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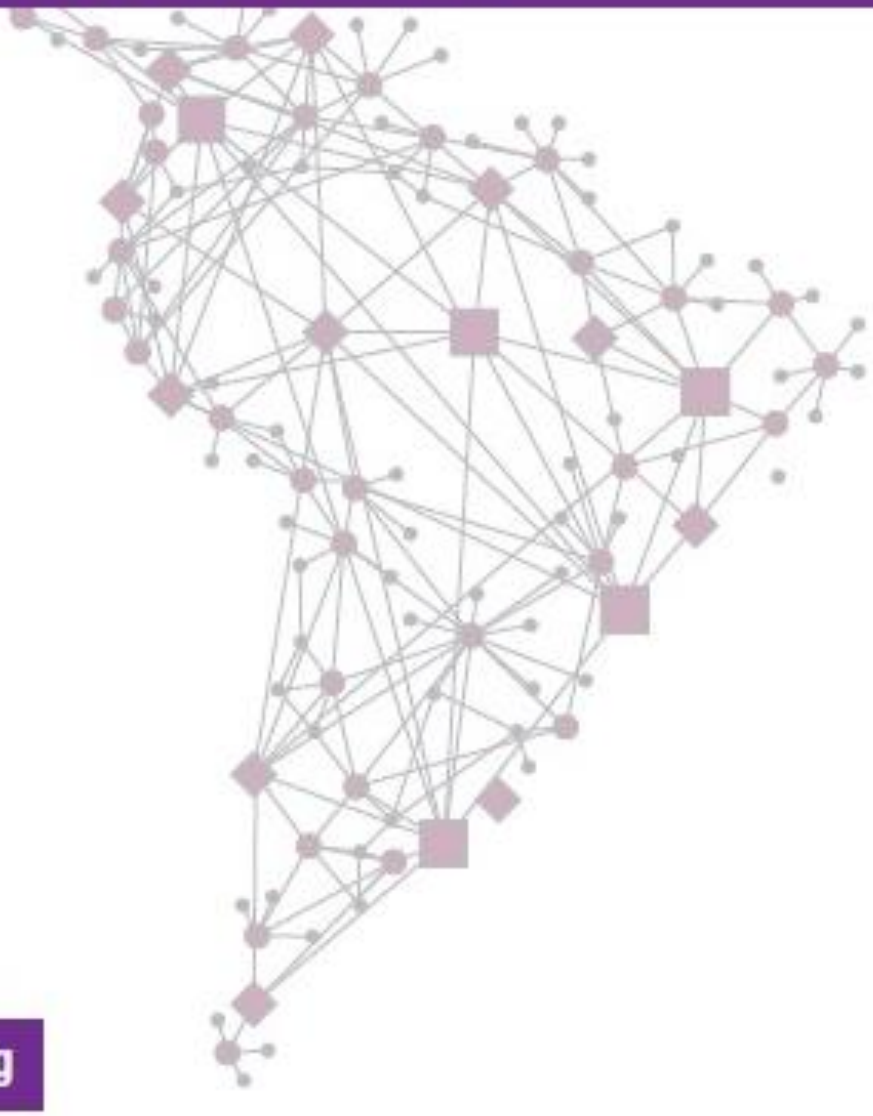

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Women at periphery of urban planning: subordinated informality, detached autonomy and resistance in São Paulo, Mumbai and Durban

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Resumo: A informalidade subordinada e a autonomia desarticulada são duas faces da mesma moeda: não há neutralidade na posição que a informalidade ocupa na periferia do capitalismo. Portanto, parece impossível a transição automática do informal para o formal, uma vez que ela funciona como reserva de braços e de terras por subacumulação e superacumulação. Subacumulação porque só resta o trabalho por sobrevivência compulsório. Superacumulação porque são extraídos, além dos direitos trabalhistas, todo o aparato para reprodução social da força de trabalho, incluindo o território que ocupam. Há clara assimetria decisória e de riqueza como reflexo de relações desiguais de poder e subordinação, como as discriminações de gênero, raça, casta e classe nas três cidades. As terras ocupadas informalmente pela(o)s trabalhadora(e)s informais tornam-se territórios a serem tomados para futura produção imobiliária. Seus braços, como excedente da força de trabalho, atuam exercendo forte pressão no rebaixamento dos salários e rotatividade no emprego formal. Os regimes excludentes dos três países de acesso à terra e ao emprego urbanos têm sido decisivos para a manutenção de uma cidadania racionada que abre espaço para uma saída bifurcada: uma, virtuosa, através da articulação dos setores progressistas com avanços mais ou menos significativos; outra, viciosa, com um complexo mercado de cidadania, através da intermediação para o acesso aos direitos. Esta *gestão da exceção* seria construída por redes de sociabilidade na periferia para garantia de questões mínimas de sobrevivência, seja através de arranjos específicos de organização dessa própria população com hierarquias internas; quanto por atuação do Estado ou de ONG.

Palavras-chave: gênero, espaço urbano, trabalho informal, subordinação, autonomia

***Abstract*:** *Subordinated informality and detached autonomy are two sides of the same coin: there is no neutrality of being informal at the borders of capitalism. Therefore, an automatic transition from informal to formal seems impossible, once its role is being a reserve of arms and lands by subaccumulation and superaccumulation. Subaccumulation because it is left only compulsory survival work. Superaccumulation because it is extracted not only labor rights, but also all social reproduction of labor force system, including workers territories. There is great decision and assets assimetry, as a result of unequal arrangements of power and subordination, such as gender, race, caste and class discrimination at the three cities. Informally occupied lands by informal workers become captured territories for future real estate production. Their arms, as work force surplus, act with great pressure towards earnings reduction and formal job turnover. Three countries' exclusionary regimes of land and labor market have been crucial in order to mantain a rationed citizenship that allows of a twofold exit: one, virtuous, through progressive sectors linkages with great or little accomplishments; other, vicious, with a complex citizenship market, through bridges in order to have rights access. This exception management has been built by sociability networks at the periphery in order to guarantee minimum survival issues, through not only specific own internal hierarchal arrangements, but also through State and NGOs role.*

Key words: *gender, urban space, informal work, subordination, autonomy*

Introduction: the abduction of labor territory

The unique format of the labor market in these three countries is not disconnected from the concentrated real estate structure that systematically maintains a considerable share of the urban population on the margins of access to land and formal employment. During their colonial histories, each of the three republics had patterns of social exclusion that were maintained by the local elite through a blend of exclusionary regulatory framework and access to labor markets and land.

This paper analyses two emblematic labor conditions of the conjugated exclusion in the land-labor binomial, subcontracting and autonomy[2], in two work environments, at home and on the streets (street vendors). The objective is to verify if there is maintenance of subordination or detachment in questions of gender, work relations, and urban spaces within this informality, or if there exist any examples of policies or actions that contradict this pattern.

The heterodox labor markets of Brazil, India and South Africa are differentiated from the full employment matrices by their unique aspects of segregation and segmentation by gender, race and caste criteria. The exclusionary regimes, predominantly in the access to urban land and employment, have been decisive for the maintainability of a rationed citizenship that allows room for a two-pronged outlet: one, virtuous, through the articulation of progressive sectors with more or less meaningful advances; the other, vicious, with a complex citizenship market, through the brokering of access to rights.

There is extensive discussion in the literature of the three countries arguing that the precarious access to land and housing are part of the device for lowering labor costs on the margins of capitalism. Furthermore, upon consequently excluding a large portion of formal and informal wage earners from their right to the city, industrialization with low salaries and insufficient employment has revealed itself a conservative modernization[3]. Brazil's process of accelerated urbanization, rather than eliminating the legacy of exclusion, has reproduced it and given it the conformation of structural illegality and extremely low levels of urban planning.

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[2] These concepts will be further developed in the section Notes on the Labor Market in the Three Countries.

[3] The term conservative modernization has been well developed by Tavares, Maria da C. and Fiori, José L. 1993 *(Des)ajuste global e modernização conservadora* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra)

As such, being on the periphery does not only mean being spatially distant from the concentration of urban infrastructure and the right to the city. The *various peripheries* developed here concern the ambivalent position between officially achievement of rights and the continuance of practices of exclusion, precariousness, and dependence on access to them [italics mine].

There are barriers either to the entrance or in the interior of real estate structures and labor market. According to Barbosa (2008; 2013), the insertion of various social groups, such as women, former slaves, indigenous peoples, the casteless, migrants and immigrants, "has not occurred fully, rather it has come from the reinvention of bygone forms of social subordination".

Rapid urbanization in the 20th century and the systematic exclusion of a large portion of workers on the margins of regimental real estate regimes and salary patterns have caused a renewal of the repository of exclusionary, patriarchal and authoritarian practices, even during periods of economic growth.

Urban workers who had not encountered employment or a place in the city suffered constant occupational and territorial displacement, accumulating and changing occupations, extending their workday as long as possible; they were evicted or fled from the high price of well-located lands. Nonetheless, the lack of a place in the legal city and formal employment did not make workers passive producers of urban spaces. Street vendors as well as home-based workers have taken advantage of the vigor and dynamism of the spaces they have chosen, even when they are occupied informally[4]. With regards to street vendors, there is a narrow connection between the commerce which happens in private spaces and the merchandise sold on the street. Home-based workers depend on the articulation of urban resale and wholesale centers in order to channel their products. They are subordinated to this dynamic; however, they are not fully integrated into the economy and urban planning. Further ahead we will observe the regimes of subordination and detachment for both groups.

Taking into account that land has been placed in the forefront as an important financial asset, informal workers that occupy urban spaces, whether public or private, are vulnerable to dispute with other interested parties in the real estate sector or with the State authority. The dispute over land, whose loss swings towards informal worker, is

[4] Without ownership of the land, as we will develop later on in this study.

substantiated by various examples in the three metropolises studied: São Paulo, Mumbai and Durban. In all three countries, the displacement of workers in urban areas is systemic and present in colonial, dictatorial and democratic systems.

For the informal workers, access to land and housing end up being equally informal and precarious. Seen in these terms, the structural illegality is a vicious cycle, that is to say, informality in work leads to informality in territory and vice-versa. In addition, considering the perspective of place of work, carrying out one's trade at home or on the street produces two anomalies to what would be considered standard work environments (factory floor): how to regulate work rights and relations in a space that is first, a site of privacy; and, second, collectivity?

For street vendors there are two features that demonstrate the precariousness of access to land. First, the temporary or permanent license to occupy public space is generally unilaterally revocable by the State authority; second, the exercise of such activities in valued areas, subject to urban planning projects, mega-events and exclusionary real-estate operations, signifies a greater risk of expulsion.

In regards to home-based workers, there are three territorial onuses: first, the cost of land which results in habitational precariousness (tenements, slums and squatting) and takeovers of the real estate; second, the obligation of workers, as a cost reducing strategy, to superimpose housing with work (which reflects on the lack of distinction between personal and work space); third, the responsibility of displacement necessary to buy supplies and channel merchandise as a burden of time and money that is discounted from productivity.

