locais, as teorizações serviram como instrumento de análise da realidade e para a elaboração de programas de ação mais específicas. Isto contribuiu para reificação do conceito de "movimento social urbano" no que poderia chamar-se de "paradigma dos anos 70".

O início dos anos 80 foi o momento de uma desconstrução do entendimento bastante consensual do significado do novo associativismo de bairro, como resultado de desenvolvimentos na reflexão teórica em conjunção com o processo prático da "transição democrática" no Brasil. A desconstrução do "paradigma dos anos 70" também revelou a diversidade de atores e agências envolvidos na produção social de formas de associativismo de bairro. O resurgimento do associativismo de bairro nos anos 70, então, pode ser analisado na sua conjunção com: a ascendência das "novas classes médias" no Brasil; o papel de segmentos dessas classes como "tradutores e articuladores de demandas sociais"; e sua influência na moldura do associativismo de bairro. Além disso, a desconstrução do "paradigma dos anos 70" implicou uma reavaliação das perspectivas que enfocavam a relação entre os "movimentos sociais urbanos" e o estado, em termos de negação mútua. A atenção

deslocou-se para a mesma relação entre o "movimento social" e o "sistema institucional", e a questão da democratização dessa relação. A mudança foi relacionada à "revalorização da democracia pela esquerda" e aos práticos desafios da transição para um governo civil.

Após uma discussão do desenvolvimento da cidade do Recife e sua história até 1964, o estudo enfoca a trajetória e o papel do associativismo de bairro no Recife no período de autoritarismo burocrático (1964-1979), e a gradual "abertura" política e transição para um governo civil (1979-1985). Finalmente, discute-se uma das primeiras experiências de gestão democrática municipal, numa grande cidade brasileira, sob uma administração de esquerda, procurando viabilizar "a participação dos movimentos sociais organizados da sociedade civil" (1985-1988). No período 1964-1979, novas formas de associativismo de bairro surgiram sob a manta protetiva da Igreja. Ao final desse período, o significado desses grupos interpretou-se cada vez mais em termos de "movimento social urbano", na expectativa de que contribuirá para uma transformação substantiva da sociedade brasileira. A nova significação e suas implicações práticas foram fontes de tensões, porque tendencialmente subvertiram as matrizes discursivas e organizativas oferecidas pela Igreja, que no mesmo momento tenderam a estreitar-se sob a pressão do Catolicismo conservador e da reorientação da Igreja brasileira no contexto do processo da democratização. Os anos 1979-1985 foram um período de esforços por parte do governo autoritário para direcionar a transição para um governo civil na direção desejada, incluindo novas políticas apontadas para levar vantagem sobre as associações de bairro sob influência oposicionista. A disputa da hegemonia sobre as associações de bairro resultou numa proliferação rápida e numa diversificação do associativismo de bairro, que desenvolveu uma dinâmica própria, aproveitando-se das novas oportunidades oferecidas pelas mudanças. As eleições municipais de 1985 foram ganhas no Recife por uma "frente popular" de esquerda. Já na campanha eleitoral, os temas de democratização e participação desempenharam um papel importante, resultando num esforço para viabilizar a "participação dos movimentos sociais organizadas da sociedade civil" na democratização do município. Apesar das circunstâncias favoráveis, os grupos porta-vozes do "movimento de bairros" no Recife perderam a iniciativa nas experiências de democratização por falta de propostas viáveis. Entretanto, as organizações de base começavam a participar ativamente nas políticas de democratização gradualmente desenvolvidas pela administração municipal. O desencontro entre as organizações locais e o grupo de representantes supra-locais "do movimento", no contexto da conjuntura específica dos primeiros anos da Nova República, foi uma causa pela qual foi reduzido o impacto das políticas de democratização e levou à falta de resultados significantes em termos de mudança institucional.

Onder verwijzing naar de debatten over "stedelijke sociale bewegingen" in Brazilië beoogt deze studie de ontwikkeling van wijkorganisaties in de noordoost Braziliaanse stad Recife, tussen 1964 en 1988, te reconstrueren. Daarbij wordt vooral aandacht besteed aan de relationele en procesmatige aspecten van deze ontwikkeling. Vormen van wijkorganisatie worden beschouwd als sociale constructies, die "in en door" verschillende discursieve en organisationele "matrixes" worden gevormd en waarbij een verscheidenheid van actoren betrokken is. Op deze manier wordt de aandacht gevestigd op de interactie tussen de verschillende actoren in de "sociale constructie" van vormen van wijkorganisatie en op de dynamiek van dit proces in de context van de bredere maatschappelijke en politieke ontwikkelingen in Brazilië. Bovendien wordt de aandacht gevestigd op de rol van theorieën over "stedelijke sociale bewegingen" en hun rol in het "begrijpen" maar ook in het "zelfbegrip" van wijkorganisaties, d.w.z. hun rol als theorie zowel als project dat aan voortdurende herformulering onderhevig is.

