Recuperando la Tierra:

Understanding the Legacies of Social Movements through the Entanglement of Home and Urban Housing Landscapes in Costa Rica

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Abstract

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In the mid-1980s, Costa Rican housing activists made 'anti-violence' a central piece of their platform for housing justice in the country. Through alliances between socialist and feminist organizations, this movement sought to spatialize justice by (1) providing shelter for the urban poor; (2) encouraging the political enfranchisement and empowerment of women and women-headed households; and (3) providing local level infrastructure for addressing and preventing intrafamilial violence through health cooperatives. Through a pro-poor housing subsidy, the *bono de vivienda*, preferentially given to low-income families, single-mothers, female-headed households, and the women in dual- or male- headed households where there was a suspicion of partner violence, the Costa Rican housing movement of the 1980s reshaped the relationships and power dynamics of both households and urban housing landscapes. In this dissertation, I traverse

the entanglements of home and city to better understand the legacies of a social movement. Where geographers and social movement theorists have addressed question of how social movements arise and are organized, and the production of activist subjectivities, I query their impact on cultures of (anti)violence across time. Drawing on six months of fieldwork, in one marginalized urban neighborhood in the San José-Heredia Metropolitan region of Costa Rica built through the hybridized housing-anti-violence movements, I argue that by reorganizing urban space and the socio–political milieu of cities, social movements inform the way subsequent generations define and respond to emergent social, political, and economic violence. Seventeen participants from ten households were recruited for a short-term cohort study including (1) a life history interview, (2) photovoice, and (3) a follow-up interview with participant-produced photos. Visual methods – photovoice and collaborations with local artists – are critical tools for understanding the complex historical place-based practices of gender and community. Participant images collapse past experience, present practices, and future desires to provide a richer analytic frame for understanding the political heritages of social movements. Using these data, the household as an analytic frame, and a combination of critical landscape studies, heritage studies, and feminist care theory, I trace the ways historical social movements inform how subsequent generations frame and respond to contemporary and emerging forms of intrafamilial and economic violence.

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CHAPTER 1:

Introduction to *Recuperando la Tierra:* Understanding the Legacies of Social Movements through the Entanglement of Home and Urban Housing Landscapes in Costa Rica

Starting in the mid-1980s, Costa Rican socialist organizations made 'anti-violence'[1] a central piece of their platform for social housing in the country. The resultant self-help housing programs aimed to produce and spatialize justice by (1) providing shelter for the urban poor; (2) encouraging the political enfranchisement and empowerment of women and women-headed households; and (3) providing local level infrastructure for addressing and preventing intrafamilial violence through health cooperatives. By making 'anti-violence' a priority in planning, the movement sought an intervention in the intergenerational transfer of violence and violent practices related to economic, social, political, and interpersonal causes. Thirty-five years after the start of the Costa Rican housing movement, I ask what the lasting effects of this housing-as-anti-violence movement have been. Where geographers and others studying social movements have explored the substance and emergences of social movements in various places and times, less attention has been paid to the effects and uses of social movement ideologies and practices across time. Using the household – as a set of intergenerational relationships – as an analytic frame, I (1) evaluate the efficacy of anti-violence influenced design across generations, focusing on the impacts of tenure security on women's resiliency against

[1] The 'anti-violence' here refers primarily to gender-based violence in the home – domestic and spousal abuse that is physical, emotional, and economic.

domestic violence. I then apply a conceptual framework of critical approaches to landscape, heritage studies, and feminist care theory to (2) trace the ways anti-violence practices can be embedded in the built environment through urban planning; and (3) explore how inhabitants experience and internalize the resulting built environment and anti-violence ideologies. Empirically rooted in a single case neighborhood, to provide for an in-depth exploration of how individuals – as members of intergenerational households, and the larger community – narrate and mobilize social movement histories in the present, I argue that by reorganizing urban space and the socio–political milieu of cities, social movements inform the way subsequent generations define and respond to emergent social, political, and economic violence.

This introduction begins with a broad discussion of social movement theory and the ways urban and political geographers have approached social movements. Following this literature's emphasis on the importance of understanding social movements' emergences within place-based histories and relationships, I then discuss the history of self-help housing in Costa Rica. In later chapters I will explore this history through the local lens of the neighborhood Guararí – an urban community nestled between the San José and Heredia metropolitan areas (see Chapters Three and Four). Here this discussion centers on movement leaders' negotiation with the state, state level policies and initiatives, and funding streams. Major critiques of self-help housing movements have focused on corruption, clientelism, and their failure to enfranchise citizens beyond the material provision of a house. However, the movement in Costa Rica has differed from other movements globally, particularly in its emphasis on housing women and families to prevent intrafamilial violence. It is this intersection of the political economies of housing provision

and critical geographies of the home, which opens the possibilities of exploring the entanglements of the home and the city. For this research, the participant households – semi-permanent malleable institutions made up of a series of interlocking intergenerational relationships – were made possible through the housing movements. Their family histories are intimately co-entangled with the political history of housing struggle, as well as the local history of neighborhood construction. This intimate connection – through struggle and construction (see Chapter Four) – embeds the domestic in the public and the public in the domestic, co-mingling the home and the city in both memory and practice.

To query the ways the values and ideologies of social movements are embedded in urban landscapes, the ways they haunt the present or are mobilized through heritage artifacts in the form of stories or memory sites, I use a critical approach to landscape – viewing landscapes as assemblages of their histories, and the contemporary practices of lived experience. This approach prioritizes an analysis of meaning that is about materiality, embodiment and process in and through landscapes, over fixed constructions or cognitive engagements. Following a discussion of the critical geographies of home and household, I discuss the literature related to critical landscape studies and the related Latin Americanist conceptualizations of territory and territorialization. Critical approaches to landscape as a physical manifestation of historical processes and negotiations, the material of lived experience and meaning-making, and the substance we mobilize and reassemble to create alternate futures. In this way, landscapes carry the burden of heritage's (the use of the past in the present) moral imperative. Landscapes orient us towards ways of being and interacting, and they hold the potential for broadcasting or erasing the flow of power. The materiality of landscape and practice are of concern to understanding the effects of social

movements across time – the ways historical movements are narrated and mobilized in the present – in the ways they inform or influence urban residents. To account for the intimacies of housing and movement struggle, for the embodied and affective relationships between residents as they negotiate emergent forms of violence, I apply feminist care theory to critical landscape studies. Individuals interpreting and evaluating how to apply social movement heritages in everyday relationships consider their own embodiment, vulnerabilities and fears leading to a complex, incomplete, and messy application (see Chapters Five and Six). Thus, following a discussion of critical landscape studies and territory, I move to a review of feminist care theory. Viewing landscape as both a product of social movement pasts, material through which residents make and justify moral claims, and the spaces where residents organize and carry out their daily lives, allows my analysis to encompass (1) the ways participants frame and interpret justice and social action in the community, and (2) how participants understand contemporary violence and risk. Care theory creates the bridge across the tensions of these two frames – social justice action motivated by social movement pasts, and fear related to an individual or family's sense of vulnerability to problems such as drug addiction, gang violence, or economic insecurity – allowing, or really *expecting,* them to exist together.

In the following sections I unpack the literature related to (1) urban social movements and the history of housing movements in Costa Rica; (2) violence and critical geographies of home and household; and (3) critical approaches to landscape and feminist care theory. This chapter then concludes with an overview and chapter outline of the full dissertation.

Urban Social Movements

In her prescient review of the academic work related to social movements, Sarah Koopman (2015) states that "[g]eographers have asked: How do movements use space? How does space shape movements? How do movements shape space?" (Koopman, 2015: 341). Embedded within these questions, geographers have debated the definition of a social movement – what counts as a social movement – the political scope or arena within which a movement operates or is evaluated as successful, and the spatiality of solidarity and geographers' roles in collaboration and support.

What is an urban social movement? In the long debated *The City and the Grassroots,* Manuel Castells (1983) argues that an *urban* social movement is a collective action that is oriented towards a policy shift around collective consumption - housing provision, education or job training resources, access to urban infrastructure such as roads, public transportation, water, etc. He argues that social movements emerge from a catalyst of increased injustice (see also Nicholls, 2007). For Castells, these movements are organized around a base, often those excluded from access to urban resources and by necessity can only be considered an urban social movement if they are successful in creating redistribution. More recently, however, scholars have challenged the Castellian viewpoint, arguing that social movements influence *politics*, not just policy (Bebbington, 2007; Magnusson, 2011). Justus Uitermark, Walter Nicholls, and Maarten Loopmans (2012) critique the particularity of space – or the redistribution of territory and resources - as the central demand of a social movement. Instead, they suggest that while cities constitute social movements, and the responses of the state, the goal is a changed system of political or economic relations.

The ‘new’ social movements of the 1980s, led to scholars challenging Castells’ approach to social movements, arguing that the successes of struggles for democracy in Latin America was in the empowerment to peoples previously excluded from formal politics. Individuals disenfranchised from networks of political and economic power, came to think of themselves as political agents and bearers of rights. Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (1998) identify this shift as a cultural politics where the very definitions of politics and needs were debated. In particular, through this process of redefining rights and the realm of politics, women became enfranchised as leaders and organizers, acting as empowered political agents for issues such as housing, healthcare, and domestic violence that had been previously excluded from or ignored by formal politics (Alvarez, 2000; Noonan, 2002; Sagot, 1997; Schild, 1997). More than identity politics, culture in a framework for social transformation, in addition to politics or economics, recognizes that conflict arises in the differential power of different meaning making systems – who gets to define problems and their solutions – and in the ontological differences between groups – what are those definitions (Escobar, 2008).

Much of liberal political theory is built on the ideal of unity: that there must be a consensus in politics (Arendt, 1958; Habermas, 1989; Kymlicka, 1990). However, Iris Marion Young (1990) argues that the ideal of unity in politics is based on the constructionist view of groups, which assumes that groups are homogenous and blinds politics to the structures of oppression (see also Fraser, 2005; Rancière et al., 2001; Ticktin, 2011). Further, politics as unifying has the potential to create systems of right that are also systems of domination (Foucault, 1997). Rather than assuming we know what justice or politics should look like, a relational theory of politics leads to the idea of productive justice

rather than equitable distribution. This posits politics as obligatory relations rather than 'rights' (Keating, 2010; Waterstone, 2009). The creation of politics within urban social movements follows this idea of politics as relational where what is at stake is the 'who' of politics, the construction of a political identity, seeing oneself as a political agent and bearer of rights, should not be presumed. Politics is paradoxical, the subject and agent are the same, and is always "on the shore of its own disappearance" (Rancière et al., 2001: 8; Rancière, 2004)

While this construction of politics as a matter of identity formation has been dismissed as trivial or coopted as the only element that is significant, presumably to the loss of redistributive politics that see a more equitable division of wealth and power, Nancy Fraser argues, "that we need a way of rethinking the politics of recognition in a way that can help to solve, or at least mitigate, the problems of" the loss of redistributive politics (Fraser, 2000: 109). She argues for a non-identarian model of recognition that views it as a question of status, examined in relation to economic class, where:

> "… recognition is not group-specific identity but the status of individual group members as full partners in social interaction. Misrecognition, accordingly, does not mean the depreciation and deformation of group identity, but social subordination—in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life. To redress this injustice still requires a politics of recognition, but in the 'status model' this is no longer reduced to a question of identity: rather, it means a politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing the misrecognized party as a full member of society, capable of participating on a par with the rest" (Fraser, 2000: 113).

Following Fraser and others, if we are to understand the impacts of social movements in the work - on policy or large structures in the political economy - then we must first look

at how the subjects of politics are formed, and the meanings attributed to their participation and political institutions and structures of debate.

Responding to the 'new' social movement theory of the 1980s and 90s, David Harvey and Raymond Williams (1995) suggest that social movements grounded in place-based identities and local memory become militantly particular, leading to conflict between social movement groups that prevent broad alliances. Of concern to Harvey and Williams is the ability of social movements to enact change at the global scale, or put another way, the effectivity of local social movements to challenge hegemonic neoliberal capitalism. How can oppositional, identity-based movements focused on redistribution and representation in place challenge a global system that prioritizes movement and flexibility?

On the one hand this diminishes the significance of local connections and resources for maintaining social movements, which have the greatest power of disruption at the local level (Featherstone, 2005; Nicholls, 2008; Routledge, 2003). Using the example of *Las Madres de la Plaza* in Argentina, Fernando Bosco (2006) argues that emotional connection sustains social movements across time. The, still active, *Madres de la Plaza* is a loose network of mothers whose children were disappeared during Argentina's Dirty War (1974-1983) and their supporters. Bosco suggests that the emotional connection to plazas, and walking in plazas, informs a collective memory and active embodied remembering that sustains motivation in the movement, but that this connection is not to a particular locality and the walking occurs in plazas across Latin America, North America, and Europe (Bosco, 2006). Writing about the indigenous and environmental movements in Columbia's Pacific region, Arturo Escobar writes that:

> "… people mobilize against the destructive aspects of globalization from the perspective of what they have been and what they are at present: historical subjects of particular cultures, economies, and ecologies; particular knowledge producers; individuals and collectivities engaged in the play of living in landscapes and with each other in distinctive ways" (Escobar, 2008: 6).

Social movements have a cultural potential embedded in local histories that demand academics to see them as knowledge producers and pay attention to the ways knowledges are enacted to produce alternate futures (Escobar, 2008; Featherstone, 2005; Gibson-Graham, 2008; Roy et al., 2015).

Similarly, Paul Routledge (2003) argues that Harvey and Williams' conflation of the local with the particular, subverts activist agency and leaves the connection making (to histories and contemporary global flows) to academics. Drawing on Massey's argument that place is an event, a coming-together of histories, bodies, economic systems, policies, global flows, etc., always temporary and changing (Massey, 2000, 2005), Routledge argues that the local is always already embedded in relational networks, bonds, ideas, and values, and proposes the concept of a 'convergence space,' where local movements come together to reinvigorate movement commitment and create a collective social movement history across scale. In this way "place-based struggles might be seen as multi-scale, network-oriented subaltern strategies of localization" (Escobar, 2001: 139). Escobar argues that the erasure of place, reifies hegemonic economic and political systems and eurocentrism. His conceptualization of glocality, then, recognizes the ways places are shaped by global flows of power and processes of colonization and developing, and the ways places resist those processes. Geographers studying cultural political economy argue that local responses to global processes and regional shifts in the political economy are dependent on how local

values systems interpret those changes (Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008; Nicely, 2011; Sayer, 2001).

Because of local relationships, embodied practices, the uneven developments of global processes, and the interpretations of those processes by local value systems, social movements are nodal emergences from these elements. Extending this discussion of the interconnections of places through the global processes of uneven development that shape them, Cindy Katz suggests that the concept of topography methodologically assists scholars in understanding the material effects of globalization, economic restructuring, and uneven development:

> "[The] intent in invoking [topographies] is to imagine a politics that simultaneously retains the distinctness of the characteristics of a particular place and builds on its analytic connections to other places along 'contour lines' marking, not elevation, but rather a relation to a process—for example, the deskilling of workers or the retreat from social welfare. In this way, it is possible to theorize 'the connectedness of vastly different places made artifactually discrete by virtue of history and geography but which also reproduce themselves differently amidst the common political-economic and sociocultural processes they experience' (Katz, 2001a: 1229)" (Katz, 2001b: 721).

Whether it is a 'convergence space,' 'glocality,' or 'topographical contour line,' these scholars argue that local struggles are often responding to similar global processes, and while they rely on the social and economic resources of place-based connections and histories, their connections create an alternate spatial politics that does not mirror the nonplaces of neoliberalism.

Geographers and urbanists studying social movements have explored their emergence globally around concerns of suffrage and gender-based violence (Burk, 2011; Parkins, 2000; Wright, 2007), labor and neoliberal capitalism (Arenas, 2014; Savage, 2006), racism and civil rights (Avila, 2014; Kelley, 1993; Leitner and Strunk, 2014a),

affordable housing and homelessness (Amin, 2014; Huron, 2018; Mitchell, 1995), and war and genocide (Fluri, 2009; Hoelscher, 2008; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008). What has been less studied are the ways that movements shape space. Or put another way, geographers have paid less attention to the long-term effects of the reorganization of space and society by social movements.

Social movement subjects and the socio-political context are changed together through everyday action and engagement (Alvarez et al., 1998; Avritzer, 2009; Rutland, 2013), and the ways social movement actors create alternate futures in the present through experimental practice (Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Pink, 2009). Helga Leitner and Christopher Strunk (2014b) analyze immigrant activist and advocacy networks in the DC area to explore the concept of 'insurgent citizenship,' where movements create new forms beyond the state formed through interpersonal relationships. They argue that:

> "whereas liberal democratic citizenship is associated with a bundle of individual rights and obligations conferred by a single nation-state, insurgent citizenship is an agentic conception of citizenship that involves active participation in civic and political life through discourses and practices that challenge existing laws, policies, and institutions; promote alternative criteria for membership in a polity; and lay claims to and enact new forms of citizenship and rights" (Leitner and Strunk, 2014b: 355).

Similarly, Iván Arenas (2014), analyzing political encampments in Oaxaca, Mexico argues that their success is in changing social relationships through the occupation of space. He observes that participants in the political encampment develop a sense of self-sufficiency beyond the state in the creative ways they meet each other's everyday needs for food, shelter, privacy, etc. It is through these relationships that participants can imagine new political forms beyond an oppressive state (Arenas, 2014). The practices of the self,

embedded in social movements, where individuals construct new opportunities for themselves both in relationship to and outside of formal bureaucracies and institutions, represent what Ananya Roy and Emma Crane (2015) refer to as a refusal of capitalism's future. Through their everyday actions, individuals deny a future of exploitation, disinvestment, and other forms of violence. These denials represent a radical untimeliness that anchors prophetic futures to contemporary practice (Roy et al., 2015). Social movements reorganize social relationships, creating new politics, and new organizational futures.

Geographers studying social movements have largely been concerned with their subject matter, the ways they emerge in particular times and places, and their ability to construct new social, political, and economic forms. A major debate in the field has been over the 'local' or 'particular' nature of 'new' social movements. Following the theoretical and conceptual interventions of Cindy Katz, Arturo Escobar, and Paul Routledge, it is worthwhile to explore the emergence and execution of a single social movement, embedding it in global, regional, and local historical processes. The housing movements in Costa Rica represent urban social movements that sought the redistribution of wealth through housing resources, as well as shifting forms of recognition around the rights of women and their role in home and country. In the next section I discuss self-help housing programs, where the state provides building materials and land for local organizations to construct housing, generally before enumerating the history of these housing movements in Costa Rica.

Self-Help Housing Movements

Self-help housing programs, where the state provides land and building materials to local organizations to construct housing, are not unique to Costa Rica (Diaz-Barriga, 1998; Kaufman and Alfonso, 1997; Potter and Conway, 1997). In numerous contexts, including Costa Rica, self-help housing is seldom about the mere provision of shelter. Struggle for housing provision during the 1980s in Latin America was part of a larger struggle for democracy and cultural politics, where people previously excluded from formal politics came to think of themselves as political agents and bearers of rights (Alvarez et al., 1998). They represent a shift in the construction of monumental infrastructure in Latin America to increase state visibility, towards infrastructure projects that were broadly defined to include the support of human capital (Hetherington and Campbell, 2014). Central to debates around self-help housing movements are their political significance as either (1) avenues towards enfranchisement as leaders and organizers, redefining rights and the realm of politics (Alvarez et al., 2003; Sagot and Douglas, 1990; Schild, 1997), or (2) as part of a neoliberal approach that does not house the urban poor but instead garners profits through the selling of lots or titles to middle-class or government employees (Davis, 2006). Self-help housing movements in this way have been condemned as apolitical, emphasizing the provision of shelter over the struggle for broader political change (Lara and Molina, 1997). While the story of self-help housing and slum renewal does not look radically different in Costa Rica than in other nations in the Global South, the differences are present in the amount of control the state maintained over international funding – and their ability to provide housing to the urban poor - and the links made

between housing, intrafamilial violence, and women's rights (discussed further in Chapter Three).

Self-Help Housing Movements in Costa Rica

By the 1980s, 62% of Costa Rica's population was underhoused (Sagot, 1997). This crisis of housing was caused in part by rapid urbanization in the 1950s and 60s, external debt and oil crises in the 1970s, and falling export prices for coffee and bananas in the 1980s. The administration's poor management of the crises led to higher taxes for the Costa Rican people, a drop in real wages, low purchasing power, poverty, infant malnutrition, and cut in housing construction by half (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Manuel Sevilla, 1993; Sagot, 1997; Seligson and Muller, 1987). Even during this economic crisis, Mitchell Seligson and Edward Muller (1987) argue that high support for the legitimacy of the state postponed the political crises seen in other Latin American nations during this period; however, that did not forestall the rise of the coalition of socialist and Marxist organizations in the 1980s that made up the housing movement.

The *Movimiento para la Liberación de la Mujer* (The Women's Liberation Movement [*MLM*]), founded in the 1970s by women members of the *Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores* (Socialist Worker's Organization [*OST*]), while working with the country's urban poor women on health, uncovers widespread dissatisfaction with the way the state was handling housing and related services (Sagot, 1997). In the late 70s and early 80s, the *Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanización* (The National Housing and Urbanization Institute [*INVU*]), founded in 1968, had espoused the popular neoliberal strategies of the time, but provision through the early the 1980s was inefficient and

ineffective, with low participation from households, high costs, and low-cost recovery. Its reliance on land tenure as the basis of a government housing subsidy was particularly ineffective for very low-income families in informal or squatter settlements (Manuel Sevilla, 1993; Smith, 2003a).

Four major housing fronts were formed by leftist parties and organizations in the country to respond to this inefficiency and put pressure on INVU to carry out meaningful housing programs. One such front was the *Coordinadora Nacional por Vivienda Digna* (CNVD, the National Coordinating Council for Dignified Housing). It was an initiative formed in 1980 by el *Centro Feminista de Información y Acción* (The Center for Feminist Information and Action [*CEFEMINA*]), the new iteration of the MLM, and *el Comité Pátriotical Nacional* (The National Patriotic Committee [*COPAN*]), a socialist organization. The CNDV was to act as an umbrella organization for the local housing committees in major cities. Those committees would be organized through intermediate regional leaders, who ultimately connect with *La Dirección*, a council of intellectuals and major organizers who coordinate the nation-wide struggle (Sagot and Douglas, 1990). Monserrat Sagot and Carol Anne Douglas (1990) note that 90% of the local committees were composed of women, arguing that this is due to the origins of the movement in early Costa Rican feminists work with urban poor women and that women are more directly invested in the home as a workplace and site of refuge.

Early actions, between 1979 and 1983, include a mix of legal demonstrations and hunger strikes with illegal barricade and invasions. The government's response was largely repressive and brutal, including police brutality against and arrests of pregnant women and children. This leads to the end of general confrontation and in 1984 there was an eight-

person hunger strike, that lasted for 18 days and ended with the government signing their first agreement with COPAN (Sagot and Douglas, 1990). In 1985, COPAN and the other housing fronts create a coalition to support, then presidential candidate, Oscar Arias, of the *Partido Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Party [*PLN*]), in the 1986 election in exchange for a promise of 80,000 houses for the households in the lowest income bracket (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Sagot, 1997; Smith, 2003a).

Arias, successfully elected through popular support, included housing insecurity as a major problem in the 1986 National Development Plan. He creates the *Banco Nacional de Hogares y Viviendas* (The National Housing and Mortgage Bank [*BANHVI*]) in 1986 to facilitate the *bono de vivienda* program. The *bono de vivienda* is a one-off capital subsidy linked to household income, essentially a housing grant (Sagot, 1997; Smith, 2003a). This expenditure is possible, during an international debt crisis, due to an influx of international funds. A major source of funds was the United States Agency for International Development (USAID): following the Sandista Movement in Nicaragua and the civil war in El Salvador, the United States feared political instability in the region (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Seligson and Muller, 1987). Other funding streams came from UN Habitat, and the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). While these grants are linked to loans through private sector institutions, the state is ultimately the housing provider through authorized NGOs. This dependence on state capital makes the model more resistance to allocation distortion (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Manuel Sevilla, 1993). The Foundation for the Promotion of Low-cost Housing (FUPROVI), for example, is an NGO commissioned by the Costa Rican government in 1987 and supported by SIDA. The aid agreement stipulated that the funds would be channeled through BANHVI and the *el*

Banco de Costa Rica (The Bank of Costa Rica [*BCR*]) with 79% of funds coming from SIDA and 21% from local sources, including: land transfers involved in the legalization of tenure, sweat equity from participating households, interest from the grant, and INVU. Over time FUPROVI or INVU would cover long term loan repayments of participating families, but the incentive was there to transfer mortgages to the state institution, INVU, for households with tenure, so that they would be eligible for the *bono de vivienda* and more lenient loan terms (Manuel Sevilla, 1993). This funding model ultimately linked housing development with the central government institutionally for decades (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Manuel Sevilla, 1993) and continues to be the prevailing model for housing provision for low-income Costa Ricans who qualify for government subsidy

Construction started in 1986, and by 1993 there were 25,000 people organized through the Self-Help Housing Construction program across the country, and 7 projects with 5000 houses had been completed in rural and urban provinces. Early projects fell into one of four categories: (1) private development with central government finance; (2) central-government led sites and services projects; (3) upgrading tolerated land invasions with infrastructure and housing projects; and (4) squatter relocations to central-government led relocation to greenfield sites, with resident design and construction support (Sagot, 1997; Smith, 2003b).

Community based projects with long term household buy-in to a participatory process, and targeted social development and craft trainings proved to be the most successful (Manuel Sevilla, 1993; Miraftab, 2001). COPAN critiqued the state-led construction and siting approach for poor urban and architectural design, cheap materials, and lack of recreational area, and so emphasized designing and building communities from

scratch with the input of residents. COPAN's committees therefore followed these regulations: (1) that committee members must commit 900 hours of labor to be eligible for a house; (2) the communities must have recreational areas; and (3) there must be the preservation of environmental resources. This new model encouraged long term committee relationships, with many committees organizing and working together for 10-12 years before construction. During construction COPAN provided support services like daycare, communal kitchens, warehouses and temporary shelters, where elderly or disabled members could contribute their sweat equity (Sagot, 1997).

By the end of Arias' term in 1990 the four housing fronts had been dissolved and co-opted into the state infrastructure for housing provision. COPAN, for example, has transitioned to be a building company (Smith, 2003b). Paul Jenkins and Harry Smith (2001) argue that through these provisions and policies the state has not increased capacity for citizens to solve their own housing and economic needs: the state co-option of community and grassroots movements, which has led to the hiring of leaders into government positions and increased clientelism in a system where there is little consistency of staff in government institutions. Further, there has also been little investment in the graduate or postgraduate training at universities in Costa Rica and NGOs focused on housing have little technical knowledge in the field. As such, today, there is lack of monitoring, inadequate staff and structure, emphasis on day-to-day problems, lack of attention to public relations, and a dependence on political cycles for staffing. International aid and funding have also not continued at parallel levels into the 90s which puts later pressure on the subsidy system (Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Manuel Sevilla, 1993). In general, the self-help housing movements success in obtaining financial institutionalization through the *bono de vivienda*,

the federal housing subsidy for low-income families, and the Costa Rican government's success in maintaining control of international aid funding meant that low-income housing was often allocated to the urban poor and that housing projects and funding for low-income housing continues into the 2010s. The housing movements also prioritized women and families, serving the dual goal of reducing intrafamilial violence.

Intrafamilial Violence and Critical Geographies of Home

The housing movement in Costa Rica linked solutions to intrafamilial violence with the solutions to housing security by prioritizing single-mothers and women-headed households (even with a male present). Intrafamilial violence – defined broadly as physical, emotional, or economic abuse of an intimate partner or family member – is a barrier to the economic and social development of women, families and communities across the globe and is a key concern for US and international policy makers (UNWomen, 2015). In North America, efforts to address violence against women have focused on criminalizing rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2006)), medicalizing domestic violence through hospital-based reporting programs and individual 'treatment' (Brown, 2004; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2006; Marecek, 1999), and providing shelters through local non-governmental organizations (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2006; Price, 2002; Warrington, 2001), and planning solutions that draw attention to women's experiences of safety in public spaces (Day, 2011; Fainstein and Servon, 2005). However, while most DV happens in the home (Pain, 1997) these approaches fail to address the unsafe home or the home as a nexus of power relations (Brickell, 2012; Mountz and Hyndman, 2006), and instead locate both the

sources of and solutions for violence outside of or disconnected from the home. Discourses of the unsafe or sexist city often result in studies that explore how the city is perceived and experienced by women, and planning the safe city for women (Kern, 2010; Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013; Wekerle, 2000), often conceptualizing the home as a separate space, distinct from the public realm, thereby reinforcing the social and economic isolation that intensifies intrafamilial violence (England, 1994; Sweet and Escalante, 2015).

Following the trend in geography to uproot ontological priorities of the home as haven, and instead to view the home as a complicated site that is both occasionally safe and dangerous, both refuge and hot-spot (Brickell, 2012; Manzo, 2003; Meth, 2003) this dissertation both considers the home and household a critical site for engaging with cultures of peace and violence, while also considering the home as multi-scalar, a node in a larger urban assemblage. Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling (2006) argue for a critical geography of the home that uncouples the material shelter from imaginaries of home, cites the home as a nexus of power, and frames the home as multi-scalar (the effect and producer of processes within and outside the dwelling). This power is often reinforced through structural violence based on race and class (Agger, 1994; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2006; Piedalue, n.d.; Solinger, 2010).

In the Costa Rican housing movements, women's participation in leadership roles meant 'domesticating' the definition of what is political, reframing legitimate political debate to include concerns such as domestic violence and healthcare (Noonan, 2002; Sagot, 1997, 2005). Access to home plays a significant role in this process as a critical site of subject formation and a nexus of power relationships (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; hooks, 2014; Staeheli, 1996). Violence, as a mechanism of power meant to reinforce hierarchies

(e.g. between husband and wife, parent and child, state and family), is mediated by built environments where the private home is materially and ideologically separate from other scales and places of public/collective influence (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012). bell hooks concisely links the ability to develop a political subjectivity with violence in the home saying:

> "[a]n effective means of white subjugation of black people globally has been the perpetual construction of economic and social structures that deprive many folks of the means to make homeplace… It is no accident that this homeplace… is always subject to violation and destruction. For when a people no longer have the space to construct homeplace, we cannot build a meaningful community of resistance" (hooks, 2014: 46–47).

She goes on to say that patriarchal domination in the home, denies the home as a political site, and negatively impacts the political agency and identity of black women (hooks, 2014).

For the Costa Rican feminists who shaped the 'anti-violence' mission of the housing movements, securing 'home' for women meant access to the formation of a political identity, one that was not subsumed to a male partner, through material shelter and resources (Carcedo, 1997). They sought to intervene in patterns of intrafamilial violence by reorganizing the household, and therefore the power relationships within them. The did this through the *bono de vivienda* – prioritizing funding for single-mothers and female-headed households, even to the point of granting title rights to the woman in a dual- or male-headed household where there was a suspicion of violence.

Households are semi-permanent networks or institutions that shape individual relationships and practices while simultaneously being shaped by them. In *The Secret Life of Cities*, Helen Jarvis, Andy Pratt, and Peter Wu (2001) argue that urbanists should pay

more attention to the household as the scale at which everyday tasks and lives are organized. Relationships within the household affect the time-space element of social interaction – put another way the where and when of our everyday practices. This might be tied to negotiations of partners over labor force participation, various demands of child or elder care, or movements related to home maintenance and paying bills (Jarvis et al., 2001). Where household demographic transitions – dissolution of the nuclear family, rising rates of female-headed households, rising rates of unrelated households – have been largely undiscussed in urban studies, outside of feminist geographers' discussion of care labor and women's changing role in the household (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; England, 2010; Hayden, 2002), the household is a local nexus for decision making within particular urban contexts – they inform how individuals develop decision making capacities and resiliencies (Buzar et al., 2005; Jarvis et al., 2001; Valentine, 2008).

Households reflect changes in the political economy and the wider built environment, yet even in moments of economic transition, changing family structures and individualization, and changing gender relationships, people still seek out intimate 'family' relationships. In a 2008 article, Gill Valentine argues that queer and feminist geographies needed to turn more attention toward intimate personal relationships as 'family' – close relationships of kin and community – shape how we live our lives, the decisions we make, the spaces we inhabit (Valentine, 2008). Households, and occasionally the 'families' that may overlap with them, are sets of intergenerational relationships. In this sense generations are social constructions, built through relationships. Peter Hopkins and Rachel Pain (2007) have argued that geography has approached age at the margins – discussing the geographies

of the very young and very old, but largely leaving unquestioned the category of 'adult.' They suggest that geographers view:

> "…intergenerationality as an aspect of social identity, suggest[ing] that individuals' and groups' sense of themselves and others is partly on the basis of generational difference or sameness" rather than as a set of fixed predictable life-stages (Hopkins and Pain, 2007: 288).

They call for geographers to use intergenerational approaches to better understand political and urban geography, taking 'family' and age relationships outside of the domestic sphere (Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Valentine, 2008).

The self-help housing movement in Costa Rica represents a significant and intentional reorganization of both households and urban housing landscapes. Household histories *are* urban landscape histories – as residents' intimate relationships were shaped through governance related to the housing grants and shaped the outcomes of the movement (discussed further in Chapters Three and Four). In a recent article for *Progress in Human Geography*, Alison Blunt and Olivia Sheringham (2018) review the literatures from critical home studies and urban studies to build argue for a new conceptualization of home-city geographies that:

> "… seek[s] to understand [the home and the city] within the same conceptual frame, moving beyond an approach that either takes one as a starting point or crosses thresholds between them to understand the ways in which both can be spaces of exclusion and alienation as well as inclusion and connection" (Blunt and Sheringham, 2018: 16).