Accumulation on the margins of capitalism, therefore, at least in the forms it has developed in the three metropolises, did not occur only through the amplified reproduction in the territory, challenging fronteirs and occupying new spaces, but also by dispossession. Accumulation can be understood here as dispossession, as in Harvey's (2011) concept, attributed to capitalist accumulation regime driven by expulsion and appropriation: termination of labor rights and policies of social well-being; displacement of urban populations; dispossession of assets, including devaluation through mergers and acquisitions, passing through new mechanisms such as dispossession of intellectual property rights; theft of genetic resources, cultural appropriation and popular creativity, etc. We will present cases from the central region (Republica) and south (Jabaquara) of São Paulo, the north (Dharavi) of Mumbai, and the city center (Warwick) of Durban. In

order to make these potential, new real-estate frontiers more viable, local governments have gone ahead and promoted a veritable social cleansing process, understood as the removal of any and all groups from urban scene which imply popularization or represent urban poverty.

It is important to express that upon expulsing or removing workers from their territorial base, work connections which involve relationships with suppliers, clients, auxiliaries, intermediaries are terminated or altered, as well as all articulation and dynamics between work and housing, work and family and work and sociability networks.

Women at various peripheries: subordinated informality, detached autonomy and resistance

Analyses about sexual division of labor and occupational segmentation, according to gender criteria, suggest subordination with different degrees and specificities in the three countries: in first place, the deprioritization, subordination and discrimination of women in the labor market persist, even among different categories of income, class, race and caste; secondly, there remains a naturalization of the responsibility for productive work and stereotypes of feminine occupations (Abramo, 2007; Araújo, 2009; Cacciamali, 2014; Hirata, H. 2002, 2009; Skinner, 2009; Unni, 2008).

Overcoming economic dependence through feminine, productive work has not extinguished subordinated position in gender relations at work that traverse unscathed contexts of formal and informal work verified in the three countries.

Wage earning productive work marked separation between private and public space. Upon leaving the domestic sphere and entering labor market, women challenge the provider / caretaker dichotomy. How does the gender hierarchy function in contexts of informal work at home and on public spaces when location in question does not establish clear boundaries between reproductive and productive work, between land ownership and means of production, between public and private spaces?

The meaning of *various peripheries*, as developed throughout this paper, is something more than a geographical reference (distance from the city center). Concepts of city center and periphery are challenged in this paper in the sense of denaturalization of meanings of internality/externality, subordination/autonomy, sense of belonging/no

sense of belonging, attachment/dettachment. With this, opposition and duality stop guiding the concept *various peripheries*, leading to broader notions of political dispute over space and power, within the viewpoint of gender.

Are there forms of transgression from patriarchal and subordinating norms in gender relations in these spaces? What are the individual and collective projects that elude limits of domination, custody and exploitation towards affirmation of a free identity? Will there be a liberating self-regulation of time and place in the exercise of informality or a deepening of precariousness of workday and the work environment? Is the performance of home-based work understood as conciliation between reproductive/productive work or as reproduction of asymmetry of sexual division of work? The following review of literature and interviews demonstrate some examples attesting that women challenge these frontiers.

Resistance of popular movements to lend visibility to lack of habitational policies could be expressed, for example, through the occupation of empty buildings in the city center of São Paulo, with an expressive participation of female leadership. In Durban, just as in São Paulo, the increase in participation of women street vendors in protests and bargaining channels are examples of how new meaning is being given to these concepts (Alcântara et al., 2013; D'Andrea, 2012; Lund e Skinner, 1999).

One woman's statement collected by Pereira (2012) shows the difference between being on the margins of urban planning and in the center of struggle for the right to the city:

> "And I, even living over there on Prestes Maia (city center of São Paulo), I lived a different way of living, the organization, people, that you know everyone, you are friends with everyone, it was very different. Even for me, at the time I had a problem with depression, I stayed there on Prestes Maia and I changed completely. On the periphery, it's just you, the work and you, you don't have...it's other city. Here in the city center, you find out a lot of things, the rights, you have the right to come and go, the right to housing, the right to everything. You learn, like inside a movement, in that collective, because in the movement you really learn a lot".

Nevertheless, some of next examples described show evidence that in the three metropolises the place of periphery is also *between*, in so far as access to rights and voice is intermediated by non-governmental organizations (NGO), multilateral agencies and by the State, frequently without participation of workers [italics mine].

Subordinated informality

Subordination in work relations

Segregation and segmentation of labor market in the three countries still play important roles in maintenance of inequality and informality. These questions can be conveyed in multiple varieties of income inequality and in the proliferation and dimension of informal occupations. In this way, the dualistic formal/informal model does not explain the reality of labor market in the three countries. There is not simply a dichotomy between protected salary relations and informal, unprotected ones. Within the spectrum of informal work there is an extensive array of occupations beyond subordination/ own-account binary relation. This multiplicity will be clarified during our discussion of methodology for discerning informality in Brazil.

Despite heterogeneity of economic and labor relations in the informality, the hypothesis presented in this paper goes beyond the position of informality on the margins of capitalism. There is no neutrality in this position. According to Galeano (2015), "the wealth that is generated does not radiate throughout entire country nor entire society. It consolidates existing disparity and even deepens it".

A dualistic vision of economy grasps that informal can be understood on the same matrix of economic evolution as countries in the center of capitalism. In this viewpoint, informal economy exists and persists because economic growth or industrial development have failed. This vision subsidizes the belief that economic and industrial growth, training for labor market, micro-entrepreneurship, adequacy of regulatory framework, among others, would be structural elements for transition to a formal economy (OIT, 2009; 2015).

Nonetheless, such programs have not been sufficient to confront the dimension and violations of informality, being that there is no interest in integrating the reproduction cost of labor force, or to equalize decision-making asymmetry (Itikawa et al., 2014). Truncated and partial penetration of capitalist relations of production, non-generalization of salary relations and consolidation of external technological dependency are components of historical incapacity of countries on the margin of capitalism to alter this rationality.

Systematic permanence of informality as a result of the pattern of unequal and concentrated accumulation of wealth and land (Oliveira, 2003), which exists in countries where there has never been full employment, views informal as subordinated and interstitial to formal. Subordinated, because it establishes objective relations with formal and State, however, normally in unfavorable work conditions; interstitial, because it occupies spaces between, rather than outside, formal economy. In this last understanding of informality, it is systematically driven away from social and labor rights.

Seen in these terms, with maintenance of asymmetry of economic power between formal and informal, even with institutionalizing of labor autonomy and attainment of ownership over means of production by informal workers, ambivalences are still perpetuated between, for example, regimes of inclusion in tributary system and exclusion from social rights. We will see in the three metropolises how the evolution matrix is functional for sustaining governmental and non-governmental programs, however short, residual and contingent in scope.

Classic subordination, in the form as it is understood in salary relations, continues to occur in situations of informality, even when detached from contractual relations, work environment and personhood. Subordinated informality is, therefore, capital's strategy to reduce work costs and primacy of a new order between capital-labor: maintenance of control without accountability for reproduction of labor force.

In addition, upon not removing subordination, super-accumulation and super-exploitation make this strategy swing even more in favor of capital: extremely low remuneration per piece; different forms of controlling time and production through new monitoring devices and establishment of goals; transfer of business risks to informal workers; extension of workday, through lack of distinction between work time and non-work time, etc. (Abílio, 2011).

Nonetheless, there is not always a relation between subordination and exclusivity, as in subcontracting for provision of services to only one company. For this, the *Departamento Intersindical de Estatísticas e Estudos Socioeconômicos* (DIEESE) created categories: autonomous for more than one company and autonomous for the public, meaning those in broader networks and without exclusive subordination, which we will see later.

In any case, subcontracting is asymmetrical due to unequal relations of power and subordination at various levels. The bonds can assume hierarchical structure of a

pyramid with various levels of subcontracting or the geometry of a network through relation of unstable and non-exclusive provision of services.

For institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), informality is considered *adequate* for discussion of *buffering* during times of economic crisis [italics mine]. Breman (2009) reproduces arguments of the two institutions, "[informality] is one of the final safe harbors in a sinister financial climate", "a critical safety net inasmuch as economic crisis spreads", "a situation that is not as serious as it seems".

In addition, it is seen as *adaptable* to the flexible regime, *natural for women*, upon combining productive/reproductive work [italics mine]. Nonetheless, flexibility in the practice of feminine occupations is one more layer of subordination and super-accumulation. According to Davis (2006), the flexibility demanded in production and distribution networks make large-scale use of unqualified, unprotected, low earning feminine labor. "Low income women in the Third World assume the role of informal heads of household, improvising means of survival".

Veiga *et al*. (2014) capture these hierarchical nuances: subordination verified as much in reproductive work of caring for the family as in productive work of sewing. On the one hand, the sexual division of labor is stressed, for example, by allocation of the work of maintaining home and caring for children to women. On the other hand, it can be more subtle, with the main work of sewing determined to be for married men and women, while cooking, cleaning and the overlock sewing work delegated to single women.

Subordination in sociability relations at the periphery

As metropolises are in open territorial, social and economic transformation, the way in which social groups compulsorily at the margin of rights access scarce resources is equally selective. As the perspective of integrating them is increasingly fragile, these geometries, in addition to compulsory, are complex due to heterogeneity and arrangements of actors. There is literature within sociology that denominates these relations as *exception handling* [italics mine]. Nonetheless, it is also shown here how this compulsory status in exception camouflages a rationed and flexible citizenship.

One part of literature researched enunciates advances, starting from improvement in social indicators or formalization of labor market: the three countries are

characterized by the centrality of income transfer in social programs, as we will see in the section Notes about Labor Markets.

Another part of literature, however, interprets *exception management* as palliative since it does not address the fundamental changes that would require basic reforms (agrarian, fiscal, political, urban, etc.). This *exception management* is built by sociability networks at periphery to guarantee minimum survival issues, either through specific arrangements of this population's organization with internal hierarchies, or by actions of State, NGO and multilateral agencies. In bibliographic research of the three countries, it is possible to identify existing and new actors posed as interlocutors or representatives of workers in intermediation of rights that should be universalized by their respective constitutions (right to work, to the city, to social participation, etc.). Taking on the role of bridge in the exchange of rights is a bargaining chip in fidelity to political parties, fiscal adjustments, political mandates or religious communities.

Two distinct theories explain palliative action: conciliation and deviation. Regarding first argument, between conciliatory forms of these disparities is governmental and non-governmental mediation for access to rights (Schwarz, 1991).

According to Misse (2011), there is a market of citizenship through political goods, which would be offered by several agents in exchange for rights: permission to occupy public space in exchange for votes or money, legal advice in exchange for religious conversion, housing units in exchange for priority access, etc. The price of these commodities is not standardized. It is the result of political negotiations and depends not only on market laws, but also on strategic power assessments.

This first thesis is partially explained by historical legacy of patronage and clientele in Brazil. Persistence in the country of such outdated structures can only be explained because they are heavily intertwined in the gears of wealth production and internal power. Conciliation is, therefore, a form of maintenance and cover-up of inequality of political and economic power. Patronage, servitude, corruption, cooptation, relationships of favor or protection, etc. are among modalities for negotiation of political commodities (Cardozo 2000; Itikawa, 2007; Jordan, 2000; Silva, M. 2000; Schwarz, 1997).

Other agents that would act in the logic of conciliation, although extremely fragile, would be organizations within communities (community associations,

recreational and cultural associations, etc.) operating through heads of territories, normalizing and mediating local conflicts (D 'Andrea, 2014; Feltran, 2013 Misse, 2011).

