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Community participation in slum upgrading: An assessment of participation strategies of the *Programa Vila Viva* in the *Aglomerado da Serra*, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil

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PRESENTS:

FERNANDA DEL LAMA SOARES

CO-DIRECTOR OF THESIS PMPCA:

DR. MARIA TERESA AYLLÓN TRUJILLO

CO-DIRECTOR OF THESIS ITT:

PROF. DR. JOHANNES HAMHABER

ASSESSOR:

MSC. JUNE LEROY EVANGELISTA

COLOGNE, GERMANY   17.07.2014

Erklärung / *Declaración*

Name / Nombre: Fernanda Del Lama Soares

Matri.-Nr. / N° de matricula: 11094655 (CUAS), 216199 (UASLP)

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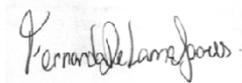
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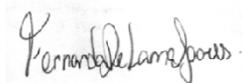
ABSTRACT

The slum upgrading is currently the most adopted strategy to improve the infrastructure in the slums. In the scope of this strategy the community participation is considered a best practice and is indicated as an essential factor to the success of slum upgrading projects. In this context the present study assessed the community participation strategy applied by the *Companhia Urbanizadora de Belo Horizonte* (URBEL) in the development of the Specific Global Plan (PGE) and *Programa Vila Viva* (PVV) in the *Aglomerado da Serra*. The study aimed to understand the role of the community in the decision-making, the significance of the participation process, and the level of community involvement achieved. For that, a stakeholder analysis, a significance matrix and the concepts of the "Ladder of Participation" were applied. The findings indicate that the PGE and PVV achieved high/medium and medium high participation significance, respectively, and that the community was allowed to participate in different levels along the planning and implementation stages. However, the participation methodology used still need improvements, especially regarding the communication, monitoring and coordinated learning approaches.

Keywords: community participation, slum upgrading, assessment

RESUMEN

La urbanización de asentamientos precários es actualmente la estrategia más adoptada para mejorar la infraestructura en estos asentamientos. En este ámbito, la participación comunitaria es una buena práctica y es considerada esencial para el exito de este tipo de proyetos. En este contexto, en el presente estudio se evaluó la estrategia de participación comunitaria adoptada por la *Companhia Urbanizadora de Belo Horizonte* (URBEL) en el desarrollo del Plan Global Específico (PGE) y Programa Vila Viva (PVV) en el *Aglomerado da Serra*. El estudio tuvo como objetivo conocer el papel de la comunidad en la toma de decisiones, la significancia del proceso de participación, y el nivel de participación de la comunidad logrado. Para cumplir estos objetivos, se realizó un análisis de los actores involucrados y la evaluacion de la participación por medio de una matriz de significancia y niveles de participación. Los resultados muestran que el PGE y PVV lograron alto/medio y medio/alto grado de participación, respectivamente, y que la comunidad puede participar en diferentes niveles a lo largo de las etapas de planificación y ejecución del proyecto. Sin embargo, la metodología utilizada para establecer a participación todavía necesita mejoras, especialmente en lo referente a los aspectos de comunicación, monitoreo y coordinación de aprendizaje.

Palabras clave: participación comunitaria, urbanización de asentamientos precarios, evaluación

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Es gibt unterschiedliche Möglichkeiten einer Regierung mit Slums umzugehen. Eine der hier untersuchten Umgehensstrategien ist die des sog. „slum upgrading", die am haufigsten Anwendung findet, um die Infrastruktur der Armenviertel zu verbessern. Im Rahmen dieser Strategie wird die Bürgerbeteiligung als "best practice" betrachtet und ist ein wesentlicher Faktor für den Erfolg der Aufwertungsprojekte. In diesem Kontext bewertet die vorliegende Studie die Beteiligungsstrategie der *Companhia de Urbanizadora Belo Horizonte* (URBEL) sowie die Entwicklung des *Plano Global Específico (PGE)* und *Programa Vila Viva (PVV)* in der *Aglomerado da Serra*. Das Ziel der Studie war es, die Rolle der Gemeinde in der Entscheidungsfindung, die Signifikanz des Beteiligungsprozesses für das Gemeinwesen und das Niveau der erreichten Beteiligung der Gemeinschaft zu erfassen. Dafür wurden eine Stakeholder-Analyse, eine Bedeutungs-Matrix und die Konzepte der "Ladder of Participation" verwendet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die PGE und PVV eine hohe/mittlere und mittlere/hohe bzw. Beteiligungsbedeutung erreichten und dass sich die Gemeinde in verschiedenen Ebenen entlang der Planung und Umsetzung beteiligen durfte. Dennoch muss die Beteiligungsmethodologie noch verbessert werden, besonders in Bezug auf den Kommunikations-, Überwachungs- und koordinierten Lern,- Rahmen.

Stichwörter: Bürgerbeteiligung, Aufwertung der Armenviertel, Bewertung

Vinícius Gomes Saraiva

To the ones who fight for their rights.

Para los que luchan por sus derechos.

Para os que lutam por seus direitos.

Für die Menschen, die für ihre Rechte kämpfen.

Courage, Fuerza, Luz, Hoffnung!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.I Slum intervention

The urban sprawl seen in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in one of the most important changes in the population geography and social demography in the last decades in the world (Marques and Carvalho 2010). The cities' population growth was especially significant in the developing world, and is expected to keep increasing in regions such as Africa, Asia and Latin America (UN-Habitat 2003a).

In the case of Brazil, urbanization growth was experienced due to the massive migration registered in three main historic moments: i) in the end of the XIX century, due to the end of the slavery and the consequent expulsion of the slaves from the rural areas; ii) in the 1950's during the *Plano de Metas,* a government plan established under the mandate of the president Juscelino Kubitschek, that impelled the industrial and urban development of the country; and iii) in the military dictatorship period (1964-1985) that promoted an exceptional economic growth of the country (B. P. Marques and Carvalho 2010; Motta 2011).

This situation associated to the lack of planning and high land speculation, resulted in the high habitation deficit in Brazil that is currently estimate at 5.8 million dwellings. From this amount, 82% are located in urban areas, and 89% of it concentrated in the low-income population (CNM 2010). Thus, as an alternative to this issue the urban poor formed slums, locally called *favelas*. The formation of such settlements was concentrated in the south-east region of the country and, according to the census of 2010, they harbor 6% of the national population (11,425,644 inhabitants) (IBGE 2010).

The municipality of Belo Horizonte is the capital the state of Minas Gerais, located in the south-east Brazil (Figure 1), the most populated and industrialized region of the country.

Figure 1: Location of Belo Horizonte municipality in the state of Minas Gerais (*Source: http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belo_Horizonte - Access in 21/02/13*)

In this city, the slums started to be formed in 1895 due to the migration of a large amount of workers during the city's construction. These people, deprived from access to land in the planned city, started to occupy the suburbs where no urban infrastructure was provided (Denaldi 2003).

Currently is estimated that 13% of the inhabitants live in the 169 irregular settlements registered in the city (Lemos 2012; IBGE 2014). The slums had spread in all regions of Belo Horizonte, and the urban environment had sprawled along the years creating an urban landscape where the slums can be seen not only in the suburbs but also as enclaves in the cities' planned neighborhoods as depicted in the Figure 2.
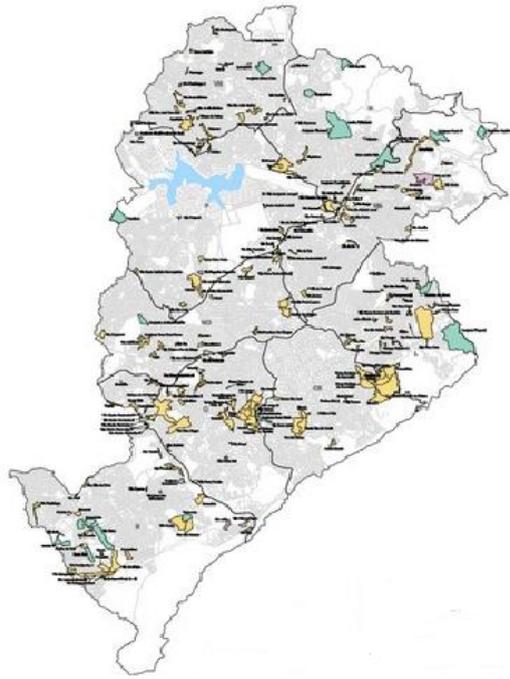
Figure 2: Distribution of slums in the city of Belo Horizonte (Yellow polygons). (*Source: gestaocompartilhada.pbh.gov.br - Access in 07/04/14*)

The history regarding slum intervention in Brazil and Belo Horizonte, show that the mechanisms to deal with these settlements have changed considerably from one government to another, and many institutions, regulations and strategies were created in order to resolve the problems related to them.

For many decades, even though the precarious situation of the slums was obvious and visible, it was simply neglected by the governmental authorities, or were treated as a criminal issue, being eradicated and the dwellers evicted or removed to other areas distant from the city center (Trompowsky 2004; Motta 2011).

In 1964 with the start of the military dictatorship, the first National Housing Plan (NHP) was created based on the idea of necessity to organize the urban "chaos" and also to control the expansion of the slums. In this sense, in the first years of its implementation, the actions were directed to the suppression of the slums and the

adequacy of the "formal"[1] city. In Belo Horizonte, this strategy reflected in the eviction of almost 10,000 families (Denaldi 2003).

Then, from 1970's with the impairment of the dictatorship regime - and also the emergence of the discussion about slums in the international scenario (see box 1) - is seen a change in the strategy of the government reflected in the Federal Law 6.766, which regulates the urban land use and indicates the minimum basic services that should be provided to these irregular settlements (Figueiredo 1979).

Table 1: Slum debate in the international scenario (Source: Author)

Since the 1970's the life conditions of the slum dwellers and strategies to improve their lives started to make part of the international agenda. From them, is important to highlight the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1972), the II United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (1996), and The Cities Alliance (1999), whose achievements were decisive to the slum handling and debate.

Organization	Achievements
1972 - United Nations Conference on the Human Environment	Stockholm Declaration: 15th Principle: "*Planning must be applied to human settlements and urbanization with a view to avoiding adverse effects on the environment and obtaining maximum social, economic and environmental benefits for all. In this respect projects which are designed for colonialist and racist domination must be abandoned.*" (United Nations 1972, p.4)
1996 – II United Nations Conference on Human Settlements	Habitat Agenda: provides a practical roadmap to an urbanizing world, setting out approaches and strategies towards the achievement of sustainable development of the world's urban areas. It also recognizes that the adequate housing is a human right (United Nations 1996).
1999 – The Cities Alliance	Cities without Slums Action Plan: target of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. This target was incorporated to the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 (The Cities Alliance 1999).

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1 Here this term is understood as the areas of the city that were provided with land titling and basic urban services.

With the end of the military dictatorship in 1985 and re-democratization of the country, a new Federal Constitution was approved in 1988. This constitution decentralized the urban management to the municipalities, and instituted that three pillars should be taken into account regarding this sector: public participation, sustainable development and environmental and life quality (Bonduki 1996 *apud* Marques and Carvalho 2010). This directive was later reinforced by the creation of the *Estatuto das Cidades* (Cities Statute) in 2001- which consolidates the legal competence of the municipality to, among others, make the land reforms, to regulate the informal settlements, and to ensure the community participation under the conception of the social function of the property (Maricato 2010) - , and also the creation of the Cities Ministry in 2003 which became the institution in charge to support the state and municipalities in the implementation of the "new" model of urban development based on the conception of integrated urban management and participatory planning (Carvalho and Rossbach 2010).

In this context the city of Belo Horizonte launched the participative planning instrument denominated *Plano Global Específico* - PGE (Specific Global Plan) and the slum upgrading program *Programa Vila Viva*, which will be analyzed in the present study.

I.II Problem Statement

As depicted above, the strategies to deal with slums have shifted in the last decades to a decentralized, participatory and integrated approach in terms of urban planning and management. The creation of participation arenas in Belo Horizonte, as the Participative Budget, and the development of the Specific Global Plan (PGE) and the *Programa Vila Viva* (PVV) are an indicative of such evolution.

However, the application of these instruments is constantly questioned, especially in what concern the interventions carried out by the *Programa Vila Viva*. Since the first implementation of this program - which was applied to the slum *Aglomerado da Serra*, the study case focused in this thesis - many studies have been carried out and controversial points of view have emerged regarding some aspects of the implementation (Anselmo 2007; Silva, Assunção, and Correia 2007; Gomes 2009; Melo 2009; Evangelista 2012) among them the participation of the slum community (Pimenta et al. 2009).

According to Imparato and Ruster (2003), a common denominator for success of upgrading projects is that sufficient attention should be given to the process in which it is elaborated. In this sense an assessment of the participation process adopted in the planning and implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva* seems to be important to be carried out, especially because this program is being expanded to other slums in Belo Horizonte.

The case of the *Aglomerado da Serra* was chosen to illustrate the participation process under the scope of the PGE and PVV because it was the first slum to receive this program, and currently it is already in the post-implementation stage. Therefore, by means of its analysis it is possible to understand and evidence how this process was carried out.

The results achieved with this research aim to clarify the strengths and shortcomings of the participation strategies utilized by the municipality of Belo Horizonte in such process, and by that, contribute to the understanding and improvement of the participatory methodology applied.

I.III Objectives

Based on the problematic indicated above, this study aims to clarify the participation process, analyze the actors involved, and assess the level and significance of the community participation allowed by the local authority to the dwellers of the *Aglomerado da Serra* during the planning and implementation stages of the upgrading project. In this sense the following objectives were set:

General objective: Contribute to the knowledge of the strategies applied to the community participation in slum upgrading planning and implementation.

Specific objectives and respective questions:

1) Identify the strategies for community participation applied in the stages of planning and implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva* at the *Aglomerado da Serra*:

   ▪ How the participation process was carried out in each stage?

2) Analyze the actors involved in the planning and implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva* at the *Aglomerado da Serra*:

   ▪ Who was involved? How they were involved? Which role the community and its representatives played in each stage?

3) Assess the significance and level of the community participation allowed in the planning and implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva* at the *Aglomerado da Serra*.

- How significant was the participation process concerning the dimensions of influence and power, capacity building, communication and learning, and impacts and outcomes?

- Which level of participation was achieved along the participatory process?

- The planning and implementation stages differ regarding these aspects?

I.IV Scope and limitations

This study aims to analyze the participation strategy allowed by the Municipality of Belo Horizonte, here represented by the URBEL, to the slum dwellers during the elaboration of the PGE (1998-2001) and implementation of the first phase of the *Programa Vila Viva* (2005-2010) in the slum *Aglomerado da Serra*. The participatory approach of the Participative Budget and the other previous instruments and policies that triggered the upgrading of this slum will not be analyzed in this study. Moreover, it is not the aim of this study to assess the impacts of the upgrading program or the participation in the dynamics of the slum community, but to evaluate the participatory methodology and process.