They argue that geographers studying urban domesticities – how the city is 'dwelt' within, the material and imaginative living spaces in the city, and the provision of housing – often close off the wider ideological context of race, class, and gender in shaping urban space.

And studies of domestic urbanism – the city as home, how public spaces are inhabited and domesticated – often prioritizes public space and overlooks intimate home spaces. They suggest an approach to the home-city that acknowledges the interplay and interpenetration of both, rather than taking one as a starting point, to look at the city as an aggregation of dwelling practices (see also McFarlane, 2011), through mobile methodologies that take the boundaries between home and city as porous and constantly transgressed through everyday movements and experiences (Blunt and Sheringham, 2018). I use a theoretical framework composed of critical theories of landscape and Latin Americanist conceptualizations of territory to inform what Blunt and Sheringham refer to as mobile methodologies (specific methods are discussed in Chapter Two).

Landscape and Territory

Approaching urban landscapes as human and non-human assemblages of their histories, as well as the present practices and desires of people who move through and dwell within landscapes, bridges social movement pasts with their emergence in the present – informing how residents interpret contemporary violence. Spaces are produced through negotiation and contestation – often between actors with unequal power or influence. In "Of Other Spaces," Foucault and Miskowiec (1986) describe space as the relationship between 'utopias,' spaces that present society in its perfect form, and 'heterotopias,' the mirror on utopias that exposes the messy complexity of space and relations in space. The power of 'heterotopias' is that they "… always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986, p. 26). This theoretical conceptualization of space is useful because it holds in tension the

production of space, its representation, and the ways space is continuously forming and reforming through spatial expressions of social relationships. However, this process of continual forming and reforming is informed by the flow of power, and as Rosalyn Deutsche (1999) notes, once formed spatial organizations can fix a particular conclusion or interest, preventing ongoing negotiation (see also Porter and Oliver, 2016).

The built environment can be read as a material discourse of dominant ideologies and structures of power (Soja, 1980, 2010), that serves to legitimize some historical narratives and silence others (Zukin, 1993). Many have argued that western urban spaces enact a form of social control through design: to disconnect, to sanitize dissent, and legitimate particular bodies and actions (Foucault, 1977; Sennett, 1994; Shields, 1997). Geographers have investigated this control through exclusionary design (Davis, 1992; Lofland, 1998; Macek, 2006), through the spatial segregation of production and reproduction (England, 1991; Hayden, 1980; Mitchell et al., 2003), or through representations of abstract space (Jarosz and Lawson, 2002; McCann, 2000; Zukin, 1993). However, the production and negotiation of space also constitutes a process through which other meanings and practices can be constituted (Bagheri, 2014; Degen et al., 2009; Hou, 2010; Sharp, 2000).

To understand the impacts of social movements' reorganization of space and society, it is important to therefore consider histories, materiality, and practices. Latin American geographers, and geographers of Latin America, focus on the territoriality of movements (Koopman, 2015), identifying how power creates territories, and is asserted on or by means of a territory (Bernardes et al., 2017; De Souza, 2016; Naylor et al., 2018). So, in one sense, territory includes the creation of boundaries to control access to people

and resources and is often viewed as an operation of the state to control sovereign lands (see Agnew, 2005). Territory can also be read as a political technology, where social orders and political powers are normalized and perpetuated (Magnusson, 2011; Roy et al., 2015; Scott, 1998) or undermined (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974).

For feminist scholars in Latin America, a decolonized notion of *cuerpo-territorio* "places community and territory as a single subject of political agency that resists and identifies violations against women's bodies and territories as part of the same process" (Naylor et al., 2018: 6). This approach side-steps liberal conceptions of 'property' in discussions of territory, viewing processes of territorialization and relationships to place as more-than-commodity (De Souza, 2016; McKittrick, 2011; Smith, 2012). More than a transfer of ownership, territorialization then can include appropriation of control, claims to rights, the restructuring of space for new functions or economic systems, the resignification of place, and the building of new spatial alliances (De Souza, 2016). For Brazilian geographer, Milton Santos, 'used territory' conceptualizes landscapes as the result of historical processes and the material of future human action. Territories represent the co-conditioning of materiality and society, and are institutions that endure across time, even as they are susceptible to generational shifts and violence (Bernardes et al., 2017; Davies, 2018; Melgaço, 2017).

Cultural geographers like Tim Cresswell, Richard Schein, and Jim and Nancy Duncan do not use the term 'territory,' to describe this process. Rather they engage with critical approaches to landscape. In this intellectual lineage landscape is at once a physical record of human activity, a material account of the negotiations and conflicts that produced it (Cosgrove, 1989; N Duncan and Duncan, 2003; Groth and Bressi, 1997), and mediates

our lived experiences, shaping quality of life and opportunities (Amin, 2014; Phillips-Fein, 2017; Secor, 2013). Critically, in this conceptualization, landscape is a process of dwelling through construction, that is informed by historical processes and the possibilities of reassembly (Heidegger and Hofstadter, 1971; McFarlane, 2011). The material 'inhabiting' of landscape implies deep connections where the individual is one part of a larger human and non-human assemblage (Rose, 2002, 2012). Alongside monuments and memorials that narrate histories and influence meaning making in landscapes (Burk, 2011; Dwyer and Alderman, 2008; Mitchell, 2014), everyday practices create traces, blueprints of norms and values, that inform how individuals make and justify actions (Cresswell, 2003; Matless, 2003; Schein, 2009a). Critically, these traces are both a product of past relationships and oriented (and orienting) towards the future (Bourdieu, 1990).

The construction of memorial landscapes and assembling of traces is power laden, and prompts questions of who and what has the capacity to assemble urban space (Amin, 2014; McFarlane, 2011; Schein, 2009b). At stake is the way territorialized landscapes narrate a common past, and create opportunities for collective memory (Nesfield, 2015), while also creating a moral geography that informs the ways individuals make and justify actions (Schein, 2009b; Setten, 2004; Tuan, 1988). Priscilla McCutcheon, in her exploration of the food program at a Black Protestant church on Atlanta's Auburn Ave, argues that the "volunteers' past memory of the neighborhood is a motivation frame that serves to encourage their activism in the food program … [and] without this past glorious memory, their food program and even their faith might not be enough to imagine a more equitable neighborhood" (McCutcheon, 2015: 401). Auburn Avenue is the site of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s home and a national historical site memorializing the Civil Rights

Movement. While the public housing and economic opportunities landscape today is grim for the neighborhood's low-income black residents, middle-class volunteers at the church rely on a narrative of a glorious social movement past to motivate their continued engagement with the food program. The memory of this urban landscape in Atlanta is motivating towards a particular kind of political action.

Challenging structural approaches to understanding power and the built environment, Monica Degen, Caitlin DeSilvey, and Gillian Rose argue that "the city cannot be reduced to form or representation, but is continually reproduced through use and everyday life" (2009: 8). They use a non-representational approach to landscape to understand the interconnections between visualities and embodied practices that inform urban subjectivities as performative and relational. In Bill Brown's (2001) discussion of 'thing theory' he argues that it is important that we consider the roles objects play in the struggle against the dominant narratives of being instituted by society. Interaction with the 'thing' structures embodied practice, but never in a fixed or uni-directional way (Brown, 2001; Pocius, 2001; Secor, 2015).

In the non-representational approach the (urban) landscape is material for *actions* that are mundane – the everyday behaviors and practices of inhabitants that are not necessarily tied to larger narratives or knowledge systems. However, David Harvey (2015) critiques non-representational approaches to landscape for replicating the errors of presentism – a focus on the present with little historical perspective – and solipsism or narcissism – where only the individual can be known. So, while non-representational approaches to landscape bring a critical understanding to practice, performance and affect, there are political implications to the errors of presentism and narcissism. He argues that

landscape studies would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach with heritage studies (Harvey, 2015). Heritage is characterized by processes of remembering as well as forgetting – it is not a direct study of the past, but rather the past's use in the present. The meanings of the past are established through their use in the present (Graham, 2002; Waterton, 2014). Analysis of space *and time* in landscapes is critical for understanding how they are used, both in daily practice and political discourse. For Harvey, a heritage approach to landscape recognizes the recognize the ways power maintains particular value narratives, and often silences marginalized groups (Harvey, 2015). In an exploration of the 'losers' of 1950s and 1960s urban renewal in the United States, Eric Avila states that:

> "… [f]or African Americans, Mexican Americans, and other racialized social groups who bore the brunt of the Interstate highway program, culture provided a vital means by which to preserve the identity and memory of vanishing neighborhoods" (Avila, 2014: 841).

Cultural artifacts, such as murals, street art, and literature, keeps the memory of displacement and the violence of infrastructural development fresh and present (Avila, 2014). For the Chicano movement in Los Angeles, the dominant narrative of the freeway-filled landscape is challenged through the past's mobilization in the present to illustrate racial injustices.

Landscapes, then, are both the material and ideological manifestation of histories in the present moment. They are the *stuff* of action and motivation – landscapes are mobilized in intimate relationships, reterritorialized to produce the conditions for those relationships to emerge, or the exclusion of others. They are power laden. In the context of this dissertation I consider both the social movement histories that produced these landscapes and the ways these histories are mobilized in the present to inform particular

moral geographies – to teach behaviors and practices that are accordant with the values of the movement, as they are repeated through family histories (discussed in Chapters Two and Four). As noted above, criticisms of non-representational theory's emphasis on performance and affect tend to replicate problems of presentism and solipsism. In addition to Harvey's (2015) call for geographers to pay attention to heritage approaches that center the power embedded in processes of remembering and forgetting, here I also bring in the relational practices that form the basis of feminist care theory.

Feminist Care Theory

In addition to exploring the co-construction of household and community through historical narratives of family and movement and exploring the ways social movement ideologies become embedded in the landscape as heritages, the third goal of this dissertation is to understand how these moral geographies are interpreted and put into practice across generations. Not just in the discursive framing of contemporary violence, I am concerned with the ways intimate relationships between residents as residents with each other and place inform the messy and often incomplete ways social movement heritages are put into practice (Chapters Five and Six).

'Care' cannot be easily defined as such, rather care emerges through particular practices and actions. Annemarie Mol uses a 'politics of what' to resist defining what care is and instead look at how care is done (in Taylor, 2010). While care itself can be read as universal (we have a right to care because we need it), the action and 'good' of care must be viewed locally, in context (Mol, 2008; Tronto, 1995). In her 1995 manifesto for care, "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments," Joan Tronto argues that care is universal

because it is an essential need of every human being and is a universal right in that we have a right to care because we need it. However, the ways in which care is enacted are not universal and are often messy or fragmented. Instead, the action of care must always be viewed in context (Tronto, 1995).

Care is relational and must be evaluated on its own terms, in context. The subject of care is always already embedded in social relations and collectives. Tronto (1995) offers a four-tiered framework for identifying and analyzing the multiple and embedded levels of care that implicate the active involvement of multiple subjects: (1) recognizing one's own needs for care and the needs of others (caring-for and care-receiving); (2) taking on responsibility for caring for others through attention (caring-about) and (3) action (care-giving); and (4) evaluating competency by addressing how care receivers respond to the caregiving. The politics of what is cared about, who is in need of or deserving of care, how care is performed and by whom, and how it is evaluated is power laden (Brown, 2003; England, 2010; Nakano Glenn, 2010). Care and the political economy are often co-embedded in the ways care is done or care laborers are employed (England and Henry, 2013; Harbers, 2010), in shaping care relationships (Boyer, 2014; Han, 2012), in translating care to social capital (Gilbert, 1998; Kostakiotis, 2010). Because of its relational and power-laden nature, care is often asymmetric and must be evaluated in its own terms. In the context of human-animal relationships, between veterinarian and animal in the meat industry, John Law (2010) argues that acts of care often include culling animals. He maintains that this act of care is sustained through a choreography of separation that allows for often violent or messy acts to be done while caring for the integrity and dignity of both

human and animal (Law, 2010). Care thus responds to emergent situations and relationships.

Care is processual or temporal. Care consists of continual activities of doing and is not defined by singular moments. In *The Logic of Care*, Annemarie Mol (2008) outlines the logics of choice and care to decenter choice in patient rights and extend the use of care as a theoretical model. Mol argues that 'choice' (patient as an individual responsible for making their own choices) obscures neglect and opportunities for care. In the logic of care, patients are active subjects in a range of activities. Care is the continual, processual activity of 'doing,' not defined by singular moments (as in choice) (Mol, 2008). Relations of care are continually made, un-made and re-made through time as material and social conditions change. In her extended ethnography of La Pincoya, a slum settlement outside of Santiago, Chile, Clara Han (2012) demonstrates the temporal, fluctuating nature of care. She describes this as care-as-waiting not only through her data, but also in the way she performs the ethnography (over the span of 10 years) and writing. Han writes how the relations of care are constantly shifting, being unmade and remade, through time. By demonstrating how these actions change over the course of ten years, influenced often by socio-economic change, she shows that care (or measuring the effects of care) cannot be distilled to a single moment (Han, 2012). Responding to continually shifting conditions, care takes the form of reworking and reassembling.

Care is continual experimentation. Annemarie Mol states that, "'Good' and 'bad' are never settled in the logic of care" (Mol, 2008: 87). By contrasting quantitative metrics of success in nursing homes with qualitative responses from residents (Mol, 2010; Moser, 2010) and the techno-human-human interaction of fitting people for wheelchairs (Winance,

2010). Mol, Moser, and Winance argue that 'good' and 'good enough' in care are often multiple and clashing. With asymmetric responsibility for care, even in care relationships where there is not an unequal power dynamic, care must be evaluated on its own terms. Its evaluation must be radically open, as failure and fragility are already understood as possibilities. Care as a continual experiment, flexible towards changing contexts and emergent relationships, means that it has no fixed endpoint or subject.

Care is radically open. Care begins with and extends from an embodied citizen that participates with their body rather than in spite of it (Mol, 2008). Care has often been drawn as a line dividing the citizen from the non-citizen, but addressing care as an essential element to all human relationships could undo this exclusion. Gendered scripts in the United States related to citizenship have often excluded those who need care or are dependent on another person for care (Fraser and Gordon, 1994; Schram, 2000), and that narratives of independence, or being free from care, obscure the ways the care labor of black bodies allow for some white bodies to shed their dependency (Nakano Glenn, 2010). Those who must be cared for are automatically excluded from the qualifications of the rational, individualized, disembodied citizen. Further, those who are conscripted to care for these individuals are also excluded because their material preoccupations with bodily matters prevents them from engaging in the 'common good' of the citizenry (Braedley, 2006; Fraser, 1990; Nakano Glenn, 2000; Pateman, 1989).

By retheorizing care as always already embedded in social relationships, we blur the boundaries between care-er and cared-for, citizen and non-citizen in a liberal democratic society, and inside and outside. In Jeanette Pols' article "Washing the Citizen" (2006), she considers a relational citizenship based on the 'citoyen' ("the citoyen who has

responsibilities for the common good", counterpoised to "the 'bourgeois,' with specific interests, competences, and projects" (Pols, 2006: 98)) in the space of the hospital or long-term care ward. Pols works through several models washing the mentally ill patient – washing as privacy, washing as a skill of the citizen, washing as a precondition of citizenship, or washing as an opportunity for interaction. The last model assumes that the individual is already a citizen, not a pre-citizen who will move out of the hospital and relations of care to become a citizen. In this way Pols argues that non-hierarchical negotiation of care practices in the clinical setting create a 'social' self. Care is part of the social self, not outside of it. She challenges the idea that care occurs in a space separate from the actions of citizens (Pols, 2006). Similarly, Janelle Taylor (2010) challenges forms of citizenship that place recognition at the center of personhood. The subject of liberal theory (Kymlicka, 1990). This individual is often construed as male and free from material responsibility (Acker, 1990), capable of clear, autonomous, rational choices (Rose, 1989, 1999; Rose and Miller, 2008). Taylor (2010), using her relationship with her mother who has dementia, argues that regardless of capacity for recognition or reason, the signifiers of care and care itself, an ability to show care, embed us in social relations.

Victoria Lawson (2007), in her presidential address to the AAG on care and responsibility notes that, "Care ethics begins with a social ontology of connection: foregrounding social relationships of mutuality and trust (rather than dependence) … We see care not as a separate kind of relation, but as endemic to (potentially) all social relations that matter" (Lawson, 2007: 3). In this quote and her discussion of the ways scientists attending a conference on the Arctic national Wildlife Refuge "connected an ethic of care to a politics of responsibility – thinking of space as actively and continually practiced social

relations – where we make choices that matter and that connect us to the lives of others" (6), Lawson moves from describing the politics of the what and how of care to make a moral claim through care theory. Focusing on landscape and memory practice, Karen Till (2012) uses a place-based ethic of care to help frame the ways residents use care-practices in the landscape to articulate a politics of belonging and responsibility that can counter exclusionary and violence planning practices related to renewal, gentrification, economic depression, and genocide. She argues that these care practices can be effectively put to use in urban planning and policy making (see also Fullilove, 2016; Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Care foregrounds a different sort of relationship between members of a society that encourages mutual responsibility. In Part III (Chapters Five and Six), I bring feminist care theory to bear on earlier discussions of heritage and critical landscape studies to take into account ways vulnerabilities to and fears of contemporary violence shape how participants relate to social movement legacies.

Chapter Outline

At the core of this dissertation are questions about conviviality – building and dwelling together, as households and urban neighborhoods. Over the course of the next five chapters, I use the household as an analytic frame, combined with a critical approach to landscape that incorporates heritage and care theory, to understand the impacts and legacies of a social movement that successfully reorganized households and urban housing in Costa Rica. I then turn towards these legacies in practice, using feminist care theory to analyze the ways individuals interpret and apply these legacies against contemporary forms of violence in their community.

Part I addresses the dissertation's overall conceptual and methodological framework. In Chapter Two, *Methods and Methodology,* I discuss the operationalization of 'landscape' and 'households as sets of intergenerational relationships.' Data collection occurred during six months of fieldwork in 2016, in an urban community built through the housing movements (with projects starting between 1988 and 2010). Seventeen participants were recruited from ten households, with the aim of recruiting households and participants that spanned the life of the community and multiple generations: the first generation of 'builders' (i.e. people who participated in the design and construction of the community between 1988 and 1995), the second generation (i.e. people now over 18 who grew up in the community), and members of the second generation who either went on to participate in a housing committee as adults or purchase a house using a private mortgage. These generations are not defined by age, but in relation to the history of the housing movement. Each participant was engaged in a three-part short-term cohort study: (1) a life history interview; (2) photovoice; and (3) a semi-structured follow up interview. Visual data sets and methodologies are central to this research. The ways participants produce and interact with images and art heightens my analysis of the spatiality of urban social movements across time. Participant images collapse past experience, present practices, and future desires to provide a richer analytic frame for understanding the political heritages of social movements.

Part II: Social Movement Legacies discusses the emergence and unfolding of Costa Rica's self-help housing movement in the case-study neighborhood. Chapter Three, *Spatial Family Histories*, begins by re-tracing the steps of the housing movement history told in this chapter – exploring how individuals and households experiences the marches,

squatting and engagements with the government, and the impacts of the restrictions on the housing grant for single-mothers and female-headed households. Centering the experiences of women, I argue that tenure security from the housing movements was about more than home-ownership or the provision of shelter. Rather, the reorganization of housing landscapes around social and economic supports, particularly for the women participants, created resiliencies against multiple forms of economic an intrafamilial violence. Building on this, I also argue that the housing movements had a larger politico-cultural significance for this neighborhood. In Chapter Four, *Political Heritages,* I unpack the narratives of the housing movement, as told by the 'builder generation.' This chapter does not necessarily provide any new information or historical events than Chapter Three, instead it filters and reinterprets these events through what the 'builders' desire for their children, what lessons or values they would want the next generation to *learn* from these stories. I describe a heritage that is constructed out of the historical housing movement, meant to direct younger people towards appropriate or desired beliefs and practices.

Part III: Interpreting Social Movement Legacies focusses on the 'next generation' to ask how social movement legacies are interpreted and applied against contemporary forms of social, economic, and intrafamilial violence. Each chapter in this section centers the political decision-making of one participant from the next generation as they work through the narratives of the housing movement to define and evaluate contemporary problems in the community. Chapter Five, *Contemporary Dialogues*, uses the photo essay of one member of the next generation to organize the consensus and debates on the meanings of social movement heritages and how they should be applied in contemporary practice. These 'conversations' are informed by an uncomfortable juxtapositions of

movement ideals with the vulnerable reality many participants face – fearing the effects of intrafamilial and street violence rooted in drug addiction, gang activity, and economic insecurity. This chapter is largely theoretical, it does not discuss specific statistics on occurrences of violence in the community, nor does it exhaustively detail all of the ways participants would act outside of what they say in an interview setting. It does not discuss concrete policies and programs that have been put into place to address contemporary violence. Chapter Six, *Heritages in Practice*, remedies some of these concerns. In this chapter I discuss the work and life history of a Costa Rican muralist, Ana Coronado Guerrero. Coronado Guerrero is a resident of the case community and the daughter of housing activists, members of COPAN who worked at the national level. As a member of the 'next generation,' I analyze her work and motivations through the heritages discussed in Part II – how she is interpreting and applying these histories in her work as a community leader and artist. The chapter takes a broad approach to her life history, but also explores the production of a participatory mural produced in collaboration as part of this dissertation: *Mariposas Contra la Violencia* (Butterflies Against Violence [*MCLV*]). *MCLV* works with themes of domestic violence and the production of healthy families. Through workshops, community members participate in conversations about needs, narratives of violence, and violence prevention, as well as learn artisan skills related to ceramics and mural design. Chapter Six (1) emphasizes the significance of community art spaces to centering the stories of women and survivors, empowering them through community engagement and the hope that others will be inspired by the public installation, and (2) argue that these spaces can be read as the practice of historical social movement ideologies in contemporary activism against family violence.

CHAPTER 2:

Methods and Methodology: *Un Proceso Muy Vagabundo*[2]

Figure 2.1 Grettel, self-portrait.

Thirty-five years after self-help housing movement began in Guararí, a young woman holding a bright yellow digital camera stands in front of a butcher's shop. She takes a photo of a large pile of trash. Beyond the trash, a fuzzy structure in the distance, is a police station. Turning to her right, she re-frames the scene, capturing the police station in focus. The police station, not yet in use, looms large with its white walls, two-story pitched roof, and bright blue fence. She turns to face the butcher shop behind her, snapping an image of herself reflected in the glass **(Figure 1)**. Later in her home, with the twenty images she had produced laid out between us, I asked her how it went. She laughed,

[2] A version of this chapter, "*Un proceso muy vagabundo*: the use of visual research methods to explore the intergenerational spatialities of urban social movements" has been submitted to *The Professional Geographer*.

> Grettel[3]: *Fue un proceso muy vagabundo, me dio mucho tiempo, anduve por todos lados sacando fotos y estuvo bonito, parecía camarógrafa*.
>
> The process wandered, it took a lot of time, I went everywhere taking photos and it was beautiful, I looked like a photographer.

In this short sentence Grettel simultaneously frames herself as out-of-place, using the adjective *vagabuda*, and as an expert, a photographer properly suited to document her urban environment. *Vagabunda* is a common insult towards women in this place to denote their being out-of-place in urban public spaces. Other participants described this insult being used in the community to discourage women's street theater and women's participant in public art works. But it also just means to wander or to meander through space – as a photographer or 'vagrant.'

Participant produced images are not mere captures of moments or representations of sites. They are a practice, a form of communication that engages with and reflects upon visceral experience. These images are a visual-place-event, they are produced and consumed in a multisensory meshwork. This meshwork is a layering of the moment of capture, the participant's visceral experience proceeding the capture, and the retelling later when the image is shared (Farhadi, 2018; Pink, 2011). Consider the movements of Grettel as she focuses her attention on the disgust she feels for the large pile of trash, before capturing her feelings of apprehension at the imposing visage of the new police station. The act of these captures then leads to a moment where she reflects on her own pleasure at seeing herself as a photographer, and comments on the strangeness of the moment as one where she was both an expert and out-of-place. Images are created through movement, they stand-in for movement, and they are always engaged in forward motion, towards other emerging place-events (Massey, 2005; Pink, 2011). Further, visual objects

[3] All names used throughout the dissertation, excluding that of the artist Ana Coronado Guerrero and other public figures, are pseudonyms (see **Table 2.1**).

are communicative devices that enable us to say or do things (Roberts, 2013; Rose, 2014) – for example make political claims by resisting the erasure of gender-based (Farhadi, 2018; Wright, 2009) or state violence (Fluri, 2009; Hoelscher, 2008; Sontag, 2004), and challenge dominant narratives and stereotypes of marginalized groups (Elwood and Hawkins, 2017; McLees, 2013). Significantly, it is the image's context that gives it meaning and voice.

In their scholarship on landscape and activist memory work, Karen Till (2008) and Steven Hoelscher (2008) argue that the urban landscape grounds the message and is central to how individuals make and justify their actions. Landscapes and their meanings are produced through historical struggles, contemporary practices, and imagined future engagements (see Bourdieu, 1990; Cresswell, 2003; Duncan and Duncan, 2010; Groth and Bressi, 1997; Matless, 2003; Schein, 2009a). There is a socio-spatial dialectic of landscape. Landscapes are moral geographies that indicate appropriate behavior, while also being malleable to the activities of the people that inhabit them (Blum and Secor, 2011; Schein, 2009b; Soja, 1980). Further, inhabiting landscape deepens connections through an ecology of place that emerges from relationships between people and the built environment (Degen et al., 2009; Heidegger and Hofstadter, 1971; Rose, 2002). Landscape then is a material and visual object that communicates social worlds. The images participants capture of their landscapes are visual-place-events that emerge from their relationship in and to these social worlds.

To engage a relational approach to landscape and society and capture the ways social movement ideologies and family histories shape experiences and practices in urban space, I use a combination of visual and narrative methods. This chapter discusses the research procedure in two parts: (1) a short-term cohort study with residents including a life history interview, photo elicitation, and a follow up interview; and (2) participatory observation during a community

engaged public art project. I then discuss how the visual data are analyzed to show how participants communicate in and through images (1) social movement histories and contemporary social worlds, (2) expertise and everyday practice, and (3) political and moral debates. The discussion here is meant to provide background for the larger arguments made in this dissertation – examples will be explored in greater depth in Chapters Three to Six.

Research Design

Part I: Short-Term Cohort Study

Data collection occurred during six months of fieldwork in 2016.[4] The short-term cohort study included (1) a life history interview; (2) photo elicitation; and (3) a semi-structured follow up interview using the photo essays (Appendix B). Participants were recruited using a purposive sampling technique, to include men and women from households with a variety of relationships to the housing movement in Guararí. The housing movement in Costa Rica began in the early 1980s, but settlement in Guararí did not begin until 1988. Further, families moved to and within the neighborhood at different rates over the subsequent twenty-two years between settlement and the field work for this dissertation. In that time there have been nine distinct housing projects between 1990 and 2010 (with 30-150 houses each). Participant households in this study represent a variety of histories with the housing movement and tenure (summarized in **Table 2.1**). A snowball sampling technique as then used to recruit participants from a variety of generations within households.

[4] With support of a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation (Award Number: 1557621) and the Howard Martin Award from the Department of Geography at the University of Washington.

Household	Participant*	Generation	Housing Tenure
1	Joaquina	Builder	Joaquina and Oscar participated in housing committees in the 1990s, they obtained a house in mid-1990s. Length of residence: Since 1994 Total household size: 6-9.
	Oscar	Builder	
	Carlos	Next Generation	
2	Sonia	Next Generation	Sonia and Márcia's mother participated in housing committees in the 1990s, they obtained a house in the mid-1990s. Length of residence: Since 1994 Total household size: 5.
	Márcia	Next Generation	
3	Doña Gladys[!#]	Builder	Gladys participated in housing committees in the 1980s after her daughter joined a committee, she obtained a house in the late-1980s. Length of residence: Since 1988 Total household size: 4-6.
4	Don Gabriel[!]	Builder	Gabriel participated in housing committees in the 1990s, he obtained a house in mid-1990s. Length of residence: Since 1994 Total household size: 4-6.
5	Damaris	Builder	Damaris moved into informal settlements in the 1990s, she never obtained a house. Her children, with their own households, participated in housing committees in the 2010s, have not obtained houses, they still reside in informal settlements. Length of residence: Since 1994 Total household size: 10-12.
	Fresia	Next Generation/ Builder	
	Ilsie[#]	Next Generation/ Builder	
6	Grettel	Next Generation	Grettel's father moved into informal settlements in the 1990s, they never obtained a house. Length of residence: Since 1994 Total household size: 6.
7	Cynthia	Next Generation/ Builder	Cynthia and Tania's parents participated in housing committees in the 1980s, their mother obtained a house in the early 1990s. As adults, they participated in housing committees in the
	Tania	Next Generation/ Builder	

			2000s, obtained houses in the late 2000s. Length of residence: Since 1988 Total household size: 5 in each dwelling unit.
8	Rita	Next Generation/ Builder	Rita's parents participated in housing committees and moved into informal settlements in the 1980s. Rita, alongside her parents and daughter Marisa, participated in housing committees in the 1990s and 2000s. Rita, her mother, and Marisa all obtained houses in the late 2000s. Length of residence: Since 1988 Total household size: 3 and 4 in each unit respectively.
	Marisa#	Next Generation/ Builder	
9	Magdalena	Builder	Magdalena participated in housing committees in the 2000s, she obtained a house in the late 2000s. Length of residence: Since 2009 Total household size: 3.
10	Rosa	Next Generation/ Buyer	Rosa's parents participated in housing committees in the 1980s, her mother obtained a house in the late 1980s in another part of the country. In the mid-2000s Rosa and her husband purchased a house from the previous owner who had obtained the house through the housing committees. Length of residence: Since 2008 Total household size: 3.

Table 2.1 Summary of participant households.
* Pseudonyms used throughout the dissertation.
! These participants include the honorifics Doña and Don, indicating that they are adults over 65.
These participants did not complete Phases 2 or 3.

Participants fell into one of three generational categories: (1) the first generation of 'builders' who participated in housing committees, (2) the second generation that grew up in 'builder' households, and (3) members of the second generation who either went on to participate in a housing committee as adults or purchase a house using a private mortgage. Generations here

are defined through relationships to the housing movement, not a static age category or life stage (see Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Participants were intentionally recruited from within households, in addition to seeking a variety of households with different relationships to the housing movement, because intimate 'family' relationships and household dynamics have a significant impact on an individual's everyday movements and decision-making (Buzar et al., 2005; Jarvis et al., 2001; Valentine, 2008). It was not enough to have individual participants from multiple generations, but in order to conduct an analysis that would better address the intergenerational transmission and interpretation of movement heritages it was necessary to get snapshots of how generations within individual households engaged with these histories.

Ultimately, seventeen participants were recruited for phase one, with fourteen finishing all three phases. Those who dropped out did so because of health or education reasons that made the photo-elicitation and scheduling follow up appointments difficult. These participants were grouped into ten households, each with one to three participants each (although the number of people in each household ranged from 3-12, with a median of about 5) (summarized in **Table 2.2**). I am not using household here in the way the census or a demographer might – the occupants, related or unrelated, of a dwelling unit. In some cases (1, 3, 4, 6, and 10) this is true – both the participants and the relevant family members they discuss are all occupants of the same dwelling. However, for the rest (2, 5, 7, 8, and 9) household has a looser definition, where neither participants nor the relevant family they discuss *currently* share a dwelling. Since the subject matter of this research spans 28 years, household is used to designate groups of participants who have lived together at some point during the housing movements as grandparents, parents, children, or siblings.

	Phase I	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
Households	10 households	9 households	9 households
Generations	7 Builders 5 Next generation/builders 4 Next generation 1 Next generation/buyer	6 Builders 4 Next generation/builders 3 Next generation 1 Next generation/buyer	6 Builders 4 Next generation/builders 3 Next generation 1 Next generation/buyer
Gender*	14 Women 3 Men	11 Women 3 Men	11 Women 3 Men
Average length	1-2 Hours	10-30 Photos	.5-1.5 Hours

Table 2.2 Summary of participant population and retention through interview phases.
* The uneven distribution of men and women in the research population was largely due to the snowball recruitment technique. While there is not space here, future consideration should be given to the intersections of gender, fear and vulnerability, and the politics of respectability in the field to address gender disparities in participant populations.

Phase one of the short-term cohort study was a life history interview. The purpose of this interview was to understand how memory of past events shapes the way people justify their behaviors and identity in the present. The goal was not to necessarily capture an accurate representation of the past, but to emphasize "the importance of social change within living memory and the role of memory in the narrative construction of personal identity" (Jackson and Russell 2010, 712). The interview script was broad, but oriented participants towards stories on the construction of the neighborhood, participation in community organizations, and roles and relationships within and between households (see Appendix B). Each interview was conducted in

Spanish by Jennifer Porter and then transcribed by a Costa Rican university student. Phase one interviews lasted an average of 1-2 hours.