For Raffestin (1993), periphery is also where all are "producers" of territories. In this sense, periphery also reproduces dissymmetrical nature of power relations. For this author, circulation and communication, "because they are complementary, are present in all the strategies that actors trigger to dominate areas and points through management and control of distances." Where there are no rights, having knowledge about how to reach them sets one apart. In Durban and São Paulo, this aspect has been demonstrated in literature and interviews about control, reproduction and range of information for leaders of local associations (Feltran 2011, 2013; Misse, 2011).

According to Feltran (2013), there is everything except absence of State because periphery is not outside of the city, as if there were a vacuum of power relations. However, this sociability is not neutral: there is always formation of alliances and enemies, with conciliation and breakdowns, as well as formation of an elite at periphery.

The second thesis also raises hypothesis of a circumvention or deviation. Telles and Hirata (2011) suggest an art of circumvention, as a strategy for moving across borders to avoid extremes at periphery: *killed-death* (violence) and *captive poverty* (population dependent on social programs) [italics mine]. The authors of this thesis do not suggest that citizens at periphery are passive or subordinate subjects who accept conciliation among disparities, nor are they the ones who rebel. For Schwarz (2012), it is less strategy or survival; it deals with deviation from domination and sidetracking humiliation, however, "before it examines the margin of abject maneuvering".

According to Marfaing and Thiel (2015), these community relations mediation networks take on the role of integrating certain survival networks into networks of accumulation, providing access to markets, serving as important contacts with suppliers and sponsors, that is to say, *mobilizing spheres of influence* [italics mine]. For the authors, this is a mediation of opportunities; these actors manipulate religious, familial and political spheres through the traffic that these agents create between them as if they were portals. We will see reports from itinerant traders in São Paulo about the dependence of political favors to obtain or keep a license to be on the street (Itikawa, 2007).

Furthermore, in addition to failure, one serious aspect of proliferation of fragmented and selective *exception management*, is the existence of overlapping responsibilities and conflicts in the actions of State and NGO (Itikawa et al., 2014).

Arantes (2004), Davis (2006) and Risbud (2003) also report actions of multilateral agencies like World Bank on actions specifically related to the right to work, to urban planning and to adequate housing in Sao Paulo and India.

Literature of gender studies has highlighted an important reflection on intermediation of rights as tutorship or custody. This recent literature discusses conflict between intermediaries (institutions) and non-acceptance by organized workers themselves of the condition of victims to be assisted (Piscitelli, 2012; Mello, 2014). A particular criticism coming from prostitutes who do not accept the condition imposed by a religious institution that has defined their working conditions as servitude. Such a condition justifies the rescue of women who are, at the same time, considered as victims unauthorized to be protagonists in vindication of their rights.

According to this criticism, rescue and tutorship impose an obstacle on workers; despite release from poor working conditions in informal sector, which can reach extreme conditions analogous to slavery. It is a conflict inasmuch as it continues to be a privileged and unilateral process of postponing autonomy. By evoking modernity by demanding principles of decent work and gender equality, the *rescue industry* also ends up taking autonomous voice of workers as tutorship (Mello, 2014). By depending frequently on a mediator whose representation is not always legitimate, workers become hostage to a destiny that does not belong to him/her.

Unlinked autonomy

Industrialization process in Brazil, India and South Africa, as well as in other countries on the margin of capitalism, has produced a contingency of workers without a place in formal and regulated relations. Roots of own-account work are so deep in the formation of labor markets in the three countries that it would even be possible to say that it was not this exact modality of work that differentiates them from full employment countries. There is a whole contingency of workers who were never even able to become industrial reserve army, because they were never part of, nor amongst, labor market and could not be placed on the agenda of labor and social rights.

To Pochmann (2008), peripheral countries like Brazil have been updating old and permanent job characteristics needed for survival through horizontal growth of services such as self-management for personal survival. For the author, 31% of workers who started an entrepreneurial project did so, due to impossibility of finding a new job.

They are owners of small, low-productivity businesses that do not generate profit and only guarantee support themselves and their families.

Own-account work is not linked with modern economy sector: its existence is directly related to provision of generating income in excess of labor market due to non-generalization of wage relationship (Barbosa, 2009). Abilio (2011) speaks of "real fiction of accumulation" in order to go beyond an isolated understanding of income generation for survival of a portion of precarious, own-account workers. This is about recovery of capital starting in the 1990s, from deregulation of financial markets, privatization of public goods, and creation of workforce flexibility as a wide front for dismount from wealth distribution apparatus. In addition to impossibility of wealth accumulation by workers, there is an ongoing dispossession of their living conditions, housing, health, education, leisure, etc. In this sense, negative effects of own-account ones as a surplus of the workforce ends up unfolding into entire labor market, since they act exerting extreme pressure and lowering salary ranges, as well as increasing turnover in formal employment[5] (Krein, 2006).

If it is not residual, nor surmountable, then this modality of informal work just ended up receiving its own terms for the unbound regime of capital-labor subordination: own-account, autonomous, independent, self-employment[6], etc. Despite diversity of terms[7] explaining groups and work modalities with marked conceptual discrepancies, one question to be asked here is about the real dimension of this work for the production of wealth in the country. This political understanding of the own-accounting is crucial in order to counter public policies that advocate entrepreneurship with virtuous appearance of worker independence and manifestation of modernity. The main feature is the absence of any hope for upward social mobility, at most *lateral mobility* (Telles et al., 2012) [italics mine].

During field interviews in São Paulo, home-based workers and street vendors reported that they often produce and sell to their neighbors and relatives at periphery. No data was encountered allowing us to understand the scope of survival production of some fueling survival of others, forming a precarious and vicious cycle of supply and demand.

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[5] According to the author, Brazil has one of the greatest indexes of turnover in the world; the volume of dismissals represents approximately 60% of the formal employment stock. Of these dismissals 2/3 occur with workers who have less than 1 year of employment and 1/3 have less than 3 months.
[6] These concepts will be developed in the item Notes on the Labor Market in the Three Countries.
[7] Fighters (Souza, 2003), precariat (Braga, 2011), emergent own-acounter (Abílio, 2011).

This permanent condition of work autonomy allowed for consolidation of own-account workers who provide services, produce and sell directly to consumers or to networks. They create shortcuts outside scope of companies and feed an extensive connection of fairs and markets in cities across the country (Singer, 2008).

Despite concrete existence of networks and infrastructures aimed at own-account workers, formalization policies are not linked to productive articulation along local value chains, or to strengthening workers and joining them in an effort to achieve collective bargaining and access to markets.

Government policies aimed at own-account workers are encased by individual and competitive logic, based on survival and isolated accumulation and reproduction, without social roots and class articulation. The main policy, the *Microempreendedor Individual* program (MEI) has a tributary focus and individual social protection. There is no building of a critical spirit nor construction of productive arrangements that promote alternatives to commodification of trade and the role of worker as protagonist (Itikawa et al., 2014).

Considering labor perspective for own-account women, there are still some blind spots that need to be probed about socio-spatial relations. One strand defends provisioning of infrastructure (mobility, public facilities) in neighborhoods in order to draw reproductive work closer to productive work, without showing what would be mechanisms for equalization of sexual division of labor in both contexts (Cymbalista et al, 2014;. Gonzaga, 2004; Santoro, 2008). Another strand defends feminine entrepreneurship in neighborhoods as a sign of democratization of prosperity of urban life (UN-Habitat, 2013b). However, this strand does not question whether it changes asymmetry in decision-making, in sexual division of productive/reproductive work and in social protection in informal sector.

Resistance

The three countries, and especially the three cities studied, present movement coming from inside of groups who have developed processes to resist fronts of urban removal, withdrawal of rights, inhibition of voice and delegitimating of representativeness. They are movements that have not necessarily resulted in achievements; however, they are a result of different counter-hegemonic initiatives that have challenged mechanisms and superimposition of exclusion and subordination. Some

of them are created exclusively by women and have different territorial coverage, amount of time in operation and scopes in achievements.

Examples of resistance collected in the metropolises, which reverberate respectively in their countries and regions, demonstrate that processes are not linear, nor homogeneous. In any event, criteria for choosing these processes is that they all have initiatives that emerged from worker base, that is to say, they were spontaneous reactions and processes of strengthening and organizing originated inside communities, even when they received external support.

Regardless, it is important to present some of the different conceptions of resistance and justify why this topic is so significant to this paper dealing with autonomy and subordination. The United Nations (UN) and specifically its territorial arm, UN-Habitat, do not use term resistance, even though at its core there are challenges such as abuse, violations and exclusion. UN-Habitat, for example, uses the term resilience to refer to actions of populations confronting natural disasters and humanitarian crises, as well as processes of recovery, overcoming and risk monitoring to prevent relapses. UN agencies probably exclude the term resistance in order to debase the notion and function of conflict and elect term resilience for environmental and non-political confrontations.

Similarly, the Rockefeller Foundation launched a challenge called "100 Resilient Cities", whose motto is "to help cities around the world become more resilient to the physical, social and economic changes that are growing aspects of the 21st century". For the foundation, the meaning of resilience is "the capacity of individuals, communities, institutions, businesses and systems within a city to survive, adapt and grow no matter what kinds of chronic stress and acute shocks they experience[8]". In this case, adapting processes and being flexible can be synonymous with adjusting onus on workers and the poor (Arantes, 2004; Risbud, 2003). The Foundation continues to define which obstacles will turn Durban more resilient[9]: "Informal neighborhoods and poverty undermine resilience and social cohesion". Curiously, for this foundation, there seems to be no problem with placing blame on exclusion.

[8] Chronic stress: high unemployment, expensive and inefficient system of public transportation, endemic violence, scarce food or water. Acute shocks: sudden and pungent events that threaten the city including earthquakes, floods, epidemics and terrorist attacks.
[9] Rockafeller Foundation 2015 "100 resilient cities" in:
<http://www.100resilientcities.org/cities/entry/durbans-resilience-challenge#/-_/>.

In this paper, resistance is central precisely in order to counteract processes of exclusion, subordination and detachment mentioned above. By systematically maintaining a large portion of population on the margin of their rights, or at least discretionarily integrated, conflicts are postponed.

Therefore, resistance is understood here starting from two principles: as a repositioning of conflict while manufacturing consensus insists on denying existence of exclusion and subordination (Chomsky, 2004; Hirata, D., 2010); and power, understood as an awareness and denial of humility or servitude that appraises so much to elites (Schwarz, 2012). Examples given below from the three metropolises concern organization of street vendors in networks for protests and coordination with NGO as well as judiciary and social movements to stop termination of their activities in Durban and São Paulo; and also organizations in India exclusively for women with trajectories developing from the base, which have won rights through processes of social dialogue without intermediaries.

Autonomy and subordination: steemed ambivalence in territorial, gender and brazilian studies

Autonomy and subordination in the peripheral modernization

The three countries were able to change their economic structures without being able to overcome inequality. A significant portion of surplus wealth of the three countries is sterilized inward or drained out, wasting potential accumulation that could meet social demands. However, each country has adopted different strategies to deal with this inequality. While Brazil adopted increasing formalization and minimum wage to fuel growth, India chose increased consumption by middle class (Barbosa *et al*, 2015.).