Due to the sparse bibliography about the participation strategy of this program, specifically for the study location, this study was carried out basically on primary sources (interview with dwellers, some in an advanced age, and project team, some not working anymore to the department) and on disaggregated information from more than 10 years ago. Therefore bias regarding diffuse documentation and subjectivity of the interviews shall be taken into account.

I.V Thesis structure

The present document is comprised of eight chapters. The introduction that was presented above gives the overall information to contextualize the background of the study case and also indicate the problem statement, objectives and justification of this research. The second chapter consists in the conceptual framework that supports the analysis of the case and includes the description of the concepts of slum, slum upgrading and participation in the context of slum upgrading projects. The third chapter indicates the methodological framework and the methods used to achieve the specific objectives of this research. The following chapter describes the study case, which comprises the characteristics of the *Aglomerado da Serra* and the political framework of Belo Horizonte. In the fifth chapter, the results of the analysis of documents and interviews will be presented separately to the planning and implementation stages and will be followed by the sixth chapter that summarizes the results and discuss them with the pertinent referential framework. The seventh chapter provides the conclusion and recommendations, and finally in the eight chapter ideas for future studies are suggested. Subsequently the references and the annexes are presented.

II.   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

II.I The Slum

The slums are characterized by the massive and unorganized human occupation of public or private areas, located in risky and devaluated zones inside or in periphery of cities. As a result of the illegal occupation, the basic infrastructure such as sewage and garbage collection, water and energy provision, and security are precarious, as well as the quality of the houses. This situation generates a scenario of poverty (that is not homogeneous, since there is a diversity of economic and cultural levels between the dwellers), crime, disease proliferation, unhealthiness, marginalization, and social exclusion, typical of slums (UN-Habitat 2003b).

According to UN-Habitat (2003a) slum is a generic name for informal settlements characterized by the lack of one or more of the following assets: i) access to improved water; ii) access to improved sanitation facilities; iii) sufficient living-area; iv) structural quality/durability of the dwellings; and v) security of tenure. Since this approach is too comprehensive and the slum characteristics can change significantly between countries and cities (UN-Habitat 2003b) it is noticed that the nations have adopted more restrictive concepts according to their own perception and utility.

In the Brazilian case, the slums are officially denominated *Aglomerados Subnormais* (Subnormal Agglomerations) (Brito and Rennó 2009). Under this definition these settlements are described as clusters, composed of at least 51 dwellings, that lack of basic public services, occupy a territory which is not owned by the dwellers, and are densely and disorderly dispersed in the physical space (IBGE 2010). Critics regarding this definition have been stated by some authors (Guimarães 2001; Marques, Torres, and Saraiva 2003) in the sense that it underestimates the reality of the slums when they

are analyzed in a local level. Therefore, in the Municipality of Belo Horizonte they are framed in the Article 24 of the Municipal Law Nº 9.959 from 2010 which indicates that "(...) the regions occupied disorderly by the low-income population (...)" fit in the category *Zonas de Especial Interesse Social I* (Especial Zones of Social Interest I)[2] and are targeted by the public authority to receive housing, land tenure, and upgrading programs (Lacerda 2010).

Slum community

According to Bjaras, Haglund, and Rifkin (1991), community is "a group of people living in the same geographical area, sharing defined basic values and organizations and/or a group of people sharing the same interest". Considering this we could assume that a slum community is a homogeneous group of dwellers that live in the same informal settlement, and aim to improve their life quality by means of urban infrastructure. However, in fact, as identified by Freire (2008) in an ethnologic study in slum in Rio de Janeiro, the slum community is heterogeneous and among the dwellers different interests and conceptions of "improvement" contrast. Also, Dill (2009) mentions that the participatory approaches are constantly criticized due to this idea of homogeneity that "(...) not only reveal their lack of ground approaches in reality, but also, and more importantly, obscure both local and wider structures of power."

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[2] "(...) *regiões ocupadas desordenadamente por população de baixa renda, nas quais existe interesse público em promover programas habitacionais de urbanização e regularização fundiária, urbanística e jurídica, visando à promoção da melhoria da qualidade de vida de seus habitantes e a sua integração à malha urbana* (...)" (Art. 12, Law 7.166/1996 - Sousa 1996a). "(…) regions disorderly occupied by low-income population, in which exist public interest in promote urban habitation programs and tenure regularization, urban and juridical, aiming to the promotion of the improvement in the life quality of its the inhabitants, and its integration to the urban environment (…)".

II.II Slum upgrading

The term slum upgrading, is defined by The Cities Alliance (1999, p. 2) as "(...) physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities." Thus, it consists in a deep structural intervention in which physical and social initiatives are established to provide a better environment and life quality to the slum dwellers (The Cities Alliance 1999).

As indicated by Cardoso (2007) three models of slum intervention were applied in the last decades in Brazil: *urbanização* (urbanization), *reurbanização* (reurbanization) and *remoção* (removal). The first is characterized by the upgrading in the infrastructure and pavement without affecting the housing units. The second constitutes an upgrading that affects all elements of the settlements, being necessary relocate the population temporally and after reintegrating them to the same place. The last, and most criticized of them, consists in the removal of the population and their resettlement in other areas, normally located in the peripheral zones of the cities. The same author also mentions the existence of two types of slums intervention coverage: punctual and integral, being the first limited to attend one sector of the slum while the last integrate multiple sectors (social, structural, legal, environmental, economical, etc).

In this sense, the slum upgrading in Brazil can have different characteristics according to the approach used and the level of interventions necessary. Although the upgrading intervention do not necessarily impose the removal of dwellers (Arcila 2008), when this occurs the recommended alternative is the relocation of the dwellers in the area of the slum, or in regions very close to it (Magalhães and Villarosa 2012).

As indicated by Arcila (2008), currently, the best practice to conduct this kind of projects take into account the community participation. According to this author, projects that have an holistic approach for neighborhood improvement (which includes, health, education, housing etc.), call for the involvement of the community and organizations to act together with the local authority, and insert the upgrading project in the city strategy and plan, have more changes to succeed and to provide sustainable outcomes.

Among the cases that are mentioned in the literature, the Favela-Bairro, Brazil, 1993) (Magalhães and Villarosa 2012); the *Proyecto Urbano Integral – PUI* (Urban Integral Project program), Colombia, 2004-2007 (Arcila 2008); and the Villa 31 project, Argentina, 2009 (Perten 2011) are indicated to achieve a certain degree of success in the Latin America. All these projects acted in highly populated slums and applied a long participatory approach in the planning and/or implementation of structural interventions based on the community's needs. The project analyzed in the present study also adopted such approaches, and can be categorized, as per Cardoso (2007) typology, as an integral reurbanization, where a participatory approach was applied in both planning and implementation realities.

II.III Community participation in the slum upgrading

Slum upgrading interventions are highly complex and therefore demand the participation of a large variety of actors in its planning, execution and maintenance (Imparato and Ruster 2003). According to Patel (2013), the interaction and power relations established between these actors act directly on the definition of the scope of the interventions and consequently in its direct outcomes. As indicated by Arcila (2008) actors such as the finance institutions and local authorities have sometimes different

interests and agendas from those of the directed affected actors, and as traditional power holders, tend to design the project under their own perspectives.

Thus, the idea of developing a community participation[3] approach aim to balance these power relations, allowing the directly affected actors to make part of the decision making arena, in other words, empowering them (Williams 2006). This approach is claimed to be essential for the success and sustainability of the slum upgrading, being, therefore, included in the framework of international best practices and supported in many of the current projects around the world (Burns and Taylor 2000; Imparato and Ruster 2003; The Cities Alliance 2013).

However, it is recognized that a considerable gap between the rhetoric and the practice of the community participation is evident. As maintained by Burns and Taylor (2000 p. 1) this fact can be attributed to three aspects: i) the 'rules of the game' are set from above; ii) the cultures and structures of public sector partners are not compatible with effective community involvement; iii) communities themselves do not have the organizational capacity and resources for effective involvement. These aspects can limit the significance of the community participation, which is considered to be achieved when communities play an active role and have a significant degree of power and influence in the decision-making process (Burns et al. 2004). For this reason, the same author indicates four dimensions that should be analyzed for the assessment of the participation significance: i) power and influence; ii) capacity-building; iii) communication and learning; and iv) impacts and outcomes.

Considering these facts, the participation can manifest in different ways such as: pressure from official institutions in order to obtain solutions for punctual demands;

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[3] Here, this term is conceptualized as the active voluntary engagement of individuals or groups to change problematic conditions and to influence policies and programs that affect the quality of their lives (Gamble and Weil 1995 *apud* Mathbor 2008, p. 11)

consultation; direct action; contribution by means of finance resources or labor force; increase in the organization and political conscience; or the sharing of responsibilities and information (Batley 1983 *apud* Paulilo 1999).

As an attempted to assess the community participation some authors (Arnstein 1969; Choguill 1996; Imparato and Ruster 2003; Mathbor 2008b) defined typologies and rankings to classify the level of power the enabled to the community by the traditional power holders. Choguill (1996), for instance, describes eight levels in which this participation can be established in underdeveloped countries. These levels range from self-help to empowerment and are divided in four categories: "neglect", "Rejection", "Manipulation" and "Support" as indicated in the figure below.
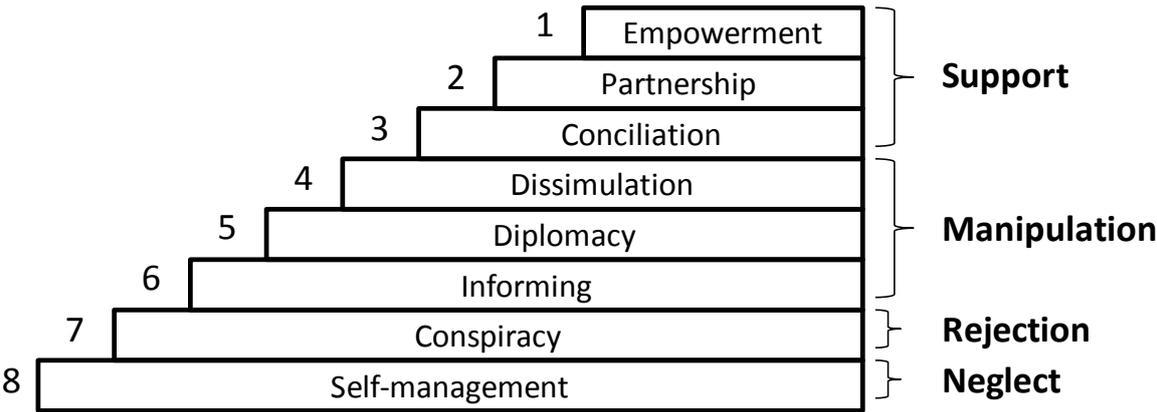
Figure 3: Levels of participation according to Choguill typology (Source: Choguill, 1996)

In the lower category the community shall solve their problems without external support from the local authorities. In the rejection category, the local authorities do not consider the participation of the community, and also seems to reject the idea to helping them. At the manipulation category the community is informed, consulted and sometimes included in decision making boards, but their opinion not necessarily is taken into account. Finally in the upper levels of the ladder the community is supported by the local authorities to participate and have a role in the decision-making. A detailed description of each level is provided in the following table:

Table 2: Levels of participation (Source: Choguill, 1996)

LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
Empowerment	It may take the form of community members having a majority of seats or genuine specified powers on formal decision-making bodies over a particular project or program involving community participation, when municipal authorities are unable or unwilling to undertake improvements themselves. Community members are expected to initiate their own improvements, possibly with the assistance of outside organizations, such as NGOs or other allies, demonstrating actual control of the situation. These possibilities of actually controlling the situation and making allies, with governmental support, constitute the main characteristics of empowerment.
Partnership	At this level, members of the community and outside decision-makers and planners agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities about development projects involving community participation through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and eventually other informal mechanisms for resolving problems and conflicts. Involvement of government in projects is more intense than in the case of empowerment.
Conciliation	It occurs when the government devises solutions that are eventually ratified by the people. It may take the form of appointing a few representatives of the community to advisory groups, or even decision-making bodies, where they can be heard but also where they are frequently forced to accept the decisions of a powerful and persuasive elite. It is frequently a top-down, patenalistic approach.
Dissimulation	In order to achieve a semblance of participation, people are placed on rubber-stamp advisory committees or boards. The express purpose is educating them or, more frequently, engineering their support. From this level down, the government increasingly leaves the communities to themselves.
Diplomacy	Diplomacy may take the form of consultation, attitude surveys, public hearings, visits to the neighborhood or meetings with dwellers. In this event, government officials pretend that they are seeking opinions on a potential project or that they are going to promote/support some kind of improvement to the neighborhood. However, there is no assurance that new projects will be implemented, that concerns and ideas from the community will be taken into account in these projects, or that support to the community effort will be provided.
Informing	This consists of a one-way flow of information from officials to the community, of their rights, responsibilities and options, without allowance for feedback or negotiation, in projects that have already been developed. It is a top-down initiative, frequently with controversial results.
Conspiracy	Here, no participation in the formal decision-making process is allowed or even considered, as the government seems to reject any idea of helping the poor. To the government, the poor communities are little more than an embarrassment. It includes cases where the reasons given by authorities for action disguise ulterior motives or may benefit other groups.
Self-management	It takes place when the government does nothing to solve local problems and the members of the community, by themselves, plan improvements to their neighborhood and actually control the projects, not always successfully. Usually, although not always, communities work with outside assistance of NGOs or the support of independent financial institutions, which seem to affect positively the outcome of the community effort.

Nonetheless, Imparato and Ruster (2003, p. 8) assume, in what concerns the appropriated participation levels in slum upgrading projects, that the idea of "more participation the better" is not true in every cases. For instance, it is a fact that the low-

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income communities do not have unlimited time for participation, and that the project formulation and implementation can vary considerably, limiting therefore, the feasibility to achieve higher levels of participation.

 In the same direction, Hamdi and Goethert (1997 *apud* Arcila 2008 p.45) indicate that the levels of participation are not constant during the development of a slum upgrading project. These authors claim that in each stage a level of participation is ideal as indicated below:

- **Initiation Stage:** In this stage, *consultative (Diplomacy), shared control (Partnership), or full control (Empowerment)* levels can be used. Community involvement is critical in this stage, because the project should originate out of the community needs. The technical team should not have preconceived notions about solutions to the community's problems during this period, because this undermines the participatory process in subsequent stages.

- **Planning Stage:** Community involvement in the planning stage is most crucial. This is the stage in which key decisions are made and the project is defined. *Shared control (Partnership),* therefore, is the level that should be used in this stage.