At the end of each life history interview, participants who agreed to continue were given a digital camera, an 8 MB memory card, an extra set of batteries, and a series of prompts related to themes of home/community and safety/violence (see Appendix B). Participants could keep the camera, regardless of their completion of phase two. Participants were asked to take 10-20 photos over the course of two weeks and write captions for each photo in a provided packet. Ultimately, some photo essays consisted of direct answers to the prompts, while others took more artistic and interpretational license. Participant photo essays contained between ten and forty images, with 300 images in all. I first coded the images by location and then using inductive codes from the photo prompts and interview data. Images fell into one of three categories: (1) monumental spaces or community landmarks, such as schools, churches, parks, etc.; (2) (semi-)private spaces of belonging and daily activity, such as images of home, self or family portraits; and (3) areas or signs of problems, danger and/or decay, such as trash, vandalism, or unsafe places (**Table 2.3)**.

Categories	**Number of Images**	**Number of Photo Essays**
Total	297	14
Monumental spaces or community landmarks	201	14
Schools/childcare	35	10
Churches	12	7
Community centers	51	10
Clinics/healthcare	8	3
Parks and greenspace	44	9

Roads, wells, electricity	48	13
Small businesses	21	9
(Semi-)Private spaces of belonging and daily activity	89	14
Natural environment or gardening	19	6
Home and house	27	11
Blocks, housing, and neighbors	45	10
Self-portraits and internal worlds	11	5
Family portraits	15	4
Signs of problems, danger and/or decay	84	12
Trash	17	5
Vandalism	6	3
Drugs or alcohol	4	2
Unsafe places or streets	32	7
Las Cuencas	31	8
Security	11	6

Table 2.3 Participants' images organized by location and theme. Any given photo may appear in more than one category.

The location of an interview matters as there are socio-spatial relations embedded in place that can influence the power relationships within the interview relationship and the sorts of data that are produced (Elwood and Martin, 2000). Saskia Warren (2016), and Jessica Finlay and Jay Bowman (2017) argue that the walking interview is a critical tool for understanding the ways people move through and interact with their everyday environments. The informality of walking creates greater comfort and allows participants to expand upon and engage with complex emotions and ideas that are difficult to describe in a seated interview (Degen et al., 2009; Finlay and Bowman, 2017). However, the walking interview can be constrained by a predetermined route,

participant discomfort with leading the walk (Warren, 2016), by weather concerns, and accessibility of transportation (Finlay and Bowman, 2017), or by researcher's presence disrupting normal behavior (McLees, 2013).

For this research, I chose photo elicitation to protect participant anonymity, create a greater range of research methods to widen accessibility of communication, and to get a more organic view of how participants move through their daily landscapes. As a white woman in a relatively contained urban neighborhood in Costa Rica, my presence was often noticed. Especially given the themes of community responses to safety and violence, it was important to hold the interviews in a private and comfortable setting away from the eyes and ears of potentially curious neighbors. With oral interviews, photos, and an opportunity to write or narrate captions for each image, participants had access to a variety of styles of communication. Participants often took the cameras with them on their daily tasks — walking to school or work or the market — and it is clear from the order of the photos and timestamps that participants took multiple 'walks,' reflecting the multiple ways they already used urban space as well as new paths specifically for this research.

Prior to the phase three interview, I printed each participant's images so that the entire photo essay could be seen laid out during the conversation. Laid out, the photos were an "affective map" of the neighborhood. These maps were not mere representations of spaces and buildings in the community but engaged with the embodied and felt sense of place. Magdalena reflected that the photos allow her to show me not just the spaces, but how she was feeling in those spaces. This, as Rosa describes, was augmented by the material presence of the images:

> Rosa: *Porque se siente tan extraño porque estamos acostumbrados a ver las fotos en digital, entonces ya tocarlas es algo diferente, es como más personal*.

> It feels so strange because we are used to seeing photos digitally, so then to touch them is something different, more personal.

Drawing on this connection, the interview started with the participant 'walking' through and reflecting on their process with each image. Degen and Rose (2012), similarly use participant produced photos from a walking interview during follow-up to deepen the connection to sensory data. Towards the end of the interview, I would prompt the participant with more specific questions to address any silences: Did you delete any images? Did you want to take other images? Did you collaborate with other people? How did you feel using the camera/instead of a cell phone? Would you have done anything differently? Phase three interviews lasted an average of .5-1.5 hours, were conducted in Spanish by Jennifer Porter and transcribed by a Costa Rican university student.

Part II: Participatory Observation with Community Engaged Public Art

While preparing for the short-term cohort study I worked closely with Rosa Coronado Guerrero, a Costa Rican muralist living in the research community. Coronado Guerrero shared with me her dream of building a community mural against violence. The mural, *Mariposas Contra la Violencia* (Butterflies Against Violence, *MCLV*) would be built with women in the community who had encountered violence in their lives as a form of art therapy but would also serve as a testimony to ongoing activism work in the community. Given that I had the financial means, I offered to purchase the ceramic tile, mortar and grout necessary to build the mural. From there, I had the pleasure of 'riding-along' with Coronado Guerrero as she designed the mural and implemented its construction and installation (see Chapter Six). As a participant observer my role as a researcher was supplemented by my role as a consultant during the design process, artist's assistant during construction, and laborer during installation.

In addition to participant observation throughout this process, I conducted two in-depth interviews with Coronado Guerrero, and interviews with two professionals from la *Asociación Hefzibá Internacional* (The International Hefziba Association [*Hefzibá*]). *Hefzibá,* a local pro-family anti-violence Christian organization, hosted the mural workshops and provided counselor support for the process. The interviews lasted 1-3 hours each, were conducted in Spanish, were later transcribed by a student at the University of Costa Rica, and focused on the goals, successes, challenges, and projected impacts of the murals. Field notes were collected during seven workshops lasting three hours each, and during the month-long installation. I did not interview any participants involved with the mural to respect the integrity of their healing process.

Without interviewing those who participated in the mural, I cannot speak to the ways gender, race, class, and housing status intersected to shape individual women's experiences of the project. I am cognizant of my distance from these experiences as a white woman and academic from the Global North. However, in a space where 'victim-status' emerged as a critical shared identity (see Valentine, 2007 for a discussion of emergent intersectionality) my own experiences with sexual assault and partner violence complicated my position as an insider/outsider (see also Bain and Nash, 2006). During the workshops, I participated as researcher, assistant, and survivor – sharing my own experiences, vulnerabilities and fears. Intersecting ideologies of power are woven through embodied and emotional experience (Faria and Mollett, 2016; Longhurst et al., 2008; Morrison et al., 2013). The shared experience of partner violence both shaped the research relationship and my decision to not interview *MCLV*'s other participants.

Visual-Place-Events

In this section, I will describe how I analyzed the visual data sets discussed above, keeping in mind the overall goals of the dissertation – to understand how social movement ideologies become embedded in landscape, and how residents engage with narratives of landscape to inform practice and political arguments. Participants used their photos as a form of communication, illustrating the ways social movement ideologies emerge in contemporary landscape, asserting their own expertise through photography and everyday practice, and making political and moral claims for the future of their community.

The Past's Emergence in the Present through Photo-Documentation

Through the photo essays, participants were able to narrate the socio-political value systems embedded in their urban environment. As Degen and Rose (2012) note, current understandings of place are informed by memories of what that space was before. Many participants illustrated the history of the housing movements they narrated during the phase one life history interview through infrastructural and land development: roads that used to be unpaved, schools and clinics that were once empty lots, and spaces that were used for gardens, pit toilets, wells, etc. This was accomplished by including older photos juxtaposed with recent ones, or by captioning images of the contemporary landscape with descriptions of what it would have looked like in the 1980s and 1990s (**Figure 2.2)**. In addition, photo elicitation encourages participants to linger in spaces they had not considered as part of their initial narrative, making the familiar strange (Mannay, 2010). Thus, places and memories that were not discussed in the phase one interview often appeared in the photo essays. Crucially, embracing *el processo vagabundo,* meant

participants could do deep memory work, exploring the socio-political meanings of community spaces.

Figure 2.2 Oscar captions his photo of the clinic: "*Este lugar fue lugar de guardería para los niños de los papas que venían a aportar horas, también se oficiaban misas y tiempo después para las atenciones médicas./* This place was a childcare center for the children of those who came to contribute hours [for the right to obtain a house]. It is also where they would give Mass, before it was a clinic."

A critical development to emerge out of the hybridization of housing and anti-violence movements, was the ability for women and female-headed households to build and access rich economic and social support networks that would bolster resiliency against multiple forms of intrafamilial violence (see Chapter Three). Access to home, for the Costa Rican feminists involved in the housing movements, meant access to the formation of a political identity, but also had material benefits in the reduction of domestic violence (Carcedo, 1997). Access to home plays a significant role in this process as a critical site of subject formation and a nexus of power relationships (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; hooks, 2014; Staeheli, 1996). Violence is a mechanism that reinforces hierarchies (e.g. between husband and wife, parent and child, state and family), and

denies the home as a political site, negatively impacting the political agency and identity of women (Brickell, 2012; hooks, 2014; Young, 1990). Participants repeatedly marked these networks and possibilities in the housing landscape through their photo essays.

Damaris and Fresia, a mother-daughter pair, traced the physical pathway from their home to school in their photo essays - showing the small businesses that sell snacks and school supplies along the path to the school itself. More than a physical path, the school pathway represents opportunity -- to get an education, run a small business, and provide a better life for their children and grandchildren. When Damaris first brought her family to the community in the early 1990s, there was not enough space for her children in the local schools. Having no formal education past elementary school, she sent her daughter Fresia to live with a sister so that Fresia could go to school and not have to struggle to find work the way she had. In 1995, residents formed a pro-construction committee and built four classrooms despite the Ministry of Education's efforts to shut down the illicit construction. Ultimately the state relented to resident demands, finished the school's construction, and officially opened it in 1996. After Fresia returned to live with her mother in 1996, Damaris worked in the school's cafeteria and remembers Fresia's pride and excitement seeing her mother working in the school. In turn, Fresia discusses the possibilities for her own daughters as they traverse the same path to school (see Chapter Four). The school pathway is at once a physical space and a metaphorical path. Its existence is linked to efforts residents undertook to build the school and continue to take as they or their children get an education (see Rose, 1996 for a discussion of space as material and metaphor). The pathways to the school in participant photo essays call forth both the stories of the construction of the school – the values and persistence it took to build it – and the meaning of those values in the present, through the practices of going to school and building a better future for oneself.

The practices of these historical lessons are also reflected in the constraints it places on photo essays. Participants' time and movement are limited by their responsibilities to work, school, and children. The resultant essays are manifestations of this social world. Sonia, for example, had limited time to take photos because of her school, so chose to focus her essay on comparisons between her block and those nearby. Rita, who had been an organizer with the housing movements and continues to work as an alderman for the community, conscripted her daughter to do her photo essay. As an alderman, a position she took on as an extension of her work with the housing movements, she wanted to avoid troubling her neighbors who might think she was conducting a formal audit. Even as constraints, these examples show the photo essays as social practice, emerging alongside historical socio-political value systems embedded in the landscape.

Claiming Expertise through Photo-Documentation

Essays often followed the everyday paths of the participant – to and from work or school – but several systematically moved through the neighborhood noting changes or necessary improvements. Like Grettel, above, Magdalena referred to herself as an investigator:

> Magdalena: *Me gustó mucho porque también fue para darme cuenta la otra cara de que uno puede … aportar ideas, hacer como un censo, o algo más especializado que la misma comunidad.*
>
> I liked it a lot because it also made me realize another way that one can contribute ideas, to make a census, something specialized for your community.

She refuses her own exclusion from public space through appeals to skills or expertise. Feminist geographers have long been interested in the ways gendered discourses of public and private have excluded women, people of color, queer peoples, and persons with disabilities from urban space

(Bondi, 2005; Bondi and Rose, 2003; England, 1994; Gilbert, 1997; Peake and Rieker, 2013; Ruddick, 1996). Responding to these exclusions, community planners and feminist participatory planners use safety audits as a tool that help people to look at, think about, and document everyday spaces from a personal safety perspective (see Andrew, 2000). Safety audits can serve to reinforce hierarchies of expertise, but they also hold a progressive potential where participants occupy urban space, and are engaged in survey production, where they define needs and decide strategies to address them (Andrew, 2000; Day, 2011; Farhadi, 2018; Rahder, 1999; Sweet and Escalante, 2015; Wekerle, 2000). Further, progressive potential and self-empowerment in this setting emerge from skills sharing and training in the research process (Cahill, 2007; Gibson-Graham, 1996; Nagar, 2006), as well as challenging the masculinist gaze in research practice (Nash, 1996; Rose, 2003, 2011). Similarly, visual research methods can challenge power hierarchies in the research relationship, create subject-driven research approaches, and blur the lines between documentarian and documented (Finlay and Bowman, 2017; Kindon, 2003; Mannay, 2010; McLees, 2013; Ortega-Alcazar and Dyck, 2011; Warren, 2016).

Cynthia, Damaris, and others leveraged this expertise to present beautiful or peaceful images of the community, countering dominant narratives in the national media about their neighborhood as dangerous. However, as Magdalena went with a friend to take some of her images, these refusals are complicated by insecurity or the fear of violence in public space. Rosa included only one image in her essay that she took for this research **(Figure 2.3),** captioning it:

> Rosa: *Amo caminar con los atardeceres. El miedo siempre estará pero decido no quedarme entre las cuatro paredes de mi casa, quiero vivir enfrentandome a mis temores y decirles: yo puedo caminar, utilizar el espacio que merezco, yo disfruto.*

> I love to walk during sunset. The fear will always be there, but I decided to not stay within the four walls of my house, I want to live by confronting my fears and saying to them: I can walk, use this space that I earned, I will enjoy it.

Rosa also includes images of community art works and images meant to reflect her inner world, one that is strengthened and built through community art. She contrasts these images with the sunset to emphasize that her fears of public space are both the cause of her isolation, a barrier to her ability to participate in community life and social networks, while also being her motivation. *seguir adelante*, and the motivation for her continued commitment to *convivencia* – value systems that emerge as legacies of the housing movement (see Chapter Four).

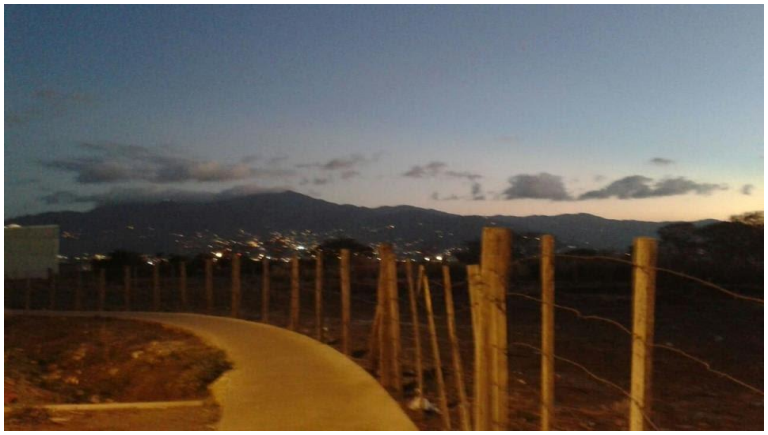


Figure 2.3 Rosa's *atardecer*/ sunset.

For others, the photo essay as a shared social practice meant going-along with others, conducting a sort of walking tour to teach newcomers and children about the history of this place. Fresia and Cynthia are both the children of 'builders' who have participated in housing committees as adults to obtain their own house. Each took their children along while they completed their photo essays, explaining that they want the next generation to know how they have benefitted from their mothers' and grandmothers' efforts. Through the production of images, participants engaged

in intergenerational storytelling about the housing landscape, emphasizing tensions between ideals of the social movement past and contemporary violence and vulnerabilities (see Chapter Five).

Emplacing Futures through Photo-Documentation

Participants, embedded in visual cultures, are savvy users of technology. Through their essays they leveraged their own expertise as photographers and residents to identify the major concerns of the community as well as their solutions. As with taking children along, participant photography was not simply about occupying space now, but was oriented towards future engagement. Through their essays, participants made political and moral claims for the community.

Participant photo essays often featured images of disuse, decay, poverty, and insecurity, but rarely were they images left uncontextualized: they present a necessity of placing positive images alongside negative ones. Sonia, for example, created a photo essay that juxtaposed the work her mother does on their block to create a beautiful and peaceful environment with other blocks where no one takes this responsibility (**Figure 2.4**; see also Chapter Five):

> Sonia: *Fotos de que en pequeñas cosas esta lo bueno solo falta que la demás gente se fije en eso y no solo critique su propia comunidad que ha acogido a tantos como ellos. Solo hace falta darle otro vistazo y saber que no todo es malo que se puede salir adelante sin quejarnos y hacer lo que debemos hacer.*
>
> Pictures of the small things that are good, if only other people would notice that and not only critique their own community that has taken so many of them in. All that it takes is another look and to know that not everything is bad, that we can all improve ourselves without complaining and do what we should do.

Alongside Sonia, several other participants also included positive images of the community to counteract negative stereotypes and presentations in the media, or to draw attention to sites where

people are already engaging in community activism. Contextualized in this way, negative images are not critiques but are moral calls to others in the community. Magdalena echoes this sentiment:

> Magdalena: *Es como el grito de auxilio de que la gente no escucha, estas Cuencas, todo esto que se ve, esto es como un pedido de ayuda.*
>
> It is like a cry for help, that the people don't hear, those houses in the ravine, all that you see, this is like a request for help.

She is describing *las cuencas*, the informal housing on the margins of the community, deemed 'uninhabitable' by state organizations. This statement is interesting in one way because it frames the landscape itself as a testimony, as evidence of violence and a call for action.

Figure 2.4 Sonia juxtaposes 'bad' (left) and 'good' (right) garbage management practices.

Las cuencas appear in eight of the fourteen photo essays to illustrate both the problems of delinquency and insecure spaces, as well as the injustices of poverty and a moral responsibility to the people living there. I use this debate, here, to demonstrate how participants used the landscape to make political claims. Four participants were current residents of *las cuencas*, and all but all but three participants had at some point in the last ten years lived in *ranchitos* (informal shacks made

of found wood and metal) on squatted land. Members of the 'builder' generation and the children of 'builders' who participated in housing committees as adults often articulated an empathy for families living in the informal areas, resulting in a political clarion call for more housing, programming for children, and vocational training meant to alleviate poverty in the community. Joaquina includes an image in her photo essay of an area that was meant to be a nature reserve and is protected by *el Ministerio de Ambiente y Energía* (the Ministry of Environment and Energy [*MINAE*]) but is currently occupied by people living in informal settlements (**Figure 2.5**). Her photo holds the tension between her desires for a different environment in the community, while noting the importance for families in *las cuencas* that have the opportunities hers did. These tensions are a product of mobilizing narratives of the historical housing movement in the present, alongside contemporary concerns of violence.

Figure 2.5 Joaquina captions this photo: *Esta es la zona este de nuestra comunidad. Es una parte parte protegida del MINAE. Sus alrededores encontramos a familias que hoy no cuentan con casa. Viven en ranchos todavía. /* This is the eastern zone of the community. It is a MINAE protected area. You'll find families here that do not have a house, they still live in informal dwellings.

Judgments and fears tended to come most strongly from the next generation or newcomers to the community — these individuals framed the poverty they saw in *las cuencas* as a result of individual choices to buy expensive TVs rather than save to participate in a housing committee. Márcia, for example, includes two images of young girls she had posed to look out over *la cuenca* where they live, writing in the caption:

> Márcia: *A pesar de la situación que es enfrente de ellas, también aprenden mucha feliz y amor entre ellas*.
>
> Despite the situation in front of them, they still learn to have a lot of happiness and love between them.

This framing is intentional to reflect her opinion that the parents who live in *las cuencas* are irresponsible and thus do violence against children, the elderly, and others who do not have the power to make their own choices. She is using her image as a form of political communication – staging it to make a moral claim about the people who live in *las cuencas.*

Fresia's images challenge Márcia's framing. Fresia is a current resident of *las cuencas* who continues to participate in housing committees in the hopes of one day obtaining a formal house. She includes images of spaces in *las cuencas* where families have come together to improve their environment despite a lack of material resources: images of *ranchitos*, DIY water and electric infrastructure, and a set of earthen stairs. She captioned each of these images the same:

> Fresia: *Aqui crecí cerca de muchas personas valiosas. La problematica de pobreza es real y muchas personas no somos reales para la sociedad*.
>
> I grew up here near many valiant people. The problem of poverty is real and many people, we are not real to the rest of society.

While she goes on to reflect on how they have found happiness and peace together in a precarious place, this is not a sign of complacency – her images are forward moving. They hold the past, present and future in tension: demonstrating the material effects of structural inequalities, asserting a history of resiliency and ingenuity, and making a call for future action against inequality. As savvy users of technology, embedded in visual social worlds, participants leverage social movement histories and their expertise to make political arguments about the future of their community. *Las cuencas*, as an emergent theme in the photo essays, is an example of how residents frame their values and political-decision making through the housing landscape, and the unevenness of these practices across generation and housing tenure.

Conclusion

Visual research methods allow for a relational exploration of landscape and society: enriching the representational power of narrative data with images that simultaneously reflect past experiences and memories of place, articulate contemporary concerns, and express goals and needs for the future. Photos stand in for movement – through the landscape, but also through time. An engagement with images as both representations of place, as well as a place-based practice where participants are savvy users of technology reveals the way socio-political value systems are enmeshed in landscapes, become intertwined between generations, and crystallize in the everyday activities and political arguments of residents.

PART II:

Social Movement Legacies

CHAPTER 3

Spatial Family Histories

The housing movement in Costa Rica that began in the early 1980s has always been a loosely aggregated affiliation of committees – first organized through groups like *el Comité Pátriotico Nacional* (the National Patriotic Committee [*COPAN*]) then later through el *Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanización* (The National Housing and Urbanization Institute [*INVU*]). Those committees are made up of small numbers of households (10-20) that work together to contribute hours towards organization and construction. Members of committees are not necessarily involved or active with the broader movement, often focusing their efforts on the local scale – attending meetings at the committee scale, protecting land during squatting periods, and aiding in construction. They often not instrumental in creating broad policy shifts, or the establishment of political and banking institutions. Most committee members participate at the neighborhood scale – meeting in smaller groups, marching and striking locally, squatting and obtaining the immediate resources they would need to start a building project. Their stories are household stories intimately linked together through *their* struggles for housing. As a social movement, these local "solidarities … are productive of new political identities rather than just bringing together fixed interests" (Featherstone, 2005: 252). Local histories and connections are significant pieces of understanding the function and success of social movements – how they arise, persist, and affect individual subjectivities (Bosco, 2006; Escobar, 2008; Featherstone, 2005).

This chapter, in part, seeks to simply re-examine the Costa Rican housing movement at the local scale, as has been done before for sites across the country (see also Lara and Molina, 1997; Manuel Sevilla, 1993; Miraftab, 2001; Smith, 2003b). However, what I do differently here is take

seriously the intimacies of the production of households and housing landscapes. Following Alison Blunt and Olivia Sheringham, this approach does not foreground the home or the city, but "tak[es] seriously the integrated dynamics of both" (Blunt and Sheringham, 2018: 11). The Costa Rican housing movement *remade* housing landscapes through the *bono de vivienda,* President Arias' housing grant for low income families. And it *remade* households as institutions through the emphasis on supporting single-mothers and female-headed households (to the point of giving titles to women in male- and dual-headed households where there was suspicion of violence) as a way of combatting women's vulnerabilities to domestic violence. In this way the home and city are co-entangled – the political economy of housing provision was informed by the home as a site of insecurity, and the housing landscapes themselves were physically produced by the households that would inhabit them.

In this chapter, I organize the local history of the self-help housing movement in Guararí through the two primary concerns of the broader movement (1) to increase housing security and decrease the number of households in undignified housing conditions; and (2) to reduce the amount of intrafamilial violence and increase the resiliency of families against violence. The first major section addresses housing insecurity and ongoing struggles, with the second analyzing the preference for single-mothers and female-headed households as a way of increasing resiliency against intrafamilial violence. In the final section of this chapter I argue that for the women participants of this research, tenure security meant social inclusion through the creation of place-based social and economic support networks. Not only home ownership, but education opportunities, economic cooperatives, and social organizations that came about with the assemblage of a whole urban neighborhood created buffers against the insecurities of intrafamilial and partner-based violence: hyper-mobility or entrapment due to social and economic reliance.

The Costa Rican Housing Movement: Guararí

The self-help housing movements in Costa Rica during the 1980s and 1990s responded to the dual problems of insufficient housing for the country's urban poor and intrafamilial violence. Strategic alliances in the early 1980s between the leftist organizations that made up the housing front, feminist organizations with ties to those leftist organizations, and the National Liberation Party of President Oscar Arias Sanchez led to the development of the *bono de vivienda*, a housing grant, for the construction of low-cost housing across the country (see Chapter One). Over the course of the subsequent 35 years, the number of families living in informal housing and conditions of unstable tenancy has dropped significantly, from the 62% of families in sub-standard housing cited by Costa Rican scholar Monserrat Sagot (1997), to 0.1% of families according to the most recent National Census in Costa Rica (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos, Costa Rica, 2011). In this section I reexamine the history of the housing movement in Costa Rica at the local scale.

In 1986, the year Oscar Arías was elected to his first term as president, *COPAN* moved fifteen families into *La Finca de Guararí. La Finca de Guararí* was a coffee plantation that had been purchased by the Costa Rican government. The story goes that Fernando Cáceres, the Peruvian *COPAN* leader overseeing the land claim, sought to name the site Guarani, after the native South Americans, but a misspelling led to Guararí. The families were to meant to hold the land for future housing projects, against other development initiatives. In 1986, there were only the fifteen *ranchitos* (informal dwellings made from found materials such as wood, aluminum or zinc) and a community center for dances, meetings, fundraisers, and Christian mass (**Figure 3.1**). A few years after the initial land claim, with land donated by *INVU* and the help of non-governmental charitable organizations, the community constructed a church (*La Caprilla Santa*

Eduviges), a local clinic (*Equipos Básicos de Atención Integral en Salud*, Basic Integrated Medical Services [*EBAIS*]), a child-care center through *la Dirección Naciónal de Centros de Educación y Nutrición y de Centros Infantiles de Atención Integral* (The National Directorate for Education and Nutrition Centers, and for Integrated Childcare Centers [*CEN-CENAI*]), a woman's resource center (*CEFEMINA*'s *Casa de la Mujer*), and a school (*La Escuela de la Finca de Guararí*) (**Figure 3.2**). Between 1986 and the mid-1990s, there were six projects in *La Finca de Guararí* with between 30-150 houses each.

Figure 3.1 The Community Salon in *La Finca de Guararí* circa 1988. Photo by Rita.[5]

[5] This photo and one in Figure 4.1 come from Rita's photo essay, a participant who has lived in Guararí since 1988. In general, images with people were excluded from publication through the consent process, but I received permission to use these older photos in publications and formal reports due to their age. Given the butterfly imagery used in the mural *Mariposas Contra La Violencia* (Butterflies Against Violence [*MCLV*], discussed in Chapter Six), I decided to obscure the identity of the people in these older photos using butterflies.

Figure 3.2 *La Caprilla Santa Eduviges* (Top left); *EBAIS* (Top right); *CEN-CENAI* (Bottom left); *La Escuela de la Finca de Guararí* (Bottom center); *La Casa de la Mujer* (Bottom right;). Photos by research participants: Carlos, Cynthia, and Joaquina.

In the mid-2000s, during the second term of President Arías (2006-2010) the land where the initial fifteen families who had moved into *La Finca de Guararí* was slated to be developed for a new prison. The families leveraged their constitutional right, through Article 59 which states that families cannot be evicted or displaced from squatted land unless it can be shown that they own property elsewhere, or earn an income above a threshold, for relocation. The families formed a new committee and petitioned *INVU* to relocate them to a tract of land to the south, the future of which was in active dispute. By this time, *COPAN* had dissolved, and the committee worked directly with *INVU*, who retained control over the wait lists of qualified families for social housing. Part of the land the local committee identified had belonged to the church, but the rest was open for housing or the construction of a new sports complex. *INVU* and the local committee ultimately obtained rights to the land, and another tract, and the committee raised 20 million CRC (about

$20,000 USD) from local public services and the municipal government to connect to public infrastructure. This resulted in the construction of two new housing projects in 2009.

After their relocation, Arías' successor, Laura Chinchilla (2010-2014) re-designated the land for the development of more social housing, rather than a prison. Thus, the most recent housing project, at the time of writing, was built in 2010. The projects between 2009 and 2010 contained about 150 houses. Rita moved to *La Finca de Guararí* with her parents in 1988. She was pregnant with her first daughter, Marisa, at the time. Rita, with her husband and two daughters, and her mother were relocated in 2009, finally obtaining houses of their own – just nine months before Rita's mother passed away. A year later, Marisa obtained a house for herself and her two children on the land the whole family had been relocated from, where her grandparents had settled in 1988, just a year prior. Thus, by 2010, all three generations of women in Household #8 had each received a plot of land and a house. In 2016 when asked how it feels to finally be in her own house after 28 years, Rita commented:

> Rita: *Honestamente así aquí solo han habido viviendas con Don Oscar Arias Sánchez, nada más, solo con él … así casi que todo lo que es Guararí ha sido con Liberación … Entonces para uno que ha sido, que es humilde y pobre como quien dice, uno no podría pagar unas mensualidades de ciento y resto por mes, no se puede, entonces es uno de los beneficios gracias a Dios y al gobierno de que uno hoy en día tiene un casita con el bono, ... la gente no ha tenido que pagar absolutamente nada de mensualidad, no queda uno debiendo, eso es un beneficio muy grande para uno, entonces ¿cómo no se va a sentir un digamos contento? al saber que usted no tiene una deuda.*
>
> Honestly like here, there have only been housing projects with Don Oscar Arias Sanchez, no one else, only with him … almost everything that is part of Guararí was done by the National Liberation Party… Thus for the person who is humble and poor, as you might say, they could not pay the monthly rate of one hundred or so per month, they can't, so it is one of the gifts of God and the Government that today a person can have a house from a grant… the people have not had to pay anything monthly, there is no debt, so how could one say how that feels? To know that you have no debt.

Her comments are both on why there is a necessity for social housing, and on the political trampoline that resulted in her 21 year wait. Families were and continue to be dependent on the state's position on social housing and how best to redistribute uninhabited land, which changes from administration to administration.

Today, Guararí is one of the largest low-income housing developments in Costa Rica to have emerged out of housing struggles in the 1970s and 1980s, with roughly 50,000 inhabitants There are 13,665 households in 13,660 structures, with an owner occupation rate of 71.8%. However, while the number of structures with precarious tenancy has decreased from 7.4% to 5.1% from 2000 to 2011, there 8.9% of all households are still without dignified housing in 2011 (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos, Costa Rica, 2011). Two of the participant families alongside several hundred other households live in *las cuencas* of Guararí, the valley areas within the area of the neighborhood that civil engineers have deemed uninhabitable due to the risk of flooding and landslides.

Those living in *ranchitos* in *las cuencas,* are continuously threatened by natural disaster and eviction. Fresia and her mother, Damaris, recount a fire from her childhood where the community came together in response to help rebuild, or donate food and new appliances. Cynthia includes a series of photos showing where a major fire happened (**Figure 3.3**). Further, open sewers run by housing at the bottom of the ravines housing (**Figure 3.4**), and those built in liquefaction zones are at risk for flooding and landslides. During the data collection period alone, in 2016 and 2017, there was a major fire and two major landslides during hurricanes that destroyed homes. Those participants living in *las cuencas,* or who had recently lived there, also described the ways their environment was disrespected by those living in the formal houses nearby - particularly the treatment of their homes as a garbage dump. Rita, Cynthia and Tania discuss living

in *ranchitos* and having people throw garbage into their patio, and now living in formal houses on top of that space, they often dig up pieces of trash as they garden.

Figure 3.3 Cynthia captions her photos, "*Una de las fotos que tomé demostrando a otra de las cuencas donde el peligro de incendios a pasado en repetidos ocasiones por lo seguido de los ranchitos/* One of the photos that I took to show of las cuencas where there is a continual risk of fires. Regardless, there continues to be ranchitos there."

Fresia, who stills lives on her mother's plot in *las cuencas,* is involved with *INVU* and ongoing social housing projects in the hope of obtaining dignified housing. She states that there is just too much need and not enough aid and worries that the government is waiting on a natural disaster to wipe them out, so they can be evicted for safety. This is not a new concern; the threat of eviction has persisted since Damaris first moved her family into *las cuencas* in the early 1990s when a neighbor told her about *COPAN's* committees. Ilsie, Fresia's sister, recounts a memory from their first year in *la cuenca.* She woke to the sound of cranes and empty lots around them. She also remembers her parents fighting with the eviction teams:

> Ilsie: *Si nos va a botar el rancho nos va a matar a todos porque no hay donde irnos!*
>
> If you are going to remove our *rancho* than you are going to kill us all because we have nowhere to go!

Although Fresia has continues to participate in *INVU* programs, she does not qualify for *el bono de vivienda*, the grant program for social housing, because of her husband's income. They do not make enough money to qualify for a mortgage from a private lender.

Figure 3.4 An image of sewage waters flowing behind home in *las cuencas.* Photo by Fresia.

Tracing the Path to Home Ownership

For the households participating in this investigation, path to home ownership often began by affiliating with *COPAN* as part of a committee. Participants in this investigation had been living in neighborhoods in the districts of San José or Cartago (the two major urban centers in the country) or in rural areas in the southern and western parts of the country. In these places participants heard of committees forming through friends, family or co-workers. Heavily dependent and variable, many committees dissolved before finding land and resources, so participants often affiliated with more than one committee before finally obtaining a house. Those who participated in committees and followed-through to the construction of housing remarked that

their driving motivation was to escape the insecurity of renting, the cost and reliance on landlords, and to obtain a space for growing families that could be inherited by their children.