In this sense, binomials such as - autonomy/subordination of Furtado (2009), center/periphery of Schwarz (1991.1997), hegemony/counter-hegemony of Oliveira (2003) - are not presented as antagonisms to be overcome. According to Oliveira (2003), peripheral modernization was not exactly a truncated evolution, but a production of dependence by conjunction of subordinate place in international division of labor and articulation of domestic interests. Therefore, this paper is situated in the context of Brazil's line of interpretation that does not consider existence of a duality or evolution from archaic/modern, underdevelopment/development, informal/formal. Keeping and

updating domination structures and lowering of labor costs at two poles are functional for a regime of exclusionary accumulation.

Center and periphery are part of same whole, which manifests itself with organic structural dynamics: liberalization and diversification of industrial economies not only expanded informal activities but also made them more diverse. However, even with increased participation of the industrial sector, there has not been a transformation of segmented and segregated occupational structure (Barbosa, 2009). In this sense, informality is not a fault to be repaired. It is also not only a by-product of globalization of value chains, of international division of labor and successive international crisis of capitalism.

Explanatory notes on the in three countries: Brazil, India and South Africa

Gears of productive structure and labor market on the margins of capitalism are formatted so that access to capitalist globalization is selective and subordinate. This segregation allows countries at the center of capitalism to hold technical and scientific knowledge, kidnapped in patents and subjected to a regime of accelerated obsolescence. From the point of view of wealth production, periphery is left with various nuances and differences between countries, technological dependence and subordinate insertion into the international division of labor. This division pressures national production systems, intensifying competitiveness, weakening organized labor and limiting public action. This restricts multiplier effects of investment and weakens potential impact of social and labor policies.

If similarity between Brazil, India and South Africa are segmented labor markets, certainly other factors influence historical maintenance of what would be labor anomalies, in orthodox perspective of labor sociology, to be structural. In theoretically meritocratic Western societies, pre-conditions such as property and knowledge make class distinctions. However, in others, overlapping of other parameters is crucial for more opaque, subtle and no-transparent mechanisms of exclusion, discrimination or subordination (Souza, 2003). Wealth distribution, nature of economic relations, bargaining power of labor-capital, pattern of production organization, access to education, role of State and class divisions, race, caste and ethnicity are decisive factors for occupation position (Barbosa *et al*., 2015).

Brazil: segmentation as a way of life

Historically, relationship between exclusion from land and difficulty in entering labor market remains inseparable. Transition to free labor began in 1850 with the Extinction of the Slave Trade Act. In the same year, two other socially exclusionary measures were taken deliberately. First, the Land Law prevented access to land for newly freed slaves, since this could be acquired not as a social right, but only as an economic good. The second measure, the Law of the National Guard, organized apparatus of control and repression, given to prospect of conflict with opening of free labor (Barbosa, 2008). Three measures simultaneously taken in 1850 show that government, in making first decision in the direction of free labor, opted for ways that would be decisive in historical exclusion of Brazilians from land, right to work and other social rights. To the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the Statute of the City in 2001, access to land was directly linked to economic power, and only after advances of social struggles, has Brazil moved slowly on the importance of social function of the city.

Over last ten years, Brazil has gone through profound changes in structure of its society and labor market, as a result of efforts over last decades to articulate different progressive sectors in democratization and social inclusion, starting from two strategies. First is macroeconomic policy focused on increasing household consumption, combined with increase in minimum wage and creating over 21 million jobs in formal labor market, with a significant increase in the occupied population: 94 million people in 2012 (Barbosa *et al*., 2015).

The other policy that produced significant impacts on poverty reduction, especially those located outside metropolitan hubs of wealth and employment strongholds, is the Bolsa Família Program (PBF), the main income transfer policy, which served 50 million people in 2014 (Itikawa *et al*. 2014). Despite enormous effort of macroeconomic policies be a watershed for social indicators, international competition, as well as intense pressures of private sector and part of bureaucracy of public sector have still maintained trend in the opposite direction: flexibility and outsourcing workforce. Among contradictions, betting on domestic consumption without equating it to an industrial park compliant with new technological and territorial demands, produced internal imbalances that have failed to reverse recurring losses in productivity and irreversible process of productive restructuring (Barbosa, 2012).

According to data from the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), in 2012 Brazil had a wide range

of occupational insertions. According to the PNAD, informality added up 42% in 2013 (IBGE, 2014).

Methodology of DIEESE, however, starts with identification of labor relations and positions in the exchange market**,** and in this way shows different faces of informality. With this premise, *there is no binary and opposite logic between subcontracted and autonomous workers* [italics mine]. This can be demonstrated, for example, in the position of autonomous subcontractted or autonomous own-account worker. If there is exclusive subordination, that is to say, if worker serves only one company, then this worker is "an autonomous, employed subcontractted for a company". If he/she works for more than one company, the laborer is "an autonomous, subcontracted worker for more than one company." Below we state rankings according to the Employment and Unemployment Survey (PED) of the State System of Data Analysis (SEADE) and DIEESE. Informal labor amounted to 50% in 2009 in eight metropolitan areas; and 46.9% in São Paulo (Garcia and Maia, 2011). For the DIEESE informal means the following: 1) subcontracted employees -- wage earners contracted through outsourced services, autonomous laborers working for a company; 2) illegal employees - employees without a formal contract in either public or private sector; 3) independent, own-account workers – autonomous workers for more than one company, autonomous workers for public, family business owner; 4) Self-employed small employers; 5) Self-employed autonomous university professionals; 6) Domestic Workers; 7) otherwise occupied.

In Brazil, share of self-employment in 2009 reached 26.9% (almost 1/3), while in 2014 it decreased to 1/4 in labor market. In this group, there is a wide variety of occupational profiles. Despite this slight decrease, this group continues to occupy an important part of Brazilian labor market. Part of this contingency covers service sector, which is growing steadily over last decade. This significant participation of services is mistakenly related to deindustrialization (Cano, 2008).

Gender discrimination in labor market is still a reality. There has been a decrease in the abyss from income point of view. In 1970, men earned 70% more than women; from 1990-2010, the difference has dropped to 25%. On the other hand, in 2010 women still have an average workday of household chores more than double that observed for men (20.6 hrs./week). Even though women have surpassed men in educational level by 2001, this one aspect does not appear to have counted in their favor positively on labor indicators (Birolli and Miguel, 2015).

Besides difference in yields, there is issue of race. If black men are discriminated against due to race before entering labor market, black women are doubly discriminated against, before entering and upon entering labor force when they earn less than men. (Cacciamali, 2014). Discrimination is also reflected in labor market segmentation. There are more non-whites among informal workers. While 54% of white workers are in formal employment, only 46% of non-whites are. Unemployment rate among non-whites is 30% higher than compared to whites (Barbosa *et al*., 2015).

India: Brecht in Asia - the exception and the rule

India began economic reforms in 1991 with changes in trade policy, such as abolition of quantitative restrictions, liberalization of foreign, direct investment, and simplification of regulations of labor sphere. Between 1990 and 2005, India grew 6%, and from 2005-2014, 8%. (Barbosa et at., 2013)

Indian economy responded positively to liberalization. There was rapid economic growth in decades after 1980 which only stagnated in the crisis of 2008, when it reached rate of 10% in the beginning of the 21st century. Economic growth, however, was unevenly distributed, not only from the point of view of economic sectors, but also according to gender, territory, castes, etc. Concentrated growth for small elite of a few families and businesses also extended, at maximum, to a small portion of urban middle class (Barbosa *et al*., 2015). "One result was 1 million new millionaires and another 56 million poor during the boom "(Davis, 2006).

Indian governments have neglected importance of implementation of labor reforms. On the contrary, they have relaxed rules even more in order to attract foreign capital and reduce labor costs (Barbosa *et al*., 2015). For this reason, affirmative policies are particularly important in India but have not resulted in substantial changes.

Informal economy is made up of almost all occupations in the country - 93% (Chen, 2014). In this sense, formal labor market in India is negligible, *a true exception* [italics mine]. Labor relations, when they exist, are based predominantly on temporary occupations, on personal and social relationships of trust. Non-contractual arrangements and formal guarantees are not predominant (Mishra, 2015).

Segregation in Indian labor market is even more acute because it is added up to gender, hierarchies of caste, ethnicity and religion overlappping (Unni, 2008). Unlike Brazil, India in recent years has focused mainly on programs to combat injustices of caste system, which have not been sufficiently comprehensive (Cacciamali, 2014). Caste

system is based on the principle that each caste has an occupation fixed at birth by inheritance, resulting in a well-defined pattern of inclusion and exclusion in access to education, labor market, land, housing, utilities, etc. (Barbosa *et al*., 2015). Workers from two regulated castes are still concentrated in less skilled occupations. Although middle class is proportionally small compared to elite and vast majority of the poor, it is a main obstacle for redistributive reforms (Barbosa *et al*., 2015).

Discrimination and segregation in Indian labor market happen before exercise of occupation and within. In relation to income, difference between workers of upper castes and those of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is a rate of 1.7, that is, almost double. There are more workers in these two castes regulated in temporary work and in occupations requiring less qualified.

Gender discrimination in labor market is high and persistent in recent years. It is even more intense in rural areas than urban. In 2011-2012, daily income of women was only 63% compared to men for regular workers and 70% for temporary workers (casual labor), while this ratio is between 62% and 80% in urban areas (Barbosa *et al*, 2015). Participation of women in India in vulnerable occupations, made up of own-account workers and family workers is much higher than men: 85% women, instead of 79% of men (Barbosa *et al*, 2015.).

India's total population is 1.2 billion people, of which 32% is urban in 2014. Relationship between access to education and access to land are also included in caste system, in that members of higher castes occupy upper hierarchies of rural class and these are reproduced in urban areas. Most of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have no land or are segregated in mountainous areas, which are isolated, dry and inappropriate for rural and urban activities. Location of property matches quality of education, that is, the more segregated or away from best located and infrastructured land, the worse access to quality education (Barbosa *et al*., 2015). In addition to exclusionary land patterns (*zamyndari* system), Indian cities have been under pressure from institutions linked to elite (NGO, neighborhood associations, etc.) to remove manifestations of poverty and informality on the streets (Chen, 2014).

South Africa: segregation in the corner of the world

South Africa has undergone profound transformations in the process of post-apartheid democratic transition since 1994, with expectation of inclusion of black majority deprived

of rights up until then. Historically, access to employment opportunities have been based on a hierarchical system divided among four racial categories (whites, *coloured*[10], Indians e blacks) which benefited whites. Other races suffered restrictions that concerned access to training for certain occupations, right to open and set up businesses, as well as type of goods that could be sold. Major constraints were directed towards immense black population, until reaching even prohibition of taking on various professions, channeling vast majority of this population in informal sector (Alcantara *et al*., 2013).

Although South African economy has grown 5% between 2001 to 2007, it was immensely shaken by crisis, with an increased unemployment rate of 30% in 2009 to 33.2% in 2011 (Bhorat *et al*., 2013). Share of GDP of services sector has been growing, while weight of industrial sector drops quietly. Within manufacturing industry, sectors that recorded highest growth were those that are capital-intensive (cars, transportation equipment and chemicals, paper, coal, etc.). Intensive industrial sectors registered job performance below industry average, contributing to the rise of unemployment rate. (BRICS Policy Center, 2013b)

Post-apartheid country since 1994, still needs to face an unfinished triple challenge: economic transition (foreign policy, international division of labor), racial (challenge of equitable citizenship) and political (democracy and removal of the apartheid structures) (Webster and Fakier, 2010).