- **Design Stage:** Community input is less crucial in the design stage, so recommended levels of participation are *indirect (Informing), consultative (Diplomacy), or shared control (Partnership)*. If decisions are clear during the planning stage, then the design stage is only required to develop technical details of the project.

• **Implementation Stage:** During the implementation stage, participation *can vary through all levels*. In some cases, implementation is better carried out by the technical team, consultants, or city authorities, while in others the community is capable of leading. If possible, community members should be hired for construction projects as a mean of generating employment within the community.

• **Maintenance Stage:** Both the city and the community should be involved in the maintenance of a slum-upgrading project. Oftentimes, day-to-day maintenance is the role of community members, whereas major repairs that require resources and technical skills are the job of outside teams. However, if maintenance is to be successful, there must be an agreement in place before project implementation that designates tasks according to respective capacities.

Concerning the willingness of the community to participate, it is assumed that they want to make part of the decision-making together with the traditional power holders actors, and that they benefit from it by becoming aware of their rights and receiving more power to achieve their interests (van Asseldonk 2012). Nevertheless the will to participate, spending time and sometimes money, to be active, or at least aware, in the decision making of interventions, are not a quality of all citizens that live in a slum. Therefore, the participation by representation is normally the format adopted to this kind of projects (Imparato and Ruster 2003).

Thus, it is important to highlight the importance of the determination of the community representatives in this process. According to Care International (2001 *apud* Gaventa 2004, p. 12), there are many critics about the accountability and representativeness of community leaders, that can act like "gatekeepers to information,

opinion and decisions rather than sharing them openly with the communities". Nevertheless Taylor (2003 *apud* Gaventa 2004, p.13) assume that the emergence of new leaderships, that would somehow balance the power concentration of the traditional ones, is limited due to, for instance, lack of time and resources, fear and passivity. In this sense, the creation of formal democratic structures to elect these representatives is a way to legitimize the people that aim to represent their communities (Gaventa 2004).

Additionally, according to Arcila (2008) besides the community will to participate, an adequate strategy to enable this participation shall be developed in order to promote its effectiveness. Concerning this point, the same author indicates that currently there is a wide variety of tools and methods appropriated to achieve this objective, but also time and a significant amount of resources shall be disposed to its implementation.

Finally, in what concerns the outcomes generated by the community participation, Imparato and Ruster (2003, p. 44) indicate that depending on the level of involvement of the community, a different outcome can be expected:

- Participation in information gathering and analysis raises the awareness level in relation to the area's problems and resources;

- Participation in the analysis of alternatives for intervention and in area development planning allows the project to make better, more informed decisions and enables local people to get acquainted with the key concepts of planning and development in relation to their area;

- Participation in the analysis of alternatives and in the decision-making related to the organization of construction activities offers opportunities for community members to know and understand relevant details of the infrastructure being implemented;

- Participation in the discussion of project costs and alternatives for cost recovery and operations and maintenance enhances cost consciousness and acquaints local people with the key issues involved in the conservation of the benefits generated by a project, laying the groundwork for a successful post-implementation phase.

III. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the participation is associate to actions, its assessment shall be related to the "(…) channels by which it is implemented, to the achieved objectives, to the way that it is defined and to the instruments that allow the results measurement" (Paulilo 1999, p. 184)

This study was embedded under a qualitative framework that assesses the community participation under the perspective of the channels used for its development in the stages of planning and implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva* in the *Aglomerado da Serra*. In this sense, the analyses were carried out under the optic of the participation mechanism created by the local authority to include the affected community in the decision-making process.

Official documents of the planning and implementation stages of the slum upgrading program and interviews carried out with the project team and slum community were the data sources. The official documents provided the information regarding the participation process, content of the activities and stakeholders involved, while the interviews were executed to complement the information about the case and also to capture the perception of some of the slum community members regarding their participation in the development of the program.

The assessment matrix proposed by Burns et al. (2004) served as guidelines to conduct data collection and established the basis for the assessment of the participation significance. Additionally, a stakeholder analysis were carried out based on the guidelines proposed by Rietbergen-McCracken (1998) in order to provide a deeper understanding of the power relations between the actors and, thus, sustain the

participation assessment. To support the analysis of this assessment, the concepts of level of participation proposed by Choguill (1996) were considered.

The methods applied to answer the question formulated in the section I.III are summarized in the table below and descript in details in the following paragraphs.

Table 3: Summary of method used according to the objectives of the study (Source: Author)

	Questions	Method applied
1	• How the participation process was carried out in each stage?	Official document analysis and interviews
2	• Who was involved? • How they were involved? • Which role the community and its representatives played in each stage?	Stakeholder's Analysis (Rietbergen-McCracken 1998)
3	• How significant was the participation strategies concerning the dimensions of influence and power, capacity building, communication and learning, and impacts and outcomes? • Which level of participation was achieved along the participatory process? • The planning and implementation stages differ regarding these aspects?	Assessment matrix (Burns et al. 2004) Ladder of participation (Choguill 1996)

III.I Data acquisition

III.I.I Official documents analysis

The official documents of the planning and implementation stages of the program, the Specific Global Plan (PGE) and the *Programa Vila Vila* (PVV) respectively, were provided by the URBEL.

The planning documents provided include: i) cartographic bases of the six settlements and of the whole *Aglomerado da Serra*; ii) technical files with general information about the six communities; iii) data inventory regarding the socio-economical, geological, urban, and environmental aspects of each settlement; iv)

integrated diagnostic of the *Aglomerado da Serra* considering the sectors social-economic-organizational and urban-environmental; v) proposals of intervention in the sectors social-economic-organizational and urban-environmental; and vi) some attendance lists of the meetings and some meeting reports.

While the provided implementation documents included: i) files of the Social Work Project (*Projeto de Trabalho Técnico Social*) which contains the description and goals of the PVV, of the Resettlement Program and of the Program of Environmental and Sanitary Education; ii) samples of the graphic material used to communication and mobilization; iii) some attendance lists of meetings and Statement of Acceptance of the beneficiary communities; and iv) methodology to the socio-organizational work and its reference therm.

All these documents were analyzed in order to identify the participation process adopted in each stage and also the stakeholders involved in the development of the program. Additionally, the available attendance lists of meetings were analyzed in order to identify the categories and location of the meetings carried out with the communities and also to identify the dwellers that were participative in all stages that could be interviewed in the fieldwork.

The available attendance lists were provided in a printed format. According to the project team, the storage of these documents was not properly carried out and, therefore, many lists were not available to this assessment. For the lists that could be collected, the date, local and category of the meeting were registered in order to provide a general overview about the meetings' flow. Also some of the people from the

community to be interviewed were identified in these lists, based on their constant participation and assignment on the reference groups[4].

III.I.II Interviews

The interviews were applied in order to complement the information gathered in the official documents and to understand the perception of the community regarding their role during the upgrading program.

Thus, in July/2013 two preliminary interviews were carried out with two project team members in order to provide an overview of the planning and implementation structure and also of the participation process adopted in each stage. The interviews conducted in this moment are characterized as semi-structured interviews as they were conducted following specific questions that directed the communication to a specific theme within the slum upgrading program context (Boni and Quaresma 2005).

For the second round of interviews, carried out between March and April/2014, the same interview typology was adopted since it allows, besides the clarification of the participation process, also the collection of information about the perception of the informant regarding their role in the development of the program. In this round the interviews were conducted with components of the project team (from the PGE and from PVV), with dwellers who composed the reference group (RG), and with dwellers that were active in the participation process but were not part of the RG. The questions to the interview contemplated the themes influence and power, capacity building, communication and learning, and impacts and outcomes aligned with the assessment

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[4] Community entity designated to make part of the decision making board.

matrix provided by Burns et al. (2004) and were carried out *in locu* (The complete list of questions are provided in the ANNEX I – Questions for the interviews).

After the interview, the audio record was selectively transcribed with the software Express Scribe, where only the meaningful information regarding the focus of this study was considered.

To identify the people to be interviewed, the method snowball (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) was used. The first contacts of the people of the project team were indicated by the URBEL. From them, other people related to the PGE and PVV were indicated to the interview according to their roles in those stages of the program. In the communities, the first contact was with members of the reference group that could be identified in the analysis of the attendance lists. These members were the main contact point during the development of the upgrading program, and therefore, were considered to be the suitable actors to indicate the other dwellers to be interviewed. When the integrants from the community could not remember or did not have the contact of other dwellers to be interviewed the project team helped to find them in the URBEL archive. Below is represented the diagram that depict this procedure.
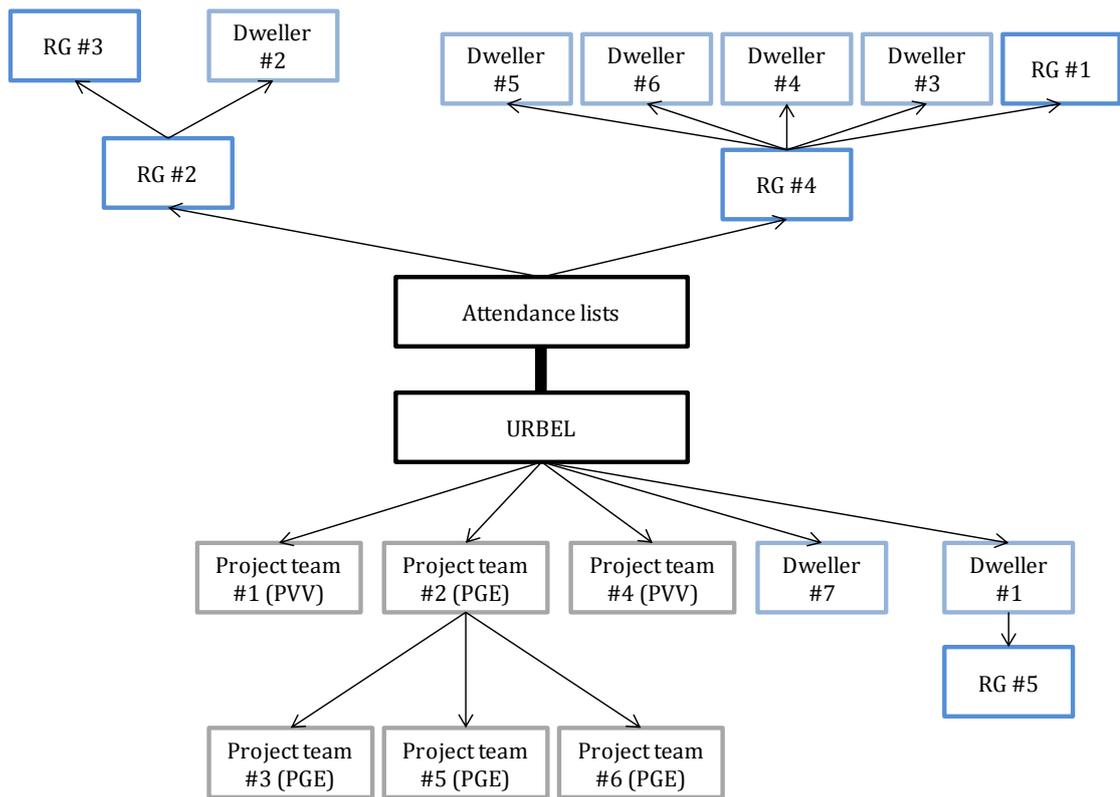
Figure 4: Snowball sampling procedure in this study (Source: Author)

The amount of 18 interviews could be carried out as indicated in following table:

Table 4: Origin and category and number of people interviewed (Source: Author)

Category/Origin	Project team	Settlement					
		N. Sra. Conceição	N. Sra. Fátima	Novo São Lucas	N. Sra. Aparecida	Marçola	Santana do Cafezal
PGE	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
PVV	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reference Group	-	1	1	0	1	1	1
Dweller	-	2	1	1	0	2	1

The sampling has not followed the statistic approach of minimum sample, since the interviews had only a complementary role. The initial idea was to interview at least one dweller and one member of the reference group of each settlement, but this could not be accomplished in two settlements due to unavailability of the dwellers.

III.II Analytical methods

III.II.I Stakeholder's analysis

A stakeholder analysis was carried out in order to identify the stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation stages of the upgrading program, and to disclosure their interests, relations and influence level along the process.

This analysis was carried out based on the methodology proposed by Rietbergen-McCracken (1998) that understands stakeholders as "(…) people, groups or institutions which are likely to be affected by a proposed intervention (either negatively or positively), or those which can affect the outcome of the intervention.", and define the concepts of interests, influence and importance, as well as the scale to assess them.

Table 5: Concepts adopted to the stakeholder analysis (Source: Author based on Rietberger-MccCackern 1998)

Term	Definition
Interests	The priority concerns of the stakeholders.
Influence	The degree to which the stakeholder group has power and control over the project and can thus facilitate or hinder its implementation.
Importance	The degree to which the achievement of project objectives depends on the active involvement of a given stakeholder group.

Table 6: Scale to assess the importance and influence of the stakeholders (Source: Author based on Rietberger-MccCackern 1998)

Importance		Influence	
U	Unknown	U	Unknown
1	Little/no importance	1	Little/no influence
2	Some importance	2	Some influence
3	Moderate importance	3	Moderate influence
4	Very important	4	Significant influence

5	Critical player	5	Very influential

Based on these definitions the analysis was developed in three steps: i) Identification of the involved stakeholders; ii) Assessment of the stakeholder interests and the effect of the project on these interests; and iii) Assessment of the stakeholder's influence and importance.

The information to carry out the analysis was gathered in the official documents provided by the URBEL and in the homepage of the City Hall of Belo Horizonte. By means of these sources the role, scale and sector of each key stakeholder in the upgrading program could be identified. Also interviews with the project team provided additional information that contributed to the assessment carried out in the second and third steps.

III.II.II Assessment matrix: significance of the participation

An assessment matrix was elaborated based on Burns et al. (2004) in order to rank the level of the community participation significance during the development of the slum upgrading program in the *Aglomerado da Serra*. The assessment considered four dimensions of the participation: i) power and influence; ii) capacity-building; iii) communication and learning; and iv) impacts and outcomes. For each of them, key considerations were set and three levels of compliance were categorized as low, medium and high (Table 7).