In addition to committee affiliation, families also needed to complete a three-phase interview process with *INVU* to ensure that they qualified for the *bono de vivienda* through Article 59. Part of that qualification was the preference for women and families. Costa Rican feminist activists, of the intellectual class educated in Spain, rejected the globally popular shelter movement of the 1980s to follow the grassroots pro-family desires from Costa Rican women. Many Costa Rican women in the 1980s, and today, support pro-family approaches to violence that promote women's empowerment in the home through tenure security and education (discussed further in Chapter Six). Through the *bono de vivienda* these goals underpinned the state's preference to give the grants to single mothers, female-headed households, and the woman in a dual-headed or male-headed household where there was the suspicion of violence.

Preference for women and families

INVU prioritized families and single-mothers for the *bono de vivienda.* This preference stemmed from the alliance between the feminist organization *el Centro Feminista de Información y Acción* (Center for Feminist Information and Action [*CEFEMINA*]) and the socialist organizations pushing for housing reform. For the Costa Rican grassroots feminist movement, family-based violence requires a pro-family response - preferring housing reform and community led health and anti-violence organizations to the shelter movement that was popularized by Western feminists in the 1980s (Carcedo, 1997; Sagot, 1997; Sagot and Douglas, 1990). For many women, the experience of violence is exacerbated by their dependence on a male partner for shelter and/or the need to leave home, resulting in substandard shelter housing, relying on short-term stays

with family, or sleeping rough (Chant, 2009; Wardhaugh, 1999; Warrington, 2001). This vulnerability leads to a sort of hypermobility – where women are reliant upon a male partner for economic support and therefore must move when he does for work or another reason, or where women need to move around to find stable and acceptable housing with their children after the end of a relationship. Rita reflects on this approach:

> Rita: *Que terrible dejarle una casa a un hombre machista o agresor que le esté pegando a la señora, y por A o por B el día de mañana el echa a todo mundo de la casa y el que tenía que irse era él, entonces me imagino que por eso hacen las cosas así.*
>
> How horrible to leave a *machista* or aggressive man that is hitting his wife in the house! And for some thing or another, tomorrow he kicks everyone out of the house, it is he that needs to go! That is why I think they did things that way.

As she notes, the logic behind this policy was to ensure that any potential victim of violence would have the resilience, specifically the physical and economic shelter of an owner-occupied house, to resist and reject violence. The way Costa Rican feminists framed violence against women recognizes it as both an interpersonal concern, conflict between two people, and also a structural form of violence that is exacerbated by unequal gendered access to economic and social securities (Fluri and Piedalue, 2017; Kern and Mullings, 2013; Pain and Staeheli, 2014). While globally the percentage of female-headed households have been used as a negative identifier of poverty, Sylvia Chant (2009) argues that it is more complicated. Her research in Costa Rica and other Latin American countries suggests that female-headed householdship is "a positive alternative [to living with a partner]. Independence allows them more choice over their occupations, greater control over household finances, and enhanced personal mobility and freedom" (Chant, 2009: 36). In Costa Rica, the percentage of female-headed households has increased from 17.6% in 1984 to 29% in 2011 and is reflected in Guararí's rise from 20.4% in 1984 to 34.3% in 2011 (Instituto Nacional

de Estadistica y Censos, Costa Rica, 1984, 2011). In what follows I discuss the impacts of tenure (in)security on women, as read through the ten households that participated in this study, as well as the interview process and participation in the housing movements for women.

INVU's preference for single women and female-headed households is significant and critical if we consider the ways that tenure insecurity differentially impacts women and heightens both the experience of and vulnerability to intrafamilial violence. Of the ten families that participated in this investigation, eight illustrate this point. For them, intrafamilial violence and housing security most often intersected through economic insecurity manifest through: (1) hyper-mobility based on a (male) partner's decisions; and (2) entrapment.

Based on the stories told by participants in their interviews, more common than the experience of tenure insecurity due to overt emotional or physical violence in the home, was insecurity linked to the unpredictability of changes in a relationship - partners who come and go. Marisa, while living with her two children and current boyfriend, comments:

> Marisa: *Bueno, ahorita mis dos hijos, mi pareja y yo, somos cuatro, por el momento, uno nunca sabe, los hombres vienen y se van.*
>
> My partner and me, we are four, for the moment, one never knows, men come, and they go.

She goes on to say that both her neighbors are also alone - they live only with their children - and it could happen to her again at any time. In another case, Grettel left her parent's home in Guararí to move in with the father of her daughter's family in rural Heredia - far enough away that when he left her to live with another woman, she had to sell her cell-phone to get back to her parent's home. And for Márcia and Sonia's mother (Household #2): Her four children all have different fathers, who each left at some point, leaving her as a stay-at-home mom caring for four children

with little support from her former partners. After divorcing from her oldest daughter, Márcia's, father, she rented an apartment in San José before meeting her second oldest child's father and moving to Cartago. Then, pregnant, the baby's father moved Márcia and Sonia's mother to Guararí with Márcia. This partner then left before construction began, and the home was left in their mother's name. Later Sonia and their youngest sibling were born, but their mother never remarried or allowed any of her partners to move in with them.

Rita, Marisa's mother, sums up the experiences of these women, linking them back to Chant's (2009) analysis:

> Rita: *Bueno, yo pienso que siempre existe el machismo de los hombres, ¿porque? porque digamos a veces dos cabezas piensan mejor que una, o a veces uno toma una decisión o una alternativa que al hombre a veces no le gusta … entonces cuando hay mucho machismo en el hombre a veces no le gusta porque es lo que ellos dicen y ya, pero la mayoría de mujeres en este proyecto … Yo he visto que ellas son las que han tomado la alternativa como mi hija.*
>
> I think that the machismo has always existed in men, why? Because sometimes two heads are better than one, but sometimes you make a decision and the man doesn't like it… so when there is a lot of machismo in the man sometimes, he does not like it because it is as he says and that's it, but the majority of women in this project… I have seen that they have taken another route, like my daughter.

Even in the cases listed above where participants did not recount clear physical or emotional abuse within their relationships, their tenure security was linked to a (male) partner's decisions. These decisions can then result in insecurities that interfere with women's financial and social stability:

> Cynthia: *Mi hermana también andaba rodando, usted sabe que muchas familias cuando tienen muchos hijos no pueden alquilar, porque la economía es tan escasa que se les hace mucho, ella era la mayor y en ese entonces tenía 8 hijos y era madre soltera, entonces se le hacía muy difícil.*

> My sister has gone around and around, you know that many families when they have a lot of children, cannot rent because the resources are so scarce. She is the oldest and had 8 children and was a single mother, so that made it very difficult.

Cynthia describes a possible effect of tenure insecurity, where there is not adequate rental space and the presence of landlord discrimination.

In addition to hypermobility, economic dependency and vulnerability also led to entrapment for several participants. In these cases, a woman is compelled to stay with a partner, who may or may not be abusive, for economic reasons. Rosa had been living with her mother and two children in San José before getting married to her now-ex. He moved them to another district in San José and then to Guararí - Rosa notes that if she had stayed with her mother, she would probably have a house next to her mothers in one of the housing projects in San José. Rosa and her husband, 10 years after purchasing a house in Guararí on credit,[6] have separated due to inter-partner violence. There was a period where he had left the house, but she could not afford the mortgage payments alone and neither one can necessarily afford to sell the house and return to renting. He now lives in another section of the house he has built in the side and back patio, but the share common resources like the major kitchen and laundry appliances. Economic dependency has left them in liminal spaces where there may or may not be ongoing physical and emotional violence, but they are dependent upon a (former) male partner for economic and housing security even after separation.

[6] The house had been a part of the housing projects, but after 15 years full ownership is conferred upon the occupant and the unit can be sold at market rates. Before 15 years, the house remains partially controlled by *INVU* and can be reallocated through the *bono de vivienda.*

Affiliation and interview process

As an affiliated member of a housing committee, participants needed to dedicate at least 400 hours to the cause - attending meetings, participating in marches and demonstrations, helping with childcare or meal preparation, and/or aiding in construction. Once affiliated this labor could be spread over years, with many participants working full time during the week and contributing hours to the project during the weekends and vacations. During this period families needed to live on the empty lots where their houses would be to prevent its loss to other families or the state, and to protect the found materials they had collected to build or improve their temporary housing. Often this meant collaborating with other members of your committee to ensure there would always be someone staying on the committee's lots, or one member of the family living in the *ranchito* while the rest of the family continued to rent nearby other employment.

After participating in committee organization, squatting the land, and building out infrastructure, before obtaining a house, families had to complete a three-phase interview with *INVU*. The interview process included visits with social workers to ensure qualifications and evaluate the living situation of applicants. They were evaluating for economic need, that the income of a household fell below a certain threshold, and for signs of social instability:

> Oscar: *En principio esto se creó entiendo para 1300 familias, matrimonios llamémosle así, parejas, muchas fueron mujeres solas, otros hombres solos, pero casi lo que más apoyaba era la mujer sola, a los hombres como que no, muchos perdieron el lote por eso, porque más se apoyaba la mujer sola...algunas les marginaban un poquito, que mujeres solas porque después se hacía de hombre y después les quitaba la propiedad.*
>
> At the start this was believed to be for 1300 families, married couples, partners, many were single women, others single men, but it was better to help the single women, the men no, many lost their lots like that, because it was better to help single women… some were marginalized a little, because women that would move in with a man would have their property taken away.

Oscar notes that the houses were given preferentially to single women, but their status could change if they moved-in with or married a man. Families with children were given priority, and this often included dual-headed households and married couples. But if it was a dual earner household, or became a dual earner household, the combined income could disqualify a couple. However, as Márcia describes below, the social workers were also looking for signs of future instability:

> Márcia: *Hacían visitas sociales, con trabajadoras sociales si no me equivoco, con trabajo social para ver la situación de los niños, si no estaban creciendo en un ambiente de violencia doméstica, porque por ejemplo, en el caso de que una persona como una vecina, ella tuvo una discusión con el esposo y el hijo no es hijo del esposo, pero parece en ese tiempo que no habían hecho las casitas, estaban apenas por las etapas de las entrevistas, entonces pasó una vez un accidente, el esposo y el hijo se estaban peleando, entonces donde ella se metió a separarlos a los dos, alguno de los dos tiró un puñetazo y le pegaron a ella en el ojo y le dejaron el ojo morado, pero nadie sabe si fue el hijo o fue el señor (risas), nadie sabe quien fue, entonces fue un accidente, pero resulta que cuando llegó la trabajadora social de las casas a verla, le dijo "ay, pero usted vive en violencia doméstica, esta casa queda a nombre suyo", eso fue un accidente porque fue un golpe y le quedó el ojo morado.*
>
> There were social visits, with social workers, to look at the kids' situations, if they are not growing up in a violent environment, because for example, in the case of a neighbor, she had had a discussion with her husband and her son, he is not the child of the husband, this was before they had built the houses, so they were barely through the stages of the interviews, so what happened was one time there was an accident, the husband and the son were fighting, so she got involved to separate them, one of them threw a punch and hit her in the eye and it left her with a black eye, but no one knows if it was the husband or the son (laughs). No one knows who it was, so it was an accident, but it turned out that when the social worker came to see her, she said, "Oh! You live with violence; this house will be in your name."

INVU's interviews were conducted by social workers and officials from the government, and in cases of suspected violence would prioritize the female household head for the deed of the house.

Families who qualify through *INVU*'s *bono de vivienda* might also approach it as a grant, rather than through a committee. Magdalena's journey to obtain a house, that resulted with her in

a home in Guararí, illustrates many of the hypermobility and partner dependence concerns discussed above, as well as the process of obtaining a house through *INVU*. Magdalena's youngest son developed severe cognitive and physical disabilities as a child due to illness. In the course of spending long hours to weeks in the hospital with her son, her marriage dissolved, and she moved out of her husband's family's home with her two young sons to move in with her own ailing parents before renting in different place for several years while searching the central provinces of San José, Alajuela, and Heredia for a permanent home. While renting, she was dependent upon the goodwill of landlords and employers to be able to cover her bills mostly-on-time while caring for her children and continuing to seek medical support for her youngest.

Prior to her son's illness in 2008, Magdalena had become involved with a housing committee, of 10 or 12 people, seeking to house about 110 families in San José. She continued to attend meetings, even during his illness, working to produce pamphlets and conduct the *INVU* interviews that would be necessary to approve families for construction. The project ultimately failed in 2009, as the land was sold to a national business interest, with no explanation from the Municipality of San José. The committee, discouraged, was disbanded without obtaining a home. On her own, as a single mother, she qualified for a grant through *INVU*, but she needed to find a cheap house or lot. While still ferrying her son from doctor to doctor, she also had to travel to San José regularly to complete housing paperwork as well as travel to towns an hour or more away by bus to visit potential lots and houses. The day *INVU* contacted her about a house in Guararí, she had to take three buses in a downpour to obtain the final papers, but within one month she had the key to her new house.

Tenure Security and Resiliency

Tenure security in this case is not necessarily about home ownership – the houses exchange value is less important than its use value. Use value is tied to the other resources and amenities available to residents, such as the availability to schools, jobs, and public transportation. Peter Somerville (1998) uses housing as an illustration for a framework of social exclusion as socially constructed, arguing that housing can be a form of inclusion or exclusion but that this designation is not tied to a particular *kind* of tenure, i.e. home-ownership is no more or less inclusive than renting. Class, race, family structure, etc. are all variables that impact housing tenure's relationship to social inclusion or exclusion. Housing, for participants like Magdalena, created opportunities for social inclusion in multiple ways – it creates economic stability where renting did not, and gives her access to a series of social supports:

> Magdalena: *He tenido familia porque aquí son como mi familia, yo llegué aquí y no conocía a nadie excepto a mis dos amigas que conocía nada más, pero lo demás yo no conocía a mucha gente. Gracias a Dios me gané buenos vecinos, son como mi familia que me han apoyado muchísimo, me han apoyado montones, el tiempo que tengo de vivir aquí que son como 6 años mi hijo hace 4 años tuvo una recaída le dio un derrame, le dieron dos muy seguidos, todo lo que había avanzado en dos años que le dio la enfermedad retrocedió todo, entonces otra vez a empezar de nuevo.*
>
> I have had family because here they are like my family, I came here, and I did not know anyone except my two friends that I already knew, no one else, of the rest of them I didn't know anyone. Thanks for God, I gained good neighbors, they are like my family that has helped me a lot, they have helped me a ton! In the time that I have lived here, like 6 years, my son had relapse that led to a seizure, and then he had two more, everything that had improved in two years, the illness had receded and everything, so we started to see it start again.

Describing the friendships and support gained from stability in one place, Magdalena alludes to the ability to be in place, to root - to build political, economic, and social connections that extend well beyond the construction of a house, out to the neighborhood and beyond.

Magdalena's reliance on family metaphors and the emotion she evokes around the support she received from the community echoes Mindy Fullilove's (2016) argument in *Root Shock* that part of what was lost in the tearing up of communities during the period of urban renewal in the United States was 'kindness.' She writes:

> Kindness worked through the collective as both buffer and glue. It was a force for tolerance and respect. It was not a guard all shield. Kindness did not stop child molesting, it did not stop wife beating, it did not stop children from torturing one another, it did not prevent unemployment. It did ooze into the interstices to ease the pain of all these things (Fullilove, 2016: 120).

Fullilove suggests that kindness in African-American neighborhoods with little other infrastructural or institutional supports did not prevent violence or difficulties, but created resiliencies against them, much like Magdalena and her son's illness. Similarly, writing about "urban spaces that are characterized simultaneously by regularity and provisionality" (2004: 409) in Johannesburg, AbdouMaliq Simone argues that "[p]eople as infrastructure indicates residents' needs to generate concrete acts and contexts of social collaboration inscribed with multiple identities" (Simone, 2004: 420). Where there is a lack of formal infrastructure, management and investment, residents, neighbors, form easy and uneasy collaborations in the pursuit of survival. So while some geographers have made that argument that community can be an exclusionary scale that shifts public responsibilities onto private citizens, and disproportionately burdening women (Harwood, 2007; Herbert, 2005; Roy, 2015), and I do not intend to romanticize the often informal and temporary local social and economic organizations women participate in, it is worth considering Lynn Staeheli's (2008; see also Jacobs, 1961) observation that communities can be thought of as agonistic spaces for the exploration of urban needs and desires. Local support networks form a sort of social capital within particular communities that help people survive

(Saracostti, 2007). The local geography of the community connects the private lives of residents with collective organizing and formal political stakeholders. It is a more accessible site to engage in a politics of resource allocation. For the participants in this investigation, particularly for the women, residence in this community meant the ability to form thick social networks that produced opportunities for education and economic development.

Social capital in the form of place-based networks creates buffers against the sorts of insecurity that results from interpersonal violence: hyper-mobility or entrapment related to economic reliance and vulnerabilities. Women were, and continue to be, key actors in self-help housing movements and are often enfranchised as citizens in crucial ways through the participation in organization and protest, as well as engagement with bureaucratic and legal structures (Alvarez, 2000; Sagot, 1997; Schild, 1997). Many of the women in this investigation recounted their experiences with the committees, marching, going on hunger strike, and navigating the housing-related governmental offices. Beyond the acquisition of a house, several participants continue to participate as aldermen for their district, through local community organizations that often intersect with state offices like the Ministry of Culture, Education, or Justice and Peace, as well as sitting on boards for the schools, the *EBAIS*, or the *CEN*.

In addition to political participation, women in Guararí have access to multiple education and economic resources. Unbound, a US-based religious organization that pairs young people with American 'god parents,' provides scholarships to buy school supplies and uniforms, in return the young people are expected to do volunteer work in the community. Doña Gladys argues that participation in the group also helps parents build their skills through meetings and negotiating an international relationship with the United States based churches that support Unbound. For adults, there are night classes offered at *La Escuela de la Finca de Guararí* to obtain a high school

diploma. If they have young children, the *CEN-CENAI* will care for their children from 5 to 10 pm and bring them home around the time the night school lets out (**Figure 3.5**).

Figure 3.5 The van at the *CEN-CENAI.* Photo by Grettel.

More than academic pursuits, women can access a variety of professional and technical training through organizations like the *Instituto Nacional de las Artesanas* (The National Institute for Artisans [*INA*]), and the Municipality of Heredia's Office of Women and Gender Equity.[7] Courses include learning how to run a small business, budgeting and finances, interaction with customers, food preparation, beauty techniques, plastic arts, etc. Through these courses and the economic support of small business associations and cooperatives, there are many women who are entrepreneurs in Guararí. Women in 5 of the 10 participant households explicitly discussed their

[7] See Chapter Six for a longer discussion of one of the programs supported by the Office of Women and Gender Equity, with UN Habitat and *La Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica* (The National University of Costa Rica [*UNCR*]).

entrepreneurial pursuits. They use their homes as a base for their economic operations - it is where they set up their businesses or workshops. Joaquina, for example, in the time before the houses grew vegetables in the front plot where the house would be later and ran a small soda out of their rancho, and now runs a beauty business, displaying her wares in a case behind the front gate of the house, and traveling throughout the surrounding neighborhoods selling goods from catalogs. Magdalena reflects on her experiences with *La Cooperativa de Servicios a Mujeres Productoras y Microempresarias (*Cooperative Services for Women Producers and Small-Business Owners [*Coopemupro*], **Figure 3.6**), an economic cooperative for women that gives grants for small businesses in Guararí and Los Lagos:

> Magdalena: *Me gusta, es como sentirnos en nuestra otra casa, somos un grupo de mujeres, nos ayudamos mutualmente donde muchas hemos salido adelante con nuestro propio negocio, gracias a la ayuda de Coopemupro.*
>
> I like it, the feeling of being at home, we are a group of women, we help each other so that many have continued forward with our own businesses, thanks to the help of *Coopemupro*.

She alludes to the support from other members in the network and explicitly links the cooperative to her home workshop that she built using some of the funds from her grant, where she makes the crafts she sells. She intends to further work with the organization to sell her therapy dolls, specifically designed for children with special needs like her son.

Figure 3.6 *Coopemupro.* Photo by Magdalena.

The social supports and connections engendered through economic organizations and cooperatives are further supported by community organizations, like church's and women's support groups, that focus on empowering families against partner aggression and supporting women experiencing violence. For example, the Municipality of Heredia's Office of Women and Gender Equity hosts the *Red de Las Mujeres Heredianas* (Network of Heredian Women) that organizes many groups oriented towards the well-being of women and holds sessions in community centers in Guararí where women can meet with a psychologist in a group setting. With the aid of *la Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica* (The National University of Costa Rica [*UNCR*]), the Municipality also holds courses on parenting in *La Casa de La Mujer* (shown in **Figure 3.2**). The significance of *La Casa de La Mujer* in the lives of the women in Guararí was evident in the participants' photos essays - included in five different instances. Examples of captions accompanying the photos included:

> Cynthia: *Se ha ambiado mucho sus objectivos y visiones para con la comunidad.*
>
> It has furthered many of its objectives and visions for the community.

> Raquel: *En frente de la casa de la mujer, hecho para el desarollo de las madres y jovenes de mi comunidad. Siento que parte de la formación de los nuestros jovenes es su niñez cuando están baja la crianza de su madre lo ella aprende será parte de su aprendizaje.*
>
> In front of the Women's House, made for the development of the mothers and young people in my community. I feel that part of the formation of our young people, to have a childhood where they are cared for by their mother, and this is where she learns to do that.

In the photo essays, and to a lesser extent in the interviews, it was clear that *La Casa de la Mujer* is a site and symbol for women's ability to improve their lives and the lives of their children through education and support groups. Several participants suggested that the increasing number of resources against violence has meant that there is less violence: more women know their rights and know where they can get help, that there is more community vigilance and security around these issues.

However, several participants also note that there is an idea that violence is normal and so someone who is experiencing violence may not seek help or might think there will be retribution from their partner or the police. Doña Gladys shared her own story of having been mistreated until she went to a course taught by a psychologist at *La Casa de la Mujer* and learned what was considered abuse and with that knowledge and a new definition of violence she was empowered to change her situation. Magdalena also shared with me a story of her oldest son coming home, unhappy with something that happened at work, etc., coming home to yell at her and his younger brother, even to the point of raising his fist at her and threatening to hit her. She went to the judge and got a one month restraining order against her son, the judge mandated that the son needed to

stay in his own apartment for that time and if he transgressed the next time he would go to jail. She reinforced that this was a great outcome, where she could be safe, and her son could have the opportunity to do better, that was enabled by her knowledge of her rights and access to resources. Embedded in both stories is a characteristic pro-family approach in Costa Rica, where the goal is freedom from violence through empowerment, and keeping a family together (Carcedo, 1997). Rita articulates the connection between social gains and the prevention of violence with empowerment courses like those administered at La Casa de la Mujer:

> Rita: *Bueno, yo pienso que eso si ha cambiado mucho, tal vez por las organizaciones que hay ahora, que defienden mucho la mujer, o que la mujer está más informada, de no dejarse maltratar ni nada de eso por nadie. … Yo pienso que antes tal vez la mujer tenía que aguantar más, porque las mujeres eran muy dependientes de los maridos, mujeres que no trabajaban, que pensaban que ellas solo existían para cuidar a los hijos, lavar, cocinar y atender al marido. Ahora las mujeres no, ahora las mujeres trabajan y no dependen de ningún hombre, entonces pienso que en eso ha cambiado.*
>
> Well I think that it has changed a lot, maybe because of the organizations that exist now, that defend women, or it might be that women are more informed, they do not let anyone mistreat them. … I think that before maybe women had to accept more because they were more dependent on their husbands, women didn't work, they thought that women only existed to take care of children, clean, cook, and take care of their husband. Now women, no, now they work, and they do not depend on any man, so I think that has changed.

She embeds economic gains within shifting household relationships, where women reject their dependency on a (male) partner to take advantage of social and economic opportunities in their neighborhood. Fresia echoes this, summarizing the significance of greater resources for women:

> Fresia: *Bueno yo siento en mí pensar de que es como para que las mujeres, en este caso que son las mujeres las mas involucradas, vayan adquiriendo mas dignidad para que se sientan útiles, para que ellas crean que son capaces de cosas que tal vez creían que no tenían la capacidad, yo creo que eso es lo más importante…Más recursos puedan abrirse más fronteras.*
>
> I think that for women, in the case of women who are more involved, they acquire more

> dignity and feel more useful. So that they feel more capable with things that maybe they didn't feel very capable of before. I think that is really important… resources can open a lot of doors.

The security of the housing movement, the social inclusions it created for women, were more tied to the social and economic networks these women have access to than the material shelter itself. Fresia here note that for women, to be involved in these networks, to become a part of the social capital, is empowering.

Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the broader Costa Rican housing movement discussed in Chapter One, at the local scale: in one urban community built through the housing movement. Analyzing the movement through the perspectives of the ten participant households – focusing on spatial family histories and the experiences of the women and female heads of households – revealed the ways households – as institutions – and urban housing landscapes are co-produced to intervene in hierarchies of gendered power within the home and in the city. They are co-entangled in their material impacts on the ways the women participants of this study dwell in urban space. The prioritization of female and single-mother-headed households had concrete effects for women and families experiencing hyper-mobility due to dependency on a (male) partner. Tenure security enabled the ability to create rich political, social and economic support networks, leading to resiliency from a range of social and economic violence. Recall the ways women approached the photovoice portion of the research protocol (see Chapter One) – images were included of homes, and home workshops and businesses, as well as pathways to school, or to the *Coopemupro*, or those pathways taken to conduct business in Heredia Centro or San José (the metropolitan centers).

These are everyday movements enabled by both the urban landscape – through social inclusion enabled by housing security and rich social and economic networks – and by reshaped households that create more independence and empowerment for women.

However, the housing movements did not definitively solve the housing problem nor intrafamilial violence. There are still 305 informal shelters in Guararí, with 8.9% of the population identified has having undignified housing conditions. And although Costa Rica has implemented progressive policies around women's rights and family violence, there is uneven local service provision, and stigma against survivors that limit their access to law enforcement and medical facilities (Noonan, 2002; Sagot, 2005). Further, family structures have changed in Costa Rica in the last 20 years, with an increase in female-headed households and adult children moving back in with their parents. Scholars have suggested that these changes are adaptations to economic stresses but are uncertain what the effect on intrafamilial violence is or will be (Chant, 2009; Preston-Werner, 2008). Participants in Guararí suggest that there has been a shift, due to increased consciousness raising and education for women. However, they also note that intimate while partner violence has decreased, there has been a rise in other forms of violence related to poverty and drug-use. Participants described a risk of assault in the street, a need to enclose their homes in bars and barbed wire, and always remembering to close the front gate tightly. They also articulated a rise in intrafamilial violence, where desperate young people involved in gangs or drug activity commit violence against their parents, siblings, or grandparents, leading to concerns about how to keep their own children away from such influences. I will return to the perceptions of violence held by participants in Part III. For now, I introduce these ideas to point to the incompleteness of the housing movements: that the provision of shelter, tenure security, and economic and social support resources was necessary, though not enough for ending violence in the case community.

CHAPTER 4:

Political Heritages: *Solo es Cuestión de Seguir Caminando*

The legacy of the housing movements is not only in the construction of houses, nor in the establishment of social, political and economic community networks. In this chapter I extend evaluations of self-help housing movements to address the ways they reshape political cultures across generations. I am not necessarily interested in the material benefits and improvements to quality of life discussed in Chapter Three, nor the empowerment or political enfranchisement of the person who participated in the movement itself, but rather the ripple effects on the value systems of their children. This chapter centers participant responses to a set of interview questions about story-telling and lessons: what do you want your children to learn from this story/ what have you learned from your parent's experiences? From these responses and stories of the housing movements I identify two interlocking political heritages – *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* – that emphasize a critical relationship between individual well-being and collective advancement.

I am using the term 'heritage' to describe these value systems because of their educational component. They are not merely descriptive of traits necessary for the housing movements to be successful, but rather have a function in the present of guiding the next generation towards 'appropriate' or 'right' action. For geographers, David Harvey (2015) and Emma Waterton (2014) heritage practices are infused with power relationships, heritage shapes emotional resonances and belonging, mapping possibilities for action and engagement onto particular bodies and places. As such it is critical that we interrogate processes of heritage production and maintenance, considering always what heritage *does* in the world. As Brian Graham notes, heritage is a process of remembering as well as forgetting, it is not a direct study of the past, but rather the past's use in

the present, "we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies" (Graham, 2002: 1004). Heritage integrates the past and present into meaning making and is a significant way groups construct shared identities. Political subjectivity is formed through collective texts, technics that shape consciousness and memory (Mitchell and Elwood, 2013). The ways memory is shaped through heritage practice, also shapes future possibilities. Considering landscape as a sort of memory technic, and the ways landscapes are tied to heritages, the landscapes can be seen as a moral orientation – what they *do* is indicate proper involvement and activity (Schein, 2009b; Sennett, 1994; Tuan, 1988).

'Heritage' refers to those physical and intangible elements in the world that can be inherited from one generation by another. The artifacts of heritage cane include property – houses, natural landscapes, historical buildings, art – as well as cultural traditions – practices, music, stories. Anthropologist Helaine Silverman, and landscape architect D. Fairchild Ruggles (2007) define intangible heritage as a living force that is transmitted intergenerationally, one that is constantly recreated. Intangible heritages are those cultural elements that are not material – rather than the physical artifacts and memory sites, intangible culture manifests through songs, stories, and practices. However, tangible and intangible heritage are co-constituted – as stories, songs and practices are related and attached to memory sites, particular buildings, or landscapes (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009; Vecco, 2010). Marilena Vecco (2010) argues that it is important to recognize this co-constitution and emphasizes that heritages, whether tangible or intangible, should not be reliant on physical consistency- that they maintain their shape and integrity. The insistence that they should is a reflection of eurocentrism and the power that flows through heritage as the past's use in the present (Vecco, 2010). Landscapes and buildings, as well as songs and stories, are constantly reassembled as they are 'dwelt' within. Landscapes and their practices are products

of their histories, but are also used and remade for present needs, and future aspirations (Bernardes et al., 2017; Escobar, 2008).

Further, sites and landscapes decay, or are allowed to decay, based on the accessibility of resources and political economic decision-making (DeSilvey, 2017; Fennell, 2009). In the US context, Christopher Fennel (2009) argues that National Park Service designations requiring a tangible landmark and UNESCO definitions that sites individuals as the passive carriers of culture are particularly ill-suited for actors with a heritage of resistance and self-determination, that might have included invisibility tactics for survival. Using the case of New Philadelphia, IL, a town established by a formerly enslaved black man that ultimately became a ghost town when the railroad installed a station in a majority white town to the north, he illustrates the ways African-American's fight for freedom and basic human rights has been routinely erased or elided by White property owners. The political heritage of African Americans, according to Fennel, is rooted in in agency and resistance to racial ideologies, structural racism, and physical violence, but that there are fewer physical sites that have been maintained due to these same processes (Fennell, 2009). Governing bodies over heritage have preferentially supported physical, well-maintained sites tied to monumental events or people, but have often obscured the mundane and daily struggles of people that are not tied to traditional notions of property.

Heritages are a manifestation of power, or resistance, the use of the past in the present to solidify a cultural narrative of being and doing, or to challenge hegemonic narratives. They are an interplay between intangible practices and physical sites. In this chapter I explore the intangible political heritages that emerge from the struggle for housing, stories that suggest proper comportment rooted in the physical sites of the community. The fact that these sites are plastic, homes constantly reassembled by residents, community spaces continually negotiated is central to

the intangible political heritages of *seguir adelante* and *convivencia. Seguir adelante* translates to 'to continue forward,' and in this context refers to individual's actions and mindsets that motivate them to participate in housing committees, or attend school or professional training, or start a small business. Rebuilding and remaking are central practices of *seguir adelante* – having the abilities and perseverance to improve yourself and your life through political action, education, or starting a business. *Siguiendo adelante,* in aggregate, allows individuals to support *convivencia*. The word *'convivencia'*, translates to 'living together' and can refer to a spectrum of qualities and practices. One can fail at living together with a partner or extended family or invoke this word to support the redevelopment of a downtown block. In this context, as it emerged in participant narratives, *convivencia* refers to a set of practices and values that allows the community to function and thrive. *Convivencia* is the ability of the whole neighborhood to *seguir adelante.* Their reciprocating relationship refers to the need to better oneself so that you may work for the betterment of others, in the same way that as the community thrives there will be more opportunities for individuals to take advantage of, thereby better themselves. If these heritages are functioning properly, the physical community should not stay the same. The goal of these heritages, of mobilizing historical struggles in the present, is to create a different future.

The primary goal of this chapter is to unpack *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* – to recount the stories and events that give them significance. In Part III, I will analyze these heritages as they emerge in contemporary debates in the community about how to best address emergent forms of violence related to drugs, gangs, intrafamilial violence, and poverty.

Political Heritages

Seguir Adelante

> Magdalena: People know Costa Rica for its beautiful beaches and natural landscapes, but not for its humanitarian accomplishments, yet *"...ver como **siguieron adelante** estas partes marginales, es bonito es muy lindo."*
>
> "... look how these marginalized places **have advanced**, it is beautiful, it is really beautiful."

