



**F
R
I
N
G
E**

VOLUME 2

**THE GLOBAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF INFORMALITY**

EDITED BY ALENA LEDENEVA

UCLPRESS

FRINGE

Series Editors

Alena Ledeneva and Peter Zusi, School of Slavonic and
East European Studies, UCL

The FRINGE series explores the roles that complexity, ambivalence and immeasurability play in social and cultural phenomena. A cross-disciplinary initiative bringing together researchers from the humanities, social sciences and area studies, the series examines how seemingly opposed notions such as centrality and marginality, clarity and ambiguity, can shift and converge when embedded in everyday practices.

Alena Ledeneva is Professor of Politics and Society at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of UCL.

Pert Zusi is Lecturer at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of UCL.



‘The Global Informality Project unveils new ways of understanding how the state functions and ways in which civil servants and citizens adapt themselves to different local contexts by highlighting the diversity of the relationships between state and society. The project is of great interest to policymakers who want to imagine solutions that are beneficial for all, but sufficiently pragmatic to ensure a seamless implementation, particularly in the field of cross-border trade in developing countries.’

Kunio Mikuriya, Secretary General of the
World Customs Organisation, Brussels

‘An extremely interesting and stimulating collection of papers. Ledeneva’s challenging ideas, first applied in the context of Russia’s economy of shortage, came to full blossom and are here contextualized by practices from other countries and contemporary systems. Many original and relevant practices were recognized empirically in socialist countries, but this book shows their generality.’

János Kornai, Allie S. Freed Professor of Economics Emeritus at
Harvard and Professor Emeritus at Corvinus University of Budapest

‘Alena Ledeneva’s *Global Encyclopedia of Informality* is a unique contribution, providing a global atlas of informal practices through the contributions of over 200 scholars across the world. It is far more rewarding for the reader to discover how commonalities of informal behavior become apparent through this rich texture like a complex and hidden pattern behind local colors than to presume top down universal benchmarks of good versus bad behavior. This book is a plea against reductionist approaches of mathematics in social science in general, and corruption studies in particular and makes a great read, as well as an indispensable guide to understand the cultural richness of the world.’

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Professor of Democracy Studies,
Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

‘Transformative scholarship in method, object, and consequence. Ledeneva and her networked expertise not only enable us to view the informal comparatively, but challenge conventionally legible accounts of membership, markets, domination and resistance with these rich accounts from five continents. This project offers nothing less than a social scientific revolution... if the broader scholarly community has the imagination to follow through. And by globalizing these informal knowledges typically hidden from view, the volumes’ contributors will extend the imaginations of those business consultants, movement mobilizers, and peace makers who can appreciate the value of translation from other world regions in their own work.’

Michael D. Kennedy, Professor of Sociology and International and
Public Affairs, Brown University and author of *Globalizing Knowledge*

'Don't mistake these weighty volumes for anything directory-like or anonymous. This wonderful collection of short essays, penned by many of the single best experts in their fields, puts the reader squarely in the kinds of conversations culled only after years of friendship, trust, and with the keen eye of the practiced observer. Perhaps most importantly, the remarkably wide range of offerings lets us "de-parochialise" corruption, and detach it from the usual hyper-local and cultural explanations. The reader, in the end, is the one invited to consider the many and striking commonalities.'

Bruce Grant, Professor at New York University and Chair of the US National Council for East European and Eurasian Research

The Global Encyclopaedia of Informality

Understanding Social and Cultural Complexity

Volume 2

Edited by Alena Ledeneva

with

Anna Bailey, Sheelagh Barron,
Costanza Curro and Elizabeth Teague

 **UCL**PRESS

First published in 2018 by
UCL Press
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

Available to download free: www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press

Text © Contributors, 2018

Images © Contributors and copyright holders named in the captions, 2018

The authors have asserted their rights under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 to be identified as the authors of this work.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from The British Library.