De theorieën over "stedelijke sociale bewegingen" die in de jaren 70 in Brazilië beschikbaar kwamen, speelden een rol in de opkomst van nieuwe vormen van wijkorganisatie in de jaren na de militaire machtsovername in 1964. Deze theorieën hielpen de "discursieve matrixes" van de Bevrijdingstheologie en van Braziliaans Links, op zoek naar een "nieuwe relatie met de basis" uit te werken. Voor de groepen die betrokken waren bij de opkomst van de nieuwe wijkorganisaties en voor lokale leiders leverden de theorieën een perspectief en een duidelijker visie op hun eigen activiteiten. Deze rol van de theorie droeg bij tot een zekere reïfikatie van het begrip "stedelijke sociale beweging" in wat "het paradigma van de jaren 70" genoemd zou kunnen worden.

In de jaren 80 kwam de relatieve eensgezindheid in de visie op de nieuwe wijkorganisaties kwam onder druk te staan als gevolg van ontwikkelingen in het theoretisch debat en van de praktische ontwikkeling in het Braziliaanse democratiseringsproces. De "deconstructie" van het "paradigma van de jaren 70" maakte duidelijk dat de ontwikkeling van de nieuwe wijkorganisaties een verre van eenvoudig proces was en dat daarbij een veelheid van actoren een rol speelde. In deze studie wordt de rol van de Braziliaanse nieuwe middenklassen in de opkomst van de nieuwe wijkorganisaties in beschouwing genomen. Bovendien hield de deconstructie van het "paradigma van de jaren 70" een problematisering van de relatie tot de staat in. De relatie tussen "sociale bewegingen" en de staat was gezien als een van wederzijdse negatie, maar nu verschoof de aandacht naar de relatie zelf

en de mogelijkheden deze relatie te democratiseren. Op deze manier was de theoretische heroverweging verbonden met de "herwaardering van de democratie" in linkse kringen in Latijns-Amerika en elders.

Na een kort overzicht van de geschiedenis van de stad Recife tot 1964, volgt deze studie de ontwikkeling en de rol van de vormen van wijkorganisatie gedurende de periode van Bureaucratisch Autoritarisme (1964-1979), de "democratische opening" en overgang naar een burgerregering (1979-1985). Tenslotte wordt één van de eerste pogingen tot democratisering op gemeenteniveau in een grote Braziliaanse stad, waarbij werd gestreefd naar de "participatie van de georganiseerde sociale bewegingen van de burgermaatschappij", besproken. Gedurende de eerste periode (1964-1979) ontwikkelden zich nieuwe wijkorganisaties waarbij de Katholieke Kerk een grote rol speelde. Tegen het einde van deze periode werd de betekenis van de nieuwe organisaties steeds meer gedacht in termen van "nieuwe sociale beweging" waarvan een belangrijke bijdrage aan een eventuele transformatie van de Braziliaanse samenleving werd verwacht. Deze nieuwe betekenisgeving en de praktische uitwerking daarvan, waren een bron van spanning omdat zij ertoe tenderden de discursieve en organisationele kaders van de Kerk te buiten te gaan. Tegelijkertijd was de Kerk onderhevig aan de gevolgen van de conservatieve heroriëntering in Rome en de veranderingen in de Braziliaanse Kerk als gevolg van het democratiseringsproces. In de daaropvolgende periode (1979-1985) deed de militaire regering pogingen de overgang naar een burgerregering in de gewenste banen te sturen. Dit ging gepaard met pogingen om de door de oppositie gesteunde wijkorganisaties de wind uit de zeilen te nemen. De verschillende pogingen om de hegemonie over wijkorganisaties te verwerven, resulteerden in een snelle groei van het aantal organisaties en een grotere verscheidenheid. Wijkorganisaties ontwikkelden in deze omgeving, die nieuwe mogelijkheden opende, een eigen dynamiek. De gemeentelijke verkiezingen van 1985 werden in Recife gewonnen door een links "volksfront". Participatie en gemeentelijke democratisering waren belangrijke thema's in de verkiezingscampagne en dit resulteerde in experimenten in gemeentelijke democratisering. Ondanks deze relatief gunstige omstandigheden, bleken de groepen van woordvoerders van de plaatselijke "stedelijke sociale bewegingen" niet in staat het initiatief op dit gebied te behouden en levensvatbare voorstellen te formuleren. Ondertussen begonnen de organisaties in de wijken deel te nemen in de democratiseringspolitiek van het nieuwe gemeentebestuur. Mede als gevolg van de gebrekkige articulatie tussen de organisaties in de wijken en de overkoepelende organisaties en van de politieke verhoudingen gedurende eerste jaren van de Braziliaanse *Nova República* resulteerden de experimenten in democratisering op gemeenteniveau nauwelijks in institutionele hervormingen.