The very constitution of South African labor market was marked by simultaneous segregation of labor market and land. According to Webster and Fakier (2010), country's industrialization concomitantly gave in to dispossession of rural land for the formation of an urban, industrial workforce that never fully came to be. According to authors, this process was characterized as a *racial dispossession* [italics mine] because black Africans were deprived of land through successive policies of race-related territorial and labor cuts under colonial governments and during apartheid.

As industrial proletariat failed to integrate all of black people who had systematically and compulsorily lost their land, they eventually formed a mass of surplus workers in cities “superfluous and disposable on the banks of capitalism" (Webster and Fakier, 2010). South Africa's total population is 49.3 million people, of which 65% is urban. 32.7% of urban workers are in informal employment (ILO, 2012).

[10] In South Africa, c*oloured* was the designation for the equivalent of mestizo or *pardo* in Brazil. The Economist Magazine 2012 “Race in South Africa: still an issue” in: <http//www.economist.com/node/21546062>

Segmentation and segregation in labor market and land is still very marked, due to a combination of concentration of wealth and property. Whites still have jobs with better pay and more favorable relations between formal employment, housing and urban infrastructure. Blacks in segregated townships and homelands are still in precarious informal jobs, whose income generation is at subsistence level. 30% to 50% of households in Durban and Johannesburg are engaged in some form of informal occupation (Barbosa, 2009).

However, for Yu (2010), informality in South Africa has been under-dimensioned due to research on labor market (1995 to 2007) only regards firms and own-account workers. With new methodology, informality resulted in 66.9% in 2009 (Yu, 2010). A recent survey of 2009 Quarterly Workforce illustrated this segmentation: 7.5 million would be as employees in formal sector, representing 44% of economically active population (EAP); 2.4 million households as temporary contractors, 14% of the PEA; 2.1 million in work by self-employed, 12% of the PEA; and 5 million unemployed, 29% of the EAP (Webster and Fakier, 2010).

Two groups that suffered most from latest crisis are still the most affected by unemployment and poverty: blacks and women. In 2005, Blacks represented 25.2% of poverty, while only 0.1% of whites were poor. (Bhorat *et al*., 2013). Regarding gender approach, 60% of workers in urban, informal sales were women, according to the Quarterly Workforce Researching 2009 (Skinner, 2009)

Despite establishment of a social security system has been instrumental in providing income to huge number of workers affected by 2008 crisis, this just left most vulnerable workers, informal workers, unprotected (Bhorat *et al*., 2013). The Unemployment Security Fund (UIF) has not taken a considerable portion of subcontracted workers and self-employed, whose members predominate blacks and women.

Different aspects of subordinate informality and unlinked autonomy in the three cities from the perspective of gender

Research Methodology

First, similar processes of peripheral urbanization of the three cities are presented. Then, examples showing ambivalent conditions of subordination in informal sector, dismantling of autonomy and different tactics and actions for resistance are set forth. In each of these, the autonomy/subordination binomial is challenged by collective initiatives

of resistance, whether in the form of movements of workers themselves, or in those articulated by organizations and institutions that support them, with their respective advances, stagnation and setbacks. Despite the fact that the three cities contain contradictions and biases typical countries on the margins of capitalism, the place that each occupies in the national, regional and international economy are unique, according to the continent where it is located.

Individual interviews in São Paulo with 10 workers, both street vendors and home-based workers, were carried out by applying a qualitative questionnaire with questions about urban space - informal work- gender tripod. Regarding timeframe, interviews were conducted between November 2014 and April 2015 and explored the period between 1995 and 2015. The section selected focused on two categories of informal work: 6 street vendors and 4 home-based workers. Also, 5 workers are from textile sector, in the chain of apparel and accessories production and 5 works in food sector. Regarding geographical area selected, even though data about labor market cover the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP), interviews were conducted with representatives of the periphery of each of the four regions of São Paulo: north, south, east and west. The city center was also included because its precarious housing and working conditions, security of tenure, access to infrastructure and urban mobility reproduce the conditions of the periphery.

The questionnaire was semi-structured, that is to say it had closed and open questions, with possibility of workers freely adding chronological and content information they deemed relevant. The questionnaire was divided into four blocks: 1st block - gender issues in sexual division of productive and reproductive work; 2nd block - gender issues in organization, representation and voice; 3rd block - gender issues in urban areas, work and housing, security of tenure and urban mobility; 4th block - political merchandise.

São Paulo: a plateau of selective opportunities and insubordination of the peripheries

Despite urbanization process in Brazil is still characterized by center-periphery spatial organization and by unequal distribution of employment, public facilities, and infrastructure, RMSP, however, presents this pattern with different levels of complexity. First aspect is that RMSP is more diverse and increasingly heterogeneous in the peripheries, and segregated by race and class in predominantly white and higher income neighborhoods. In last two decades, it has undergone intense productive and economic change. Despite intense growth of commerce and services sectors, the metropolis has not

de-industrialized, seeming to have superimposed different economic functions (Marques, 2015).

Sao Paulo contains unfavorable aspects from viewpoint of the housing–work relationship. SEADE was able to verify that, in the city and the metropolitan region of São Paulo, territorial relations reproduce relations of autonomy and subordination with respect to the job offerings x place of residence binomial (SEADE, 2014).

For home-based workers, living and working in the same building in the city center has an ambiguous cost-benefit relationship. Living in downtown areas, albeit in poor conditions such as tenements or slums, has the benefit of proximity to popular markets. This advantage enables greater dynamism in demand absorption and channeling of household production, and also means reducing time and amount of displacement. However, on the other hand, rental values of work-living space are very high, compromising most of family income. Self-employed households that sell directly to public are explored twice by land prices. In addition to highest price per square meter of home-based production space, there is still the burden of the places where production is sold (CGGDH, 2012).

If on the one hand, home-based workers find themselves increasingly vulnerable to market laws imposed by others, by State, such as the inspection of workshops activities in order to combat slave labor; this has ended up creating an image tied to immigrant workers, whose majority are Latino. State actions, which aimed at safeguarding labor rights and human rights ends up reinforcing creation of stereotypes about Latino workers associated with slavery, resulting in confinement of many of them in their homes and communities (Rezera, 2012). With intensification in inspections and price of land, immigrant home-based workers adopted strategy of moving towards periphery (Silva, C. 2014).

As for itinerant traders, in particular, as they are most visible when working in public areas, there is a clear link between action of expulsion and value of surrounding properties they occupied. Values per square meter of these spaces increased by around 138% (CGGDH, 2012).

Subordinated informality

Subordination in labor relations

Four home-based workers were interviewed during field research in São Paulo, but only one was subcontracted to a clothing store. Regarding other workers, one is an

own-account seamstress who takes orders directly from customers (minor repairs) and the other two make food to resell directly to consumers, as reported below. The first worker outsourced to a clothing store a popular shopping district, revealed in the interview some of the binomial land/labor contradictions that are representative of State action, the strength of the textile sector and the exclusion from urban land. Although there are other intensive sectors of informal, home-based work, such as food, the textiles/clothing sector is the one with a representative incidence of informality. The strength of this sector also shows that there is a clear emphasis on economic privilege for some stages of the chain, which almost all resources are repressed to the detriment of the tip of the chain, where precarious, informal work is carried out (Silva, C. 2014).

The imposition of the system of orders in subcontracting reflects the operative asymmetry on production. The worker is informed a few weeks or days in advance. Three examples below are representative of the differences in outsourcing dynamics: first, a small clothing business; the second, a large multinational manufacturer; the third, a public agency.

The first example is a small garment shop. This shop stipulates the price of the piece, delivers the cut fabrics and a test piece to be copied for the pieces needed. The price per piece is R$1,00 for the worker and R$3,80 per piece for the owner of the workshop[11]. The store even charged fines if the tags were not sewn in (reduction of 10%) or if the items had defects (reduction of 20%). The workers in São Paulo and received R$350,00/month, or rather, half of the minimum wage. Only the owner of the workshop had her citizenship regularized.

The second example involves the multinational manufacturer, Zara. Between the years 2011-2013, I had the opportunity to personally accompany the *rescue* of a worker whose job could be considered as analogous to slavery [italics mine]. Besides a work regime reproducing precariousness -- debt bondage, exhausting workdays, etc. what is striking is the degree of control and the subordination of the worker in relation to the sewing workshop. A representative of the intermediary company stayed even through the weekend and until the middle of the night accompanying the work to ensure that the clothes would be delivered (CGGDH, 2012).

In the case of this worker, the entire dynamic for assessment and rescue by federal agency responsible for labor inspection in this workshop was quite controversial. Despite

[11] Repórter Brasil 2011 “Trabalho Escravo abastece produção da marca Talita Kume” in: <http://www.reporterbrasil.org.br/pacto/noticias/view/415>

the worker having received all labor rights through this operation, she got stuck with all of the costs associated with realigning her work space and was then was isolated from the ordering system, once what had occurred became known among the subcontractors. Behind the government actions, one of the strongest criticisms given by the home-based workers is the lack of representation of worker in the planning of these actions and the support they receive after the operation (CGGDH, 2012).

The third example, involving outsourcing by a public agency, shows that this strategy of reduction in labor costs is used indiscriminately by the institutions that should ensure the compliance of rights. The articles of clothing were destined to be vests for census takers at the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE)[12]. This episode involving subcontracting by a public body is revealing in terms of super-accumulation. A clothing production won the bidding process. The electronic bid came down from R$ 52.34 to R$ 18.70 per piece. To produce the batch of 51,000 vests this company subcontracted to an off-the-books firm that was hired to receive R$5.00 per vest. This company, in turn, subcontracted to workshop of Bolivian workers who would receive R$ 1.80 per piece, that is to say, almost 30 times less than the initial value.

In addition to subordination in the chain of production, subordination in gender relations is also well marked. Rezera (2012), through the accounts collected with Latin American immigrant workers, also confirms discrimination against women, more intensively on single women with a sexual division of labor. "The owner of the shop too boring, he say ' I give you food for your child and you have to thank for all this, you have to wash the bathrooms, the kitchen, the window'." For the owner of the shop "it's just work, so they are left with the thought of working and working and the only fun they have is dating. I always think about it there."

The home-based subcontracted worker interviewed acts as the seamstress and manager in the workshop. She is also leading one of several downtown housing movements and coordinates the movements of at least three housing occupations in the central region. Being in an occupation (squatting) means not having the title of ownership of the property. The housing movement understands this as a political act to claim social housing. Regarding the issue of the sexual division of informal work at home, there is an internal division of labor in the workshop, made up of three Brazilian women who take turns with administrative work and sewing. The other eight workers only sew. The

[12] Repórter Brasil 2010 "Escravizados produziram coletes de recenseadores" em <http://reporterbrasil.org.br/2010/10/escravizados-produziram-coletes-de-recenseadores-do-ibge/>

hierarchy in this case is not based on gender but on ethnicity. The main administrator is a black, Brazilian woman, as are the other two that divide administrative tasks. Work on the production is divided between Brazilian and Latino men and women. There is an intermediary position that puts a Latino man above the seamstresses. He takes on the function of pattern making, conferring and separating the pieces. The values for production and administration are not differentiated. Decisions are made solely by the female worker interviewed, who is a leader the housing movement and coordinates the occupations of buildings.