This book is published under a Creative Commons 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0). This license allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work; to adapt the work and to make commercial use of the work providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Ledeneva, A. (ed.). 2018. *The Global Encyclopaedia of Informality: Understanding Social and Cultural Complexity, Volume 2*. London: UCL Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781787351899>

Further details about Creative Commons licenses are available at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

ISBN: 978-1-78735-191-2 (Hbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-78735-190-5 (Pbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-78735-189-9 (PDF)

ISBN: 978-1-78735-192-9 (epub)

ISBN: 978-1-78735-193-6 (mobi)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781787351899>

4.3	<i>Roentgenizdat</i> (Russia) by James Taylor	346
4.4	<i>Samizdat</i> (USSR) by Jillian Forsyth	350
4.5	<i>Materit'sya</i> (Russia) by Anastasia Shekshnya	353
4.6	<i>Padonki</i> language (Russia) by Larisa Morkoborodova	357
4.7	<i>Verlan</i> (France) by Rebecca Stewart	362
4.8	<i>Avos'</i> (Russia) by Caroline Humphrey	365
4.9	<i>Graffiti</i> (general) by Milena Ciric	368
4.10	<i>Hacktivism</i> (general) by Alex Gekker	371
	<i>Conclusion: ambiguities of accommodation, resistance and rebellion</i> <i>by Jan Kubik</i>	374
	<i>Bibliography to Chapter 4</i>	378
	Concluding remarks to Volume 1: what is old and what is new in the dialectics of 'us' and 'them'?	
	Zygmunt Bauman	385
	<i>Glossary</i>	389
	<i>Index</i>	400

VOLUME 2

PART III Market

The functional ambivalence of informal strategies:
supportive or subversive?

	Preface by Alena Ledeneva	3
5	The system made me do it: strategies of survival	7
	<i>Introduction: the puzzles of informal economy by Colin Marx</i>	7
	<i>Informal dwelling</i>	10
5.1	<i>Squatting</i> by Jovana Dikovic	10
5.2	<i>Schwarzwohnen</i> (GDR) by Udo Grashoff	14
5.3	<i>Kraken</i> (The Netherlands) by Hans Pruijt	17
5.4	<i>Allegados</i> (Chile) by Ignacia Ossul	19
5.5	<i>Favela</i> (Brazil) by Marta-Laura Suska	23
5.6	<i>Campamento</i> (Chile) by Armando Caroca Fernandez	27
5.7	<i>Mukhyyam</i> (occupied Palestinian territories and neighbouring Arab countries) by Lorenzo Navone and Federico Rahola	32
5.8	<i>Dacha</i> (Russia) by Stephen Lovell	35
	<i>Informal welfare</i>	37
5.9	<i>Pabirčiti</i> (or <i>pabirčenje</i>) (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) by Jovana Dikovic	37
5.10	<i>Skipping</i> (general) by Giovanna Capponi	41
5.11	<i>Caffè sospeso</i> (Italy) by Paolo Mancini	44
5.12	<i>Gap</i> (Uzbekistan) by Timur Alexandrov	47

Netherlands as a whole, between 1965 and 1999, 50,000 people lived as *krakers* at one time or another. After the 1980s, numbers declined because changes in the law made it easier for owners to obtain an eviction, and above all because of the increased use of ‘*anti-kraak*’ occupants. *Anti-kraak* occupants are basically tenants who are denied tenant’s rights, and serve as security guards.

Practices similar to *kraken* exist in all Western nations. To some extent these practices are interconnected as result of international mobility and the sharing of information and ideas. The logo of the international squatter’s movement, a circle crossed by a lightning-shaped arrow, originated in the Netherlands. The first version of the logo appeared in 1979, in *Kraakkrant* (squatter’s paper) no. 28.

A large percentage of squatting actions (*kraakacties* – in Amsterdam more than 50 per cent, Van der Raad 1981: 37) took place in working-class neighbourhoods located around the city centres. This involved buildings that had become empty because of the planned construction of new social housing. With very few exceptions, *krakers* in these areas left voluntarily without protest in time for the scheduled demolition and construction work to start. This is because they approved of this specific type of urban renewal dubbed ‘building for the neighbourhood’.