Table 7: Assessment matrix of the level of significance of the participation process (Source: Author based on Burns et al., 2004)

Dimension	Key considerations	Assessment			Evidence required/Remarks
		Low (1)	Medium (2)	High (3)	
Influence and power	Are the six communities able to participate?	No	Only part of them	Yes	Evidence that effective action has been taken to ensure inclusion of the six communities.
	Who or what has determined the procedures in the upgrading plan/execution?	The community has not determined any of the topics*	The community has determined less than 50% of the topics*	The community has determined more than 50% of the topics*	*Topics: - Structure of the meetings - Methodology for the social work - Monitoring criteria - Community needs - Geographic area covered by the plan/execution
	Do communities have access to all decision-making processes?	No. The community had no influence in the decision-making processes	Partly. The community had no significant influence in the decision-making processes	Yes. The community had significant influence in the decision-making processes	Evidence that communities can influence all aspects of program development and delivery * Decision-making processes are: approval of the documents/constructions; definition of the proposals/programs
Capacity-building	Do communities have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program?	No. There is no leadership in the community	Partly. There is leadership in the community but he/she are not active in the community	Yes. There is leadership in the community and he/she are active in the community	*Evidence of strong leadership, community development capacity, management and administrative resources devoted to community practice *Evidence of the range and level of local community activity

		No	Partly	Yes	Evidence
	Does the project team have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program in the *Aglomerado da Serra*?	No. The project team created the participation strategy without having baseline information about the community, and without capacitated professionals	Partly. The project team created the participation strategy based on baseline information of the community, but did not counted with capacitated professional to execute it (or vice-versa)	Yes. The project team created the participation strategy based on baseline information of the community, and counted with capacitated professional to execute it	*Evidence that organizations and partnerships have the baseline information necessary to build an effective community participation strategy including comprehensive information on the different communities and community groups in their area. * Evidence that partner organizations can be locally responsive, joined up in the way that they work, organizationally aligned with community decision making.
	Is the community involvement process effectively resourced?	No. No resource was designed to the participation and mobilization of the community	Partly. Less than 5% of the total budget was designed to the participation and mobilization of the community	Yes. At least 5% of the total budget was designed to the participation and mobilization of the community	Evidence of investment. More than 5% of a programme budget is committed to resourcing the community involvement process (Capacity building, mobilization strategies, communication material).
Communication and learning	Is there a coordinated approach to communication between the project team and communities?	No. There is no communication channel between the project team and community	Partly. There are communication channels between the project team and the community but they are not well coordinated between the actors	Yes. There are communication channels between the project team and the community and they are well coordinated	Evidence of mechanisms for informing communities and for communities to inform partnerships and organizations.
	Is there a coordinated approach to learning between the project team and communities?	No. There is no space during the project development where the community and project team can give feed-backs and reflect about their roles in the project.	Partly. There is space during the project development where the community and project team can give feed-backs and make reflections but there is no formal directive to use their comments to improve the process.	Yes. There is space during the project development where the community and project team can give feed-backs and make reflections, and there are formal directives to use their comments to improve the process.	Evidence of participatory learning, peer learning and network learning strategies.

Impacts and outcomes	Does participation make a difference?	No. The project team and/or the community do not see and advantage in establishing a participatory process (e.g. the participation was only a requirement of the funding institution)	Partly. The project team and/or the community comprehend the advantage in establishing a participatory process but could not see it materialized in the project.	Yes. The project team and/or the community comprehend the advantage in establishing a participatory process and could see it materialized in the project.	Evidence that real differences have resulted from community participation.
	Are the outcomes of participation inclusive?	The outcome do not reflect what was determinate in the participation arena by all communities	The outcome reflect what was determinate in the participation arena by some communities	The outcome reflect what was determinate in the participation arena by all communities	Evidence that the benefits of community participation are felt by all communities, not just a few.

In order to analyze the participation significance achieved for each dimension in each stage, numerical characters were attributed to each assessment category: 1 = Low; 2 = Medium; 3 = High. Each key consideration is evaluated and classified under this category, and afterwards the average of the values accumulated indicates the participation significance of the respective dimension. The numbers have no quantitative value, and are only used to support the location of the findings in the following scale:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
(1)	(1.1 – 1.5)	(1.6 – 1.9)	(2)	(2.1 – 2.5)	(2.6 – 2.9)	(3)

Figure 5: Assessment scale (Source: Author)

To visualize the differences in the participation process between the stages the pentagram proposed by Bjaras, Haglund, and Rifkin (1991) was used.

III.II.III Ladder of participation: level of participation achieved

To support the analysis above, the typology indicated by Choguill (1996) (see section II.III) was applied to the study case context, and used to synthesize the findings regarding the participation level enabled in the course of PGE and PVV.

As a remark, is important to mention that these classification was carried out under the view of the participation level allowed by the project team (here understood as the traditional decision maker) in relation to the affected community (here understood as the traditional powerless actor). Thus, the effectiveness of the participation is not evaluated, but only the format of the participatory process developed.

IV. STUDY CASE

Aligned with the national context descript in the introduction of this study, the municipality of Belo Horizonte changed the strategies to the slum intervention after the end of the dictatorship in order to provide a closer dialogue with slums dwellers. In this context programs, laws and institutions were created to deal with this issue (Figure 6).

1983	Pró-Favela	Indicates specific regulation to the use and occupation of the land in the slum area and creates political and institutional mechanisms that evolve the participative management of the land regularization programs.
1986	Companhia Urbanizadora de Belo Horizonte (URBEL)	Created to specifically manage the slums and social housing in the city.
1993	Participative Budget	Is an instrument of the municipal public management that allows the civil society to interfere in the destination of part of the annual budget of the municipality.
1996	Municipal Directive Plan	Indicates that the intervention in slums shall be posterior to the elaboration of a global plan to the settlement and mention the necessity to create popular participation mechanisms in the implementation of urbanism programs in the municipality.
1996	Law for the land use and occupation (Law 7.166/1996)	Included the slums in a category called *Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social I* (Special Zones of Social Interest I)

Figure 6: Initiatives from the Municipality of Belo Horizonte to deal with slums (Source: Author)

The evolution of such initiatives resulted in the creation of *Plano Global Específico - PGE* (Specific Global Plan) in 1997. This instrument counts with the public participation for its development and comprise three thematic axe: land tenure regularization, socioeconomic and organization development, and urban and environmental recuperation, acting as a guide to the execution of integrated interventions in the slums and popular housing of the city (Brandenberger 2007).

With this plan, the slum communities have the chance to require finance resources for interventions in their settlements in the Participative Budget arena, where their direct participation in the meetings is required; or to demand,

together with the municipal authority (URBEL), a higher budget in the federal scale in order to execute interventions that require more substantive investments.

The *Programa Vila Viva* is the result of the necessity to carry out large scale interventions in the slums. Launched in 2005 it is the first large scale slum upgrading action of the municipality and counts with the support of federal budget and a counterpart of the Municipal Treasury. The goal of this program is to integrate the slum's community into the city by means of urban and sanitation actions, which would provide better services to the settlement and also diminish the habitation deficit by means of the construction of habitation units, whenever it is necessary (PBH 2014). This program also counts with the participation of the slum community in its implementation and maintenance.

The slum *Aglomerado da Serra*

The slum denominated *Aglomerado da Serra* (AS) consists in a cluster of six low-income settlements[5] (Nossa Senhora Aparecida, Santana do Cafezal, Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Nossa Senhora de Fátima, Marçola, Novo São Lucas) that occupy an area of 150.93 ha located in the central-south region of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil (Costa 2011).

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5 According Costa (2011), there is more than six settlements in the area of the *Aglomerado da Serra*, but the URBEL considers only the six mentioned for the upgrading program. Also in the PGE/Aglomerado da Serra is indicated the presence of a seventh settlement in the area (*Vila Fazendinha*), which was not included in the upgrading plan because it was already upgraded.
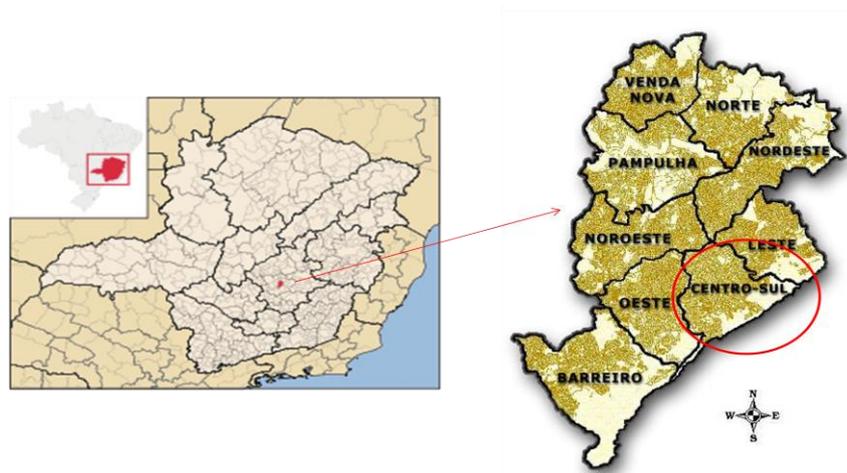
Figure 7: Location the south-central region of the municipality of Belo Horizonte, where the *Aglomerado da Serra* **is located (Source: Author)**

The occupation of this area started in the 1920's by the dwellers that could not afford residences in the planned area of Belo Horizonte, and in the 1940's, due to the migration intensification the slum was crowding, reaching its acme in the 1970's (Gomes 2009). According to official data it counts with approximately 46,000 inhabitants, being considered the biggest slum of Belo Horizonte and was considered the 6th most vulnerable slum in 2000, by the Index of Social Vulnerability of the city (Nahas 2000; Silva 2012).

Figure 8: Location of *Aglomerado da Serra* (yellow polygon) (Source: Author)

The settlements that compose the *Aglomerado da Serra* were established in different timeframes and areas (Table 8). This fact influenced not only in the occupation of risk areas (which later would be the main target area for the removals in the upgrading project), but also in the access to the urban equipments and services, and in level of community organization and mobilization, being the later settlement highlighted as the most incipient in the last aspect (URBEL 2000).

Table 8: General data about the settlements of the *Aglomerado da Serra* (Source: Author based on PGE/*Aglomerado da Serra*).

Settlement	Ocupation date	Area (ha)	Gross Density	Population	Risk areas (% from the 13% of risk areas of the *Aglomerado da Serra*)	Habitation (n)	People/ habitation
Nossa Senhora Conceição	1920	18.37	426.12	7,828	6%	2217	4.2
Nossa Senhora de Fátima	1940	62.27	213.44	13,291	50%	3,476	4.3
Nossa Senhora Aparecida	1950	14.19	434.53	6,166	1%	1,784	4.1
Marçola	1960	22.23	327.85	7,944	15%	2,852	3.9
Santana do Cafezal	1975	13.58	516.12	7,009	14%	2,147	4.2

| Novo São Lucas | 1990 | 18.29 | 210.38 | 3,848 | 14% | 1022 | 4.3 |

Since those areas were occupied, the dwellers deal with the lack of basic infrastructure and, therefore, used informal ways to access water, electricity and to discharge the sewage. Along the years, the communities organized themselves in associations in order to improve the conditions of the settlements and to pressure the government to intervene. Additionally, these settlements received punctual assistance from projects, churches, NGOs and government programs that helped to improve the settlement condition providing minimum equipment and infrastructure to the community (Costa 2008). However, the punctual interventions were not enough to improve the conditions of the settlements.

Thus, in 1998 the *Aglomerado da Serra* mobilizes itself to achieve the resources to the elaboration of the PGE. At that time, the methodology of this instrument consisted in three phases (data inventory, diagnostic and proposals) and also foreseen the participation of the slum community in partnership with a multidisciplinary work team, controlled by the municipal authorities.

After the elaboration of the plan the community and the URBEL searched for federal resources to implement the interventions proposed in such plan. In 2005, finally they achieve these finance resources and start the implementation of the first project of the *Programa Vila Viva* (PVV) based on the directives indicated in the PGE. The PVV aimed at conducing sanitation and housing constructions conjugated with actions directed to the community development, sanitary and environmental education, and income and employment generation, considering the participation of the slum community (PBH 2014).

Details of the PGE and PVV in the *Aglomerado da Serra* will be provided in the following section as a result of the research carried out between July 2013 and April 2014.

V. ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The slum upgrading in the *Aglomerado da Serra* comprised five stages where the community participation was established as depicted in the figure below:

1998	Participative Budget	Demand and approval of resources to develop the Specific Global Plan (PGE)
1998 - 2001	PGE	Planning of interventions with the participation of the slum communities.
2001 - 2005	Fundraising	*Aglomerado da Serra* communities and URBEL request finance resources in the federal level
2005 - 2010	*Programa Vila Viva*	Implementation of the first phase of the slum upgrading project
2010	Monitoring/Maintenance	

Figure 9: Stages of the slum upgrading in the *Aglomerado da Serra* (Source: Author)

The assessment carried out in this study embrace the planning and implementation stages which correspond to the elaboration of the PGE and execution of the first phase of the *Programa Vila Viva*. In this section the assessment of these stages will be disaggregated in order to provide a clear comprehension of the participation process, concerning the actors involved, the significance and the level of the community participation.

V.I The upgrading planning in the *Aglomerado da Serra*

In 1998, the elaboration of the Specific Global Plan (PGE) of the *Aglomerado da Serra* was conceded by the Participative Budget, and was developed by the URBEL and the six communities that compose this slum.

This planning stage took three years to be developed and counted with three phases (Data Inventory, Diagnostic and Proposals) in which the community could participate by means of meetings that were carried out inside the *Aglomerado da Serra* and in surrounding areas. The analyzed meetings registries indicated the existence of six categories of meetings as depicted in the following table:

Table 9: Categories of meetings in the PGE (Source: Author based on PGE/Aglomerado da Serra)

Category	Description of the objective/purpose
Kick-off assembly	Institutional presentation of the Specific Global Plan (PGE) and project team to the communities of the *Aglomerado da Serra* and surrounding neighborhoods, in order to mobilize them to participate in the planning and to form the reference groups.
Reference Group Meeting	Discussion with the reference group of each community about themes regarding the development of the PGE, and capacitating them to understand the technical terms used.
Thematic meeting	Discussion with the communities of the *Aglomerado da Serra* about specific themes (e.g. Security, Education, Health, etc.) in order to hear their demands and opinions.
Process assembly	Presentation of the results of the data inventory and diagnostic, where the general community was allowed to discuss the compiled information and the reference group could vote for the approval of the documents (**Decision-making**).
Proposals PGE	Discussion and **decision** over the proposals, and their prioritization, that will be established in the final plan together with the reference group members.
Presentation assembly	Presentation of the final plan to the whole community.