Subordination in sociability networks on the periphery

For home-based worker or street vendors, informality gives rise to complex exchanges and hierarchies of power. Subordination may appear in different ways: clientelism, corruption, welfare, *advocacy*, when the latter is done without worker participation. In the case of home-based work, the isolation of the workers brings out some aggravating factors related to sociability in the periphery, since confinement at home, or at most to ethnic group communities, limits the horizon of one's perception about rights, inequalities, etc. There is also the strengthening of territorial and ethnic segregation, which gives rise to prejudices (Rezera, 2012).

There are at least three entities linked to the Church in São Paulo that support home-based workers, each from a different perspective,, whether considering the issue of immigration, labor similar to slavery, human rights, etc. The religious entities[13], at the same time they provide legal advice, mediate conflicts between subcontractors and contractors, work to regularization of citizenship, offer language courses for immigrants and promote masses in spaces where immigrants socialize[14]. Two human rights NGOs also work directly with home-based workers in São Paulo: Centre for Human Rights and Immigrant Citizenship (CDHIC) and Gaspar Garcia Centre for Human Rights (CGGDH), giving legal advice and advocating together with the workers on questions of immigration regulatory issues and decent work.

On the other hand, street vendors occupying public spaces without a license to carry on commerce or provide services face at least two situations: escape from daily repression, often coming with the use of violence; or economic or political negotiation to

[13] Missão Paz: http://www.missaonspaz.org/; Centro de apoio ao Migrante: http://camimigrantes.com.br/ Pastoral do Migrante

[14] Bolivia Cultural: "1º de maio, dia de luta, com missa acontece marcha do dia do trabalhador na Sé". Disponível em: <http://www.boliviacultural.com.br/ver_noticias.php?id=2588>

be able to remain in the public spaces (Itikawa, 2007). The license, as a "rare commodity", becomes a valuable bargaining chip, negotiated through disputes where what counts is the political influence that a union, association or the worker has in relation to the government (Itikawa, 2006) . In addition to a worker being subordinated to State agents either legally or illegally, he/she is also held hostage by leaders who become heads of territories as they concentrate the negotiations with the government and stipulate arbitrary rules about the other residents/workers as related by street vendor interviewed in the southern region of the city.

In this sense, the modification of spatial attributes by informal workers not only happens as a commodification of urban land (license rental, for example), but also in the division of space, divvying it up according to specific rules of power. There is a demarcation of areas of influence on the part of the worker leadership for the organization of sales, within a specific hierarchy of distribution, marketing and communication (Itikawa, 2006).

Another aspect is corruption as an instrument of *exception handling*. Due to the abyss of negligible number of licenses, 1.4% compared to the total number of workers, there is a black market to turn a *blind eye* to the illegal occupation of public spaces [italics mine]. Historically, corruption schemes remain successively in each different term and has been able to move even move around R$ 1 million per month in 2002 in the collection of bribes from street workers by tax agents in city center São Paulo. The sum not only impresses by the sheer amount of diverted resources, but also by the knowledge that these resources could have been invested for the benefit of the workers themselves (Itikawa, 2007).

The other nine workers, six being street vendors and three being home-based, although they relationship of subordination in labor relations, are also subject to different kinds of political commodities. The two workers from the south – street vendor and home-based – living in slums with ownership insecurity and poor access to urban infrastructure, are both are subordinated to the movements for housing the homeless, with the burden of being charged for political party allegiance. One of them specifically, who is from the southern region, a street vendor, is also subject to two additional layers of subordination: the informal administrative chief, coordinator of the neighborhood association, and the economic chief, leader of the local drug trafficking ring. In order to interview her and talk to her neighbors, I had to be guided through the neighborhood and have the interview monitored by informal administrative head.

The three street vendors from the eastern region had some ambivalences towards the autonomy/subordination difference. None of the three are subject to subordination in their working relationships since they are own-account workers, with legal licenses and financial independency due to high yields in great business locations for business, and their own homes. On the other hand, they are subject to gender subordination. The first two are single, and while they conduct business with only the assistance of one relative, they depend on the information from the local, male leaders where they work. These men pass on information about negotiations with the borough on the settlement, negotiation and payment of licenses, etc. Both also complained about being treated with arrogance and contempt by male police officers, who are responsible for inspections.

The trajectory of research and activism between 2000 and 2015 with this category allows us to evaluate that among the street vendors mostly men are elected as leaders. They concentrate information and decide on the direction of some collective issues, whether janitorial issues in the area or negotiation with the government. The third worker, considering the fact that she shares work of driving for the business with her husband, has another overlay of subordination. While her husband works all day and controls the finances, she works as a street vendor only part-time. The rest of the time she stays home, compulsorily dedicated to reproductive work.

The two home-based workers, from the northern and western regions, as well as the street vendor from the western region participate in another housing movement: institutionalization of the movement, pressure from the base, vindication for and conquest of housing, pressure on the executive and legislative branches, political harassment. In all three accounts, the women were straight-forward in saying that most of the demand for housing and participation in the base comes from women. However, the key decision areas and leadership positions held and perpetuated in São Paulo, are made up of around 70% men.

Detached autonomy

There are 138,000 street vendors in the city and 158,000 in the RMSP in 2010, according to the DIEESE. This is despite the negligible number of licenses available in the city, 1,940 in 2013. The others approximately 136,000 workers are, therefore, forced to run daily to escape inspection (Alcantara et al., 2014). No statistical agency has produced a figure for the number of informal, home-based workers.

In addition to old and new processes for the successive and systematic removal of informal workers, it is rare for city managers to understand, beyond to the presuppositions about social inequality, such deep connections with the urban space. In the case of street vendors, in the intermodal terminals scattered throughout the peripheries, while boarding or transferring between modes of transportation in the metropolis, you can see dozens of these workers serving a huge population that travels between home and work. These spaces designed for transport connections have become areas for commerce and services for this vast itinerant population, despite the fact that both laws and transportation departments underestimate this fact.

The workers interviewed, street vendors and home-based workers, are called by SEADE/DIEESE as autonomous, self-employed, own-account workers by the public. For some, categorizing their occupation, based on the place of work, whether on the street or at home, as well as their relationships along the value chain, either subcontracted or own-account, are not sufficient to cover the dimension of the workers' lives. A street vendor, working in the western region, for example, works at home, preparing the vegetables that will be taken to sell in the street. A home-based worker, in turn, prepares lunch boxes of *feijoada* in her home and informally opens a small grocery store near her home to sell *feijoada* and snacks.

In regards to the first block of questions about the sexual division of labor, the core business, the production, is carried out in solitude. These three women, of the four home-based workers interviewed, work at home, one sewing and two cooking things to sell directly to customers (pudding and *feijoada*). In addition, they all concentrate on the tasks of communicating with and acquiring customers, planning and organizing production, organizing and buying supplies to prepare and reflect on their products.

Resistance

Among the general achievements of urban struggles in Brazil are certainly the unification of entities and people's movements at a national level and improvements in regulatory frameworks such as the City Statute and the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Polis, 1989). Among the contradictions, the reach of institutionalization through the participation of movements in the RMSP in the multiple and different channels of construction, negotiation and deliberation of public policies has not matched the advancement of access to social rights on a large scale. In addition, they have been agreed

upon in spaces for social dialogue with full participation and gaps in achievements. (Maricato, 2004; Itikawa, 2013).

In the last decade, urban struggles have demonstrated a diversity of ways to relate to and negotiate with the public authority. At the same time as some consolidated social groups have already been able to sit and negotiate within institutionalized channels, others have received antagonistic treatment, through violent repression and criminalization.

Regarding street vendors, two processes for organizing these street workers between the years 2011 – 2013 are emblematic of emblematic this resistance. In 2012, in a context of hardening by City of São Paulo, annulation and persecution of workers reached a point of totally banning activity, eventually leading to the establishment of a network at the municipal level called the Street Vendors Forum of São Paulo. The Vendors Forum began to promote weekly public demonstrations protesting the arbitrariness of the administrative proceedings, the lack of dialogue and the abuses in monitoring activity.

In April 2012, during the final total ban on more than two centuries of activity, the workers, united with the State Public Defender of the State and human rights NGO, decided to bring a Public Civil Action with an innovative argument: the right to the city. In the same month, the São Paulo courts granted an injunction allowing the permanence of street vendors throughout the city (Itikawa, 2015b).

Two other fronts of resistance of the Vendors Forum occurred during the years 2013-2014 with female leaders taking the roles of protagonist. The first was the active participation of the preparation of the City Plan of São Paulo. Another area of the Vendors Forum resistance was the vindication process for the right to participate in the 2014 FIFA World Cup in 2014 held in São Paulo. Starting in 2011, the Forum of Vendors participated in regular meetings with the support of Streetnet International to form a national liaison with representatives of associations and unions of street vendors in the host cities for the World Cup. In 2011-2012 the meetings took place in São Paulo, in 2013 in Rio de Janeiro, and in 2014 in Belo Horizonte. Although the primary demand of all the workers was to be able to participate in the World Cup, the whole process revealed itself to be exclusionary. Instead of radically prohibiting such workers in the World Cup, their participation generated political and economic profitability for the government and the sponsors (Itikawa, 2015th).

Indeed, the role of the city government in mediation, dilution and conflict reconciliation was only possible with the strategy, very effective, to divide the dialogue

and negotiate separately with the actors up until the point where everything was already decided, and then, in the end, to outsource the details of participation. And if the precariousness of street vendors working in the informality of the World Cup was not enough, the street vendors had little or no decision-making autonomy in relation to the other actors. This ambivalence of participation is manifested, therefore, in the conflict between the ideological construction of virtuous labor independence proposed by the public authority without the counterpart of labor rights, and most especially collective bargaining. The fictional scenario of inclusion, participation and dialogue is therefore compatible, and not compatible, with the operating mode and reproduction of this "capitalism of mega-events". The difference, however, is in the new clothes of paternalism and internal and external class domination (Itikawa, 2015th).

Mumbai: tsunami segregation and islands of resistance

Mumbai is an archipelago city. Its territory was previously composed of seven islands that merged into one peninsula to form a geographically integrated territory thanks to a succession of mountains cuts reclaimed land to fill lakes and canals. The image of territorial fragmentation joined by human ingenuity to become one metropolis has not overcome the social and urban segregation. Mumbai has superlative figures when it comes to wealth creation, and a diverse and cosmopolitan urban life, with India's largest metropolitan area in terms of population (21 million) and Asia's greatest population density, 20,038 inhabitants/km^2 in the expanded center and 20,925 inhabitants/km^2 in the periphery. It has the largest GDP in the country, concentrating 70% of commercial and financial transactions, has the busiest port in India, is the entertainment capital, and has the highest value per square meter of India, etc. However, according to the 2011 Census, 78% of Mumbai's population lives in substandard housing (shantytowns, slums, etc.) (Gartenberg and Bhowmik, 2014). In Mumbai, "while the rich have 90% of the land and live in comfort in many open areas, the poor live crammed into 10% of the land" (Davis, 2006).