Seguir adelante originates in the persistence required to obtain a lot and house while being involved with committees in the housing movements. As an affiliated member of a housing committee, participants needed to dedicate at least 400 hours to the cause - attending meetings, participating in marches and demonstrations, helping with childcare or meal preparation, and/or aiding in construction. Once affiliated, this labor could be spread over 5-20 years before a family would receive a plot of land and a house, with many participants working full time during the week and contributing hours to the project during the weekends and vacations. During this period families needed to live on the empty lots where their houses would be to prevent its loss to other families or the state, and to protect the found materials they had collected to build or improve their temporary housing. Often this meant collaborating with other members of your committee to ensure there would always be someone staying on the committee's lots, or one member of the family living in the *ranchito*, small informal dwellings made from wood and found metals, while the rest of the family continued to rent nearby other employment. *Seguir adelante* is rooted in participant images of infrastructural projects – roads, water and sewage systems, electric grids, schools, and parks (**Figure 4.1**) – and of the homes themselves.

Figure 4.1 Electricity meters mounted on a communal board (Top left); *Pozo de La Esperanza II*, public well (Top right); Photos of the same road 25 years apart (Bottom left and center); The bus to Heredia Central crossing the bridge that connects the other projects (Middle right). Photos by research participants: Carlos, Oscar, Rita, and Joaquina.

Participants included images of their own homes, gardens and private workshops, as well as images of small businesses and business associations in the community that host entrepreneurial workshops for residents. The pre-fabricated houses that committee members received were all the same: two bedrooms, a small living-kitchen space, and a bathroom. The houses came with cement floors, two wooden doors on the exterior entrances, and one door for the bathroom. In subsequent years, individual households, some participating in clubs to purchase material in bulk, invested in interior doors, ceramic floors, ceiling tiles, and built on patios and garages, metal bars and grates, and extensions and second floors (**Figure 4.2**). These renovations often include a storefront or

workshop where residents run small restaurants, beauty salons, convenience stores, and shops with everything from clothing and makeup to school supplies (**Figure 4.3**). Ten of the fourteen participant photo essays include a picture of their own houses or the inside of their home, and 9 included images of small businesses. These photos were captioned or later discussed as important sites for economic and social security for themselves and their children. The house as more than a material shelter, as a foundation for the construction of social and economic support networks that create resiliency, was discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three. Here, what is significant is what these spaces represent, what practices they indicate, and the meanings and attributes participants ascribed to their residents and owners.

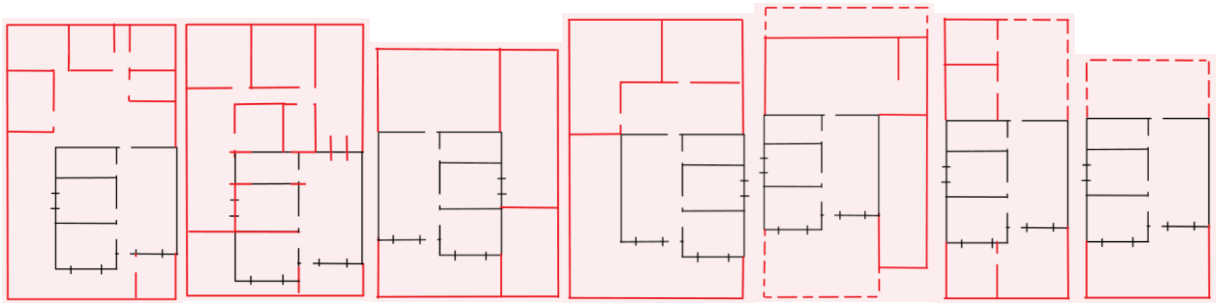


Figure 4.2 Examples of modifications to the prefabricated house – modifications in red – based on participant descriptions of what they had changed or built. The original prefabricated house, with two bedrooms, a living room/kitchen and a bathroom, can be seen within each drawing. Drawings by Jennifer Porter

Everyday sites – homes, *pulperías* (corner groceries), *carnecerías* (butcher shops), and *ferreterías* (hardware stores) – were not only framed by participants as mundane gathering places or necessities but were to be interpreted as signals of growth and improvement. They signal and call forth an investment in both your own economic and social future, as well as that of your children. The plasticity of the pre-fabricated house heightens this value – the infrastructural landscape that supports residential and economic life can be intervened in, and that intervention

supports political claims and imagined communities. Ash Amin notes that in housing occupations, "the visibility of infrastructure in the making has been crucial in the construction of place, community, sociality and political claim" (Amin, 2014: 140). The making of infrastructure is a social force that creates the conditions for intimate relationships (Amin, 2014; Wilson, 2015). The making is power laden, subject to uneven distributions, inequalities, and dominant ideologies of value. It is this quality, in the stress and struggle that I turn to next. Participants of the builder generation articulate *seguir adelante* as the value of *fighting* for what you need

Figure 4.3 Small business additions onto prefabricated houses. Photos by research participants: Grettel, Carlos, Joaquina, Damaris, and Fresia.

The Crucible of Struggle

The time spent separated or working seven days a week to ensure the family was both able to cover basic expenses and obtain a house caused a lot of strain. Many families that started with

the housing movements, like Cynthia and Tania's parents, never completed the hours to obtain a house and moved away. For those that stayed these struggles, regardless of the difficulty and added stress, the ability to stay communicated commitment to *seguir adelante* and the community as a whole.

Participants like Fresia, Cynthia and Tania, members of the second generation who went on to be builders in later projects, were sent away as children, or sent their own children away, to live with relatives in other communities while they or their parents worked for housing and lived in *ranchitos*. In 1991, Damaris was living with her husband and four children, in her parents' house in a neighborhood of San José. When her sister bought a property in Heredia and moved their parents in with her, Damaris also sought housing closer to her parents, having heard of an area nearby where people were living in *ranchitos.* After three months a friend of a friend, who was supposedly involved in a housing committee invited her to settle on a piece of land. The plot she found was in *las cuencas*, which at the time was not overpopulated, and still largely forested. At the time they did not know that this land would be ineligible for housing projects due to risk of flooding and landslide.[8] At first, her husband refused to settle on the lot, so the family continued renting in a nearby apartment, until Damaris decided she would not pay another month's rent. She describes this period with her husband as difficult, but ultimately, he came to help her clear the lot and build temporary housing. In 1992 they moved the entire family to the lot - cooking and sleeping in primitive conditions, traveling to their sister's house to obtain water and do the washing. Due to the conditions and lack of a school, Damaris sent her oldest, Fresia, to live with her sister until the school was finished in 1996. She recalls:

[8] Many participants note that this sort of fraud is still common, with people selling houses and plots in *las cuencas* to incoming families, largely undocumented families from Nicaragua.

> Damaris: *Entonces mi hermana me la puso muy bonita, de que ella le iba a dar los estudios a mi hija ... por mientras yo me acomodaba, y a raíz de todo eso yo comencé a tomar licor, al ver que yo no podía tenerlos a todos juntos, como que me refugié en eso. Entonces a mi me dolía ver que ella no estaba conmigo ... pero yo quería lo mejor para ella, de que tan siquiera por lo menos ella fuera estudiando y no se atrasara. ... Llegó el día en que yo me le paré a mi hermana y le dije que no, que la verdad es que me importaba a mí, que la güila tenía que estar conmigo, de que aparte ella decía que me traía el Patronato (PANI), entonces yo le dije a ella que no, que yo me la traía porque además era mía y si yo iba a comer arroz y frijoles, ella tenía que comer también.*
>
> My sister did right by me, she enabled my daughter to be able to go to school … while I was building our home, and because of all this I started to drink liquor, to know that we could not all be together, I took refuge in alcohol. It hurt me that she was not with me … but I wanted the best for her, that at least she would go to school and not fall behind … Then came the day that I went to my sister and I said that she is important to me, that the child needed to be with me, and she said she would call child protective services (PANI), so I told her 'no,' she would not because she is mine, and if I was going to eat rice and beans then she would eat it as well.

Both Damaris and her husband were alcoholics (now sober), and according to Damaris this trouble began with the stress of the housing movement. Fresia echoes this, saying that she talks to her daughters about their economic troubles as something that stems from the experience of having two alcoholic parents.

During the period of construction – when most families were living in *ranchitos*, informal housing not connected to sewage, water, or electricity, while working full time in paid employment and full-time contributing hours to the housing movement – stress within households was commonly reported. For Oscar and Joaquina, between the early 1990s and 1998, the long weeks Oscar would be away from the family working towards his hours or protecting the lot, and then later fighting to build a school, was like a form of neglect that put strain on their marriage. He reflects:

> Oscar: *Ellos vieron el sacrificio y yo sé que tuve disgustos con Doña Joaquina porque yo me iba a reuniones en la escuela, reuniones que había que hacer todas las semanas que nos reuníamos la junta, que iba a alguna actividad y esto que el otro. Entonces muchos roces porque ella "ya deje eso, no da más tiempo que el otro" … Y es que en realidad yo con mi esposa tuvimos roces pero yo bueno peco de haberla agredido de palabra sino tal vez de otras maneras que no me di cuenta, el ignorarlo es una agresión a veces tal vez por trabajo, un poco estar metido en la institución o por querer colaborar uno a veces descuida y agrede como ignorando, como apartándose un poco, yo creo que eso es una parte de agresión.*
>
> They saw the sacrifice and I know that I had trouble with Doña Joaquina because I went to meetings in the school, meetings of the board that met every week, that going to some activity and this to the other. So, a lot of friction because she said, "Let this go, don't give more time than the others" … And it is that in reality, me with my wife we had fights but I have sinned attacking her with words but not maybe in other ways that I did not notice, to ignore them is an aggression sometimes maybe because of work, a little too involved in the institution, or for wanted to collaborate sometimes neglects and aggresses like ignoring, like moving a little apart, I believe that that is part of the aggression.

It is not insignificant that for Damaris and Oscar, the stresses of the movement for housing itself manifest as violence within participant homes. Other participants noted similar experience tied to the stress of marching and participating in organizing and hunger strikes.

Direct actions were carried out in San José and Heredia, in front of the National Palace, as well as public lending organizations, like *el Banco Nacional de Hogares y Viviendas* (The National Housing and Mortgage Bank [*BAVHVI*]), between the 1980s and 1990s. Their goals were to progress the housing movements, create pressure to start or continue construction, and to acquire the necessary public services like water, electricity, paved roads, and schools. Cynthia and Marisa describe what this looked like for women, especially those with children:

> Cynthia: *Yo en lo personal siento, lo sentí difícil en ese entonces, porque algunos somos madres solteras, algunos más que todos se enfocan en trabajar, uno siempre piensa en lo que le dejan los padres cuando usted está pequeño, pero, cuando usted llega a un punto que tiene que abandonar su casa, porque ya no es suya, y tiene que ir a rodar, es duro, y con la economía tan apretada pues mucho más difícil, entonces yo en lo personal siento que fue muy difícil ir a manifestaciones, teníamos que ir cada cierto tiempo a hacer*

manifestaciones a la Casa Presidencial, al Ministerio de Vivienda, al INVU, y eso era desgastante y a la vez uno en la vida nunca se había imaginado ir a hacer eso porque a uno le da mucha vergüencilla, pero sin embargo uno tenía que hacerlo, porque uno estaba luchando las cosas de uno, llevarse mojadas, llevarse mojada con los niños, hambreadas y tal vez no iba ni todo el grupo sino que de 90 familias solo íbamos 20 familias, a dar la cara por todos, entonces si fue difícil, yo siento que si fue difícil,

I, personally, feel that it was difficult then, because some of us were single mothers, some others were always focused on work, one always through of leaving them with your parents when you are small, but when you came to the point where you have to abandon your house, because it is not yet yours, and you have to go around, it is hard, and with money tight it is so much more difficult, so I personally thought it was challenging to go to the marches, we had to go at a certain time to mark to the Presidential House, to the Ministry of Housing, to *INVU*, and that was crippling and once in your life you would never have imagined going because it is so shameful, however you had to do it, because you have to fight for the things you have, marching wet, marching wet with children, hungry and sometimes going without the full group of 90 families, going only with 20 families, to put ourselves out there in front of everyone, that was hard, I feel that it was hard.

Marisa: *Bueno, yo me acuerdo que para una marcha fuimos, estaba embarazada de mi bebé, tiene 8 años ahora, y nos tuvimos que pegar una caminada, debajo de un Sol terrible, y yo embarazada era muy comelona y nos fuimos de aquí como a las 7 de la mañana y regresamos como a las 3 de la tarde, sin plata porque en ese tiempo yo estaba soltera, entonces no tenía plata, era comer algo, tomarse un fresco, y yo ya sentía que me descomponía ahí, y ahí conocí a un amigo que ha sido un buen amigo para mí y él me llevó a almorzar, porque ya me iba a descomponer yo.*

Well, I remember that we went to march, I was pregnant with my baby, he is now 8, and we had to keep walking, under a terrible sun, and I was pregnant and was very big and we left from here at 7 in the morning and came back at 3 in the afternoon, without money because at that time I was alone, so I didn't have money to eat something or drink something, and I felt about to fall apart there, and there I knew a friend that has been a very good friend to men and he took me to eat lunch, because I was about to fall apart.

Although she was about to 'fall apart,' when asked why she did it, Marisa explains that she went to these marches so that her children would learn to be strong and make sacrifices for their own benefit.

Every family that participated in the housing movement – whether it was by building houses, squatting land, attending organizational meetings, or engaging in direct action – shared the

persistent need for shelter and stability. These families came from all over the country, and other parts of Central and South America, having participated in local committees of 10-20 families before working towards the larger projects in Guararí that organized 30-150 families. Scholars of social movements recognize the ways social movement organizing emerges and is sustained in place through a micropolitics of the everyday rooted in long-term social connections (Escobar, 2008; Featherstone, 2005; Nicholls, 2007). Small groups of families in Guararí had access to these tight knit bonds, for others the struggle itself created strong allegiances. Fernando Bosco (2006), querying how *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, have stayed active for nearly three decades even without close geographic bonds. He argues that a shared emotional struggle against the state to find justice for their disappeared children connects them and motivates them to continue. Similarly, Ash Amin (2014) and Iván Arenas (2014) argue that the struggle of the movement itself – marching, living in political settlements, establishing informal infrastructure and support systems – forms tight emotional bonds between movement participants. Arenas, in his exploration of political settlements in the United States and Mexico writes, "…the practice of sweating together to solve practical problems such as sustenance and shelter was integral to articulating together a collective subject. Whether they were gathered at an assembly, huddled around a makeshift communal kitchen, or hammering boards together to build shelter, by laboring together to resolve the practical problems of occupation, people found an anchor or starting point for solidarity in the face of difficult and contested political and personal differences" (Arenas, 2014: 442). When asked to reflect on what makes them proud of their community, or what they would want their children to learn from the history of this place, participants who have been 'builders' describe a lesson that is learned through persistence. Like the participants of the political settlements Arenas studies, the lessons of *seguir adelante* are forged through enduring difficulty

and fear, while waiting for eviction or housing, while fighting for basic services and support. They want their children to remember that the comforts of houses, schools and paved roads were not inevitabilities. Like Marisa, each of the other participants discussed above narrated the significance of their difficulties and stress as teaching opportunities for the values they would want their children to inherit:

> Damaris: *Pero ellos vieron que siempre luchamos porque estuvieran bien, quizás no en riquezas ni mucho menos, pero si digamos en lo que se puede, como dicen "la unión hace la fuerza" y ahí estuvimos hasta donde pudimos, … cuando me la traje para acá más bien fue divertido porque pasamos calamidades juntas y creo que eso la enseño también a madurar y a ser fuerte.*
>
> But they saw that we were always fighting for things to be ok, maybe we were not rich, but we did what we could, as they say, "In unity there is strength," and we have done what we could… when I brought [Fresia – her daughter] here we struggled together and I think that taught her to be mature and strong.

> Joaquina: *Bueno, me gustaría que ellos valoraran el esfuerzo, que valoraran el esfuerzo que se hizo para obtener la casa donde nosotros vivimos y que si algún día ellos pueden obtener algo mejor pues que valoren lo que se luchó, para obtener este tipo de casa que tenemos, esta lucha de su papá y de sacrificio familiar porque para que nosotros tuviéramos esta casa uno de los requisitos era venir a construir parte de Guararí y meter horas, entonces esas horas de trabajo se suponía que eran como la prima de la vivienda entonces yo les hago, les recalco que nos costó, costó tanto como sacrificio familiar, cómo físico porque el papá venía a trabajar todos los fines de semana, de hecho, yo salía con [ellos] y nunca estaba el papá porque él estaba aquí trabajando, entonces me gusta sobre todo que valoren eso para un futuro que ellos valoren el esfuerzo más que todo.*
>
> Well I would like for them to value strength. That they would value the strength that it took to get this house where we now live and that one day, they can get something better. That they value what was fought for in order to get this type of house that we have, their father's fight and sacrifice for the family to that we would have this house. One of the requirements was to come build part of Guararí and complete hours, so those work hours, supposedly, that were the cost of the house, so I count them and calculate them into what it cost us. It cost so much family sacrifice, physically because their father came to work every weekend, in fact. I would go out with them and their father would never be there because he was here working. So, what I like more than anything is for them to value, that in the future they would value that strength more than anything.

Seguir adelante, as a value, encapsulates a person's strength and perseverance towards their own betterment. Through stories of the housing movement, stories of committing to squatting and marching, to living in informal dwellings without running water or electricity, the next generation is meant to learn what it costs to thrive in life. The value's conceptualization by participants is taken from the value's they've assessed were necessary to obtain housing (people without these values gave up, left without obtaining a house). It is intimately tied to the production of the urban landscape where they reside, and so it's teaching also emerges in those spaces.

In their investigation of children's history projects, Katharyne Mitchell and Sarah Elwood (2013) bring Bernard Stiegler's conceptualization of the externalization of memory – through writing, videos, maps, etcetera - as a technic for collective memory and 'being,' with Gilbert Simondon's theory on collective individuation to identify "how political formation involves the intergenerational transmission of collective memory via technics" (Mitchell and Elwood, 2013: 38). Using this framework, they argue that understanding children's political engagement need not be understood merely through *political acts*, but also through the process of paying attention. While Mitchell and Elwood's analysis centered physical artifacts such as maps and written stories, their conclusions can be applied to landscapes. For geographers studying artistic interventions in the practice of memory, landscapes are participants in the construction of reality, but they do not tell their own stories (Hoelscher, 2008; Till, 2008). It is the combination of representational – story-telling, remembering and recalling through narration – and non-representational – being or dwelling in, or moving through landscapes – that constitute memory practices (Basso, 1996; Roberts, 2013). While I will discuss artistic memory practices as they relate to *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* in Chapter Six, it is significant to note that the 'hauntings' of landscape do not require a charismatic artist or author. Individual participants re-tell a collective story, in no organized way,

to their children in their homes, on their way to school, on the bus to the shopping center or San José. They use landscape as a technic, for externalizing their stories, to embed them and call forth deep remembering for children of the way that *should* or *need to* behave.

Cynthia discusses how she tells her teenage daughter about the struggles, the marching and the construction: taking her on walks to teach her about the history of the neighborhood: where her great grandparents once lived, where the best fruit trees were, how la Casa de la Mujer came to be, etc. For the photovoice portion of this research her younger daughter, in kindergarten, is seen as a blurred flash or twirling figure in several of Cynthia's photos. Laughing when she sees these marks on her landscape shots, she says that she is starting the process with her youngest and that the photo essay was a good opportunity to take her daughter, nephew, and friend (Magdalena – who moved to Guararí in 2009) on a historical tour of the neighborhood. She articulates the teaching of this history as a way of guiding their children to *seguir adelante*, to have the strength, persistence and faith to engage with and bring about a future that does not yet exist and may not even seem possible:

> Cynthia: *Bueno yo a mi hija siempre le enseñé de la evolución del barrio porque uno siempre añora el pasado, de hecho yo siento que en lo personal hasta mi hija cuando esté más viejita va a añorar estos tiempos, porque estos tiempos tal vez sean duros, pero tal vez en un tiempo no sabemos si van a estar más duros, así como lo viví yo cuando era niña. Entonces yo siempre le digo a ella "uno lo que tiene que aprender es hacer mejor el mundo, no tratar de ser igual al que hace guerra o al que destruye, porque en lugar de destruir hay que arreglar", entonces no sé, como que eso se le ha metido mucho porque ella siempre es más dada a ver como soluciona las cosas que ver como las destruye, entonces yo siento en lo personal que ella el pasado lo va transmitiendo, pero eso que mi mamá le pasa contando historias de toda la vida de ella, cuando ha rodado ,entonces siempre se les va quedando alguna lección positiva.*
>
> Well with my daughter, I always taught her about the evolution of the neighborhood because you always need to honor the past, in fact I personally feel that my daughter, when she is older, she is going to cherish those times, because those times maybe were hard, but maybe, we don't know, there will be a time when they are more difficult, I lived like that

> as a child. So, I always tell her, "You have to learn to make the world better, do not try to make war or destruction, because instead you need to fix things." So, I don't know, she has gotten involved a lot, she is always giving more to see the solution, more than to see how to destroy things. So, I feel that the past is transmitting to her, but my mother told her stories her whole life, so she always gave her a positive lesson.

In this quote Cynthia demonstrates how social movement legacies are re-narrated and transmitted to the next generation. *Seguir adelante* is reflected in her comments about a hard past that would prepare you for a more difficult future – the traits embodied in the value of *seguir adelante* are those that would prepare you to thrive in any environment or situation. But Cynthia is pushing this value further – telling her daughter that it is not just about making your own life better, but about making the world better. It is about applying that strength and perseverance to finding solutions to communal problems. In this sense *seguir adelante*'s remaking of self, is also about remaking the world, calling forth alternate futures. It is here that *seguir adelante* connects with the second value that emerges from the housing movement, *convivencia.*

Convivencia

Convivencia literally translates to living together. It is commonly the subject of UN Habitat reports co-authored with the Ministries of Justice and Peace, and Social Security, and national level architectural and planning organizations in Costa Rica. As a neutral term it reflects Colin McFarlane's engagement with the concept of urban dwelling and theory of assemblage:

> "[I]f housing is a doing – if it is *dwelt* or *inhabited* as much as it is built – this dwelling is a form of urban assembly. This characterisation of housing provides a basis, I suggest, for thinking of the city itself as a gathering process. Second, and building on this, I argue that the concept of assemblage is particularly useful for grasping the spatially processual, relational and generative nature of the city, where `generative' refers both to the momentum of historical processes and political economies and to the eventful, disruptive, atmospheric, and random juxtapositions that characterise urban space" (McFarlane, 2011: 650–1).

Cities as gathering processes, as accumulations of building and infrastructure projects, reflect the collective efforts to build home-space within them. Connecting with the critical infrastructure studies discussed above (see Amin, 2014; Wilson, 2015), the making of (historical and contemporary political economies) and dwelling (everyday practices and movements) within cities creates emergent moments of connection and possibility – what McFarlane refers to as the generative nature of the city (McFarlane, 2011). Connecting dwelling practices and processes to theories of assemblage overcome critiques of assemblage that suggest it suffers from presentism and solipsism, where the 'now' and 'self' overwhelm historical and collective meanings in the landscape (Birdsall, 1996; Harvey, 2015). This approach to cities bridges an understanding of the flow of power through urban landscapes with emotional and embodied experiences of and in those landscapes. In the local context of this research, *convivencia*, is a gathering process that begins with the historical housing movements, is rooted to the collective spaces of the community that shape material well-being and ability to *seguir adelante* (such as schools and clinics), but it also tied to a moral geography that informs the actions of residents to support the collective ability to *seguir adelante.*

Writing on the moral geography of the everyday, Stephen Birdsall writes that, "[d]ay-to-day experiences are the phenomena of our existence, its raw material. They are what we 'know,' even without conscious awareness of that knowledge. This significance of these mundane experiences becomes established over the long term as they come to reflect cumulative, cultural views" (Birdsall, 1996: 620). He goes on to write that these experiences are mediated through particular landscapes, places, and socio-political environments. For example, Birdsall argues that urban landscapes that are residentially segregated and littered with gated communities and

defensive architecture build "structures of regard and respect that protect and privilege the self, thereby avoiding responsibility to each other and the world" (Birdsall, 1996: 626). Urban landscapes, as things that are built and then dwelt within, create particular opportunities for or closures against inclusion, respect, and responsibility (Davis, 1992; J Duncan and Duncan, 2003; Lofland, 1998; Mitchell, 2003; Sennett, 1994). *Convivencia*, as a neutral term, could imply a group of people's exclusions or their actions towards inclusivity. However, in Guararí, participants used the term to imply progressive action – towards supporting members of the community who are struggling with economic or housing insecurity, or troubles with drugs and alcohol. Of course, 'community' and inclusion in a community can be problematically defined to exclude newcomers or those defined as outsiders by race, class or nationality (Staeheli, 2008). This will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Five, when I explore how participants interpret and apply the heritages discussed in this chapter. For now, in its ideal manifestation in participant narratives for what they would want their children to learn from the housing movements, *convivencia* is a moral call to living together in a way that supports all residents regardless of their weaknesses or contributions. Its moral character is derived through its connection to *seguir adelante* and the necessity of supporting each other towards that goal.

Convivencia is the collective action associated with *seguir adelante* - shared vulnerabilities to economic and social violence are translated into shared responsibility for creating a more equitable and peaceful collective future. The most salient example of this connection is the construction of the second school in the neighborhood: La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte.

La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte

Figure 4.4 *La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte.* Photo by Joaquina.

At the outset of construction, schools had been planned into the layout of the housing communities, but like the houses, were slow to materialize. The first classrooms were in community centers or people's homes, with the students sitting on tomato crates, until construction of *La Escuela de la Finca de Guararí* was concluded in the early 1990s. However, when a new tract of land was acquired for housing and occupied in 1994, the school quickly became overcrowded. Some families elected to send their children to live with relatives in communities with access to schools or sent their children to schools in other nearby communities. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, with the example of Damaris and her daughter Fresia, the need to send children away or get them to schools outside of walking distance often caused stress within households. This was complicated by inadequate public transportation. In the early 1990s the streets were still unpaved, meaning dirt roads turned to impassable mud in the rainy season (i.e.

the school year). Public busses could not enter the community and residents had to traverse 600 meters of mud to reach the nearest bus stop. Work or school clothes would inevitably become muddy and might mean being sent home for a uniform violation.

While construction of the prefabricated housing would not begin on this tract of land until 1998, in 1995 residents organized the Pro-Construction Committee to build a new school. They were responding to the stresses of sending their children to schools outside of the community, and worried that other families would occupy the land that was being held for the school. That year community members worked on Saturdays and Sundays to build four classrooms, without permission of the state. Many men, women and children participated in the construction - removing earth for the foundations and building the new structures. *El Ministerio de la Educación Pública* (The Ministry of Education, [*MEP*]) condemned the construction, and as Joaquina recalls:

> Joaquina*: Entonces yo sin saber que eran gente del Ministerio de Educación, yo me planté y les dije que, que si ellos no tenían vergüenza de que la comunidad había creado lo que había y a que si a ellos no les daba vergüenza botar una escuela hecha por la comunidad.*
>
> I, without knowing that they were people from the Ministry of Education, I planted myself there and said to them that, that if they had not shame, that the community had created what was there and that if it did not give them shame to tear down a school made by the community.

With community pressure, the *MEP* formed its own committee to open *La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte* in 1996. The *MEP* turned the four classrooms built by residents into the kindergarten, and built on to include two more kindergarten classrooms, space for 1500 elementary students, a gym, and teacher's lounge (**Figure 4.4**). Construction on the buildings themselves was finished in 2000, but construction on landscaping and sidewalks continued into 2016. *La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte* is a designated marginal urban school that provides incentives for teachers to work there,

resources for students with disabilities, and free meals. Oscar was on the local School Board, and Joaquina and Damaris worked at the school in the cafeteria until 2013, when the new director disbanded the local board.

The story of the school's construction illustrates *seguir adelante,* where residents took it upon themselves to build a resource for their children to be able to study and improve their socio-economic condition. But it also communicates the second piece of the participant's political heritage, *convivencia.* Oscar articulates why he committed to building the school, why he sacrificed a part of the health of his relationship to this space:

> Oscar: *Pero nadie quería ir a trabajar para la escuela entonces a mis hijos era el servir, o sea, yo salí de una escuela no en esta comunidad sino en el campo al lado de Upala, ellos salieron de aquí, fueron graduados en esta escuela ¿qué me hubiera gustado? que un día o más adelante ellos puedan servir, no es que los voy a meter a la fuerza pero por lo menos a ellos les nazca trabajar en lo mínimo, poco o mucho por la comunidad y por la escuela. ¿Qué es lo que pasa? Que no es solo mis hijos sino otros ya quieren hacer las cosas, pero en otro lado.*
>
> But no one wanted to go to work for the school and so it was to serve my children, ... what would I like? That one day or in the future they can serve, it is not that I am going to involve them by force but that at least it occurs to them to work the minimum, a little or a lot for the community and for the school. What will happen? That not only my children but others will want to do things, but on the other side.

Oscar frames the responsibility associated with *seguir adelante,* that it is not enough to continue to better yourself for your own sake, but to benefit others and inspire a healthy *convivencia*, a way of living together that benefits everyone. The sacrifice here is not martyrdom, but interlocking: an individual person benefits from their access to education and economic resources, they in turn make sure others have those resources, and from others' success they might also find benefit. A member of the next generation, a member of ongoing housing committees, and a mother, Fresia,

echoes this relationship. Reflecting on her own experiences seeing others working in the school, she says she was inspired to get involved as well:

> Fresia: *Hace muchos años en la escuela se llamaba la limpieza de la escuela … digamos como cuando se tenga que hacer trabajo comunitario a mí me gusta formar parte porque mis dos hijas estudian en esta escuela y yo me gradué en esa escuela entonces trato de involucrarme un poquito en ese aspecto, me gustaría también poder participar en la Casa de la Mujer, … porque aquí como le digo ayudan mucho, también a los niños que tienen bajos recursos, y yo creo que cosas así no deberían dejar de existir, aunque hayan muchas personas que no tienen los medios, y entonces yo digo que lugares así no deberían dejar de existir.*
>
> For many years I cleaned at the school, so when you have to do communal work, I like to do my part because my two daughters study in that school and I graduated from that school so I try to involve myself a little, I also would like to be able to participate in La Casa de la Mujer … because they help a lot there, with children that come from homes with limited resources. I believe that things should not be left as they are, even though there are a lot of people that don't have resources, so places like that should not cease to exist.

She goes on to say that she wants to see her daughters succeed and go to school to become professionals, but also notes that she teaches her children to not be ashamed of where they come from. Not everyone, not her mother for example, has these opportunities and so her daughters should return those resources to the community and to others. Moral responsibility to take action, using those resources and skills that allowed you to *seguir adelante,* to promote the well-being and success of others is thus constructed through a deeply rooted history with schools and schooling in this community.

Conclusion

The housing landscape becomes a technic of memory, through which the 'builder' generation seek to impart guidelines for appropriate behavior and characteristics. As political heritages of the housing movements, 'builders' use the past as a way of informing practice in the

contemporary moment. Drawing on stories of the persistence and strength needed to advocate for housing allocations, to squat land and build informal dwellings, to put pressure on the government for infrastructure projects, and endure the household stresses that come from a 5-20 year building project, 'builders' use the landscape as evidence of the necessity of these values, and to inspire their children to embody these values in order to *seguir adelante* themselves. Rooted in these same landscapes and the significance of a conviviality that prioritizes collective well-being, participants also described the moral imperative of *seguir adelante* – to reapply the resources and benefits you received from the community and the values of strength and perseverance, to the aid of others to *seguir adelante*. I use *convivencia* to describe this reciprocal relationship and the use of the past to inform contemporary actions towards progressive communal behavior.

It is important to reinforce that these heritages come out of stories about the housing movements, and participant reflections on the question of what they would want their children to learn/ or what they learned from the movements. In Part III, *Interpreting Social Movement Landscapes,* I engage further with data from the 'next generation' to explore how these values are interpreted, retained or put into practice.

PART III:

Interpreting Social Movement Legacies

CHAPTER 5:

Everyday Practices

The central concern of the chapters in this final section of the dissertation is how social movement ideologies, as they are embedded in the urban landscape, inform, or not, the political decision making of future generations. By political decision making, I mean how individuals and groups define problems in the community, how they evaluate 'good' and 'bad' approaches to those problems, and how they determine the scope of their political actions (i.e. 'who' belongs, is the subject of community action and care). In Chapter Four I discussed the shared values of *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* as heritages that come out of the historical housing movements – participants of the 'builder' generation use stories of the past, rooted to the urban landscape, to indicate appropriate contemporary behaviors and practices. However, political transmission across generations correlates to affect, salience of the topic, and the younger generation's sense of how accurate the opinion or position of the older generation is. Transmission is not consistent and is highly variable given context and household norms (Jennings et al., 2009). And so, it cannot be assumed either that the 'next generation' interprets the stories in the same ways as their parents, or that they see the stories as relevant for the contemporary context.

Consider Carlos' interpretation of his father's actions during construction and the fight for *La Escuela Nuevo Horizonte*. Oscar and his wife, Joaquina, were intensely involved in both the housing committees and the guerrilla school movement. As described in Chapter Four the family endured significant stress for nearly five years while Carlos was working full time during the week and spent most weekends in Guararí working towards his hours, before the whole family could be moved into their lot in 1994. After they had occupied the land, he was then involved in the

construction of the school, while still marching and fighting with municipal officials over infrastructure projects and plot designations. After construction, Carlos and Joaquina were involved in the school and its board for a decade to ensure the school received the proper resources from the Ministry of Education. Recounting his years of service to the school, working for children's' benefit and making space for other community members to volunteer, he says of his own children:

> Oscar: *Yo le digo a mis hijos por ejemplo "Luchen, no esperen que todo se los van a dar así" que ellos aprendan que hay que servir.*
>
> I say to my children for example, "Fight, do not wait for all of this to be given to you," so that they learn that they have to serve.