These meetings were carried out according to the PGE flow (Figure 10) and contemplated all slum communities, which were aggregated in groups in order to optimize the participation and mobilization efforts, as explained by the project team member #3:

" (...) Não teve condição de fazer um por vila. Mas fazer grupos de vilas, por exemplo duas vilas. Por vila a gente não dava conta. era muita gente (...)"
"(...) It was not possible to carry out one (meeting) for each settlement. We did groups of settlements, for instance two settlements. For each settlement we could not do it because was too many people (...)". (Project team member #3, interview date: 15/04/14).
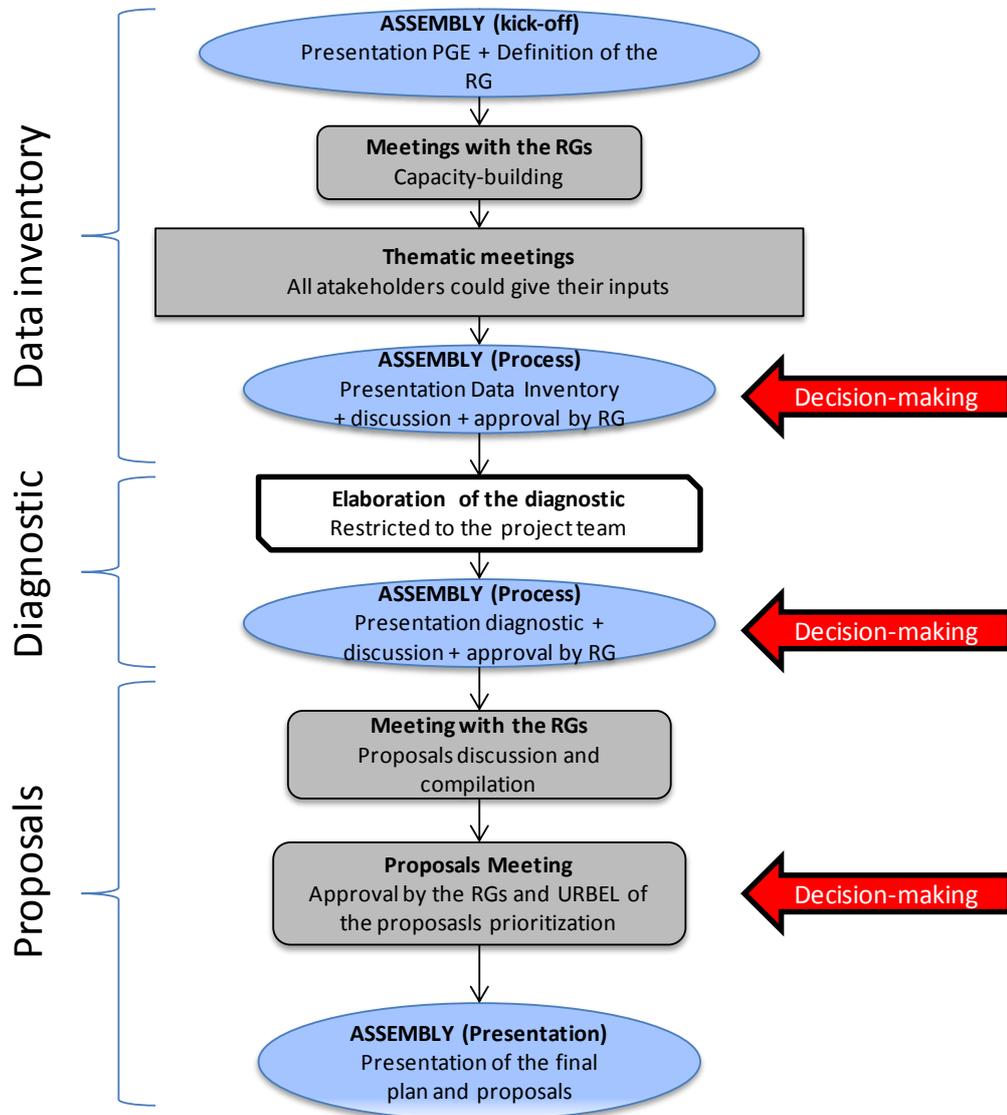
Figure 10: Overall participation process carried out in PGE (Source: Author based on PGE/Aglomerado da Serra)

V.I.I Who participated?

For the development of this PGE, six reference groups (RG), one for each community, were created in order to be the contact point between the general community and the URBEL and also the local commission responsible to share the

decisions with the municipal government. These reference groups were established in the early development of the plan and were composed by individuals - normally the traditional leaderships that were active in the community associations - which voluntarily represented their communities without necessarily being elected by them, as indicated in the following interview fragments:

"*A formação do grupo de referência era espontânea a partir de convites da equipe social do plano às lideranças formais e informais.*" "The formation of the reference group was spontaneous, and started with the invitation of the formal and informal leaderships by the social work team of the plan." (Project team member #5, interview date: 17/03/14)

"*Os moradores que se credenciaram. Quer dizer, não tem voto não tem nada. Quem tá na assembleia de partida e tá com vontade de participar vai lá e se manifesta. Então ele não tem assim, um número limitado nem máximo, é a partir do interesse das pessoas (...).*" "The dwellers registered themselves. In other words, there was no voting. Who was in the kick-off assembly and wanted to participate, went there and express himself. Thus, there is no limit number of participants; it depends on the interest of the people". (Project team member #2, interview date: 31/07/13)

The community in general could also participate in the assemblies, were the results of each phase were presented and discussed, and in the thematic meetings where they could be heard by the project team[6].

Besides the community in general, the RGs, and the URBEL, other stakeholders were involved in the development of the PGE as described in the Table 10.

Table 10: Description of the stakeholders in the planning stage and their interests (Source: Author based on PGE/Aglomerado da Serra)

Stakeholder	Sector	Scale	Role in the planning	Interests	Effect of project on the interests (+ 0 -)
Reference Groups	Official leadership of the AG in the PGE	Local	*Provision of information and negotiation *Suggestion of	*Improvements in the settlement area *Access and	+

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6 The project team is composed by the URBEL team and the consultancy company hired to develop the plan.

			improvements * Contact point between the URBEL and the AS dwellers *Decision-making	improvement of basic urban services *Land tenure *More security *Jobs	
Companhia Urbanizadora e de Habitação de Belo Horizonte - URBEL	Housing/upgrading	Municipal	*Development of the PGE *Decision-making	*Regularization of informal settlements *Reduction of the housing deficit	+
Regional Centro Sul/City Hall of Belo Horizonte	Management of Urban and Social issues in the Central-South region of Belo Horizonte	Municipal (Central-south region)	Cooperate with URBEL in the development of the PGE (Information, institutional arrangements and integration, etc.)	Provide social and urban services to the central-south region of Belo Horizonte	+
Community Associations	Local leadership of the AG	Local	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Improvements in the settlement area *Access and improvement of basic urban services *Land tenure *More security *Jobs	+
Municipal Secretariat of Planning and Management - SMAPL	Planning and Management	Municipal	Finance de development of the PGE, through the Participative Budget	Efficient allocation of the municipal financial resources	+
Slum Dwellers	Affected Community (direct)	Local	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Improvements in the settlement area *Access and improvement of basic urban services *Land tenure *More security *Jobs	+
Surrounding neighborhoods	Affected Community (indirect)	Local	*Provision of information	*More security *Better urban mobility	+
Local Health Centers	Basic health care	Municipal	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+
NGOs	Third sector	Varied	*Provision of information	* Improvement of the life quality of the slum dwellers * More security	+
Schools	Education	State and municipal	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+
Local Business	Third sector	Local	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+
Police	Public security	State and municipal	*Provision of information *Suggestion of improvements	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+

As depicted above, some of these stakeholders participated in the elaboration of the plan giving inputs by means of the thematic meetings (as indicated by the project team member #3 below) and could contribute, therefore, giving inputs to the diagnostic and to providing insights for the proposals. At the

same time, others acted in the articulation between public institutions (e.g. *Regional Centro Sul*) and financing the plan elaboration (e.g. SMAPL).

> " (...) *A gente quando queria discutir segurança, a gente chamava as pessoas, chamava todo mundo que atuava ali, inclusive polícia, agente de saúde, todo mundo pra fazer a discussão com a contribuição desses grupos, desses agentes, e os moradores que se interessavam.*" "When we wanted to discuss security, we called the people, we called everybody that acted there, including the police, health agents, everybody to generate a discussion with their contribution." (Project team member #3, interview date: 15/04/14).

> "*A Regional (Regional Centro Sul) é o ponto que distribui todas as demandas relacionadas a todas essas políticas que eu falei pra você. Que são sociais e que são de saúde, educação, coleta de lixo..., e a URBEL responde e faz a interlocução sobre as outras demandas relacionas à intervenção que tão executando.*" "The *Regional Centro Sul* is the institution that distributes the demands related to the all those policies that I told you. Which are in the social, health, education, garbage collection areas ..., and the URBEL do the interface to the other demand related to the interventions that are being executed." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13)

Regarding the interests, it was possible to notice that, although they were different between the stakeholders, all of them would benefit from the PGE, in the sense that they could express their needs and suggestions in what affected them.

Many of the stakeholders had moderate or high importance to the development of the plan, although only few of them (the key stakeholders, delimitated in the blue quadrant) had also highest levels of influence in the decision-making process, especially concerning the establishment and prioritizing of the proposals, that later would guide the upgrading interventions (Table 11).

Table 11: Levels of importance and influence of the stakeholders in the planning stage (Source: Author based on Rietbergen-McCracken, 1998)

INFLUENCE OF STAKEHOLDER	IMPORTANCE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE STAKEHOLDER					
	Unknown	Little/no importance	Some importance	Moderate importance	Very important	Critical player
Very Influencial				*Municipal Secretariat of Planning and Management - SMAPL		* Reference Groups * URBEL
Significant influence						

Moderate influence						*Regional Centro Sul*(City Hall/Southeast) *Slum dwellers * Community Assoc.
Some influence				*Surrounding neighborhoods *Local business		
Little/no influence			*NGOs	*Local Health Centers *Police *Schools		
Unknown						

In this stage, the URBEL and the reference groups were the key stakeholders, and had access to the decision making. The community association was not included as a key stakeholder, because in the upgrading project the entity that represents the community is the reference group. Nevertheless it was observed that this entity was composed manly by community association members.

The final plan was delivered in the year 2001 and diagnosed several characteristics of the settlements area and social-economic structure of the community. It proposed 25 socio-economic interventions and 12 urban-environmental interventions according to the demand of the community and indicators presented in the stage of diagnostic. Concerning the land tenure dimension, the goal was, after adjusting the infrastructure of the *Aglomerado da Serra* to the specifications determined by urban law, to regularize all the dwellings in the slum.

Included in the proposals of the urban-environmental scope, was the implementation of a thoroughfare[7] that was foreseen in the Directive Plan of the City. This intervention has direct impacts on the transport system of the whole city.

V.I.II Which is the significance of the participation?

<u>Influence and power</u>

1) *Are the six communities able to participate?*

High significance (3): Yes. The meetings to present, discuss and vote in all the phases of the PGE were carried out in different week-days, time, and areas of the *Aglomerado da Serra*, and allowed the participation of all dwellers that had interest in it. Additionally, during the data inventory phase, interviews were carried out in all settlements to register the dwellers' demands. This was evidenced by the interviews with project team and with the communities' members:

> "*Que a prefeitura através da Urbel, contratou estudes de diversas universidades, e nos procurou e nós andamos o Aglomerado da Serra fazendo entrevista com os moradores. Então esse com os moradores foi o que eu chamo de raio X. Ouvimos toda a comunidade. (...) Então nós andamos todo o aglomerado (...) entao a comunidade teve a oportunidade de cada um opinar, daquilo que ele pensava (...).*" "The city hall, by means of the URBEL, asked for our support and we walked the whole *Aglomerado da Serra* and interviewed the dwellers. This is what I call a 'X Ray'. We heard all the communities. The community had the opportunity to give their opinion (…)". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

> "*Na Serra nós dividimos nas seis vilas. Então a gente fez assembléias (...) uma a uma ou duas a duas assembléias devido a proximidade, mas a gente fez mais de uma assembléia de partida e tiramos um grupo de referência por Vila*." "In the Serra we divided (the work) in the six settlements. Thus we did assemblies (…) one by one, or two by two assemblies due to the proximity of the settlements. We did more than one kick-off assembly, and created one reference group for each community." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13)

> "*Então o que que nós fazemos: nós reunimos todas as lideranças do Aglomerado da Serra, todas as lideranças de outros bairros, e lançamos o plano global através das lideranças (...)*" "We gathered all the leaderships

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7 This thoroughfare is named Cardoso Avenue, cuts the *Aglomerado da Serra* from west to east and was responsible for the resettlement of part of the families.

from the *Aglomerado da Serra*, all the leaderships from the surrounding neighborhoods and launched the global plan by means of the leadership". (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14)

2) *Who or what has determined the procedures in the upgrading plan?*

Medium significance (2): First of all, the PGE became mandatory to the settlements that wished to access the resources from the Participative Budget by means of the Law 7.165/1996. This indicates that a top-down decision influenced the process. In this sense, the slum communities mobilized themselves to request this plan in order to keep reaching the improvements provided by such mechanism. Thus, shortly, some of the communities from the *Aglomerado da Serra* achieved the budget to have this plan developed, as stated by the project team member #2:

> *"A comunidade da Serra sempre foi muito mobilizada pelo OP, então logo no início eles começaram a conquistar o pedido do plano. Em 98/99 já tinha uma demanda, se não me engano, da Vila Conceição. Aí a gente juntou a demanda de dois OP seguidos das comunidades das favelas (...), então a gente juntou as 5 ou 6 comunidades que tinha conquistado e ai a gente começou a elaborar o plano global."* "The community of Serra was always mobilized by the Participative Budget, therefore just in the beginning they could achieve the budget for the plan. In 98/99 there was already one demand, if I am not wrong, of the *N. Sra, da Conceição* settlement. Then, we put together two other demands of the communities of this cluster, and we started to develop the plan." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

As indicated above part of the communities have determined the geographic location of the plan (their own settlements). However, since the *Aglomerado da Serra* is a cluster of settlements, the public authority understood that such plan should not be developed separately for each settlement, and therefore, conduced its elaboration including the other communities as stated below:

> *"Normalmente nos aglomerados de BH as comunidades conquistam o OP separadamente por Vila. A unidade do assentamento é a Vila. (...) Então a Serra conquistou assim: as vilas conquistaram separadamente, (...) e o PGE*

foi feito a partir da conquista destas vilas. Pode ter ficado alguma que não conquistou? Pode. Mas não adiantava fazer fracionado (...)." "Normally in the slum clusters of BH each settlement achieves the PB separately, the settlement is the planning unit. (...) Then, the Serra achieved it as follows: the settlements achieved it separately (...) and the PGE was carried out by means of these achievements. A settlement could be included without requesting it in the PB? Yes. Because was worthless to do the plan fractionated." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

The other topic that could be determined by the communities was their needs. As stated in the interview fragments below, all communities were heard by means of interviews carried out in the Data Inventory phase, or during the thematic meetings.