In many other cases, *krakers* wanted control over building or land use, for example, in Amsterdam’s Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood in the early 1970s where activists attempted to block subway and urban high-way construction. Often, *krakers* obstructed the plans of property speculators. This led to highly contested evictions, but also to legalisation of occupations. Such dynamics have had a long-term effect, with more low- or moderate-income people living individually or communally in expensive locations. In addition, various projects that combine housing, artists’ workspaces and venues for alternative culture, such as the Poortgebouw in Rotterdam, owe their existence to the movement (Breek and de Graad 2001; Kaulingfreks et al. 2009).

5.4 ***Allegados*** (Chile)

Ignacia Ossul

Development Planning Unit, Bartlett Faculty,
UCL, UK

The term *allegado* (literally: ‘close’, ‘near’ or ‘related’) is used in Chile to refer to poor families or individuals who live in the homes of their relatives. *Allegados* usually do not pay rent, but make small contributions towards household utilities and other expenses. Some 75 per cent of *allegados*

affirm that they live in this way for economic reasons (MIDEPLAN 2013). Typically, they occupy a single room in their relatives' house, though they may also live in a larger part of the house. In this respect, *allegados* differ from South Africa's *backyarders*, who build a shack in the backyard of a shared plot (Gilbert and Crankshaw 1999).

In countries where the poor cannot access housing through alternative practices such as informal settlements, renting or sharing existing housing stock becomes the only way to access accommodation. This is particularly the case in big cities where land is scarce (UN-Habitat 2003). Gilbert (2014) points out that, contrary to general assumptions, most informal dwellers in developing countries do not live in their own accommodation (that is, in informal settlements) but rather rent or share accommodation. Relatively little attention has been paid to this phenomenon because of its 'invisibility'. It is only in recent years that the authorities, academics and policy makers have begun to recognise the prevalence of this practice.

Allegados became a significant feature of Chile's housing scene following the social-housing projects launched by the military regime of 1973–90. These were large-scale projects, constructed mainly by the private sector but financed by the Ministry of Housing, usually on the outskirts of cities. While the mass construction of housing helped to reduce the housing deficit, its poor design, location and social conditions had a negative impact on people's quality of life (Rodríguez and Sugranyes, 2004). As a result, many young adults preferred to set up home in their relatives' houses rather than apply for a housing subsidy. While doing research in Chile, Collins and Lear (1995: 156) observed *allegados* and described the phenomenon as follows:

The simple houses of the *poblaciones* [poor neighbourhoods] often are home to two to four extra families. These *allegado* (drop-in) families, often adult children of the owner of the house, live with their spouses and children one family to a bedroom, often three children to a bed. Within four walls they try to create a nuclear family life, each family usually with its own TV and separate paraffin or gas stove.

Every two years, Chile's Ministry of Social Development carries out a survey of households' economic conditions. More than half of the country's total housing deficit is accounted for by people living as *allegados*, while the rest are people living in poor housing conditions or informal settlements. *Allegados* are classified as 'external' or 'internal'. External *allegados* are two or more families living in the same house or site but



Figure 5.4.1 In the Municipality of San Joaquín, Metropolitan Region (Chile) there are 44,079 inhabitants that live as *allegados*. They have organised into 29 different Housing Committees to apply collectively to social housing, nevertheless due to scarce land in the area and long housing waiting lists only a few have managed to secure land and acquired social housing. The rest wait as *allegados*, sharing a reduced space with their host family and dreaming of owning their own house.

Source: <http://chilerecupera.net/>. © Verónica Francés.

with separate budgets, while internal *allegados* are two or more families sharing a single budget (e.g. a daughter who lives with her partner and their child in her parents' house and off her parents' income). The number of *allegados* is calculated by the ratio between the number of families and houses (external *allegados*), or the ratio between nuclear families and the main family (internal *allegados*) (MIDEPLAN 2013).

Chile's *allegados* differ from house sharers in other parts of the world in several important ways. Whereas informal residents in Peru, Venezuela and Mexico have been able to settle on land on the outskirts of the big cities, in Chile such land occupation fell drastically under the military regime because of violence towards illegal occupants. In circumstances where occupying land on the edge of the city became more difficult, renting and sharing inside the city became more common.