Oscar describes his personal feelings of success as rooted to the construction of the houses and schools, to the opportunities he provided for his own children and others in the community, for providing the capacity for others to *seguir adelante*. He fulfills responsibility he and others describe as part of *convivencia*. However, Carlos highlights a tension between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* where fighting for the collective good might interrupt personal success:

> Carlos: *Yo - "Papi, pero usted todavía puede, no piense en la edad", porque a él le faltaban unas materias para el bachillerato del colegio, entonces yo le decía "sáquelas, no importa, si usted quiere estudiar arquitectura no importa que tenga 70 años, 75, si usted lo quiere hágalo, pero no se quede ahí", cosa que cuesta se hace y hay gente que lo logra, pero como que sí, pero a la vez no, … pero como que mi papá pudo haber tenido su propio taller, pero tal vez por miedo a fracasar no lo hizo. Eso más que todo con respecto a la construcción.*
>
> I said to him, "Papi, but you still can, do not think of your age." Because he is just short a few classes for his high school degree, so I told him, "Do it! It doesn't matter, if you want to study architecture, it doesn't matter how old you are, if you are 70, 75, if you want to do it, do it, but don't stay there." The thing that costs people is to just do it, there are people who succeed, but at the same time no, but with my dad, he could have had a proper workshop, but maybe because of fear of failure he didn't do it. That is what I learned more than anything from the construction.

Carlos sees that his father's dreams as subsumed by the collective projects of construction. He put his energies into building houses and schools, rather than his own business, even as he glorifies local businesses for their role in providing resources for the community. For Carlos and other members of the next generation who have attended school and worked outside the community, and perhaps have some middle-class mobility, the connection between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* is not so obvious. This is further complicated by new and emergent forms of violence.

While participants did not claim violence against women had disappeared, they often repeated that violence changed: economic vulnerability due to a depressed job market, and increased occurrences of gang activity, assaults in the streets, a rise in drug addiction, and intrafamilial violence committed by desperate young people involved with drugs or gang activity. There is a fear of new people, families who did not participate in the housing movements, who do not share the same values of those who did. In this context it is possible to read housing movement heritages as processes of bordering. 'Community,' used as an exclusive and exclusionary term (Herbert, 2005; Staeheli, 2008). The potential for a local social movement to be 'militant[ly] particular' (Harvey and Williams, 1995), could suggest that the construction of hyper-local heritages would define an inside – worthy of the redistribution of resources and services available – and outside – those who do not qualify for the benefits of *convivencia*. *Convivencia,* living together, is the value associated with the collective effort and benefit of being part of the housing movements, that through collective action the situation and opportunities of all participant families could be improved. It is supported by the second value of *seguir adelante* – the persistence and strength needed to make the housing movement successful, it is also referred to as a trait of individuals who continuously follow-through with opportunities for self-improvement. Engaging with contemporary violence alongside political heritages leads residents to ask who is a deserving

member of this community? If you don't *seguir adelante* and therefore do not contribute to the collective, are you worthy of the efforts of others? How should these political heritages inform constructions of 'deviance' and 'belonging'?

To address these questions, in this chapter I use a visual discourses analysis of the complete photo essay of one participant from the next generation, Sonia, alongside quotes and images from other next generation participants. I explore the ways *seguir adelante* and *convivencia*, social movement heritages embedded in the urban landscape, emerge in their discussion of contemporary violence in the community, paying attention to how they frame the causes of and solutions to these issues. In shifting to focus on practice, the *doing* of landscape as a moral orientation, the *interpretation* and *application* of political heritages, I apply a feminist care ethic framework. 'Care,' as it is conceptualized by feminist geographers, political scientists, and anthropologists: (1) emerges in particular places and contexts, and so cannot be defined as such; (2) a set of practices and actions that must be evaluated on their own terms, care is a processual, temporary, and continual form of experimentation; (2) is always already embedded in social relations, we all have a right to care because we need care; and (4) leads to an ethical call for a shared sense of responsibility (Mol, 2008; Tronto, 1993).[9]

'Care' here is not meant to romanticize the function of these heritages, or to suggest that caring for and in urban communities will automatically lead to progressive, utopian practices. Care is messy, it is imbued with power – questions of who cares, how they care, and who receives care, are inherently questions of belonging and inclusion. In part this is the opportunity inherent in thinking about 'care' – it is a set of practices that are imperfect and incomplete, but in dealing with

[9] A longer discussion of feminist care theory is presented in Chapter One (pg. 19).

the everyday realities of bodies it creates a radical openness to view flows of power and create new political possibilities and subject positions.

In her most recent work, Joan Tronto (2013, 2017) emphasizes the importance of placing the responsibility for care through the concept of 'caring with.' 'Caring with' as a democratic practice seeks to assign responsibility for care outside of market systems and enable all citizens to engage in the assignment of responsibility to the best of their ability; however, of concern is the ways care practices and inequalities produce exclusions in societies. Care becomes a form of democratic training and intervenes upon decision-making processes that determine which needs should be addressed, by whom, and in what fashion (Tronto, 2013, 2017). How participants negotiate the political heritages of the housing movements, who benefits and who is excluded, in the organizing question of this chapter. However, given the emplaced nature of these heritages, participants are often reading their meaning and applications through the landscape.

Extending Tronto's argument, geographer Karen Till (2012) proposes a place-based ethics of care. She writes,

> "Here I would include 'caring about places' as a type of care that encourages attentiveness in the ways that places are both deeply personal as well as socially shared. Second, 'taking care of someone or something -and here I add place -means that one realizes he or she can get something done and sets that realization into action… Third, 'giving care' means that the feeling of responsibility for doing the work of caring oneself and getting that work done produces competence in caring work… Fourth, 'receiving care' means that one makes sure the care work has been done and it has made things better; such a commitment produces responsiveness" (Till, 2012: 11).

Till uses a place-based ethic of care to ground her argument for multi-generational rights to homeplace. Through the analysis of place-based care and collective memory work in social movements in Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina and South Africa, she argues that care practices

articulate a politics of belonging and responsibility that can be effectively put to use in urban planning and policy making (see also Fullilove, 2016; Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

In a place-based practice of care, informed by political heritages of historical housing movements, memory and notions of belonging motivate responses to contemporary violence. Thinking about these heritages through the lens of care emphasizes that they are not frozen or unchanging laws but sets of set of guidelines for practice that help shape the interpretation of violence. As I will show through Sonia' visual essay, care can offer a radical openness to new political possibilities and subject positions – allowing for expansive redefinitions of violence and categories like 'delinquent,' 'drug addict,' or 'abuser.'

The rest of this chapter is organized[10] in six parts (1) understandings of *convivencia* and social responsibility, (2) problems of abandonment and neglect, (3) responsibility to care for individuals, and (4) problems of drugs, gang activity, and assault. The essay concludes by considering disparate responses: (5) securitization in the home and school, and (6) greater community investment. What is important to consider here is not necessarily the statistics or the exact prevalence of different sorts of violence she describes - the point is not to fetishize the violence as it exists - but to think about how the perception of violence shapes understandings of the community, the education parents give to their children, and how children take up this information.

[10] I have taken some liberties with the organization of the images, grouping like images and captions together, and reordering their presentation for clarity of the argument. For the original essay see Appendix C.

Sonia's Essay

Part I: 'Caring about' and Social Responsibility

	[Image intentionally omitted. The original image is a close-up of her mother working in the garden.]
Photo 1	Photo 2
Frente a mi casa, mi madre limpia seguidamente para dar una aparencia mejor en donde vivimos.	*Mi casa, mi hogar, mi madre dando el ejemplo de hacer algo sin pensar en recivir a cambio.*
Para demonstrar que no solo esperando y quejandose de las cosas se van a lograr. Hay que tomar acción en vez de hablar tanto	*Porque me encanta ver a mi madre enfocada en lo que realiza y porque no solo es nuestro frente de casa esta cara de la alameda o lugar donde vivimos*
In front of my house, my mom cleans regularly to give where we live a better appearance.	My house, my home, my mother being an example of doing something without thinking of receiving anything.
This [image] is to show that we are not simply waiting, and complaining, for things to happen. You have to take action rather than talk so much.	[I took this image] because I love to see my mother focused on what she brings about and because it is not just the front of our house, but the face of the block, of the place where we live.

Photo 3

Martes por la mañana, dia de sacar la basura.

Porque se demuestra que la basura se recoge y se pone en su lugar.

Tuesday morning is trash day.

[This image is to] show that the trash is collected and its collection place.

Photo 4

Dia despues de sacar la basura.

Limpieza. Se puede convivir en un ambiente limpio.

The day after garbage collection.

Cleanliness. You can live in a clean environment.

Figure 5.1 Photos 1-4 of Sonia's photo essay. These four images depict the lessons of social responsibility learned from her mother.

Sonia is a member of the next generation. Her mother joined the committees in Guararí in the early 1990s with a former partner, the father of Sonia's older sister Márcia. The household now consists of Sonia and Márcia, their mother, and two brothers. Sonia has finished high school and is now working on a technology degree at the nearby university while working a part time job. When asked what made her proud about her community she said:

> Sonia: *Me siento orgullosa de mi mamá, porque mi mamá es la que nos ha sacado adelante y siempre nos ha hecho parte de todo lo que ha hecho ella, de la construcción de la casa, de que quiere ella para nosotros, nunca nos ha dejado de que "usted no va a estudiar porque tiene que quedarse ayudándome en la cosa", no, ella siempre "váyanse a estudiar antes de cualquier cosa", entonces yo me siento súper orgullosa de mi mamá y la gente que uno se alegra que progrese porque uno sabe lo que les ha costado, bueno yo sé que a mi mamá le ha costado mucho, pero súper orgullosa.*
>
> I am proud of my mother, because my mother is the one that carried us forward and has always done what she could, with the construction of the how, what she wants for us, never has she said to us, "You are not going to study because you have to stay here and help me in the house." No, she always said, "Go and study before you do anything else." So, I am

> super proud of my mother and the people that have improved themselves because you know what it cost them, well I know that it cost my mother a lot, but I am super proud.

This quote echoes the discussion of *seguir adelante* in the last chapter – where Sonia is describing both her mother's persistence in obtaining a house for the family and supporting them all, and in making sure her children obtain an education and can continue to improve their lives. The images in Sonia's essay were all taken in a five-block radius of their home. This easy walking radius represents the time Sonia could dedicate due to the demands of her studies and job.

In the first four images of her photo essay, Sonia frames the social responsibility of *convivencia* that is passed onto her from her mother through care of the landscape (**Figure 5.1**). She includes two images of her mother's garden on the block where they live, showcasing the work her mother does to maintain a beautiful and green environment in front of their home. She captions these images by saying that her mother is an example of what a person can do, the difference they can make with a simple action – rather than "waiting and complaining, for things to happen." The next two images are of trash lined up on the street, neatly in bags and boxes ready for pick up, and the following day where no trash can be seen. As can be seen on later blocks in the essay, this is not always the case – garbage is often thrown, un-bagged, into large piles where some of it inevitably remains after the sanitation workers pick it up (**Figure 5.2**). Sonia's mother organizes their block, reinforcing the importance of maintaining order on trash day so that they are not left with garbage in the street the rest of the week. Sonia and her sister both note that it is through this care for the physical environment that their mother seeks *convivencia*:

> Sonia: *Eso le daría totalmente otra cara a la comunidad que de hecho usted va a ver que usted le cambia la cara a la comunidad y la gente va a decir "**Juepucha que bonito que está aquí, que lindo, me siento bien en el lugar que estoy, voy a tratar de hacer tal cosa, voy a salir adelante**", y la gente siente bonito, siento que cambia como el estado de ánimo*

> *de la gente, a progresar, porque usted va a ver un montón de basura y va a decir "qué pereza," y tampoco es que se ponen a barrer, muy poca gente lo hace.*
>
> This creates a whole different facade for the community, that in fact you are going to see that you will change the face of the community and the people are going to say, **"Well, I'll be damned, how pretty it is here, so beautiful, I feel good here, I am going to try to do something, I am going to *better myself*,"** and people feel good, there is a change in people's energy, to progress, because you are going to see a mountain of trash and say, "How lazy!" and they aren't going to clean it up, very few people would.

For Sonia, her mother's efforts to maintain a clean environment for residents, passersby, and children playing on the block or in the nearby play area are a part of *convivencia* because they inspire others to take care of themselves and be socially responsible. In Till's model of a place-based ethic of care this is the "'caring about places' as a type of care that encourages attentiveness in the ways that places are both deeply personal as well as socially shared" (Till, 2012: 11). A sense of shared responsibility motivates individuals to inspire collective well-being. In the next part of Sonia's essay, I examine the ways next generation participants interpret littering and abandonment given this framework.

PART II: Littering, Vandalism, and Abandonment

Photo 10e

Alameda #6

A jugar por la cara del perro. Porque estaba muy sucia.

Block #6

To play with the dog's face. Because it was very dirty.

Photo 10f

Alameda #6

Mi cara al tomar la foto es más triste que la del perrito.

Porque al llegar a esta alameda se puede notar que clase de personas no ven o se hacen ciegos para ver que deben cuidar el lugar donde Dios les brinda para vivir.

Block #6

My face taking this photo was sadder than the dog's.

Because upon arriving on this block you can see the type of people who do not see or are blind to the fact that they should care for the place that God has given them to live.

Photo 10d

Alameda #5

El otro lado o desde otro angúlo. Jueguen ustedes

Block #5

The other side, or from another angle. You all are gambling with this.

Photo 5

Transporte público y de paso de basura. Solo visualizemos mejor la imagen.

Public transit and the trash filled pass. We only have to visualize a better image.

Photo 10h

Las personas no recuerdan que las basuras se saca solo Martes y Viernes. Hoy es Sábado

People do not remember that the trash is only picked up on Tuesday and Friday. Today is Saturday.

Photo 10i

Parte 2 de mi alameda #2. Lo que esconden unas gradas.

Part 2 of my block #2. What is hidden by the stairs.

Photo 10j

La foto demuestra lo que no demuestra.

The photo shows what is not shown.

Figure 5.2 Photos 5, 10d-f, and 10h-j of Sonia's photo essay. These seven images depict signs of littering, decay and irresponsibility in the several blocks surrounding her home.

In these seven images, Sonia conducts a survey of her block. Juxtaposing them with images of her mother's orderly trash collection site and garden, she includes evidence of littering – the trash that accumulates on corners, in pathways, and at the bottom of stairways. Six of the fourteen photo essays include signs of litter or images of garbage thrown carelessly on curbs or sidewalks in front of homes or the school **(Figure 5.2.1).** Participants commented on these images as evidence of a lack of care for place.

Sonia describes her feelings of disappointment, mirrored in the face of the dog looking away from the dirty water flowing across the sidewalk, asking if people are ignorant of their responsibilities. Questioning why they wouldn't care for the land that God has given them. Other participants of both generations echoed this idea, that the presence of litter on the streets indicates an apathy or irresponsibility on the part of residents.

Figure 5.2.1[11] Signs of litter and garbage around the community. Photos by Magdalena.

Given that more 'intense' forms of intrafamilial violence were discussed during many of the interviews, it might seem that the obsession with litter is trivial or unrelated. Yet, the interrelationship between the material environment, the infrastructure that was collectively struggled for, and the value of *seguir adelante* as it connects with resiliency against forms of violence cannot be understated. Cynthia, a member of the next generation who participated in housing committees as an adult, reflects on the changes that came with tenure and economic stability:

> Cynthia: *El aspecto se cambió también, porque estos lados eran como muy abandonados, usted los veía y era como estar viendo otro precario, era feo, y como que les dio vergüenza porque hasta cambiaron todas la fachadas de sus casas y empezaron a hacer mejoras y* ***la gente seguía más gente****, a mi me orgullece la forma de actuar del vecindario.*
>
> The appearance changed, because around here it was like very abandoned, you would see it and it was like seeing precarity, it was ugly, and it was like it made them ashamed because then they all changed the fronts of their houses and started to make improvements and **more people followed their lead.** I am proud of improving the neighborhood in that way.

[11] Figures in this chapter are labeled as sub-sets of the section of Sonia's essay under which they are discussed.

The appearance of the houses represent disrespect for these participants because they are the product and material through which this imagined community and its values were forged. In her photo essay she punctuates this point by juxtaposing two houses: one with a fresh bright blue coat of paint, and the other with an unpainted cement wall that has graffiti **(Figure 5.2.2).** In the ways members of the next generation discuss litter and abandonment it is possible to see their assimilation of part of the value of *seguir adelante* – to value things because of the commitment and strength it takes to obtain them. For these participants, the care and attention residents pay to collective spaces and the outward appearance of their homes measures their respect for others and indicates the sort of motivation that is available:

> Cynthia: *Más, sin embargo, todo se lo tiran, entonces es como una bolita de ping pong, si usted no lo limpia yo no lo limpio, entonces llegan a cuidar la misma comunidad o el barrio, entonces empieza a haber un deterioro terrible.*
>
> More so, everyone is lost, so it is like a ping pong ball, if you don't clean then I don't clean, so that is how they take care of their own community, so it has started to be a terrible deterioration.

Cynthia refers to a cyclical relationship in both situations where people are either beautifying their homes or giving in to vandalism and abandonment. Caring about the community is a collective practice, assembled through individual actions. It is tied to a motivation that requires a continual engagement – for Cynthia and Sonia that engagement is with the values of *seguir adelante* that are tied to valuing a housing landscape that was struggled for.

Figure 5.2.2 Cynthia's images juxtaposing a home that is cared for with one that shows signs of neglect.

Part III: Responsibility to 'Care-for'

[Photo intentionally omitted. The original image depicted Sonia's adopted grandfather caring for the chickens he keeps in his home.]

Photo 7

Mi abuelo en su cumpleaños #74.

Porque a pesar de estar de espaldas con solo su energía el día de hoy de muestra que todo esta bien vigilando cautelosamente a sus pollos de granja pequeños aún.

My grandfather on his 74th birthday.

[I took this image] because despite being ill, with his energy today he is showing that everything is well while watching over his small chickens.

Figure 5.3 Photo 7 of Sonia's photo essay. This image depicts Sonia's adopted grandfather. Sonia narrates its significance as a lesson in 'caring for' those in need in the community.

Where 'caring about' focuses on motivation, 'caring for' is the action. Sonia's mother's garden and trash organization are actions motivated by the caring about established through the struggle for housing. Sonia's mother teaches them to get involved for the benefit of others reinforcing a collective responsibility for the environment in which others can succeed, *seguir adelante*. Sonia includes an image of her adopted grandfather, an elderly man who participated in the housing committees with her mother and lives on a nearby block. He is ill, and so as he cares for his chickens, Sonia, her mother, and siblings help him with household chores, cooking, and

getting out for walks. Sonia's mother also dedicates time to working with other elder groups and groups that support young people through scholarships. Her mother reinforces engagement with the capacities of others in the neighborhood to respect everyone as a person that can *seguir adelante,* to recognize the potential (past or future) of a person to contribute to *convivencia,* regardless of occupation, housing, or addiction status:

> Magdalena: *No importa el rango que sea, hasta la cocinera tiene autoridad … perdón pero ellos se respetan, cuando usted sea un adulto y trabaje, usted respeta su patrón a como respeta el guardia de seguridad y a los conserjes, todos valemos igual.*
>
> It does not matter their rank, even the cook has authority, … excuse me but respect them, when you are an adult and working you will respect your boss the same way you respect the security guard, and the advisers, everyone is worth the same.

> Ilsie: *Yo hago que ellos respeten, como cualquier persona, sea de la calle sea como sea, igual yo trato de que respeten a todos por igual. … Cuando se maltrata la gente afuera porque ellos ven y escuchan que la gente dice "mira la gente que esta ahí tirada, no vale nada", entonces yo la gente si los conozco yo los saludo normal y si no entonces igual.*
>
> I make them respect any person, they could be in the street or whatever. The same way I treat everyone the same. … When they mistreat the people out there, because they see and hear that, people say, "Look, the people here are thrown away, they aren't worth anything," so to the people I know, I always greet them normally, the same.

Ilsie is narrating here how she teaches her children to respect people in the community, even those who are homeless or addicted to drugs or alcohol, by setting an example, reaching out to people through day to day activities. Rita echoes this by noting that she teaches her own daughter that life is not easy, you have to have a vision, but that "*el hecho de que uno hoy por hoy tenga, no tiene porque ser más que nadie*/ what we have day after day, we do not have it because we are better than anyone else," so you have to be humble, and respect other people in their struggles.

In general, the idea of *convivencia,* that is flexible and open to the various abilities of

individuals to participate across time, makes it possible for every participant[12] in this investigation to reject the individual as the cause of violence, poverty, or suffering. This leads to twelve of seventeen participants directly articulating a need for more educational and resource spaces. Gabriel rejects the idea of shame when thinking about rises in drug and gang activity, he says that it is uncomfortable but can be addressed given the right efforts and resources. He goes on to argue that problems do not arise because of 'bad' people or places, but a lack of resources and engagement. Optimistically, he notes that based on his experiences there, Guararí will certainly be better each time you visit because of the commitment to *seguir adelante*. Most participants from the next generation corroborate his opinion:

> Márcia: *Enseñarle también a los papás la importancia de darle apoyo a sus hijos, de enseñarles a que porque viven en un lugar así no tienen que dejar que los marginen, ni que nadie los maltrate ni que nadie les diga groserías ni les hagan bromas feas del lugar donde viven, porque el lugar nos los hace, se hacen ellos mismos.*
>
> Also, teach the parents the importance of supporting their children, teach them that just because they live here does not mean they have to stay on the margin, that no one should mistreat them, that no one should say horrible things or make ugly jokes about where they live, because this place makes us, they make themselves.

> Carlos: *Para que le den un cambio a su vida y realmente sean personas más productivas, entonces siento que el Centro Cívico si va a llamar la atención de las personas que el salón comunal o que la antigua ludoteca por la infraestructura que llama más la atención, y se ve que es un espacio amplio, donde las personas van a poder compartir.*
>
> To change their lives and really be productive people, I feel that the new Civic Center will call their attention more than the old community center or library because the building is fancier, larger, where people will be able to share.

> Cynthia: *Yo siento que para prevenir la violencia deberían seguir trabajando más en lo que son las escuelas, con los niños, porque si bien es cierto, los niños son los que educan*

[12] Two members of the next generation also more pro-punitive responses alongside education and economic resources. This will be discussed further in Part V of Sonia's essay.

> *a los padres a veces, y a veces ellos mismos pasan jalando el mensaje de lo que se les da, y ellos van creciendo, entonces ellos van adquiriendo una mentalidad totalmente diferente de la agresión para los grandes, pero si se pudieran implementar más programas para trabajar hasta con las mujeres sería un éxito.*
>
> I think that to prevent violence we need to continue working in the schools, with kids, because it is true that kids will educate their parents, sometimes, and sometimes they will pass on that message to others, and they will grow up with a totally different mindset about aggression, but yes, you have to implement more programs to work, even with the women, it would be successful.

Each of these participants from the next generation articulate support programs, talks, or resource centers that are oriented towards changing people's perspectives on their capacity and ability to care-about and for the community. Márcia alludes to the negative stereotypes of this place, and the support needed to counter those. She draws on the historical narrative of Guararí – "this place makes us, they make themselves" – to support a pride that can prevent involvement with drugs and gangs. Carlos references the new *Centro Cívico para la Paz* (Civic Center for Peace) being built by *el Ministerio de la Justicia y Paz* (The Ministry of Justice and Peace [*MJP*]), suggesting that access to lawyers, social workers, classes, and library space will bring those who are involved in drugs or gangs to get the support they need. Finally, Cynthia is discussing her own work with a church youth group. Her philosophy is that violence is like a cold, without direct treatment it will not go away, so you have to work with young people to change the way they think about violence.

The relationship between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia*, conceived as a care practice, makes space for individuals who may not be able to contribute now, or in the past, to collective well-being. It also frames responsibility for individual struggles in a collective way, opening the possibility for participants to frame solutions through the redistribution of resources. In the next section, Sonia engages more with the dangers of drug and gang violence, complicating the rejection of individualized narratives of violence.

Part IV: Unsafe Streets – Drug and Gang Related Violence

Photo 6

Alameda #1 y futuros de la comunidad.

Felicidad de niños jugando.

Block #1 and the future of the community.

The happiness of children playing.

Photo 10g

Camino a casa desde la escuela, donde caminé por 7 años.

Recuerdos y porque a pesar del tiempo no ha cambiado en lo absoluto.

The walk home from school, where I walked for 7 years.

Memories and because despite all that time it has not changed at all.

Photo 10c

Calle rumbo a Guararí

Porque fue el camino que tomé y tomo la mayoría de mis días para ir a estudiar.

The road to Guararí. Because it was the path that I take most days to go to school.

Figure 5.4 Photos 6, 10g and 10c of Sonia's photo essay. These three images are of the paths Sonia has taken to school, and of children playing.

'Caring-about' and 'caring-for' place, including the other people who dwell in the neighborhood, is complicated by vulnerabilities to emergent forms of violence in the community. The principal concern communicated by participants was related to drug and gang activity. These

fears center on the risk children face being influenced by older young people smoking or loitering on corners, and violence committed by desperate young people against their parents, partners, siblings, children or grandparents because of addiction. Seven participants narrate stories of family members or neighbors being assaulted or robbed by their friends, children or partners because of alcohol or drugs. According to the Latinobarómetro survey in 2015 in Costa Rica, 44% of respondents say that they see people using drugs in the neighborhoods almost every day, 79.1% say that it is either easy or very easy to obtain illegal drugs in their neighborhoods, and 46.9% say they have a friend or relative who has used drugs in the last year (Latinobarómetro Database, 2008 2015)

Sonia does not explicitly deal with these themes in her photo essay – in this section I have included three of her photos of children playing in the block near her home, as well as two images of the pathways she takes to school. In describing the image with the children, she notes that her mother is very careful to shoo-away people who would sit on the nearby steps to smoke marijuana or drink alcohol:

> Sonia: *Aquí por ejemplo mami es una que no, que no deja sentarse a borrachos en las gradas, cuando están fumando marihuana los corre, porque aquí en esta alameda hay mucho chiquito chiquitico o que están en la escuela y para ellos es como un ejemplo, pero no debería de ser así, por eso es que mami los corre, para no ver a nuestros vecinos arruinados, por eso en mi alameda casi no se vienen a sentar, por los chiquititos. Nosotros como que los cuidamos.*
>
> Here for example, Mami does not let the drunks sit on the steps, when they are smoking marijuana, she runs them off, because there are a lot of kids on this block that are really small or in school and for them it is an example, but it should not be that way, so Mami runs them off, so that we won't see our own neighbors ruined, because of that they almost never come to this block to sit, to protect the children. That is how we care for it.

Once again, we see Sonia's mother caring-for the block, but in this instance protecting young children from the negative influences of drugs and alcohol. Sonia and Márcia note that they see young people who are already involved with drugs, acting violently and using vulgar language on the streets, she argues that these youth do not have the right role models, they see this behavior on the street and emulate it. Other participants note the markers of the presence of drug use through vandalism and spaces littered with paraphernalia **(Figure 5.4.1)**. These spaces are identified as unsafe, places where assaults could happen, particularly at night. Although Sonia does not mark her paths to school as unsafe, her sister Márcia includes the same images with warnings about robbery and assault:

> Márcia: *La camina a la escuela. La escuela es al fondo. Ahora es peligroso caminar por allí porque allí asaltan a los chicos. Hay una casa con mucho drogadicto.*
>
> The walk to the school. The school is in the background. It is now dangerous to walk this was because they assault kids. There is a house with a lot of drug addicts.

Sonia and Márcia are not alone in referring to unsafe streets near schools or on pathways commonly traversed by students on their way to or home from school at all times of day (**Figure 5.4.2).**

Many participants described instances of themselves or family members having been robbed or assaulted in the streets, and their own safety measures of not taking valuables, or not taking them out of your bag while walking or by walking with other people or dogs. 32.6% of respondents to the Latinobarómetro say that they worry about becoming a victim of a violent crime all of the time (with 30.4% choosing the next highest category), and 10.3% cite delinquency in public space as the biggest problem the country is facing (Latinobarómetro Database, 2008 2015). Further, in 2008, 84.8% of all respondents ranked young people's violent tendencies as a 5 or

higher on a scale of 1 (peaceful) to 10 (most violent), with 17.3% choosing the top two most violent categories (Latinobarómetro Database, 2008 2008).

Figure 5.4.1 Signs of vandalism and drug use: an image of a concrete play structure in the shape of a dragon that had to be destroyed because children would find needles and glass bottles inside (*left),* and a football pitch beneath the bridge to an adjacent community where young people go to drink. Photos by Tania.

Figure 5.4.2 Dangerous pathways to and from school, especially at night. Photos by research participants: Tania and Joaquina.

One response from the community to protect the integrity of public spaces, and spaces for children, has been to enclose parks and schools in fencing so that they cannot be so easily used as garbage dumps or areas for drug and alcohol use (**Figure 5.4.3).** Nearly every photo in Don Gabriel's essay is taken through a chain link fence of a park or other recreational area. This fascination stems from both his participation on the master planning committee for the community,

and his own stewardship of the park in front of his home. His responsibility is to open the park at dawn and close it at dusk. He also describes his role of keeping watch - sitting on his porch ensuring that people are using the equipment properly:

> Don Gabriel: *No es muy bonito, mucho problema, ahí le quieren pegar a usted a cada rato, porque la gente no hace caso, les gusta mucho desbaratar las cosas, y si uno les llama la atención se enojan, claro por un ratillo, pero se enojan, … Yo tengo, ese parque va a cumplir dos años que lo hicieron, la gente me quiere pegar, pero ahí estamos.*
>
> It is not very pretty, there are a lot of problems, they like to knock you down every once in a while. Because the people don't care, they like to wreck things, and if you call them out, they go away for a little while, but they get angry, … I have this park, it will be two years since they built it, people want to hit me, but here we are.

Don Gabriel is responsible for opening and closing the park each day, and notes that he is threatened with violence when he turns older young people away in the evening.

Figure 5.4.3 Images of fencing around parks and schools. Photos by research participants: Tania, Cynthia, Don Gabriel, Magdalena, and Oscar.

Raquel, reflecting on her childhood, says that it is not as it was before:

> Raquel: *Al principio era abierta toda y uno iba a la escuela cuantas veces quería, pero no, ahora la escuela se ha cerrado, entonces se le limita más la entrada a la gente por seguridad.*
>
> At the start it was all open and you could go to the school as often as you liked, but not, now it is closed, so they limit people's entrance for security.

Oscar echoes this noting the expansion of the sidewalks in front of the school in La Milpa was part of a program to decrease the interaction between the children and people out front. He also notes his own caution with taking pictures of parks and the school, suggesting that others might be suspicious of his motives, indicating a general sense of disease around the security of children. These fears and practices of closing off limits the possibilities of care within the relationship between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia.* In the next section, I explore the ways this disconnect leads to an individualization of *seguir adelante* through securitization of the home.

Part V: Las Cuatro Paredes

Photo 12

Y por ultimo: Una cerradura, la de mi casa. Ahi me siento más segura que nunca y la razón es por que adentro está mi familia.

And finally: A lock, the one on my house. There is where I feel safer than anywhere else because inside is my family.

Figure 5.5 Photo 12 of Sonia's photo essay, depicting the lock on the front door to her house.

Las cuatro paredes, the four walls, refers materially to the four walls of the prefabricated houses, the loss of a collective project, and metaphorically to a securitization of the individual household against the negative influences of contemporary violence. Changing forms of violence in the community - an increase in drug and gang activity, as well as intrafamilial stress from economic insecurity - reinforce a more isolated way of being, with parents restricting the relationships and freedoms of their children to prevent their involvement in these activities. This, in part, forms the basis of the disconnect between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* for the next generation.

Sonia ends her essay with an image of the front gate of her house and the lock – where she indicates that she feels safest in the community. Several members of the builder generation described a period early in the housing movement when families lived in informal dwellings, all open to one another. Members of committees needed to work together to protect their lots and materials from other claimants, but they also cooked together, watched each other's children:

> Don Gabriel: *Antes como no teníamos las casas, entonces todos los domingos y los sábados se vivía uno en esas cosas, ayudándole uno al otro, al vecino, no es que uno no veía por nadie, sino que era más amistoso porque no era estaba en ese rol, de estar ayudándose… pero ya no tenes el mismo papel que tenías antes, porque cada uno estaba en la construcción de su ranchito … se cooperaba más.*
>
> Before, when we didn't have houses, every weekend we lived it, helping each other, as neighbors, it isn't that no one was watching out, but there was more friendliness because it was not this way, to be helping each other… but now we do not have the same relationship as before, because each person was building their *ranchito* … there was more cooperation.

When asked what changed, several builders described the process of urbanization that brought families from other places, families that hadn't participated in the housing movements, overcrowding, and an increasing number of informal settlements in *las cuencas*:

> Oscar: *Todo el mundo buscaba como ir cerrando e ir protegiéndose un poco más, o sea ¿qué es lo que pasa? Como son comunidades marginales, si dejan abierto los demás se aprovechan de lo ajeno, entonces uno buscaba como dicen "cerrando" para seguridad aparte de que se viera un poco bonito cerradito y todo el asunto.*
>
> All the world was looking to enclose themselves in and protect themselves a little more, well what happened? Like with marginal communities, if you leave it open the rest will take advantage of the alien, so one looked to, as they say, "be closed" for security, apart from that it seems a little pretty closed off and all that.