"As propostas foi nós mesmo indicando X lugares, terríveis igual eu te falei, e ai precisava de uma verba maior do que nos tinha no OP. Nós elaboramos as propostas. Isso nasceu tudo de nós". " The proposals were indicated by us. We indicated the places that were very bad, as I told you, and that demanded more resources than was available in the PB. We did the proposals, this came from us." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

"Então nós andamos todo o aglomerado (...) então a comunidade teve a oportunidade de cada um opinar, daquilo que ele pensava (...). Então começou o plano global diante daquela pesquisa toda, que caiu no papel. Nós continuamos reunindo e discutindo uma coisa e outra e chegamos a conclusão, que todo o Aglomerado da Serra era e é carente de uma obra de grante estrutura: transporte, lazer, saude..." "So we walked through the whole the cluster (...) the community had the opportunity to give their opinion, and then the global plan started, after all this research being documented. We kept meeting and discussing, and concluded that the whole cluster needed a big structural intervention: for transport, entertainment, health...". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

This is also evidenced in the text of the PGE Diagnostic, which many times refers to the demands highlighted by the communities, indicating that their opinion was seriously taken into account in the elaboration of the plan.

"A população porém, tem sugerido uma maior integração entre os poderes a fim de conseguir um maior empenho na melhoria das instalações das escolas existentes (...)" "The population, though, had suggested a greater integration between the public authorities in order to achieve better equipments for the existent schools (...)." (URBEL 2000, p.71).

Regarding the other topics (structure of meetings, methodology of the social work and monitoring criteria) the procedures were determined by the public

authority by means of a reference term and by the consultancy company that was contracted to the develop the participation strategy.

3) *Do communities have access to all decision-making processes?*

High significance (3): Yes, represented by the reference groups. The members of the reference groups made part of the decision-making board together with the project team in this stage. They had the opportunity to develop and prioritize the proposals and also to vote in the approval of the documents related to all phases of the PGE, as stated in the interviews below:

> "*Tinha (a votação). No levantamento de dados, no diagnóstico e nas propostas, com o GR. Mesmo porque, se a população toda fosse votar, ia votar numa coisa que nao participou (...) então ia ter ruptura. Mas o GR votava.*" "There was (the voting) in the data inventory, diagnostic and proposals with the RG. If the whole population was invited to vote, they would vote in something that they did not participated, and therefore would be a fragmentation. Only the RF voted." (Project team member #3, interview date: 15/04/14).

> "*Ele (o GR) foi ouvido antes, né. Eles foram ouvidos antes de formularem as propostas. Ele foi ouvido, pois a gente faz a aprovação da proposta com o GR e depois a gente leva em uma assembléia.*" They (the RGs) were previously heard. They were heard before the proposals formulation. We first agreed upon the proposals with the RG, and afterwards we present it in the assembly." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

> "*(...) A gente fazia aquela reunião, por exemplo, do final de semana no parque das mangabeiras, com o povão, e com a Urbel, e com aquelas pessoas que foram contratadas para confeccionar o projeto.(...). Então, a comunidade falava. Cada um falava, aquilo era gravado, aquilo era escrito. Já no meio de semana, aquele pessoal que era de referência (GR), ja fazia só o GR, fazia uma reunião com alguem da urbel e alguém responsável pela elaboração do projeto, e aí ia discutir aquilo que foi falado naquela assembléia geral, grandona, e ali leva pra passar a limpo aquilo ali, o que era viável, o que não era, o que deixava um pouco pendente, o que era posivivo e negativo.*" "We did, for example, meetings in the weekend in the Mangabeiras Park with all the community, the URBEL, and the people hired to develop the project. Then, the community could speak and this was recorded, was written. Then, during the week, the people that was from the reference group met the URBEL to discuss the outcomes of the weekend meeting, and in this moment we discuss what was feasible, what was positive or negative". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

Although the reference groups were formed without elections, it was possible to perceive in the interviews that the dwellers understood the role of the

RG and that they received information about the plan and could give their inputs by means of them:

> "*Mas reunião só de liderança, que a vezes era só mais reunião de liderança, aí eles tinham esse privilégio de escolha (...). Mas nunca tivemos esse atrito de chegar falando: "eu não quero, eu não deixo". Sempre foi negociado. Tanto através da comunidade como através das autoridades de lá da prefeitura, da urbel, do que fosse.*" "In the meetings for the leaderships, they had the privilege to make the decisions (...). However we never had problems with that. Everything was negotiated with the community and the URBEL". (Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

> "*Representou sim. quando a gente pergunta à ele (a liderança da vila), ele explicava sobre as ruas sobre os becos.*" "They did represent us. When we asked them, they explained us about the streets and alleys interventions." (Slum dweller #4, interview date: 03/04/14).

> "*Era o GR (que tovama as decisões) mas a gente dava as opinião da gente entendeu? A gente dava as opiniões e era acatado.*" "The RG took the decisions, but we gave our opinions, do you understand? We gave our opinions and this was taken into account." (Slum dweller #7, interview date: 17/04/14).

> "*Foi unanime (a aprovação das propostas). Foi tão unanime que este projeto, ele fluiu mundialmente, eu creio. (...). então foi um benefício muito grande pra comunidade.*" "It was unanimous (the proposals approval) It was so unanimous that this project became worldwide known". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

Based on these statements and on the absence of conflict between the RG members and the community, it is possible to infer that they might be authentic representatives of the community.

The significance achieved for Influence and Power dimension is situated in the scale as follows:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High

(2.6)
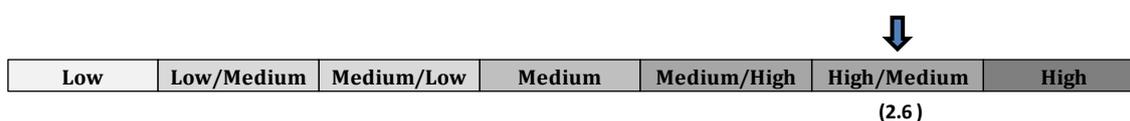
Figure 11: Participation significance for the dimension influence and power in planning stage (Source: Author)

<u>Capacity-building</u>

1) *Do communities have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program?*

High significance (3): Yes. All the communities had a community association and leaderships involved actively in the organization of the community and in the requirement of improvements since a long time before the elaboration of the PGE.

> *"O Aglomerado da Serra tem uma historia de participação popular, comunitária e associativista, já muito consolidada, de muitos anos. (...). Em cada uma das vilas tem uma associação comunitária, e elas sempre tiveram, apesar de as vezes interesses distintos (...), mas sempre tinham uma prática de união muito forte, muito consistente."* "The *Aglomerado da Serra* has a history of popular, communitarian and associative participation well consolidated from many years (...). In each settlement there is a community association, and all of them were always united, despite of having different interests." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

These leaderships participated in the reference groups of the PGE as a continuous action for the benefit of their communities, and acted together to achieve improvements not only for their own settlements, but also for the whole cluster.

> *"Nós tamo junto o tempo todo. Desde de o OP até a criação do Vila Viva. (...) Do PGE pra cá, nunca mais paramos de participar. (...)"* "We are always together. From the PB to the creation of the Vila Viva (...). From the PGE we never stopped to participate". (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

2) *Does the project team have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program?*

High significance (3): Yes. The project team was composed by experienced and multidisciplinary professionals, including professionals of the social area that could provide appropriated guidelines to the development of the participation strategies. The material used in the meetings and to divulge the results and

activities was appropriated to the community's social context as is exemplified in the following fragments of the interviews:

> *"O PGE foi transparente, foi muitos anos de reunião intinerante, todo mundo teve o direito de ouvir, teve o direito de voz, teve direito de resposta."* "The PGE was transparent, there were many years of meetings, everybody had the right to hear, had a voice, and had the right to receive an answer". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

> *"Eu fiquei satisfeira. Não saiu nenhuma reunão que não compensasse."* "I was satisfied. There was no meeting that did not worth to participate." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

They also capacitate the reference group members to provide them adequate tools and skills to understand and participate in the planning of the slum upgrading as stated below:

> *"Então, o grupo de referência é capacitado, durante o processo de levantamento a gente faz algumas discussões com eles sobre determinados assuntos que são importantes pro plano, por exemplo: uma discussão sobre o que é regularizaçao fundiária (...)"* "The reference group is capacitated. During the inventory process we carry out some discussions with them about determinate subjects that are important to the planning, for instance: a discussion about what is the tenure regularization". (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

> *"Então ele (o grupo de referência) é o grupo que é capacitado para entender o plano ou o projeto no máximo que a gente puder (...)"* "So this group (the reference group) is the one capacitated to understand the plan and the project (...)." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

> *"E ai há uma interlocução entre técnicos e a população. Entre o estado e o cidadão. E a terminologia precisa ser assimilada para que a gente possa estabelecer esta interlocução. Então, alem de dizer como e que seria esse tal processo, a gente também fazia uma discussão de educação ambiental, de terminologia do urbanistico, de terminologia do direito, terminologia de trabalho social com foco no grupo de referência, para que eles com essas ferramentas de liguagem pudessem compreender e atuar junto conosco."* "There is a communication network between the technical team and the population, between the government and the citizens. Therefore the terminology must be assimilated to this communication occur. Thus, besides to explain how the plan would be, we also did a discussion about environmental education, the urban terminology, the law terminology , the social work terminology with a focus on the reference group, in order to them to have the skills to comprehend and act with us." (Project team member #3, interview date: 15/04/14).

Thus, the project team allowed the reference groups to act in partnership with them, to gather information about the communities and also to mobilize them for the development of the PGE, as indicated below.

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"Tivemos que andar beco por beco, rua por rua, casa por casa. Não foi feito (o plano) assim "pá" não. Nós andava um dia da semana, nós andava todos os becos, eu e o pessoal." "We had to walk through each alley, each street, house by house to do the plan. We did it once a week." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

"(...)essa comissão (o GR) foi preparada, tava ciente, sabia de tudo o que foi combinado, o que foi apalavravo, o que foi escrito, o que tava no projeto. Essa comissao foi criada justamente pra isso. É pra dizer sim ou nao a moradores e à prefeitura. Entao, essa comissão era soberana, é tipo um conselho fiscal, um conselho deliberativo." "This commission (the RG) was prepared, was aware of everything that was agreed in the project, because it was created specifically for that. It has the right to say yes or no to the dwellers and the city hall. Thus this is a sovereign commission. It is like a fiscal or a deliberative board." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

3) *Is the community involvement process effectively resourced?*

High significance (3): Yes. According to the information provided by the Planning Department of the URBEL an average of 12.5% of the resources of the PGE was used to the social work that includes the community mobilization activities (meetings, capacity building, communication material) and the record of the participation process, as stated in the fragment of a e-mail sent by the project team #6:

"Nos PGEs que estamos licitando, excluindo os valores de Levantamento Topográfico da área, os recursos destinados ao trabalho de mobilização/participação social equivalem a 12,5% do total, em média. Estão incluídos aí os valores relativos ás reuniões com as comunidades e o registro do processo." "In the PGEs that we are calling for tender, excluding the costs for the topographic inventory, the resources that are directed to the social work sum 12.5% of the total amount. In that are included the costs with the meetings with the community and registration of the process". (Project team member #6, e-mail date: 07/04/14).

Regarding this dimension, the participation was classified as having a high significance, as depicted in the figure below:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
						(3)
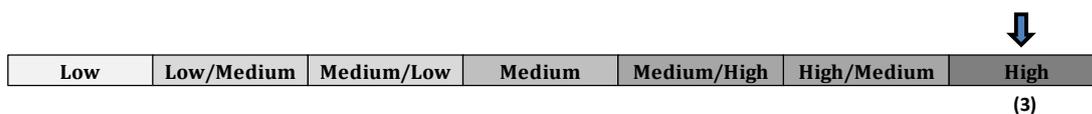
Figure 12: Participation significance for the dimension capacity-building in planning stage (Source: Author)

Communication and learning

1) *Is there a coordinated approach to communication between the project team and communities?*

High significance (3): Yes. In this stage the reference group makes the interface between the dwellers and the project team, transferring the information and supporting the dwellers mobilization to participate in the PGE meetings as indicate that fragments below:

> *"O levantamento de dados que faz com a população, a participação comunitária, registros, é o grupo de referencia que é nosso elemento de contato."* For the data inventory, the community participation, registration of the process is the reference group our contact point." (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13)

This information is corroborated by the information provided in interviews carried out with the slum dwellers and reference group members that indicate also the tools used to carry out this communication:

> *"Eles escrevia os convitinho no computador (...) e outros que ajudavam na liderança da associação saia distribuindo os convites. (...) Toda vez e assim. Explica o que que é. Mesmo se a pessoa não fosse ai, o que vai fica sabendo o que que é, pois tudo que eles vão fazer eles fazem através de reunião."* "They (the reference group members) wrote the invitation in the computer (...) and some people helped them to distribute it. (...). Every time was like this. They explained about the meetings, and even if some dwellers could not participate, they were informed later about the outcomes of the meeting". (Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

> *"Ele (o morador) me procurava, e eu levava, e levava também o porquê que aquele beco (por exemplo) era prioritario."* "He (the dweller) searched for me and then I brought to the meeting his demand, and also why it was priority." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

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> *"Olha eu foi convidado pelo (...), que é nosso presidente, nosso representante da vila aí. Então a gente sempre em comunicação com ele, ele convidava a gente pra participar da reunião,participar aí junto com ele, participei em varios lugar ai."* "I was invited by our president, our community representative. So we always were in communication with him. He invited us to the meetings, and we participated with him." (Slum dweller #2, interview date: 25/03/14).

> *"Sempre era a presidante da vila que repassava ne. Os bilhetes, trazias as informações."* "It was always the community president who brought us the information." (Slum dweller #5, interview date: 03/04/14).

Additionally, to the RGs interface, the project team used folders, phone calls and posters, letters and direct visits to invite the general community for the meetings where they could be heard and received explanations about the plan as exemplified below:

> *"Eles (a equipe de projeto) ligava pra gente, mandava carta, mandava pessoas vir aqui em casa avisar. a participação com a gente era boa."* "They (the project team) called us, sent letters, sent people to come to our houses to inform us. The participation was good.". (Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

> *"Ai, são os métodos de comunicação que o plano usa, né. A gente usa o proprio GR para divulgar, usamos mosquitinhos (Aqueles panfletos) pra avisar a população principalmente para as assembleias."* "These are the communication methods that the plan uses. We use the RG to divulge the information, we use also folders mainly to inform the community about the assemblies". (Project team member #2, interview date: 30/07/13).

2) *Is there a coordinated approach to learning between the project team and communities?*

Medium significance (2): The learning process during the development of the PGE was coordinated by means of a monitoring process carried out without a specific method as indicated by the project team member #5:

> *"O monitoramento foi realizado em contínuo sem um método estruturado mas verificando a aceitabilidade das votações de propostas dentro das atas de reuniões."* "The monitoring was carried out continuously, without following a specific method, however verifying the acceptability of the proposals by means of the votes registered in the meetings records." (Project team member #5, interview date: 17/03/14).