It is as if the vast poor population was confined and squeezed into tiny plots of land on islands with very high density, precarious housing and poor access to urban infrastructure. The geographical picture is bleak. It would be the equivalent of a *tsunami* of segregation, but selective one. The distribution of these islands of slums in Mumbai is not homogeneous throughout the territory. Twenty percent of the poor live in slums within the city, while 80% are in peripheral slums. Ninety percent of the territory

inhabited by the rich is constantly pushing the still persistent informal housing and work settlements, when they occupy land coveted by the real estate market. The *tsunami* is not only permanent as it appears to advance and reconnect the spaces previously separated by the elite, a process which has intensified from 1970 until today (Davis, 2006).

Currently, Dharavi, the largest slum in India and the second largest in the world, is a gold mine. It is strategically isolated within highly coveted surroundings. In recent years the city government has set out a series of interventions in the slum, since there is intense pressure from developers of neighboring and tangential businesses to install a business district, as well as middle class residential communities and shopping malls on the eastern coast of the city[15]. There is no prevision as to the full integration of economic activities that take place within each of the households in the slum, the real sources of income generation of its inhabitants - home workshops, recycling warehouses, shops, service providers, etc.[16]

Subordinated informality

Subordination in labor relations

Homenet South Asia estimates there are 50 million home-based workers in South Asia, 30 million in India alone (Gartenberg, 2013). According to Gartenberg and Bhowmik (2014), the chain of production has intermediaries at various levels and export houses managed by the Indian elite are the final destination of the pieces produced.

Dharavi, one of hundreds of slums in Mumbai, is home to around 1 million people and is considered the largest concentration of small, informal economic units in the world. There it is possible to find work randing from home workshops, services, pottery workshops and recyclable material sorting centers (Risbud, 2003). I was able to visit two perimeters of Dharavi: the textile/clothing cluster and recycling triage center. The main activity (and specialty, according to residents) in Dharavi is the textiles/clothing, followed by recycling, pottery, manufacturing of leather and plastic accessories (belts) (Gartenberg and Bhowmik, 2014).

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[15] The New York Times 2011 "In one slum, misery, work, politics and hope" em http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/29/world/asia/in-indian-slum-misery-work-politics-and-hope.html?_r=0. No projeto de redesenvolvimento há a previsão de construção de prédios para uma parcela dos moradores de Dharavi, por outro, a integração dos mesmos acontece em condições desumanas e excludentes. O índice de densidade após o projeto de redesenvolvimento de Dharavi após a realocação das famílias em prédios, passa de 1.33 para 4

[16] The Guardian 2015 "The best ide ato redevelop Dharavi slum? Scrap the plans and start again" em <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/feb/18/best-ideas-redevelop-dharavi-slum-developers-india>

In the various home-based work chains girls and children are involved in the work. In addition to the incorporation of child labor, particularly girls, in the production chain, another explicit violation of the principles of decent work are the poor health and safety conditions at work (and Bhowmik Gartenberg, 2014).

Subordination in sociability networks in the peripheries

There are a number of organizational initiatives started by informal workers themselves which do or do not rely on the support of non-governmental organizations linked to universities, research centers, religious orders and multilateral agencies. There are over 100 NGOs in Mumbai which support the slum dwellers in their vindication for better living conditions (Risbud, 2003).

A prime example is the NGO called Labour Education and Research Network-LEARN, affiliated with Homenet South Asia, an international network of home worker organizations and association. LEARN is also linked with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, as well as the Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing-WIEGO. In Mumbai, I had the opportunity to find out about the experience of LEARN and interview 5 home-based workers, 1 street vendor and 2 technicians from the NGO on the afternoon of February 12, 2015.

Other NGOs are also active in Dharavi in supporting home-based workers with various types of technical, legal and organizational advisory services: the Society for the Promotion of Area Resouces -SPARC and Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action-YUVA. According Risbud (2003), politicians also play a role in the selective intermediation rights. For the author, this clientelism, in addition to not providing universal access to social rights, does not allow for continuous and sustainable actions in the long run.

The unions of formal workers and political parties in India, unlike in Brazil, contribute to the strengthening and organization of home workers in Mumbai: for example, the All India Trade Union Congress-AITUC and the Communist Party of India-CPI) (Agarwala, 2013). There is a multiplicity of efforts by workers organizations and their respective institutional support that seem to act separately from each other.

Detached autonomy

Just as slums are constantly threatened by central areas of the real estate market interests, the local concentration of workers in the streets has been subject to removal and displacement. In the late 1990s, the city adopted the administrative maneuver of a

"temporary permit" called a *pauti*, which meant a permission created to be able to collect taxes from unauthorized street vendors. With that, the city collected the taxes without giving the prospect of future regularization. In 1997, 22,000 street vendors received *pautis*. Since the courts banned *pautis* in 1998, the harassment against street vendors grew exponentially in the form of a violent removal and daily corruption. The street vendors in Mumbai have existed for at least 200 years. It is estimated that there are 300,000 workers in the city (Bhowmik, 2011), but only 150,000 licenses were granted in the city in 2014, after 36 years of illegality by the non-issuance of licenses[17] (Anjaria, 2010).

The February 2014 approval of a national law, the Street Vendor Act, after decades of struggle by the leaders of workers' groups resulted in advances that produced some effects on policy and city management. The first advance was to consider that all street vendors have the right to receive from the city government an official identification card as a street worker, eliminating the distinction between illegal/legal. The also policy requires compulsorily urban planning of the sales spaces for all workers, with the intention of articulating this activity with other urban and economic dynamics in a decentralized way. Another important advancement is the requirement to have dialogue channels at the municipal level, Town Vending Committees-TVCs, and at the intremunicipal level, Ward Vending Committees-WVCs. This is one distinctive feature of policies with an affirmative profile that does not limit itself to simply defining norms for use and occupation of the land.

Rupolia (2015), upon conducting a sample survey of 129 street vendors in Mumbai, revealed some surprising aspects related to the linkage of urban dynamics. The research found out that 31% are students and 55.8% are wage earners. Only 7.8% of respondents are dedicated solely to commerce and are own-account worker! The authors of the research argued that this population, when traveling widely through the city, dedicated a few hours to their street vending activities in strategic areas (Rupolia *et al*, 2015). This means that location factor is extremely important in defining zones of occupation and prohibition of street vendors.

Resistance

For Agarwala (2013), there is less of a working-class consciousness, but more of a consciousness of exclusion. The organization of workers lends itself to community

[17] The Guardian 2014 "Mumbai Street Vendors: 'Cops work in shifts, so I have to bribe each one" in: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/nov/28/mumbai-street-vendors-cops-bribery>

cohesion and informal workers in India take on the role of protagonist when defining tactics and strategies, especially toward the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

The first, large-scale organized front that culminated in a lawsuit against the City of Mumbai was the Mumbai Vendors Union in the early 1980s (Anjaria, 2006). The organization of street vendors culminated in regional and national articulation represented by two important collectives: National Alliance of Street Vendors-NASVI and SEWA.

Beginning with the metropolis of Mumbai, the collectives got started and until today start with workers who have ties to their neighbors and local trust. This is case in the experience of the LEARN Mahila Kamgar Sangathana (LMKS) union in Dharavi, where I interviewed six workers. The LMKS was founded by Atmadevi Jaiswar, a home-based worker, who joined a group of women in order to strike and negotiate better prices paid per garment produced. Atmadevi decided to gather the collective because intermediaries negotiated different values for different women. They paid Rs1/piece, Rs1.5 piece or even Rs2 piece. She met women who had decided to stop taking orders until the intermediaries paid everyone the highest amount negotiated in the area, Rs2/piece. The contractor responded by refusing the value and they stopped taking orders. The collective did not give up. Three days later, the contractor, faced with the accumulation of unfinished pieces, decided to increase the value per piece to Rs 5.00.

Despite the fact that the experiences of the Self-Employed Women Association-SEWA had not started in the city of Mumbai, its peculiar methodology of only organizing working women and only from the bottom up influenced other experiences in the rest of the country. Low and inadequate worker remuneration resulting in poor housing consequently led to the formation of a collective of workers who demanded better working and living conditions (Alcantara et al., 2013). In 1972 they founded SEWA in the city of Ahmedabad and continued to spread the experiences of the organization, expanding the collective struggle to other cities until turning into a national network of informal workers. In 2013, SEWA was made up of about 700, 000 women in six states in India (Alcantara et al., 2013).

The organization managed to achieve nationwide reach and today has regional arms with associations of home-based worker associations in other countries of South ssia, Homenet South Asia, and also Southeast Asia, Homenet Southeast Asia. In the year 2015, Homenet South Asia, started a process of international articulation, in which I participated in February 2015 in New Delhi.

Durban: safe harbor in the international division of labor and initiatives adrift

The development of the informal economy in South Africa is closely linked to the policy of apartheid, whose legislation defined the exclusion of certain professions from the labor market, as well as the terms of land ownership (Celik, 2010). Blacks, in particular, *were left with* occupations such as street trading, home-based and domestic work [italics mine].

Durban and Johannesburg are the two main industrial centers of the country and the first, the country's main port (Bennett, 2003; Palmi, 2006). With the post-apartheid market opening policy, the South African textile industry has become a major supplier of finished clothing products to China and India and has imported other items from these same countries.

In 1999, the city government of Durban a pioneer in the country in developing Durban's Informal Economy Policy that included home-based workers, street vendors and gatherers. Scholars were also invited to present studies investigating the economic and urban dynamics of the different chains in the informal economy. The policy took on an urban focus upon finding the determination of which locations should have investment by the public authority gave priority to the peripheries, especially the townships (black neighborhoods) where informality is greater (Lund et al., 1999). The policy was finalized in 2000 and has been applied since 2001. At the time of its launch, it was considered an international success case. This policy reveals a historic change of government management, from providing assistance to providing business support.

Despite the Durban government's having invested considerably from 1997-2000 in infrastructure for informal workers, with actions such as the construction of markets in outlying areas, the largest amount was invested in the tourist areas such as maritime coast of Durban, where the hotels are located. In this area there were only 350-700 vacancies for street vendors. For the international coordinator of Streetnet International, an international network that joins street workers in several countries, the assessment after more than ten years is that not only has the policy not been implemented but its application is still pending.

Subordinated informality

Subordination in labor relations

With trade liberalization in the 1990s, only 55% of goods started to be produced domestically in the first decade of the 2000s. Despite exports having grown in the same decade, it was not enough to compete with the entry imported clothing products. Informality was inevitable and, in the first decade of the 2000s, grows to represent 55% of occupations in the textile/clothing sector in the metropolitan area of Durban.

Palmi (2006) interviewed some home-based workers in Durban, whose production is emblematic from the standpoint of the subcontracting in the industry's value chain, from segregation in the labor market to the international division of production. The first worker, Ann, is a black woman subcontracted to the local industry; the second, Jane, is a white woman, an own-account worker with white customers and a part of her production exported to Asia. Ann is a member of the Assistance Programme to Combat AIDS of the Catholic Church in Durban. This program has an arm in the periphery called the Albini Mission in Ntshongweni, which conducts the Lulisandla project with women about questions of issues of home-based work and public health. The second worker, Jane, produces goods for tourist clients and white, middle class women, in addition to part of her production which is exported to Hong Kong.