This is further emphasized in the number of participants who articulated a fear of walking alone to take images of *las cuencas* or chose to take images of these informal settlements to illustrate places where they are afraid, or symbolize danger and problems in the community, or represent places that *se decepcionan*, disappoint them or are in need of change (31 images in 8 essays). Participants used images of *las cuencas* to call for more social programming and others to make moral claims on the individuals who live there as 'delinquent' or 'vagrants' (see Chapter Two). This relationship is often dependent on a person's experience living in *las cuencas* or *ranchos.* For some members of the next generation – their experience with squatting and informal housing is limited to the first five to ten years of their lives. For those who see *las cuencas* as a source of otherness and danger, turn towards socially exclusionary language, essentially cutting off the residents of *las cuencas* from the care-networks related to *convivencia:*

> Carlos (Oscar's son): *Las casas tuvieron verjas, porque la comunidad en un principio no había nadie, luego los que empezaron a vivir, pero luego llegaron más gente y gente que no tenían la misma filosofía de las personas que llegaron en un principio, entonces las personas que llegaron nuevas algunas no tenían tierras y se apoderaron de la tierra, y luego vinieron personas que si tenían un expediente delictivo y una manzana podrida pudre las demás."*
>
> The houses had bars because at the start there was no one in the community, but later they started to come to live here, and then more and more people arrives, and people that didn't have the same philosophy as the people who were here at the start, so some of the new

> people that came didn't have their own land and they took it, and later people came who had a criminal record. A rotten apple rots the rest.

Both Oscar and Carlos are responding to the same concern, but Carlos' language is much more forceful, explicitly identifying the people in *las cuencas* as a source of violence. He includes several images of entrances to the informal settlements as evidence of insecurity and suggests their elimination is what the community needs to improve.

Responding to these perceived risks, the securitization of the home includes teachings to the next generation on proper associations. Several participants in the next generation discuss being encouraged by their parents to be involved with theater and school organizations outside of the community, but to be careful with whom they associate. Five of the builders describe talking to their children about the kind of friends they keep and warning them about friends who might use vulgar language or loiter in the community. They each say they worry less for their children who like to stay at home and encourage their children to bring friends over to their houses to study or play, rather than letting their children go to other houses or places. Grettel, a member of the next generation, echoes these sentiments when describing her young son:

> Grettel: *Pero mi hijo si es muy influyente, porque el CEN-CINAI donde ellos van dice la teacher que se deja influenciar mucho por otros chiquitos, porque cuando ve que un chiquito hace despelote, el se une al chiquito, entonces se deja influenciar por los chiquitos, así que tengo que tener mucho cuidado en eso, porque cuando ya entre a la escuela y se junte con alguien, tengo que ponerle mucho cuidado con eso.*
>
> My son is easily influenced, because at the day care they say that he is easily influenced by the other kids, because when he sees another kid make a mess he joins in, so I have to be careful with that, because when he gets to the school and he links up with someone, I have to be very careful of that.

Echoing this influence, Márcia, who is living outside of the community with a boyfriend, comments on her own change after she left:

> Márcia: *Como me decía una amiga "uno tiene que salir de aquí definitivamente" porque aquí no hay nada bueno, tal vez no es que haya nada bueno, lo que pasa es que ha llegado la gente incorrecta a la comunidad, después de que yo comencé a tener otro estilo de vida, yo empecé a ver cosas en mi que no son bonitas, que no son agradables, por ejemplo, no sé porque a uno tiene que pegársele el hablado de los pintas, hablar feo, como "chi me entiende" una cosa así, ese habladillo, viera que vacilón porque yo antes tenía eso, entonces yo ahora escucho a una persona hablando así y yo digo que feo se oye… yo misma dije "jueputica yo hablaba así tan feo."*
>
> When a friend told me, "You have to get out of here permanently," because there is nothing good here, maybe it is not there is nothing good, but what happened is poorly behaved people came to the community, and that's when a different way of living happened. I started to see things that were not beautiful, not friendly. For example, I do not know why a person needs to talk ugly. Look, it's funny, before I used to be that way, so now to hear that I think, how ugly! I say to myself, "Shit, I used to talk that way!"

Márcia is reflecting on changes that she saw in herself when she moved away from the community. Interestingly, the advice she gives to a friend about how to improve herself (*seguir adelante*) is to get away from the neighborhood, to leave because poorly behaved people have moved in. The fear of influence leads many participants to articulate a need to protect oneself and your family, to withdraw, disconnect:

> Doña Gladys: *Entonces yo digo, ya esto, la violencia, la droga, si todo esto se ha hecho algo mundial, algo así como que ya se metió, pero la gente dice que aunque sea a pasitos, por lo menos yo la única solución que le veo es vigilar a los míos, ponerles cuidado, en las noches cuando no están yo los vigilo, porque nos tenemos que cuidar entre nosotros porque aquí no hay tal de que nos van a ayudar.*
>
> So I say, with this, the violence, the drugs, it is global, but some people say it takes little steps, at least for me the only solution is to watch out for your own, care for them, at night when they are not here I wait for them, because we have to care for each other because here there is no one who will help us.

> Ilsie: *Yo tengo la suerte de no meterme con nadie, yo nada mas pienso en mis hijos, que Dios me ayude y poderlos hacer un hombre y una mujer de bien, y nada más, yo más que todo me preocupo por ellos y por mi familia, porque la comunidad cada quien vela por cada quien, si pasa algo yo les echo todos los policías y que echen manos. Yo también quiero apoyarlo a él y a ella porque ninguno estamos sustituidos dice mi mamá, para andar mal, porque a cómo andan mujeres andan hombres, yo nada más le pido a Dios que me le ayude a ellos, que no les pase nada a ellos. Si hablamos del lugar, el lugar está perdido igual que muchas personas.*
>
> I do not get involved with anyone, no more than think about my children, that God will help me and make them a good man and woman, and nothing more. More than anything I worry for them and for my family, because the community, everyone watches out for themselves, if something happens you call the police and forget about it. I want to help them because none of us are above doing wrong, says my mother, because we all walk the same path, and there is nothing more than to ask God for help with them, that nothing happens to them. If we are talking about the place, the place is as lost as the people.

Doña Gladys and Ilsie both communicate a frustration with the lack of engagement in the community, and perceived threat of violence that leads them to re-focus their energies on protecting their own family – individualizing *seguir adelante*, at the cost of *convivencia.* Iris Marion Young (1990) describes violence as a mechanism of inequality. She is referring to the systemic violence perpetrated against groups, where it is always possible. It maintains hierarchies of power by its ever presence. In this instance, my participants are not referring to the threat of violence against a particular social group (see Chapter Six for a discussion of violence as a mechanism against women in public space). The violence here is a future risk – the risk of *your* child getting involved with the wrong people and then committing violence in *your* home. In the same way Young (1990) articulates it, this violence suppresses progressive political action. In this case, it suppresses the connections between *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* that enabled the same participants to reject an individual explanation for violence and delinquency and call for a redistribution of support resources for drug addicts and perpetrators of family violence.

Part VI: Visions for the Future

Photo 9

Fotos de que en pequeños cosas esta lo bueno solo falta que la demas gente se fije en eso y no solo critique su propia comunidad que ha acogido a tantos como ellos.

Solo hace falta darle otro vistazo y saber que no todo es malo que se puede salir adelante sin quejarnos y hacer lo que debemos hacer.

Pictures of small things that are good, the only thing that is missing is for everyone else to pay attention to them and to not just critique their own community that has welcomes so many of them.

All that they are missing is to look again and to learn that not everything is bad, that they can improve things without complaining and do what needs to be done.

Photo 8

Alameda #2 frente.

The front of Block #2.

Photo 10a

Alameda #4. Su frente o cara.

Block #4. It's front or face.

Photo 10b

Alameda #5. Esperen…

Block #5. They wait...

Photo 10k

Solo es cuestión de seguir caminando.

A pesar de que es mi alameda siento que no lo es porque de un lado se muestra limpia y del otro esto suciedad. Para mi opinión es su gente.

It is just a question of continuing forward.

Despite that this is my block, I don't feel this way because one side is clean and the other dirty. In my opinion it is about the people.

Photo 10l

Photo 10m

Figure 5.6 Photos 8-9, 10a-b, and 10k-m from Sonia's photo essay. These seven photos represent Sonia's dream of people taking responsibility and caring for the block, as her mother does.

Towards the end of her essay, Sonia includes a series of photos to illustrate the capacity or potential of her community - what would be possible were people to engage with the problems in front of them. She works through the tensions between inclusivity and exclusivity in the application of *seguir adelante* and *convivencia*, as she narrates both (1) her mother's work to create a supportive environment for everyone regardless of their position or struggles in society, and (2) isolating responses to the fears related to drug activity and gang violence in the community.

While heritages rooted in the participation of housing movements, combined with increased fears of risk related to 'outsiders' (and 'their' drug and gang influences), can and *do* lead to a closing off (*las cuatro paredes*), they also make space for exploding the definitions of 'addict' or 'delinquent.' Sonia and others rely on family histories of struggle, of being considered 'marginal' and unwanted early in the housing movements, of recognition that it could have been otherwise – the allocation of resources wasn't always logical or pre-determined – to challenge individual narratives of violence and categorization of a 'bad' or 'delinquent' person. Only two members of the 'next generation' of the 17 participants made any reference to a need for punitive responses to violence. The rest largely discussed police interactions as problematic – they were too aggressive with people who are just as much victims of addictive drugs as the people who they

may threaten and were not responsive enough in cases of emergency or were unsympathetic to 'addicts' who had been assaulted by other 'addicts' or 'gang members.' While the scope of this dissertation does not fully allow for an exploration of the tensions between local and state understandings of violence and its solutions, it is significant to note the ways participants use the histories of the housing movement to interrogate state responses.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have used feminist care theory to understand how residents, particularly members of the 'next generation' interpret and apply the political heritages of the housing movement to conceptualize contemporary violence. Heritages are the utilization of the past in the present to *teach* or *encourage* appropriate perspective and behavior. For the residents who participated in the housing movement these *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* emerged as critical lessons from the struggles to build housing and community – the need to persevere and improve oneself, so that you might contribute to and benefit from the overall well-being of the community. The reciprocal relationships of these values further reflect the entanglement of home and urban housing landscapes, as they emerge from an aggregation of individual household's efforts and are interpreted through family stories, but also marks in the landscape. I use care theory to analyze these entanglements because, as a framework, it makes space for messy and incomplete interactions, as well as new political possibilities and forms through its recognition of the universal nature of 'care.' Participants struggle with the tensions between the norms and values of the housing movement – communicated through family histories and the landscape – and their own vulnerability – to emergent forms of violence related to drug addiction and economic insecurity.

CHAPTER 6:

Heritages in Practice: *Pieza por Pieza Reconstruyéndonos*[13]

In December of 2016, the Costa Rican muralist, and Guararí resident, Ana Coronado Guerrero completed construction on the mural *Mariposas Contra La Violencia* (Butterflies Against Violence [*MCLV*]**, Figure 6.1**). *MCLV* is a community mural that centers themes of intrafamilial violence and the production of healthy families, co-produced by Coronado Guerrero – a daughter of two prominent activists in *el Comité Pátriotico Nacional* (The National Patriotic Committee [*COPAN*]) – and participant-volunteers from the community, with support of the *Asociación Hefzibá Internacional* (The International Association of Hefziba [*Hefzibá*]), a local Christian, pro-family anti-violence organization. As a form of art therapy, participants labored collectively to further their own individual healing by constructing butterflies for the mural while discussing interpersonal and structural violence, human rights, and boundaries and healthy relationship skills. However, as a collective project, *MCLV* can be read as a product of the political heritages of the housing movement.

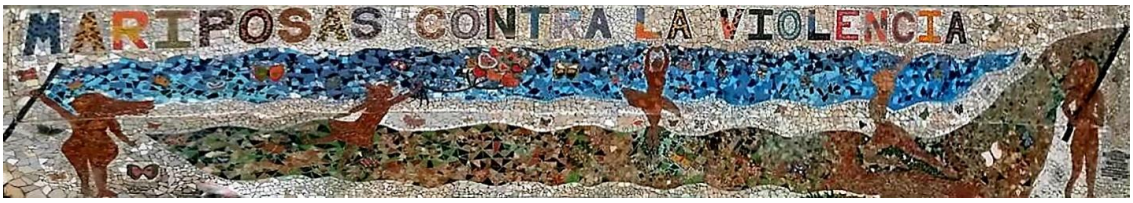


Figure 6.1 "*Mariposas Contra La Violencia*." Photo by Jennifer Porter

[13] A version of this chapter, "*Pieza por pieza reconstruyéndonos*: public art and quiet encroachment," has been submitted to *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*.

Nearly 30 years after the construction of the houses began, intrafamilial violence does not look the same as it did in the 1980s, but it persists nevertheless, alongside the determination of the victims, survivors and providers who continuously adapt their practices and processes. *MCLV*, as the product of a next generation artist and community members exists as a memorialization of the relationship and practice of *seguir adelante* and *convivencia*, to the everyday ways women seek to improve their lives (collectively and for the collective). This chapter primarily relies upon participant observation with Ana Coronado Guerrero and the process of building *MCLV*. While I draw on data from the short-term cohort study to build context for the mural, most of the data presented here come from field notes and in-depth interviews with Coronado Guerrero and professionals at *Hefzibá.* Extending the discussion of Chapters Three and Four, I provide a deeper analysis of the ways women experience tenure security and the political heritages of the housing movement, through the life and philosophy of the muralist Ana Coronado Guerrero. I then discuss the planning, construction and installation of *MCLV*, in relation to the literature related to public art, and the socio-political role of public art as pedagogy. I conclude by arguing that *MCLV* mobilizes narratives of historical movements to create a desired future in the present by reterritorializing conversations about intrafamilial violence.

The Muralist: Ana Coronado Guerrero

Ana Coronado Guerrero is the daughter of two members of COPAN, leaders of the self-help housing movements in Costa Rica, and a current resident of Guararí.[14] Although scholars have critiqued similar movements globally for being apolitical, clientelist, or corrupt (Davis, 2006; Lara

[14] Her parents live in housing projects in different provinces of the country.

and Molina, 1997), I have argued in that this framing does not account for the role home and access to homeplace play in subject formation, or the ways tenure security in this place enables women to participate in political, economic and social life. For women in Guararí, prior to obtaining a house they were often hyper-mobile, relying on male partners for shelter and economic support, and having to move themselves and their children after the dissolution of a relationship. Thus, access to tenure security meant social and economic stability. Shelter was stable, and women could access education for themselves and their children, as well as establish small businesses and participate in business associations. However, participants suggest that while partner violence against women has decreased, violence in the home between partners, or parents and their children, continues to happen. This is attributed to limited economic opportunities, as well as drug activity and related gang and police violence. I have furthered argued that the framing of and resistance to violence has been shaped through the intergenerational transfer of values developed in and through the housing movements: *seguir adelante* and *convivencia*. And yet, there is a tension between a political heritage that emphasizes collective action for individuals to be able to improve themselves and their lives, with an increasing tendency towards isolation to prevent violence or corruption within any given family. Continuing these arguments, it is worthwhile to think through the life and work of Coronado Guerrero, as a woman who has benefited from economic and social networks in Guararí, a member of the next generation, and an artist and leader seeking ongoing solutions for continuing violence in the community. Her position and work provides a useful example for understanding the relationship between the political heritages of large scale urban social movements, and the ongoing quiet encroachments for social justice in a community.

Coronado Guerrero draws on her own family's history and her experiences as a member of the 'next generation' to argue that the houses were not the central project of the self-help housing movement. The central project, instead, was the formation of political subjectivity with agency:

> Coronado Guerrero: *Mi papá estaba dentro [de la organización de vivienda], él era el que se encargaba de organizar los lugares para que ellos pudieran tener vivienda … y él era el que andaba siempre en la lucha y moviendo las masas, a las señoras de todos lados. Ellas lo seguían a él para andar en las luchas, hacer manifestaciones en pro de las viviendas, una vivienda digna. Y fue un tiempo muy bonito para mí porque yo aprendí mucho. Aprendí que si no alzamos la voz por un ideal, por una lucha, nadie nos va a escuchar en ningún momento.*
>
> My father was a part of [the housing movements in the 1980s], he oversaw organizing places so that people could have a house… he was always in the fight, the mobilization of the masses, of the women in every part of the country. They followed him to the fights, to rally in favor of housing, having a dignified house. And that was a very lovely time for me because I learned a lot. I learned that if you do not raise your voice for an ideal, in the fight, no one is ever going to listen.

Emerging from her history is the desire to organize people and to fight for a collective well-being. This desire is central to her identity as an artist. Further, her training as an artist extended from having roots in Guararí, where she was able to develop the skills and social and economic networks that are critical to her role as an artist and leader.

She learned how to make ceramic mosaics and to organize the construction of community murals in 2011 from an art professor at la Universidad de Costa Rica (The University of Costa Rica [UCR]) during a was a joint project of UN Habitat, UCR and the municipal Office of Gender Equity. Over the course of the project, to build a mural on the exterior walls of a community center, Coronado Guerrero became a leader and designed a section of the mural she called, *Metamorfosis* (Metamorphosis, **Figure 6.2, right**). While the other sections designed by the art professor are of images of folklore and art (**Figure 6.2, left)**, *Metamorfosis* is of a woman whose back is turned, her hair extends out behind her, with other ribbons of color. She is surrounded by butterflies,

flowers, and the words *autoestima* (self-esteem) and *reinventarse* (reinventing oneself). For Coronado Guerrero, the design represents her experiences learning the mosaic technique: (1) her own empowerment by seeing that, yes, she could learn a skill, apply that skill, and have it come out beautifully; and (2) her reconstitution through mosaics, where she could engage her fears of violence within and outside of her home.

Figure 6.2 A guitar player, the first piece of mosaic art Ana made on her own. Photo by Ana Coronado Guerrero (*left); Metamorfosis.* Photo by Jennifer Porter (right).

More than an individual process, Coronado Guerrero links the worth of these projects to their power to encourage collectivity:

> Coronado Guerrero: *El mensaje es de transformación, de la metamorfosis, más que nada es mi mensaje personal, la transformación que tuve que pasar yo y que he tenido que pasar a través de todos estos años, la transformación que tenemos que pasar todas las mujeres, que no tenemos que esperar que la sociedad cambie, primero tenemos que cambiar nosotras para poder ayudar a cambiar la sociedad, en contra del machismo, tenemos que buscar nuestra propia autoestima, renovarnos día a día, por eso es que este mensaje es de metamorfosis, autoestima, renovación. Entonces ese es el mensaje que yo he querido dar todo el tiempo e igual siempre con las mariposas.*
>
> The message is of transformation, of metamorphosis, more than anything it is a personal message, the transformation that I had to make and that I have had to make through all of these years, the transformation that all women have to make, that we cannot wait for society to change, first we have to change ourselves in order to be able to help change society, against sexism, we have to find our own self-esteem, improving ourselves day by day,

> because of that the message is of metamorphosis, self-esteem, improvement. That is the message that I have wanted to promote all this time, with the butterflies as well.

While Coronado Guerrero describes this process to be a very meaningful, but individual, she goes on to argue for a collective stake in this process. She discusses the collective benefits of empowerment through community projects, using Doña Gladys as an example. According to Coronado Guerrero, Doña Gladys, another participant in the UN Habitat mural project (**Figure 6.3)**, is always working towards the improvement of other women. She was an original builder in the Guararí housing projects, working alongside her daughter, and continues to do so today. Doña Gladys herself, echoing this evaluation, reflects upon seeing women in the community grow, economically and socially:

> Doña Gladys: *Claro que si, me benefició, porque para mí es muy lindo saber que por un consejo o por una invitación esa muchacha … **siguió para adelante**. Qué bueno, … yo tengo gente, esta que recién viene, viene de trabajar, … talentosa, la que trabajaba en vivienda hace montones de cosas, ahora ella trabaja en el Banco Nacional.*
>
> Clearly it benefits me, because for me it is beautiful to know that because of some piece of intrafamilial violence or an invitation **this woman improved her life**. How great… I know people, that have recently arrived, that come to work … very talented, the one that worked in housing doing so many things and now she works at the National Bank.

Doña Gladys describes getting personal benefit from inviting other women to participate in collective projects and then seeing them succeed, seeing them use these events as springboards to greater success and stability. There is a connection between the efforts of efforts of women in collective organizations, for their own success but also for their value in helping other women succeed. The values of *seguir adelante* and *convivencia* underpin Doña Gladys' comments, as a person who benefits from the success of others.

Figure 6.3 Doña Gladys participating in the construction of *Metamorfosis.* Photo by Ana Coronado Guerrero.

For Doña Gladys and Coronado Guerrero community murals are a way for each to give their own 'grain of sand' towards improving individual women's lives. Even the phrase 'grain of sand,' commonly used in Costa Rica and repeated by the professionals at *Hefzibá*, alludes to a form of encroachment, where individuals build better futures for themselves and the collective bit by bit. When considering the challenges to engaging with *convivencia* – violence related to economic insecurity, overcrowding, and the fear of negative influence from those that are involved in drug use or gangs – leading to a withdrawal from communal life (Chapter Five), Coronado Guerrero asserts that the most important this is for:

> Coronado Guerrero: *La integración de la comunidad, otra vez, que se reintegre [ese] de antes, [ese] que se estaba construyendo. Porque no ha terminado de construirse porque la construcción de [aquí] es una construcción de su identidad que debe terminar de construir porque hubo una gran equivocación ahí creer que la construcción de [aquí] eran las casas, esa fue la peor equivocación que pudieron haber cometido los organizadores.*

> The community to become involved again, that they reintegrate [as they had before], when [the houses] were being built. Because the building has not finished, the construction [of this place] is a construction of identity that we must finish. There was a huge error to believe that the construction of [this place] was the houses, that was the worst error that the organizations could have committed.

For Coronado Guerrero, identity construction in place is intimately linked with the ongoing political struggles against violence in Guararí. As a daughter of the housing movements, she draws on the political heritages of the movements as her starting point for *MCLV*.

The Mural: *Mariposas Contra la Violencia*

MCLV, is a collective project that is oriented towards transformations in individuals lives. On a longer time-frame, it is not interested in changing legal practices or protections, but instead focuses on micro-political engagements in the community where it is installed. Geographers and urbanists studying the artistic and photographic interventions of social movements – in response to state, military and paramilitary violence (Fluri, 2009; Hoelscher, 2008), violence associated with the displacement and erasure of urban renewal (Avila, 2014; Till, 2012), and state silence and erasure of the disappearance of and violence against women (Burk, 2011; Wright, 2009) – argue that these interventions do the labor of memory. These artworks contest the erasure of violence already committed, reinforcing it in contemporary memory while articulating a social responsibility to challenge ongoing forms of violence and exclusion.

These interventions 'territorialize' urban space through place-based narratives and moral orientations (see Mitchell, 2014; Schein, 2009b). Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2016) identifies public art as re-territorializing through broad claims to space as well as the resignification of places: "territories are identified, rights and territorial claims of private owners are challenged, and spatial rules imposed by the state apparatus are broken by means of provocative signs and without the

durable, physical presence of the challengers/transgressors (as the example of graffiti illustrates)" (De Souza, 2016: 1301). In this way, murals, performances, installations and other artistic interventions are not inert. Territorialized landscapes narrate a common past, and create opportunities for collective memory (Nesfield, 2015), while also creating a moral geography that informs the ways individuals make and justify actions (McCutcheon, 2015; Schein, 2009a; Till, 2012).

Public art's reterritorialization is a quiet encroachment on dominant understandings of place. It does this by 'thicken[ing] the plot,' creating moments of engagement between the viewer's own assumption and difference (Acconci, 1990). Nick Schuermans, et al. (2012) argue that public art is a form of public pedagogy where "art becomes political not through overt struggle, but through fine-grained micro-cultural and discursive processes of exchanging meanings and ideas" (Schuermans et al., 2012: 677). In this way, the artist become an educator who uses public space to create new encounters that promote social and spatial justice (Baker, 2015; Deutsche, 1992, 1999; Diprose, 2015; Gorman-Murray and Brickell, 2017; Kim et al., 2015; Schuermans et al., 2012). Rather than be a frozen installation, public art can be thought of as a series of moments of engagement.

Coronado Guerrero frames her work through peaceful engagement. Like geographers of peace, she approaches 'peace' neither as an absence of violence, nor a passive characteristic defined by a lack, nor an idealistic end goal; peace is the presence of continual engagement by individuals and collectives (Koopman, 2011; Loyd, 2012; Williams and McConnell, 2011). Following Coronado Guerrero, I read *MCLV's* production as a form of *siguiendo adelante* for the participants, but as a force of reterritorialization, making a moral call for more engagement, and more connection in the face of the difficulties, risks, and fears related to violence – *convivencia*.

Construction

The design process for *MCLV* began in July 2016. Coronado Guerrero's design includes two female figures on either end holding banners that spanned the length of the mural and three dancing female figures between them, all surrounded by butterflies. Over the figures the mural reads, "*Mariposas Contra La Violencia*," butterflies against violence (see **Figure 6.1**). Each butterfly was made by an individual that had experienced some sort of intrafamilial violence. The butterflies were made during a series of workshops hosted by *Hefzibá*.[15]

Over the course of 7 workshops, 50-75 participants made approximately 75 butterflies out of pieces of ceramic tile. While making the mosaic butterflies participants engaged in discussions of self-help, empowerment, intrafamilial violence, and community support for both healthy and unhealthy relationships. These discussions were one of three series of workshops *Hefzibá* hosts each year at no cost to participants. Other programs have included workshops with financial experts, lawyers, nutritionists, psychologists and counselors. Their philosophy is grounded in an international human rights framework, psychology, and religion to create an expansive definition of violence that includes emotional, physical, mental and spiritual assault. Their framework acknowledges that violence is connected through the scales of the individual, partnership, family, community, and society. Participants first and foremost work on themselves to be able to assess the health and function of a relationship and choose to renovate or walk away from it. This pro-

[15] While *Hefzibá* provided workspace and snacks for participants, the mural was entirely funded through a National Science Foundation (NSF) Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant. Contributing to the NSF's Broader Impact goals – where funded research should positively impact research communities – *MCLV* alongside another mural project, that illustrates the history of the community and involves young people in conversations about place and identity, seek social change through collaborations between the academy, artists, and participant communities. See a longer discussion of my role in this project in Chapter Two.

family orientation has a long history in Costa Rica and is connected to the anti-violence movements in the 1970s and 1980s that rejected the shelter system for family counseling (Carcedo, 1997). As such, the first workshop began with a series of films made by feminist organizations in Costa Rica. These films illustrated the multiple forms intimate partner violence can take, a history of the anti-violence movement in Costa Rica, and a discussion of the freedom from intrafamilial violence as a human right.

Each workshop started with a group prayer, followed by a poem, story or meditation on the transformation of the butterfly, and then an open period for participants to work on their mosaic projects. *Hefzibá* leadership led us in discussions of our reflections on the previous workshops – what arose for each of us emotionally regarding our experiences of trauma and healing – and our intentions for the day. Coronado Guerrero and I would help participants with their projects and the mosaic technique – gluing small pieces of ceramic tile onto fiberglass mesh in the shape of butterflies (**Figure 6.4).** During this time *Hefzibá* leadership was available to provide emotional support. The mosaic technique and construction of the community mural were intertwined with the emotional work on the self.

Figure 6.4 During a workshop at *Hefzibá*. Photo by Jennifer Porter.

Following feminist trauma theory (Brown, 2004), these workshop spaces reinforced the intersubjective truth of participants, placed violence within larger social processes, and engaged individuals in a communal project addressing violence. For the participants in the *MCLV* workshops, this aspect is useful because the mechanism of intrafamilial violence is isolating, cutting off both victims and perpetrators from collective interventions. Discursive constructions of legitimate victimhood and definitions of intrafamilial or partner violence (Lamb, 1999; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994; O'Hara, 2012), combined with the barriers of access by neighbors or community organizations to the private home (Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989; Warrington, 2001) limit survivors' access to resources. Further, as a community space moderated by an artist and professional counselors at *Hefzibá,* the workshops make space for women who fear further victimization from state police and medical systems (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2006; Noonan, 2002; Sagot, 2005). Significantly, this space defies limited understandings of violence and healing to make room for emotional reflection and the complex experiences of the comingling of ambivalent, romantic, and traumatic memories (see also Tamas, 2014). The workshops are organized to approach violence holistically, through the development of manual art skills that can be applied to income-generation, as well as relationship skills and empowerment that can be applied to engineer healthier partnerships where once violence may have existed. Like the preference for women and families in the housing movements of the 1980s and 1990s the idea is to approach resiliency as a multi-faceted experience. Describing this process, Coronado Guerrero writes:

> Coronado Guerrero: *Pieza por pieza reconstruyéndonos emocionalmente. En un proceso hermoso donde nos reconocemos cómo personas nuestras fortalezas y debilidades.*

> Piece by piece, we reconstruct ourselves emotionally. It is a beautiful process where we come to know ourselves, our strengths and weaknesses.

Coronado Guerrero's comment alludes to the ways subjects are (re)formed through the art process. The social space of art production creates a micro-politics where individuals engage with one another – where they are more open to transformation by each other (Baker, 2015; Diprose, 2015).

Installation

Installation of *MCLV* began in November 2016 on the wall of a private home that faces the entrance of a major throughway in the community. The mural was built using a mixture of indirect and direct techniques (**Figure 6.5).** The indirect technique includes the construction of various pieces of the mural on fiberglass mesh in community centers or homes away from the final installation site, and then transporting them to be affixed to the wall with mortar. The letters, one of the figures, and all the butterflies and hearts were made using this technique. The direct technique includes affixing individual pieces of ceramic to the wall directly with mortar. All participants who made a butterfly were invited to install the pieces they had made. A few did help alongside other volunteers, a group of school-aged volunteers with Unbound (a US-based religious organization in the community that provides financial support to students working on their education and requires volunteering in the community), and residents who passed by the mural. Individuals often stopped to help, offer congratulations, ask questions, donate leftover tile or grout from their own home projects, or bring drinks and snacks for the people working. After approximately 500-person hours of labor, *MCLV* was inaugurated in December 2016.

Using this combination of mosaic techniques enabled a dispersed authorship by ensuring that even though a small group had control over the overall design, individual pieces were

collectively authored and anyone walking along the street could be part of the construction and conversation. Given the physically demanding nature of building a mosaic mural, as well as the economic demands on unpaid volunteers (including the lack of childcare on site, and the fact that the site was not suitable for small children), this combination and division of labor enabled more inclusivity in who could participate, as well as greater accountability for authorship. Pieces of the mural could be made in the safety and comfort of a home or community center, and volunteers could contribute as much as they could when they were able.

Figure 6.5 A butterfly made through the indirect method (*left*). Using the direct method to draw and fill in two figures (*center and right*). Photos by Jennifer Porter.

For participants and volunteers that had experienced intrafamilial violence and/or were using the art practice as a space of healing, the combination of techniques allowed individuals to make their own choices about personal risk and security while still being able to participate. Installing the mural in a public space, alongside a busy road meant exposure to harassment – this could be a concern for those wanting to prevent this sort of interaction or for those who do not

want to out themselves as receiving care for or being part of a community that discusses intrafamilial violence. Violence may accompany individual visibility in politically unpopular movements and so privacy, become important pieces of being part of the public (Hubbard, 2001; Staeheli, 1996). During installation street violence was not uncommon. This ranged from petty vandalism and theft, to men stopping to explain how we 'should' be applying or grouting the tile, to leering or staring, as well as suggestive or sexually explicit comments and gestures. At one point a man fondled his genitals while watching us from the bus stop on the other side of the street. On another occasion a taxi driver yelled, "*Vagas*!" at us from his car as he drove by. "*Vagas*," short for *vagabundas*, is a common slur in Costa Rica used to describe an improprietous woman. These attempts to subjugate the mural's construction and women's participation in public conversations against intrafamilial violence demonstrate the critical process of peace.

The construction and installation of *MCLV* does not mark the end of a conversation or a solution to the problem of intrafamilial violence. Rather, it memorializes an ongoing conversation, the quiet encroachment of people who are vigilant and do not accept violence as an inevitability, who imagine other futures and are working to make them in the present. The mural is both the material effect of these engagements, and a memorial to them. According to Coronado Guerrero:

> Coronado Guerrero: *Nosotras como mujeres podemos ocupar el espacio público, andar sin miedo en las calles. Y también el poder decirle a la comunidad de que estamos haciendo algo [por la violencia] y que las demás personas también tienen el poder de hacerlo.*
>
> We, as women, can occupy public space, walk without fear in the streets. And to also have the power to say to the community that we are doing something [about intrafamilial violence] and that everyone else also has the power to do something.

The ways men and other passersby use violence as a mechanism to exclude women and conversations from public space (see Young, 1990), indicate necessity of the continual labors that constitute peace and the radical untimeliness of a future in the present. *MCLV* bears witness to the work being done by women in the community to heal from and resist further intrafamilial violence, while seeking to interpolate other residents into conversations about the prevention of intrafamilial violence. *MCLV* is testimony – the collective voice of all those that participated – that occupies public space and reterritorializes the social norms surrounding intrafamilial violence in the community.

Creating the Future in the Present

When passersby of the mural would learn that Coronado Guerrero lives in the community, and is the daughter of housing activists, they would often remark on how strange that was. They would say to her:

> Coronado Guerrero (quoting others): *Qué bueno, que vivís [aquí], no estás obligada a hacer las cosas*.
>
> It is great that you live here, you do not have to do such things.