There is no evidence or a formal directive to use these information to improve the strategy neither to promote a reflection with the community about the performance of their participation in the process.

Nonetheless, according to a project team member #6, the methodology for the community participation in the PGE is being improved along the years based on the learning of the project team:

> *"Desde que nos entramos a questão da participaçãoo popular no PGE ela evoluiu mais. Hoje a gente tem um cuidado maior com relação à participação, tanto no que se refere a gente incentivar esssa participação quanto no registro disso. Então tanto pra gente ter esse histórico quanto para a comunidade ter esse registro tambem."* "Since we started to work here the popular participation in the PGE had evolved. Currently we pay more attention in the participation strategy in what concern the incentives to the community participation and also the record of it. We do this because it is important for us and for the community to have the records of the participation". (Project team member #6, interview date: 18/03/14).

In this dimension the participation significance was situated in the medium/high level of the scale, as depicted below:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
				(2.5)		
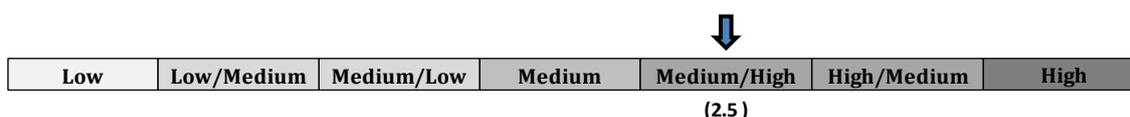
Figure 13: Participation significance for the dimension communication and learning in planning stage (Source: Author)

Impacts and outcomes

1) *Does participation make a difference?*

High significance (3): According to the opinion of the people interviewed, the participation and cooperation between the communities is seen as crucial aspect to the development and improvement of the settlements:

> *"O que acontece, eu até falo muito isso pra comunidade. A gente tem que interferir. (...) Se você não for no governo, não tem jeito dele saber o que tá acontecendo."* "I tell this many times to the community. We need to interfere. (...) If you do not go to the government, it is impossible for it to

know what is happening in our area". (Reference group member #1, interview date: 03/04/14).

Also, they could perceive the materialization of their participation in the final document of the PGE, as demonstrated below:

> *"Então assim foram aqueles primeiros tratamentos que nós começamo a receber através do nosso testemunho, através do nosso trabalho, do nosso interesse, e fomos unindo todo mundo. Reunindo todas as associações, e bairros, e por ai nós conseguimos chegar onde nós chegamos (...)"*. "Then after our testimony, our work, our interest we united everybody. We united all the associations and neighborhoods and thus, we could achieve all this (the interventions)". (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

> *"(...) Ai os moradores foram achando muito bom aqui, cada dia participava mais, e fomo fazendo as reuniões que foi ficando assim, uma coisa muito bonita, e até que nasceu, o Plano Global passou a existir (...)."* (...) then the dwellers liked everything, and therefore each day they participated more. We did the meetings, and then it became very nice, then the PGE emerged." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

2) *Are the outcomes of participation inclusive?*

High significance (3): The final plan was considered inclusive because it considered the demands of all six communities as in indicated in the official documents "*Diagnóstico*" (URBEL 2000) and "*Propostas e Hierarquização*"(URBEL 2001).

Concerning the impacts and outcomes, the significance level was evaluated as high, as indicated in the following figure:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
						(3)
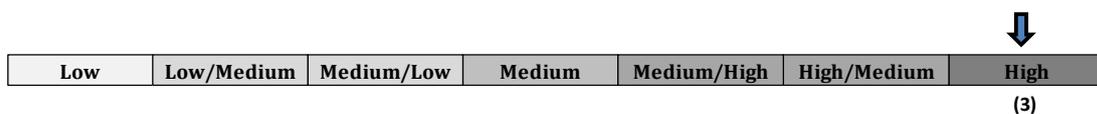
Figure 14: Participation significance for the dimension impacts and outcomes in planning stage (Source: Author)

The participation significance of the planning stage was situated in the high/medium level of the assessment scale as depicted below:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High	Influence and Power
					(2.6)		
Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High	Capacity-building
						(3)	
Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High	Commun. and Learning
				(2.5)			
Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High	Impacts and Outcomes
						(3)	

High/Medium (2.8) – PLANNING STAGE

Figure 15: Participation significance in planning stage (Source: Author)

V.I.III Which is the level of participation?

Considering the concepts defined by Choguill (1996) it is possible to identify that in this stage, there was a fluctuation in the levels of participation, and that the decision making was concentrated in the reference groups and in the project team.

Before the development of first phase of the PGE, a kick-off assembly was carried out in order to communicate the dwellers about the development of the plan, to present the project team and to define the reference groups. In this moment the participation level is **informative**, in the sense that the community as a whole received information about the procedures to be carried out and the necessity to create the reference groups.

During the data inventory, the six communities provided baseline information to the URBEL regarding the settlements and communities' structures and gave their inputs regarding their demands of improvements in the thematic meetings. At this moment, the reference groups, were already formed and its members capacitated to assume the role of the communities' representatives. These individuals made part of the decision-making board, and had the right to vote in the process assemblies to the approval of the final document. Thus, in this phase the participation can be framed in the **partnership** level.

In the diagnostic phase the level of **conciliation** can be identified. As in the previous phase, the community had the opportunity to discuss the final text and reference groups were invited to vote for the approval of such document. However the final text was compiled and previously analyzed by the project team before being presented to the community and reference groups.

In the Proposals phase the level of participation seems to achieve again the **partnership** level. This could be inferred due to the realization of meetings with the reference group to define and discuss the feasibility and prioritization of the proposals. At this moment the reference group was allowed to have a horizontal discussion with the project team and to argument their priorities.

However, although the planning and decision-making responsibilities were clearly shared in this moment, the power balance between the project team and the reference group was not egalitarian. For instance, the community representatives did not had an independent and qualified technical support to contest the resolutions proposed by the project team, being the last in the coordination and control of the negotiations, as evidenced by the following interview fragment:

> *"Então nós como técnicos temos a obrigação de apresentar o que que é viável tecnicamente e mostrar para a população (...) Aí, se a populaçãoo estiver bem qualificada, bem informada nas reuniões eles vão entender isso (...)"* "So, we, as the technical team, have the obligation to present what is technically feasible to the community (...). Then, if the population is well capacitated, well informed, in the meetings they are going to understand this (...)". (Project team member #3, interview date: 15/04/14).

> *"(...) E andavam com eles aí e discutiamos, e é a prefeitura que fazia as propostas. Então nas reunioes, a gente discutia tambem e reforçava as propostas da PBH, por que nós achavamos que as propostas seria ideal, seriam as propostas sérias".* "(...) we walked with them in the settlements and discussed everything, but the city hall that develops the proposals. Then in the meetings we discussed it and also improved the proposals with our point of view. We thought that the proposals were good and honest." (Reference group member #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

Finally, after the proposals definition, the presentation assembly is carried out only to inform what have been decided to the community in general. Therefore in this moment the **informative** level was achieved.

V.II The upgrading implementation in the *Aglomerado da Serra*

After the finalization of the PGE/*Aglomerado da Serra*, in 2001, some punctual projects of the Participative Budget were approved to be implemented in the slum under the scope of such plan. Meanwhile the URBEL and some members of the reference groups mobilized themselves and the slum communities to apply to federal resources for the execution of the larger interventions proposed in the plan. As stated by two members of the reference groups, after long negotiations with the federal government and the City Council of Belo Horizonte, a first significant budget was approved to the elaboration and implementation of the upgrading project, that later would be called *Programa Vila Viva*:

> *"(...) foram três anos de reuniões itinerantes, houve muita conversa, teve que depois do projeto pronto precisamos de ir em Brasília apresentar lá ao ministo (...). Então depois desse projeto pronto, depois desse projeto elaborado, todo bonitinho, fomos para a câmara municipal. O prefeito Fernando Pimentel, mandou uma mensagem e o projeto foi para a câmara municipal para aprovar 100 milhões de reais, dinheiro esse do BNDS, Caixa Econômica Federal e uma parte da prefeitura (...). Então pra lá fomos, levamos muita gente (...)."* "(...) there were three years of itinerant with a lot of conversation, and then we went to Brasília to present the project to the minister (...) And then we went to the city council. The city major, Fernando Pimentel, asked the city council to approve 100 million Reais, money from the BNDS, Caixa Econômica Federal and Municipal treasury (...) So we went there, and we brought many people to participate". (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

> *"A gente tinha o plano, mas não tinha verba. Aí pediu para que nós todos reunisse muita gente, fomos até a câmara municipal e reividicasse o Vila Viva. Assim o Vila Viva nasceu, com nosso programa, e do PAC é liberado de cara 100 milhões."* "We had the plan, but we had not the budget. Then it was requested to aggregate many people to go to the city council and demand the Vila Viva. Thereby the *Programa Vila Viva* was born, and received 100 million Reais to start." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

Thus, in 2005, the *Programa Vila Viva* (PVV) launches its first project which benefits the *Aglomerado da Serra* settlements. From this year, the reference group was formally reactivated and the whole community started to be mobilized and informed about the structural interventions that would be carried out simultaneously with socio organization and juridical actions. The interventions aimed to generate the physical structures to the provision of urban services; to regularize the landownership of the dwellers; and also to improve their social and economic situation.

The structural interventions of the first phase of the PVV - which is the focus of this study - were carried out gradually between 2006 and 2010 and contemplate the renovation of squares, opening of streets, creation of natural parks, and construction of habitation units inside the slum area. Additionally, activities for capacity-building were developed in different scopes, which comprised the insertion in the labor market, the environmental and sanitary education, and the income generation, and counted with the participation of the slum communities and of dwellers from the surrounding neighborhoods.

In this stage, the participation actions focused mainly on the dwellers that would be removed and resettled, and on the dwellers that were directly affected by constructions. Thus, the meetings realization did not followed a linear sequence, but the flow of the physical interventions. Below the meetings categories and flow are presented (Table 12 and Figure 16).

Table 12: Categories of meetings in the PVV (Source: Author based on Official Documents of the Programa Vila Viva)

Category	Description of the objective/purpose
Reference Group meeting (reactivation)	Reactivation of the reference groups in order to mobilize the community to the implementation of the *Programa Vila Viva*.

Kick-off assembly	Institutional presentation of the *Programa Vila Viva* (PVV) and the project team to the communities of the *Aglomerado da Serra* and surrounding neighborhoods in order to mobilize them to participate and to indicate the intervention areas.
Removal and Resettlement meetings (Pre-resettlement)	Weekly meetings, directed to the dwellers that were going to be removed, to inform and discuss about the habitation units constructed by the PVV and compensation options; the rights and duties of the life in condominium; the logistic to the change of residence; and capacity-building concerning the role of the building manager.
Removal and Resettlement meetings (Post-resettlement)	Bimestrial meetings with the resettled dwellers in the habitation units to: clarify about the payment of urban services; approve the building convention that states about the regulation of the condominium, awareness about the life in condominium, mediation and resolution of conflicts between neighbors, discussion about eventual changes in the building structure.
Punctual meetings - construction sites	Punctual meetings to inform the dwellers directly affected by the interventions, and eventually request their opinion about the best equipment to be implemented in the upgraded area (e.g. in alleys urbanization).
Capacity-building (Environmental and Sanitary Education Program)	Meetings and workshops about themes regarding the environmental education and sanitary practices offered to the whole community.
Capacity-building (Professional qualification Program)	Meetings and workshops offered to the whole community to improve their professional capacity (e.g. Seamstress course).
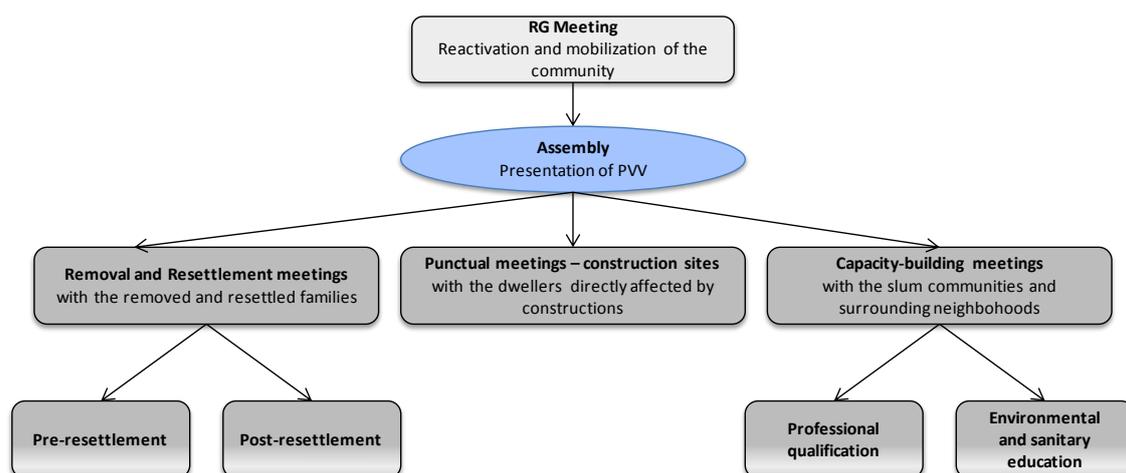
Figure 16: Overall structure of the participation process in the implementation stage (Source: Author based on Official Documents of the Programa Vila Viva)

V.II.I Who participated?

Regarding the stakeholders that acted in this stage of the slum upgrading, it is possible to notice that new actors were included in the project dynamics reflecting the integral and multidisciplinary nature of the PVV that demanded the active participation of institutions from all sectors and scales (Table 13).