Subordination in sociability networks in the periphery

With regard to home-based work in Durban, at least two organizations have been registered in the literature. The first, linked to the Catholic Church, supports access to markets, whether in product marketing or sales. The second, cited by the interviewee Ann, refers to an NGO linked to the relative of a local politician. According to Ann: "They are getting heavy investments and have grown rapidly over the last five years because they have good relationships" (Palmi, 2006).

With regard to street vendors, Asive Tafuleni is one NGO which acted decisively in the resistance against the removal of more than 8,000 direct workers in a central Durban market. The process of resistance is described below. Asiye Tafuleni is an NGO that provides technical assistance in urban planning and furniture design to informal workers, especially street vendors and gatherers of recyclable material. In addition, it articulates a network of researchers and scholars on the subject since 2008 (Roever, 2013).

Detached autonomy

In 2010, a new census of street vendors was conducted, totalling 87, 541 street vendors in the Durban metropolitan area. In 2013 there were 44,000 licenses (almost half of the total contingency) and 94% were black (Roever, 2013).

In the city of Durban, there are classification of locations which are issued very few licenses with permanent occupation of public spaces and others which culminate in determining that there cannot be any occupation of more than 30 minutes, forcing workers to move permanently. In the 2012 street vendors monitoring study carried out by WIEGO, the survey conducted with 150 street workers between individual interviews and focus groups, showed gender inequality and poor access to urban infrastructure:

> • Fifty-six percent of salespeople do not have access to toilets and 21% have no access to water. Seventy-five percent do not have any shelter, so they are exposed to the elements (rain, sun, cold, wind, etc.). Fifty percent do not have access to the their stock;
>
> •Seventy-five percent of workers in the periphery and 50% of workers in the city center said they suffer harassment from police;
>
> • Women sell products that they make themselves home, while men sell ready-made products, industrialized or not. While 94% of the products men sell come from the formal sector, for women it is only 28%;
>
> • Most women have assistants, especially since in addition to the parallel tasks in sales (attend meetings, negotiate with suppliers and organize inventory) they have household chores (Inclusive Cities, 2014).

According to the study of Inclusive Cities (2014), planning and organizing with workers, carried out according to the locations of activity sectors (food, clothing, medicines, etc.), would certainly benefit the entire chain of producers, sellers and informal gatherers. The issue of housing and transportation in relation to street vendors is a central one. With regard to urban mobility, women suffer when they have to relocate to markets in central areas, because they have already been pushed to the periphery. Some of the women interviewed return to their homes in rural areas, where they live traditionally with their families, only once a month. By working on the street, they end up paying for accommodation or room in a tenement in the central area in order to spend the week in a temporary accommodation (Roever, 2013).

Resistance

With regard to home-based workers in the textile/clothing sector, there was an organizational process which culminated in the formation of a specific labor union in 1989. The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union - SACTWU does not distinguish between whether its members are formal or informal. The SACTWU is part

of the traditional trade union center COSATU. The SACTWU was decisive in pressuring for the installation of channels of negotiation between companies in the textile/clothing sector and informal workers in the early 2000s, during the period immediately after the trade liberalization policy that severely hit the industry. Another union that operates in the resistance processes is the Self Employed Women Union-SEWU, a unique union of informal women workers who participated actively in the elaboration of the diagnosis of the socio-economic aspects that subsidized Durban's Informal Economic Policy (Valodia, 2007).

In relation to street vendors, two significant resistance processes in metropolis of Durban were emblematic of the point of view of network articulation for collective bargaining and the role of women in reversing two highly exclusionary policies. The first was during the preparations for the World Cup in 2010. The second was the articulation of a union of own-account women workers for resistance in a strategic location for street sales: the Warwick Junction.

The first example of an authoritarian action and bulk dumping of street vendors, duly legitimized by norms and regulations, happened during the pre-preparations of the cities for the 2010 FIFA World Cup 2010. In 2004, Public Sphere Management Project was prepared in the metropolis of Durban and sites for street vendors' commerce near the circulation of local World Cup tourists automatically became illegal. The workers started to persecuted and expelled by police, called "peace officers", who were trained to remove workers from areas where tourists circulate. Locations demarked for this project included stadiums, the airport, new malls, shopping centers and the coastline, which there would be a *Fan Park*[18]. The most remarkable fact is that this process did not go through any process of consultation, not only with workers but also with actors who had already participated in the construction of the Durban Informal Economic Policy.

The process of deliberate exclusion by local authorities started in 2004 and also saw the rise of the articulation of a resistance network that integrated workiers and their organizations and unions as well as experts and academics in a campaign called the World Class Cities for All Campaign-WCCA. Streetnet International, which led the process, called local authorities to commit to inclusive projects and to carry out participatory processes of consultations regarding their actions. Several protests were held in 2006,

[18] Space designed for fans to be able to watch the World Cup games.

however, the metropolis of Durban refused to initiate a democratic process of consultation and negotiation (Çelik, 2010).

The second urban project, controversial because it had taken place concurrently with the city's preparations for the games of the World Cup, was the Warwick Junction *development* project in central Durban [italics mine]. There were more than 8,000 workers in the market that had existed for more than 100 years. Of these workers, 59.3% were women. (Skinner, 2009). In 2009, however, the city initiated a Warwick Junction *development* project which provided private investment for the installation a shopping mall and removal of most of the workers.

The street vendors of SEWU, allied with the NGO, Asiye Tafuleni, with social and academics making up a resistance movement, with protests and legal action. This front had its first achievement with a first-round victory in the lawsuit against the expulsion of the market in Warwick Junction. They managed it so that workers could remain in place, however, the mall began and completed its construction in the year of the World Cup in 2010 without the full inclusion of the workers (Dobson , 2011).

Conclusion: Dematerialize arms in order to catch land

The compulsory periphery

If workers are not in the regime of citizenship tied to formal employment (social protection, guarantee fund for length of service - FGTS to purchase housing, etc.), the only thing that remains is ownership insecurity and poor access to urban infrastructure.

Despite transformations in the economy and recent urban mobility, these do not break with the logic of social-spatial segregation and predatory urban expansion towards the periphery of informal settlements without adequate infrastructure, with irregular housing, and an insufficient or poor supply of employment opportunities. The informal workers interviewed confirm a lifetime in the peripheries. There are systematic and successive changes in the kinds of informal settlements and intraurban exodus in housing and work. In this way, it is possible to speak of *abducting the work territory* because the territory that is left for that worker will never be his/hers and its informal use is of low quality [italics mine].

In addition, labor relations in the informal sector, not enough to be precariously expressed in the deregulation of the workday, in the absence of social protection, with the inadequacy of the health and safety standards, with the difficulty or absence of collective bargaining, etc., informal workers have unequal conditions of access and permanence in

the markets. Furthermore, autonomy is detached, so why have labor independence without the return of sovereignty to define the terms of trade. In addition to compulsory expulsion from urban space, it is the dismantling of the productive dynamics, organization and class struggle, and participation in the capitalist accumulation regime and the country's wealth production.

Discrimination by race, caste, gender and class, in addition to the structural issues of history and economy of each of the countries is another layer of segregation and subordination, going beyond labor relations. The relationship between access to education and access to land are also included in the caste system, in that the members of the higher castes occupy superior positions in hierarchies of the rural class and these are reproduced in urban areas.

In addition, policies of formalization and entrepreneurship do not consider the collective leadership of the workers. Examples cited in the cities studied show that despite the dominant position of the State in the advancing of rights, there are a number of problems and challenges in the social dialogue.

Reserve arms and land: sub-accumulation and super-accumulation

The subordinate informality and detached autonomy are two sides of the same coin: there is no neutrality in the position informality occupies on the margin of capitalism. In this way, it is impossible to say that there will be an automatic transition from the informal to the formal, since it serves as reservation of arms and lands for sub-accumulation and super-accumulation.

Sub-accumulation because both subcontracted work and own-account work are extracted, in addition to labor rights, from the entire social apparatus of social reproduction of labor power. The informal worker must be responsible for his/her retirement, housing, health, transportation, employment injuries, maternity, etc. Yields on informality are low, despite affirmations that it ends up being slightly higher than for formal workers. For this reason, it is sub-accumulation because beyond the worker working for his/her survival (or to feed the survival of others, as we have seen), he/she does not participate in the entire system of social protection and formal access to other social rights: housing, sanitation , transportation, etc.

It is super-accumulation because of the demonstrations of dispossession (Harvey, 2011) to super-accumulate the extraction of surplus value comes in the same package as super-exploitation: very low per piece remuneration, long workdays, different forms of control over time and production, etc. In addition, there is super-accumulation because

there is clear operative and wealth asymmetry as a result of unequal power relations and subordination. For women, there is another layer of super-accumulation because productive and reproductive, unpaid and unprotected work falls back on them.

Capital's setback in the form of covering up informality through the formalization of micro-entrepreneurs, created the setback that is the fraud of subordinated relationships. They are used by companies as expedients to avoid their obligations to labor rights. This substitution of employment contracts for services delivery contracts is widely practiced as a way to clean up entire chains of production, relieving companies of labor rights and endangering workers.

The reserve of arms and land for future appropriation is therefore functional to the reproduction of capitalism in the periphery. The land occupied by slums, when elevated to the interests of the real estate market automatically become territories to be taken at a cheap price for future housing production. The arms of informal workers are, likewise, a surplus labor force, exerting strong pressure on the lowering of wages and turnover in formal employment, as well as the extraction of labor rights and reducing labor costs.

Diners and colonies at the feast for few

The exclusive arrangements particularly in access to land and urban employment have been instrumental in maintaining a rationed citizenship. Marfaing and Thiel (2015) speak of networks of accumulation and networks of survival and show the operators who orbit these networks for the mediation and bridging of rights. It is a selective participation in wealth, combined with strategies for lowering the costs of land and housing.

It is possible to draw a parallel with the relationships between living things for their survival: bees are organized into *colonies*, with hierarchy and division of hard work. It is through cooperation and organization that one has access to resources, scarce or not. On the other hand, it is also true that there are so-called *diners*, meaning those that have complementary relations for access to food, for example [italics mine]. For this reason, sociability networks could be the equivalent of diners and resistance networks, the colonies. On one hand, it is possible to say that there are support networks that do the work of politicizing and strengthening the workers for the *leveraging* of representation. This effort, however, has not resulted in universal rights.

The boundaries between support, intermediation or guardianship are very inaccurate. The literature about the three cities and the field research conducted in São Paulo pointed out, however, that some of these actions backslide into mutual dependence.

Insubordinate women

The literature and the field research showed several nuances of subordination, however, the examples of individual and collective insubordination, even though they appear disjointed, are as poignant as efforts to annihilate them. Macroeconomic policies, the colonial heritage, paternalism, patriarchy, native segregation and discrimination, as well as the international division of labor result in informality, subordination and the detachment of informal workers. On the other, network articulation, protests and lawsuits show processes of resistance that have challenged exclusion, periphery and compulsory subordination.

There is no one calculation among countries that may result in the advancement of resistance processes in ensuring the rights of the exception handling. Each country has advanced on specific fronts. However, the testimonies of the interviewed informal workers have the same tone expressed by the street vendor from the southern region, "we women are the majority in exclusion. I have lost many things in this life and now I'm winning. Now that I have started, I will no longer stop."

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