She disagrees, arguing that the mural is part of her responsibility to the community – to both create a healing space for participants while encouraging others in the community to give 'their grain of sand' against violence. The practice of this responsibility and engagement was in part enabled through the installation of the mural in a public right of way, where residents regularly passed on their way to the bus stop or grocery store, or as they left the convenience and bread markets located on adjacent corners. Coronado Guerrero noted that murals serve to *fraguar* the community – a play

on words, where *fraguar* means to both grout ceramic tiles, and to bring people together, to plan, to endure through careful execution. Many passersby wanted to help, by installing a butterfly, a few pieces of ceramic on the figures or background, or helping with grouting. Others brought volunteers working on the mural items like water, fruit, snacks, and donations of ceramic and grout. In the same way that there is a sense of collective ownership over the neighborhood because of its origins as a self-help housing community, there was an apparent communal pride in the rehabilitation of this space through the construction of a mural that led to a form of collective support for the project.

Figure 6.6 Graffiti on the community center nearby Coronado Guerrero's mural – "*Frente al mural del salón comunal. No hay lugar seguro para escapar, tendríamos que escapar de nosotros mísmos y abandonar muestras propias raices que crecieron en nuestro caminas/* In front of the community center. There is no safe place to escape to, we would have to escape ourselves, abandon the roots that grow in our paths." Photo by Ana Coronado Guerrero.

Often these gifts came from small business owners of fruit stands or corner grocery shops, or households doing renovations, but in one moment an individual of the community, who was

well-known by some of the volunteers as a person who struggled with drug addiction and was often seen sleeping rough brought us three small bottles of Coca-Cola. Coronado Guerrero feels strongly that her projects are not meant to displace individuals who are labeled 'addicts' or 'delinquents,' but to involve them in the process. Graffiti sits almost easily alongside her mural on the community salon, discussed above (**Figure 6.6**). Reflecting on the mural's construction she notes:

> Coronado Guerrero: *Me satisface demasiado porque en el momento en que nosotros lo estábamos haciendo, llegaron personas drogadictas a decir que querían ayudar, en algún momento pusieron una pieza de mosaico, ayudaron a pasar el plasterbond, hicieron algo. Fue algo lindo porque ciertamente esa esquina es donde ellos hacen sus cosas, entonces es como que tuvimos una* ***convivencia*** *muy bonita. Ellos también dieron ese espacio, porque lo importante de hacer murales es que estamos apropiándonos del espacio público, y recuperándolos, pero tampoco vamos a enemistarnos con esas personas que están en ese espacio, las incluimos, fue un trabajo incluyente.*
>
> I was very satisfied because while we were working, some people who are addicted to drugs arrived saying they wanted to help. So, they installed some of the mosaic tiles, helped us to apply the water proofing, they did something. It was beautiful because that is the corner where they do drugs, and so it is like that they we had very beautiful **coming together**. They gave us that space, because the important thing about making murals is that we are taking back public space and recovering it, but we are not there to make enemies of the people that are in that space, we include them, that was inclusive work.

Coronado Guerrero involves the members of the community that are implicated in the 'signs' of danger and decay discussed in Chapter Five – the signs of drug use and vandalism in public parks and community spaces. She, like other participants, includes them as part of the in-population of *seguir adelante*, not as 'addicts' as such, but as individuals with a capacity to participate in *convivencia* given the appropriate supports. Coronado Guerrero's murals reterritorialize the community, drawing on historical narratives to make possible new moments of subject formation. The art shapes people and places through a politics of location or memory in the making (Deutsche,

1992; Hawkins, 2013; Miller, 2017; Pinder, 2005; Rose, 2012), encouraging residents to see themselves as the subjects and agents of peace as process.

Conclusion

Exploring the life history and work of community leader and artist, Ana Coronado Guerrero, opens a different way (than explored in Chapter Five) of looking at how the 'next generation' interprets the heritages of the housing movement and puts them into practice conceptualizing contemporary and emergent forms of violence in the community. Where so much of the discussion of drug and gang violence, and economic insecurity is grim, I choose to engage with Coronado Guerrero's work because it is driven by people's agency and their hope for the future.

Through her work Coronado Guerrero – a resident of Guararí and the daughter of two prominent activists with COPAN – engages *seguir adelante* for herself and makes space for others to do the same. She describes mosaic training as a significant milestone in her life – for building her confidence and encouraging her to take control of her life. In the same way, the mural workshops she hosts create space for other women to do the same. With the help of *Hefzibá* the content of the workshops expanded beyond the mosaic technique, to discussions of the history of feminist action and human rights for women in Costa Rica, emotional health and development, and the production of healthy families. This work is individually beneficial but is built on the idea of connecting with others and sending a message of collective engagement. Through its construction and installation, the mural, while largely about intrafamilial violence and the

empowerment of women, connects to larger concerns of economic insecurity, vandalism, and drug use – once again co-entangling the home and urban housing landscape.

CHAPTER 7:

Conclusion

The work for this dissertation properly began in 2009, when as an undergraduate student I worked in Costa Rica for the summer with Marta Trejos, a co-founder of *el Centro Feminista de Información y Acción* (The Center for Feminist Information and Action [*CEFEMINA*]). At that time, she was the Central American Coordinator for the World Alliance for Breastfeeding Action, and I was in Costa Rica to shadow lactation consultants and doctors in Baby Friendly Hospitals as part of an honors project on reproductive rights across the life-course. For Marta, understanding the contemporary place of women in Costa Rican society, of which breastfeeding politics was a critical piece, meant that I also needed to understand the history of feminism in Costa Rica, and its intersection with the economic, social, and environmental rights of women in the country. In addition to shadowing clinicians, and reading everything she put in front of me, I also spent a lot of my time in Pavas – an urban neighborhood in the capital that had been built through the same self-help housing movement as Guararí – working with a youth group seeking to organize better after-school support programing.

I only visited Guararí once on that trip – it was farther away, harder to reach by bus at that time. But it was very important to Marta that I visited and heard its history, even more so than Pavas. Unlike Pavas, Guararí was one of the neighborhoods where *el Comité Pátriotico Nacional* (The National Patriotic Committee [*COPAN*]) and CEFEMINA lead the organization for land acquisition and settlement. According to Marta, Guararí was special because of the attention the settlement gave to violence against women – the use of housing tenure to create resiliency against intrafamilial violence.

The intellectual curiosity for this project did not emerge until four years later. In the Fall of 2013, as I was finishing my master's thesis on the grass-roots movement to create lactation rooms at Virginia Tech and applying to PhD programs, my own experiences with sexual assault and anti-violence activism exhumed Guararí and the Costa Rican Feminist Movement from beneath layers of theory on gendered workplaces and maternal politics. My frustrations with anti-violence activism on my college campus, the seemingly futile efforts to create a caring and engaged space of testimony for survivors, and the insurmountable gulf between private acts and public performances of anti-violence politics. It all felt temporary and disconnected, inefficient and ineffective.

The housing movement in Costa Rica – the alliance between leftist political organizations, feminists, and the government of Oscar Arias Sanchez – sought something different: a reorganization of home and city, that would intervene in an intergenerational cycle of violence against women. In *Learning from Latin America*, Doreen Massey laments the constant critique against oppressive forms and institutions in the Western academy and calls for a recognition, "the emergence of a range of progressive experiments in Latin America hold[ing] out the possibility for us to point to, and learn from, a way out to the left" (Massey, 2012: 132). For geographers this is significant because Latin American progressive politics are particularly concerned with the co-construction of space and society, and the power that flows through territory and territorial imaginations (Bernardes et al., 2017; De Souza, 2016; Massey, 2012). For me, this was a clarion call to looking for possible progressive futures as they already exist (Gibson-Graham, 2008; Massey, 2012).

Through the *bono de vivienda*, a housing subsidy administered through the Costa Rican *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda y Urbanicazión* (The National Institute for Housing and

Urbanization [*INVU*]) and *Banco Nacional de los Hogares y Viviendas* (The National Housing and Mortgage Bank [*BANHVI*]), Costa Rican reduced the population homeless or living in substandard housing from over 50% to less than 0.1% in less than 30 years – radically changing the urban housing landscape in the country. However, critical to this work's focus on inter-partner and intrafamilial violence, the *bono de vivienda* also re-shaped the gendered dynamics of the households that participated in the housing movement. COPAN and CEFEMINA, and then INVU, prioritized grants for single-mothers and families, often writing the title in the name of the woman in dual- or male-headed households where there was a suspicion of violence. As I explored in Chapter Three, this policy helped to intervene in the hyper-mobility many women experienced due to economic dependency on a (male) partner – having little decision making power over the inter- and intra-urban moves they made for a partner's employment, or having to move multiple times with small children, and being dependent on the goodwill of various relatives or landlords due to the dissolution of a relationship. Housing security linked to tenure enabled women to create roots and build place-based networks for social and economic support, including access to education opportunities, health and counseling professionals and therapy groups, and small-business cooperatives. There are men in Guararí, the population is about 52% female, so this is not an excision of men to correct for gendered power imbalances that might often lead to intrafamilial and partner-based violence. Rather, the goal of the preference for women was to create more resiliency against multiple forms of intrafamilial and partner-based violence that are aggravated by economic and housing dependency.

The central concern of this dissertation, however, is about the lasting impacts of the housing movement – its legacy for creating anti-violent cultures and places across time. The *bono de vivienda* was established in 1986 and continues to be a critical avenue for home-ownership for

poor families in Costa Rica today. In Guararí there have been nine projects since 1988, housing 30-150 families at a time with the goals of (1) providing shelter for the urban poor; (2) encouraging the political enfranchisement and empowerment of women and women-headed households; and (3) providing local level infrastructure for addressing and preventing intrafamilial violence through health cooperatives. By focusing on the spatial family histories and the experiences of women and female household heads I evaluated the efficacy of anti-violence influenced design for creating resiliency against forms of gender-based intrafamilial violence. Taking seriously the entanglements of household histories with the history of the urban landscape, I used critical landscape studies and heritage studies to trace the ways social movement and anti-violence values are embedded in the built environment. This approach uses the landscape as a memory technic – a material record that narrates and is used to narrate social movement pasts and contemporary norms and values. However, it is also the material of everyday life. Using photovoice as a mobile methodology, participants moved through the spaces of their lives as they would on any given day – going to work, to buy groceries or recharge their cellphone data at the corner store, or going to school – and recorded both significant spaces we had discussed during the life-history interview, as well as surprising or affective moments as they noted their feelings of pride or discontent related to the build environment (Chapter Two). Given the tension between representative photos and narrative – of historical moments or accomplishments, such as the schools and other infrastructure – and more-than-representational photos and narrative – reflective of moments of interaction with the environment or intense emotion – I utilized feminist care theory to better address the complicated, messy, and occasionally hope-filled ways residents experience and apply social movement heritages against contemporary forms of violence. Love and pride in home and movement-produced housing landscape does not mean or indicate perfect contentment.

The hybridization of housing and anti-violence depended upon the remaking of *both at once* and as participants considered violence and anti-violence in their community, they moved easily between family histories and everyday mobilities in their neighborhood. These interpenetrations are critical for the development of the political heritages discussed in Chapter Four. The heritages of the housing movement are those stories of the past that are used in the present to inform appropriate values and behaviors. These stories are told of and through the landscape – sites of struggle or collective success during construction. The urban landscape is the technic through which households articulate lessons for the 'next generation.' The landscape is also the material through which the 'next generation' interprets these lessons in relation to contemporary and emergent forms of violence (see Chapters Five and Six). Because these heritages are applied in a moment with new and emergent forms of violence – often related to drug and gang activity, and economic insecurity – and residents experience the tensions between individual risk and collective ideals daily, it is important that my analysis met participants where they are. Care theory recognizes these negotiations as a reality: where participants' desires to meet their own and others' needs to care are in conflict, and their engagements are often messy and incomplete, yet still leave a radical openness for challenging categories like 'delinquent' or 'addict.'

There are a few avenues from this that warrant further investigation. The first is the construction of new rounds of 'otherness,' particularly around the predominantly Nicaraguan families living in *las cuencas,* the informal settlements on the margins of Guararí, and the processes of racialization imbricated in that process. The second is an interrelated issue of *mala fama,* or bad reputation. In the national imagination, communities like Guararí, build through the pro-poor housing movement, are 'dangerous,' filled with crime and delinquency. It was not

uncommon for 'next generation' participants who attended school outside the neighborhood to describe bullying, or school friends' resistance to come visit them at home. And all participants discussed the problems with the ways the news reports violence in the neighborhood – often pointing out that those sources do not understand that it comes from elsewhere. There are real tensions between the economic and social insecurities that lead to violence in Guararí, and resident need to articulate it as a problem from elsewhere.

Where many participants used insights from the housing movement to argue that what was necessary for stemming violence were more opportunities for young people, they turned towards the construction of the new civic center. In June 2017, Costa Rica's Ministry for Justice and Peace opened the *Centro Cívico para la Paz* (Central Civic Center for Peace, **Figure 7.1**). It was one of the most recent in an initiative to build seven centers in the seven provinces of the country. The goal of these spaces is to prevent violence and promote social inclusion through artistic, economic, and physical programming for young people and adults, the creation of spaces for community organization, and access to social workers, lawyers and other professionals from the state. It was under construction during my fieldwork in 2016 and appears in 6 of the 14 essays – representing a fascination laden with both possibility and conflict, alongside the new police station that was also under construction (see **Figure 2.1**).

In the face of a lack of economic opportunities – the civic center could be a site where local people can participate in education programs and training courses or give courses/be instructors. And where there are worries about youth engagement with drugs – the police station may enable more patrols to prevent sellers from using public spaces, and the youth activities in the civic center would provide young people with after school opportunities and homework help so that they can keep up with their studies. Participants hope for better connections with police to prevent police

violence and offer more compassion to young people involved with drugs, as well as courses at the civic center that address familial violence, addiction counseling, etc.

Figure 7.1 *El Centro Cívico para la Paz.* Photo by Joaquina.

And yet, participants have questions about their erasure in state spaces: Who qualifies as an expert or to be employed in the space? Many are skeptical of what their involvement will be, or who is funding the center (will the space, designated as the civic center for the whole province, be oriented more towards people from the main city or will the spaces and courses be accessible for local residents). How will the center take up local ideas? What sorts of classes and trainings will be prioritized? Who will lead these classes? Participants who are artisans and small business owners articulate a desire to be involved as teachers and leaders, but without university qualifications are uncertain of what will be allowed to them. There is an opportunity here to investigate the collaborations and distances between state actors and community – how state actors

and NGOs conceive of an interact with place-based political heritages – in order to push academic understandings of ‘caring with’ in unequal power relationships (see Tronto, 2017).

The households that produced, and are produced by, the housing movement in Costa Rica, are ultimately only semi-permanent institutions constituted by intergenerational relationships that change across time. By reorganizing urban space and the socio–political milieu of cities, social movements (re)shape home and urban landscapes in a way that informs how subsequent generations define and respond to emergent social, political, and economic violence.

APPENDIX A:

Acronyms and Definition of Terms

BANHVI	*Banco Nacional de Hogares y Viviendas* (the National Housing and Mortgage Bank), Costa Rica, Est. 1986 by President Arias to facilitate the *bono de vivienda.*
El bono de Vivienda	A one-off capital subsidy allocated to needy families for land and building materials. A housing grant administered through BANHVI, Costa Rica, Est. 1986 by President Arias.
CEFEMINA	*Centro Feminista de Información y Acción* (Center for Feminist Information and Action), Costa Rica, Est. late 1970s out of the MLM.
CEN-CINAI	*La Dirección Naciónal de Centros de Educación y Nutrición y de Centros Infantiles de Atención Integral (*The National Directorate for Education and Nutrition Centers, and for Integrated Childcare Centers), Costa Rica. In Guararí, CEN or CEN-CINAI is used to refer to the childcare center in the neighborhood run by this group.
CNDV	*Coordinadora Nacional por Vivienda Digna* (National Coordinating Council for Dignified Housing), Costa Rica, Est. 1980 by CEFEMINA and COPAN.
Las cuatro paredes	Literal translation: the four walls. In this context it refers materially to the four walls of the prefabricated houses, and the loss of a collective project, and metaphorically to a securitization of the individual household against the negative influences of contemporary violence.
Las cuencas	Literal translation: River basin. River channels and steep wooded areas running through and on the outskirts of Guararí that have been deemed inhabitable by the Costa Rican government due to risk of landslides and flooding. Some are MINAE protected natural areas. All are occupied by informal settlements.
Convivencia	Literal translation: living together. As a political heritage it refers to a set of practices and values that allows the community to function and thrive. *Convivencia* is the ability of the whole neighborhood to *seguir adelante.*
Coopemupro	*La Cooperativa de Servicios a Mujeres Productoras y Microempresarias (*Cooperative Services for Women Producers and Small-Business Owners), an economic cooperative for women in a neighborhood adjacent to Guararí, Costa Rica.

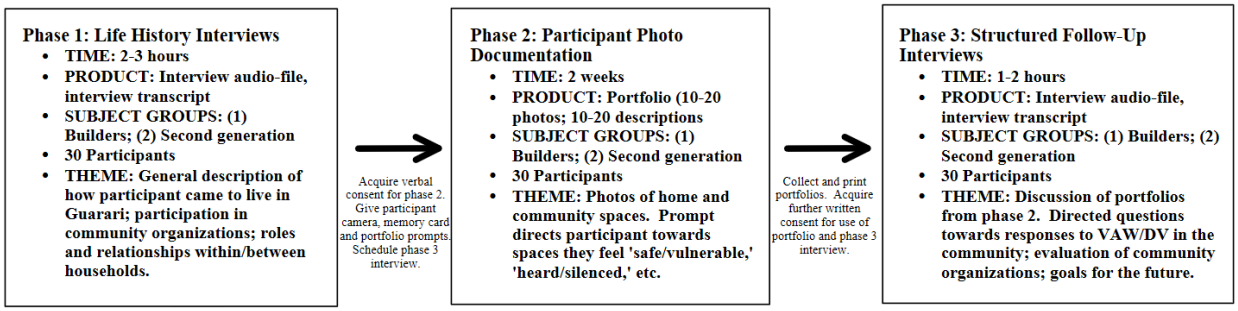
COPAN	*El Comité Pátriotico Nacional* (The National Patriotic Committee), one of the housing movement's organizers, Costa Rica, Est. late 1970s out of the OST.
La Dirección	The CNDV's national coordinating council, made up of intellectuals and organizers.
DV/Partner-based violence/Intrafamilial violence	Violence is broadly defined here to include interpersonal violence between romantic or sexual partners, and intergenerational violence against children, parents, or the elderly. In these instances, violence takes verbal, physical, emotional and/or economic form. It is defined this way to account for the shifting experiences of family violence across time.
EBAIS	*Equipos Básicos de Atención Integral en Salud (*Basic Integrated Medical Services). In Guararí, EBAIS is used to refer to the local clinic run by the *Caja Costarricese de Seguro Social* (Costa Rica's Public Health Care System, CCSS).
FUPROVI	The Foundation for the Promotion of Low-cost Housing. A housing NGO commissioned by the Costa Rican government and supported by SIDA, Est. 1987.
Hefzibá	*La Asociación Hefzibá Internacional* (The International Hefziba Association), a private pro-family anti-violence organization, Costa Rica, Est. 2000s.
INVU	*Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanización* (The National Housing and Urbanization Institute), Costa Rica, Est. 1968
Mala fama	Literal translation: bad reputation.
MCLV	*Mariposas Contra la Violencia* (Butterflies Against Violence), Guararí, Costa Rica, mural by Ana Coronado Guerrero, installed in 2016.
MEP	*El Ministerio de la Educación Pública* (The Ministry of Education), Costa Rica.
MINAE	*El Ministerio de Ambiente y Energía* (The Ministry of Environment and Energy), Costa Rica.
MJP	*El Ministerio de Justicia y Paz* (The Ministry of Justice and Peace), Costa Rica.
MLM	*Movimiento para la Liberación de la Mujer* (The Women's Liberation Movement), Costa Rica, Est. early 1970s.
OST	*Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores* (Socialist Worker's Organization), Costa Rica, Est. early 1970s.

PANI	*El Patronato Nacional de la Infancia* (Child Protective Services), Costa Rica.
PLN	*Partido Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Party), political party, Costa Rica, the party of President Oscar Arias.
Los ranchos/ranchitos	Literal translation: ranch house. In Guararí this term is used to refer to informal dwellings made of found materials such as tin, aluminum, or wood. *Ranchitos* refer to both the preliminary houses that participants built on their lots before the construction of prefabricated houses, and those dwellings currently in *las cuencas.*
Seguir adelante	Literal translation: to continue forward. As a political heritage this term refers to having the abilities and perseverance to improve yourself and your life through political action, education, or starting a business.
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority, Sweden.
Unbound	A US-based religious organization that operates a chapter in Guararí. The group provides financial support to students for uniforms and books. In exchange, students are expected to do volunteer work.
UCR	*La Universidad de Costa Rica* (The University of Costa Rica), Costa Rica.
UNCR	*La Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica* (The National University of Costa Rica), Costa Rica.
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
Vaga/vagabunda	Literal translation: n. wanderer, outcast, vagrant; adj. wandering, homeless, vagrant. In Costa Rica, *vaga or vagabunda* is a common insult towards women in this to denote their being out-of-place in urban public spaces – refers to women as streetwalkers or delinquents.

APPENDIX B:

Short-Term Cohort Study – Protocol and Schedules

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: INITIAL PROJECTION



INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: PHASE 1

Phase 1: Life History Interview

1. Please tell me about how your family came to live in Guararí?
2. What community organizations are you part of? How do you contribute to the community?
3. Tell me about your home. Describe your household. What are the roles and relationships between family members?
4. Can you tell me about how this community responds to violence?
    - What are you most proud of about this community?
    - What would be your vision for the future?

Fase 1: Historia de la vida

**This includes prompting questions not included in the general outline.*

1. Por favor, dígame cómo su familia vino a vivir en Guararí. Porque?
    a. Dígame sobre la casa, su diseño, sus planes, etc.
    b. ¿En cual vecindario estamos?
    c. ¿Quién vive aquí? Describe la composición familiar.
    d. (Generación 1) ¿Cómo habla con sus hijos sobre la historia de esta casa? ¿Cuáles historias dice usted?

        i. (Generación 2) ¿Cuáles historias ha oído sobre la construcción de esta casa, este lugar?
2. ¿En cuales organizaciones comunales participa?
    a. ¿Cómo contribuye usted a la comunidad? ¿Cómo le apoya a usted la comunidad?
    b. ¿Qué es la/su comunidad aquí?
        i. ¿Cómo siente acerca de los vecinos? ¿Cómo es su relación con los vecinos?
3. Como describe la violencia. ¿Como aparece aquí?
    a. ¿Cuáles son sus preocupaciones?
4. Qué servicios hay disponibles en Guararí para disminuir la violencia hacia la mujer y/o la violencia intrafamiliar?
    a. ¿Cómo previene la violencia esta comunidad?
        i. ¿Cómo resuelva conflictos en la comunidad? ¿Cómo resuelva problemas de violencia contra mujeres o intrafamiliar?
            1. ¿Qué es el papel de la comunidad o individuos en esta resolución?
    b. ¿Qué más podría hacer ella para prevenir la violencia?
5. ¿De cuáles aspectos de la comunidad y el vecindario se siente orgulloso?
    a. ¿De cuáles se siente vergüenza?
    b. ¿Qué querría usted para el futuro de esta comunidad?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: PHASE 2

Phase 2: Participant Photo Documentation

Over the course of the next 2 weeks please reflect on the life history interview and take between

10 and 20 images that illustrate our conversation. You may also want to consider these prompts:

1. Take a photo of where you feel at home.
2. Take a photo where you feel secure. Where you feel insecure.
3. Take a photo of where you go when you feel scared or troubled.
4. Take a photo of where you go when you want to meet with/talk to people outside your household. Where do you see friends/support networks?
5. Take a photo of a place where you feel like your problems will be heard.
6. Take a photo of a place where you can talk about issues that affect people in the community outside of your household.
7. Take a photo of a place where you think violence happens.
8. Take a photo of a place where you think people practice nonviolence.
9. What does nonviolent behavior look like?

10. Take a photo that illustrates what you imagine for the future of your community.

For each image please also write a brief description of the photo and why you took it:

Photo 1: ***Description*** _____

_____

_____

Why did you take this photo? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Photo 2… through 20.

Fase 2: Ensayo fotográfico

Por las próximas dos semanas, tenga la bondad de reflejar en nuestra conversación (Fase 1: Historia de la vida). Saque entre de 10 y 20 fotos para illustrar la entrevista* y explicarlas abajo. Adémas, es possible que quiera considerar estes apuntes:

Una foto de/a dónde…

1. … caminaría o pasearía o llevaría a los niños.
2. … no caminaría o pasearía o llevaría a los niños.
3. … fuera cuando necesitaría apoyo (emocional, social, económica, etc.)
4. … fuera cuando tendría dificultades o sentiría insegur@.
5. … fuera cuando querría dar con vecinos o amigos.
6. … iría para hablar sobre problemas o asuntos que afectan a la comunidad.

Una foto de dónde se siente…

1. …en casa.
2. … segur@.
3. … en peligro/insegur@.

Una foto de algo o un lugar en la comunidad que significa…

1. … la seguridad.
2. … la inseguridad.
3. … el future de su familia.
4. … el futuro del vecindario o la comunidad.
5. … el future del país o mundo.

***** Por favor no tome riesgos para las fotos, en vez de ir a un lugar peligroso, por ejemplo, podría dibujar algo o ir con un amigo/pariente.

Escriba sus notas sobre cada foto aquí:

Foto 1: Fecha: _____

***Descripción (¿Dónde está?)*_____**

_____

***¿Porque sacó esta foto?*_____**

_____

_____

_____

Foto 2 … a 20.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: PHASE 3

Phase 3: Follow-up interview

1. Walk through the photos – can you tell me about this photo? What is its significance to you? How do you feel looking at it now?
2. Show an image of an abandoned community center.
    a. What is the role of this place for the community?
    b. What would you like to see happen here?
3. How was the experience using the camera?
    a. … instead of a cell phone?
    b. Did you go with anyone else to take photos?
        i. How was that?
4. Would you have included any photos that you didn't? Or did you think of taking a photo that you ultimately didn't?
5. Follow up questions based on preliminary analysis of phases 1 and 2.

Fase 3: Entrevista sobre las fotos

1. Dígame, por favor, de esta foto. ¿Qué significa este lugar? ¿Cómo se siente viendo esta foto?
2. Disculta el futuro: muestre la foto de la luluteca
    a. ¿Cuál papel en la comunidad/vecindario tiene este espacio?
    b. ¿Qué imagina para este espacio?
3. ¿Cómo fue la experiencia de usar la cámara?
    a. … en vez del celular?
    b. ¿Fue con otros para tomar fotos?
        i. ¿Cómo fue la colaboración?
4. ¿Hay fotos que al fin no sacó pero pensaba en si? ¿Hoy en día, que haría diferente?
5. Preguntas que viene del análisis preliminar de fases 1 y 2.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: PROFESSIONALS

Professional Interviews

1. What organization do you work for? What is the goal or purpose of this organization?
2. What is your role in this organization? How do you see your work contributing to the goals of the organization?
3. Tell me about the projects you have worked on in Guararí.
    a. What were your biggest challenges? What were your greatest successes?

   b. In your opinion, how does the community benefit from this work? Who from the community participates? Who does not?
   c. Do you perceive any resistance from community members against this work?
4. What do you think of the new Civic Center being built in Guararí? What are your goals for this space? How do you see those being accomplished?

Entrevistas con los Professionals

1. ¿En cuál organización trabaja usted? ¿Qué es el propósito o meta de ella?
2. ¿Qué es su papel? ¿Como contribuye usted a este propósito o meta?
3. Digame acera de los projectos en cual ha trabajado en Guararí.
   a. ¿Cuáles eran los retos? ¿Los éxitos?
   b. ¿En su opinión, como benefició la comunidad? ¿Quien participó? ¿Quién no?
   c. ¿Hay resistencia contra ese trabajo?
4. ¿Como piensa en el nuevo Centro Cívico? ¿Qué quiere de ese espacio? ¿Cuáles metas tiene para el espacio? ¿Como imagina que estas metas pudieran ser cumplidas?

APPENDIX C:

Sonia's Original Photo Essay

Photo 1	 *Frente a mi casa, mi madre limpia seguidamente para dar una aparencia mejor en donde vivimos.* *Para demonstrar que no solo esperando y quejandose de las cosas se van a lograr. Hay que tomar acción en vez de hablar tanto* In front of my house, my mom cleans regularly to give where we live a better appearance. This [image] is to show that we are not simply waiting, and complaining, for things to happen. You have to take action rather than talk so much.
Photo 2	[Image intentionally omitted. The original image is a close-up of her mother working in the garden.] *Mi casa, mi hogar, mi madre dando el ejemplo de hacer algo sin pensar en recivir a cambio.* *Porque me encanta ver a mi madre enfocada en lo que realiza y porque no solo es nuestro frente de casa esta cara de la alameda o lugar donde vivimos* My house, my home, my mother being an example of doing something without thinking of receiving anything. [I took this image] because I love to see my mother focused on what she brings about and because it is not just the front of our house, but the face of the block, of the place where we live.
Photo 3	 *Martes por la mañana, dia de sacar la basura.* *Porque se demuestra que la basura se recoge y se pone en su lugar.* Tuesday morning is trash day. [This image is to] show that the trash is collected and its collection place.
Photo 4	 *Dia despues de sacar la basura.* *Limpieza. Se puede convivir en un ambiente limpio.* The day after garbage collection. Cleanliness. You can live in a clean environment.
Photo 5	 *Transporte público y de paso de basura. Solo visualizemos mejor la imagen.* Public transit and the trash filled pass. We only have to visualize a better image.

Photo 6	 *Alameda #1 y futuros de la comunidad.* *Felicidad de niños jugando.* Block #1 and the future of the community. The happiness of children playing.
Photo 7	[Photo intentionally omitted. The original image depicted Sonia's adopted grandfather caring for the chickens he keeps in his home.] *Mi abuelo en su cumpleaños #74.* *Porque a pesar de estar de espaldas con solo su energía el día de hoy de muestra que todo esta bien vigilando cautelosamente a sus pollos de granja pequeños aún.* My grandfather on his 74th birthday. [I took this image] because despite being ill, with his energy today he is showing that everything is well while watching over his small chickens.
Photo 8	 *Alameda #2 frente.* The front of Block #2.
Photo 9	 *Fotos de que en pequeños cosas esta lo bueno solo falta que la demas gente se fije en eso y no solo critique su propia comunidad que ha acogido a tantos como ellos.* *Solo hace falta darle otro vistazo y saber que no todo es malo que se puede salir adelante sin quejarnos y hacer lo que debemos hacer.* Pictures of small things that are good, the only thing that is missing is for everyone else to pay attention to them and to not just critique their own community that has welcomes so many of them. All that they are missing is to look again and to learn that not everything is bad, that they can improve things without complaining and do what needs to be done.
Photo 10a	 *Alameda #4. Su frente o cara.* Block #4. It's front or face.
Photo 10b	 *Alameda #5. Esperen…* Block #5. They wait...

Photo 10c	 *Calle rumbo a Guararí* *Porque fue el camino que tomé y tomo la mayoría de mis días para ir a estudiar.* The road to Guararí. Because it was the path that I take most days to go to school.
Photo 10d	 *Alameda #5* *El otro lado o desde otro angúlo. Jueguen ustedes* Block #5 The other side, or from another angle. You all are gambling with this.
Photo 10e	 *Alameda #6* *A jugar por la cara del perro. Porque estaba muy sucia.* Block #6 Playing around with this dog's face. Because it was very dirty.
Photo 10f	 *Alameda #6* *Mi cara al tomar la foto es más triste que la del perrito.* *Porque al llegar a esta alameda se puede notar que clase de personas no ven o se hacen ciegos para ver que deben cuidar el lugar donde Dios les brinda para vivir.* Block #6 My face taking this photo was sadder than the dog's. Because upon arriving on this block you can see the type of people who do not see or are blind to the fact that they should care for the place that God has given them to live.
Photo 10g	 *Camino a casa desde la escuela, donde caminé por 7 años.* *Recuerdos y porque a pesar del tiempo no ha cambiado en lo absoluto.* The walk home from school, where I walked for 7 years. Memories and because despite all that time it has not changed at all.
Photo 10h	 *Las personas no recuerdan que las basuras se saca solo Martes y Viernes. Hoy es Sábado* People do not remember that the trash is only picked up on Tuesday and Friday. Today is Saturday.
Photo 10i	 *Parte 2 de mi alameda #2. Lo que esconden unas gradas.* Part 2 of my block #2. What is hidden by the stairs.

Photo 10j	 *La foto demuestra lo que no demuestra.* The photo shows what is not shown.
Photo 10k	 *Solo es cuestión de seguir caminando.* *A pesar de que es mi alameda siento que no lo es por que de un lado se muestra limpia y del otro esto suciedad. Para mi opinión es su gente.* It is just a question of continuing on. Despite that this is my block, I don't feel this way because one side is clean and the other dirty. In my opinion it is about the people.
Photo 10l	
Photo 10m	
Photo 12	 *Y por ultimo: Una cerradura, la de mi casa. Ahi me siento más segura que nunca y la razón es por que adentro está mi familia.* And finally: A lock, the one on my house. There is where I feel safer than anywhere else because inside is my family.

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