The situation in Chile also differs from that in countries where there is high migration from the countryside into the towns. In such cases, it is common for rural migrants to seek temporary accommodation in the city, often sharing with another family for a short period until they can find a permanent home. In the case of Chile, however, most *allegados* are city-born and can stay in this type of arrangement for several years (UN-Habitat 2003).

Another key distinction between Chile and other countries is that in Chile the occupants of a house, both host family and *allegados*, all tend to be members of a single extended family. It is, for example, common for young couples or single mothers to return to or remain in their parents' houses. This reflects the fact that the family acts as a key social network in Chilean society, especially for poor communities.

Many *allegados* see this as a semi-permanent arrangement (Arriagada et al. 1999) with as many as 65 per cent stating that they are not looking for another solution in the near future (MIDEPLAN 2013). However, it is important to note that often both *allegados* and their host families find the arrangement far from ideal. This apparent contradiction reflects the complexity of the situation. The cramped nature of the space occupied by the family members creates potential sources of tension such as the threat of sexual assault or the discomfort of limited space in which to carry out daily activities. As a result, the practice can carry high psychological costs. Where possible, therefore, people who have lived as *allegados* (usually when they were starting a family of their own) try to move out of the family home to unoccupied land. However, most of them stay as *allegados*.

Allegados have been a key factor in Chilean housing policy since the military regime ended in 1990. Since then, *allegados* have fought to be recognised in state assessments of the national housing deficit – they refer to themselves as ‘the biggest invisible settlement in the country’ – and their plight has prompted some housing policy reforms. An emblematic case was that of the *Toma de Peñalolen* housing movement (*toma*, meaning ‘take’, refers here to the illegal seizure of land). In the 1990s, when the housing problem was supposed to have been resolved, 1,800 *allegado* families seized private land in Santiago and created an informal settlement, claiming the right to remain in the area and not to be pushed out of the city (Castillo 2010). Thanks to its highly organised leadership, clear demands and at times radical collective action, *Toma de Peñalolen* had a strong influence on housing policy. In 2006, a location subsidy was introduced, providing additional funding on top of the existing housing-subsidy scheme in order to allow the building of social housing in more desirably located land.

Scholars and *allegados* movements alike recognise the practice of *allegados* not only as a response to the shortage of housing but also as a manifestation of poverty more generally. As a coping strategy, sharing accommodation helps people to deal not only with homelessness but also with other vulnerabilities such as limited childcare, access to jobs in the city or alternatives for domestic abuse victims. In this sense, a better examination of *allegados* introduces new elements enabling us to better understand the relationship between housing and vulnerability. *Allegados* movements are accordingly campaigning to be recognised as a symbol of inequality and to highlight the social and political significance of the housing deficit and of poverty more widely.

5.5 **Favela** (Brazil)

Marta-Laura Suska

Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

Favela is the name given to informal settlements in Brazil, typically located in urban areas. The official definition of *favela* by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in collaboration with the United Nations (UN) is ‘subnormal agglomeration’ (IBGE 2011). It describes a community of at least 51 units illegally occupying public or private land in a ‘disorderly and dense manner’. The settlement is characterised by lacking a property title and displays at least one of following: irregular infrastructure and streets; lack of basic services such as clean drinking water, sewage, electricity, refuse collection; and insecurity. The IBGE uses *favela* interchangeably with the English term ‘slum’. The latest census of 2010 reported that approximately 11.4 million Brazilians, about 6 per cent of the Brazilian population, lived in *favelas*.

Favelas emerged due to many factors, but the most important reasons were slavery and urban migration. From the mid-sixteenth century Brazil imported millions of slaves from Africa and when slavery was finally abolished in 1888, most freed slaves no longer had accommodation and enjoyed only limited rights. They built houses in less desired areas, such as on hilltops, near swamps and in the suburbs. More recently, the growth of *favelas* was fuelled by massive domestic migration of people looking for work (especially from the northeast of Brazil), who were not able to afford housing, so they built their own. A feature of all *favelas* is that houses are in a continuous state of transformation and expansion. New rooms are being added or enlarged; roofs converted into second or third floors; and terraces built on top of homes (Riveira 2012). This