Table 13: Description of the stakeholders in the implementation stage and their interests (Source: Author based on Official Documents of the Programa Vila Viva)

Stakeholder	Sector	Scale	Role in the implementation	Interests	Effect of project on the interests (+ 0 -)
Reference Groups	Official leadership of the AG in the PVV	Local	* Contact point between the URBEL and the AS dwellers * Multipliers of information gathered in the capacity-building program	*Implementation of the interventions proposed in the PGE *Fair finance compensations to the resettled families	+
Companhia Urbanizadora e de Habitação de Belo Horizonte - URBEL	Housing/upgrading	Municipal	Implementation of the PVV	*Regularization of informal settlements *Reduction of the housing deficit	+
Regional Centro Sul/City Hall of Belo Horizonte	Management of Urban and Social issues in the Central-South region of Belo Horizonte	Municipal (Central-south region)	Support the URBEL in the implementation of the PVV (institutional integration, communication with the *Aglomerado da Serra*)	Provide social and urban services to the central-south region of Belo Horizonte	+
Community Associations	Local leadership of the AG	Local	*Multipliers of information gathered in the capacity-building program	*Implementation of the interventions proposed in the PGE *Fair finance compensations to the resettled families	+
Slum Dwellers	Affected Community (direct)	Local	Beneficiaries	*Implementation of the interventions proposed in the PGE *Fair finance compensations to the resettled families	+
Surrounding neighborhoods	Affected Community (indirect)	Local	Unknown	*General improvements for the surrounding area of the slum *More security	+
Local Health Centers (Slum area/surroundings)	Basic health care	Municipal	* Support the activities of capacity-building	*Better work conditions and infrastructure *Improvement of the health statistics	+
Universities/Research Institutions	Research	Varied	* Support the activities of capacity-building	*Enhance academic knowledge about the slum upgrading	+
NGOs	Third sector	Varied	* Support the activities of capacity-building	* Improvement of the life quality of the slum dwellers * More security	+
Schools	Education	State and municipal	* Support the activities of capacity-building	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+
Local Business	Third sector	Local	Unknown	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+

Police	Public security	State and municipal	* Support the security in the area during the constructions * Support the activities of capacity-building	*Better work conditions and infrastructure	+
National Bank for the Social and Economic Development - BNDES	Financial	National	Finance of approximately 58% of the implementation of the PVV	National development	+
Caixa Econômica Federal - CEF	Financial	National	Finance of approximately 26% of the implementation of the PVV	National development	+
Municipal Treasury of Belo Horizonte	Financial	Municipal	Finance of approximately 16% of the implementation of the PVV	Municipal development	+
Municipal Secretariat of Urban Policies - SMURBE	Urban policies	Municipal	Inspect the implementation of the PVV	Ensure the adhesion of the urban policies of the municipality of Belo Horizonte	+
Municipal Secretariat of Environment - SMAMA	Environmental	Municipal	Inspect the implementation of the PVV	Ensure safe and legal environmental interventions	+
Consortium Camargo Correa/Santa Barbara	Construction	Private	Implementation of the physical infrastructure and housing in the PVV	Profit	+
Municipal Secretariat of Health	Health	Municipal	Establishment and reinforcement of municipal health programs in the slum area	*Provide health services to the population of Belo Horizonte *Reduce incidence of diseases	+
Municipal Secretariat of Education	Education	Municipal	Establishment and reinforcement of municipal education programs in the slum area	*Improve the education quality	+
Foundation of Municipal Parks	Municipal Parks	Municipal	Support the implementation of the PVV (capacity building, provision of seedlings, planning of the protected areas)	Environmental conservation and protection of the natural areas that surround the slum	+
BHTrans	Public Transport	Municipal	Support the implementation of the PVV concerning the public transport routes	Improve the urban mobility	+
Superintendencia de Limpeza Urbana - SLU	Urban cleaning services	Municipal	Support the implementation of the PVV (plan to garbage collection, capacity-building)	*Provide adequate garbage collection in the area of the slum in cooperation with the dwellers *Reduce garbage accumulation in inappropriate areas	+
Companhia de Saneamento de Minas Gerais – COPASA	Water and Sanitation	State	Provision of water and sanitation systems to the AS	*Regularization of the water and sanitation services in the slum *Increase the taxpayers	+
Companhia Energética de Minas Gerais - Cemig	Electricity	State	Provision of electricity connections to the AS	Regularization of electricity connections in the slum *Increase of the taxpayers	+

As depicted above, all key stakeholders would be affected positively with

the PVV implementation. Especially for the RGs, community associations and slum

dwellers, the implementation of such project reflecting their demands in the PGE, was seen as a triumph, as stated by some dwellers in interviews:

> *"Pedimo reforma em beco, praças, até ruas mesmo. Essa R. União que foi aberta, foi uma vitória aqui na vila."* "We requested the renovation of alleys, squares and even streets. This street *União* was opened, and was a victory to the community."(Slum dweller #5, interview date: 03/04/14).

> *"(...)Então foi um grande trunfo da nossa parte, foi muita luta e eu moro aqui a mais de 40 anos, sempre lutei pra trazer o melhor pro Aglomerado da Serra. Do que se trata de agua de energia, saneamento basico, transporte coletivo, saúde...porque esse ai é um basico de uma comunidade."* "(...) It was a great triumph for us, we fight for it. I live here more than 40 years and I always fought for the best to the *Aglomerado da Serra* in what concern water, basic sanitation, energy, health, because those are basic thins for a community." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

> "*Muita coisa boa. Porque tinha pessoas que não tinham onde morar, morava em casa de lona, sem saneamento básico, não tinha um banheiro, não tinha nada. Hoje, graças a deus, bom ou ruim eles tem os seus predinhos pra morar. Ninguem mora mais em área de risco (...).*" "Many good things happened. Before there were people that had no place to live or lived in precarious houses without sanitation. Today, thank god, good or bad they have the apartments to live. Nobody lives in risk areas anymore". (Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

In the third step of the stakeholder analysis, presented in the Table 14: Levels of importance and influence of the stakeholders in the implementation stage, it is noticed that the RGs lost in the intensity their influence, while the slum dwellers, together with the finance institutions (BNDES, CEF and Municipal Treasury), and the URBEL were considered the most influent and important stakeholders in the implementation stage. The URBEL remained with the executive role coordinating the finance resources allocation – according to the reference terms of each finance institution – and the proper execution of the construction. The RG kept their role being the formal representatives of the slum communities, and thus moderating the information provision and mediating conflicts as the contact point between the dwellers and the URBEL, while the slum dwellers had direct influence in the actions for removal and resettlement, and also in the constructions that affected them.

Moreover, the SMURBE and SMAMA were considered highly influence in this stage, since they had the power to intervene and/or impede the construction whenever they identified irregularities, although their active participation in the process was not as important as for the other actors.

Table 14: Levels of importance and influence of the stakeholders in the implementation stage (Source: Author based on Rietbergen-McCracken, 1998)

INFLUENCE OF STAKEHOLDER	IMPORTANCE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE STAKEHOLDER					
	Unknown	Little/no importance	Some importance	Moderate importance	Very important	Critical player
Very influential					* SMURBE * SMAMA	*Slum dwellers * URBEL * BNDES *CEF * Municipal Treasury
Significant influence				*Universities/Research Institutions *NGOs		* Reference Groups
Moderate influence						*Regional Centro Sul (City Hall/Southeast) * Community Assoc. * Building Company * Urban services institutions[1] *Municipal Secretariat/Foundations[2]
Some influence						
Little/no influence			*Surrounding neighborhoods *Local business *Schools *Local Health Centers *Police			
Unknown						

[1] Water and sewage (Copasa), electricity (Cemig), Garbage collection (SLU), public transport (BHTrans).
[2] Municipal Secretariat of Health, Municipal Secretariat of Education, Foundation of Municipal parks

The University/Research institutions and NGOs appear in this moment as an observer and critic of the upgrading process with a significant influence level. Since the start of the interventions a sort of material (articles, theses, congress proceedings) have been produced, many times, confronting the work of the public

authorities (e.g. Anselmo 2007; Gomes 2009; Pimenta et al. 2009). Also, this institutions acted as a important agents in the social mobilization (or demobilization) as mentions a slum dweller referring to a Human Rights Program from the Federal University of Minas Gerais:

> *"(...) Eles querem se capacitarem nas costas da miséria da população. e acham que a população é trouxa, que a populaçãoo é idiota. Então eles querem fazer o estágio deles em cima da pobreza e da miseria do povo. (...). Entao é isso, eles vem e põe na cabeça do povo que a prefeitura quer indenizar 30.000 (reais), 20. 000. Não existe! Porque se você, investiu 100.000 (reais) na sua moradia, eles tem que olhar isso. (...)"* "(...)They want to capacitate themselves over the misery of the people. They think that the population is dumb. So they come here to do internships and lay on the poverty of the people (...). They try to convince some dwellers that the city hall will pay a compensation of only 30,000 or 20,000 Reais. This is not true!. Because if you invested 100,000 Reais in your dwelling, they must consider this (...)." (Slum dweller #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

In this first phase, the upgrading project impacted the six settlements and promoted the removal of 2,341 families that were living in the intervention sites. These families had the option to receive finance compensation or an apartment in one of the housing units that would be constructed in the area of the *Aglomerado da Serra* (Evangelista 2012).

V.II.II Which is the significance of the participation?

<u>Influence and power</u>

1) *Are the six communities able to participate?*

High significance (3): Yes. The assemblies to present the program and clarify doubts were carried out in all six communities, and the interventions, where punctual meetings were carried out with the directly affected dwellers, also contemplated areas[8] of all settlements of the *Aglomerado da Serra*, as stated below:

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[8] The intervention areas varied between the settlements, being, in the first phase of the project the settlements N. Sra. De Fátima, Marçola and Santana do Cafezal the most affected.

> "*Na verdade, nós tinhamos um prognóstico, uma ação, que tem uma abrangência em todas as seis vilas, no Aglomerado da Serra inteiro. Então, como a gente atuou de maneira gradual, na medida que a gente ia evoluindo com a intervenção física, havia a demanda por liberação de algum trecho de obra. Então, na medida que este trecho de obra ia chegando pra gente com a planta de remoção da quele grupo de famílias, a gente chega para atuar com aquele grupo, como se a gente estivesse em uma vila, e depois em outra...pois a intervenção, por uma questão técnica da engenharia, ela aconteceu em uma determinada sequência.*" "Actually, we had a prognostic, one action that covered all the six settlements. So we acted gradually according to the evolution of the physical interventions. When there was an intervention in determinate area we met the families that lived there and explained what was going to happen. This followed this logic because due to engineering aspects the interventions shall be carried out in a determinate sequence." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

2) *Who or what has determined the rules in the upgrading plan?*

Medium significance (2): As in the planning stage, the determination of the meetings structure, methodology of social work and monitoring criteria were determined by the project team. For instance, the project team member #1 indicates that in the moment of the implementation, the participation strategy was guided by the *Projeto Técnico de Trabalho Social – PTTS* (Social Work Project) which is a demand of one of the finance institutions:

> "*Então, a gente tem que atender algumas exigências desse agente financeiro (a Caixa Econômica Federal), e uma delas é essa: elaborar e desenvolver esse lado social, através de um projeto de trabalho social, chamado de PTTS. (...). E no PTTS, por exigência normativa também desse agente financeiro, nós temos que atender alguns eixos, que nós também chamamos de programas de atuação na área social. Então temos que ter um programa de reassentamento, que é compulsorio, pois você não faz uma obra dessa sem fazer remoção e reassentamento de familias; programa de educação sanitária e ambiental; um programa de empreendorismo, mais ligado à iniciativas de geração de trabalho, de ocupação, de capacitacao profissional, e, se possível, renda.* " "So we have to fulfill some requests of the finance agent (the *Caixa Econômica Federal*), and one of them is to develop the social work by means of a social project called PTTS (...). And in this PTTS, due also to a normative request of the finance agent, we need to include specific axis to act on. We must have a resettlement program, which is compulsory because it is impossible to carry out an intervention of this scale without removing people; a environmental and sanitary education program; and a program to professional capacity-building and income generation." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

The community needs and the geographic location of the interventions were already established in the PGE, which was approved by the community at

that time. However, as stated by the project team member #4, this instrument only gives the general directives to the execution of the interventions. Thus, during the implementation stage some adjustments were carried out due to the technical feasibility indicated by the engineering team:

> *"O PGE é o que norteia as obras. Ele norteia para que fossem feitas tantas ruas, mas o trajetos em si sofriam ajustes no projeto executivo. Porque muitas vezes quando a gente inicia pra fazer uma obra a gente fala: "opa, aqui não dá pra fazer porque tem uma interferencia muito grande". Ou ate mesmo pelo número de unidades: "ó, é necessario ,pelo que a gente ta vendo ,deslocar algumas unidades habitacionais pra outras regiões para atender esse público alvo daqui e dali, pra pessoas ficarem cada vem mais próximas de onde vão sair. Então o PGE nos norteia com as quantidades e tudo, mas o executivo que vai nos informar o que vai fazer, aonde vai fazer."* "The PGE guide the interventions. It indicates how many streets need to be done, but the path was adjusted in the execution, because many times when you start the constructions you realize that some paths are unfeasible. So the PGE indicated what is needed but the executive project is going to decide where and what exactly will be done to achieve this." (Project team member #4, interview date: 20/03/14).

However it seems that these adjustments, provoked misunderstandings with the community that constantly claimed that the interventions comprised in the PGE were not accomplished as required:

> *"É. Inclusive, eles mudaram. Eu tenho todos os documentos, tenho o projeto em forma de uma maquete, eu tenho a ordem de serviço, o documento de quanto o prefeito deu ordem de servico para começar as obras, eles não obedeceram, alteraram todo po projeto para facilitar o consorcio que ai estava (...). E então, aquilo que foi aprovado, eles modificaram tudo em prol deles mesmo, ou em prol da empreiteira (...) Então a comunidade no todo, perdeu o direito daquilo que eles reivindicara, daquilo que eles indicaram como prioridade."* "They changed the project. I have all the documents to prove that they did not obeyed what was previously agreed. So they changed it in order to benefit the building company and themselves. Thus the community had lost what they once requested as priority." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

> *"O programa melhorou demais, mais não tá acontecendo o que a gente esperava."* "The program really improved a lot, but is not happening what we expected." (Reference group member #5, interview date: 17/03/14).

The aspect of the land tenure regularization is frequently mentioned as a point of great dissatisfaction of the population, who claims that they have no proper information about the current situation and also complain about the delay in delivering the regularization documents:

"Ninguém tem (titulação da terra) (...)Todas as casas já estão notificadas, já estão cadastradas, todos os becos, todas as ruas, pra esse fim, a regularização fundiária. E isso ai é uma coisa que vem rolando a muito tempo, inclusive você sabe que é lei, né, é um direito, é nosso direito, direto e dever nosso. (...)" "Nobody has it (the land tenure) (...) All the houses are already notified and registered to the land tenure regularization. This process has already a long time, but still we have nothing, and we know that this is our right and duty to have this." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

"Quero deixar bem claro, que no governo do PT (...) foi feito vistorias, marcações, mediçoes de áreas, e que cada morador teria um lote de 200 m2, e teria a sua escritura do seu terreno da sua moradia. Isso já deve beirar uns 15 anos ou mais, (...) Não foi discutido com a comunidade mais, a comunidade não tem o direito, porque eles não falam, não resolvem nada, e não dá explicação pra ninguém." "During the PT government inspections were carried out to regularize the land plots, and was said that we would receive the land title. More than 15 years have passed by and till now nobody has it. This was no more discussed with the community and they do not give any explanation to us" (Reference group member #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

The project team member #1 recognizes that the PGE proposals were not fully implemented in the first phase of the PVV, but argue that these will be carried out in the second phase of such project which is currently in operation:

"Algumas proposições realizadas no PGE, um número muito pequeno, dois lugares que não foram concluidos nesse primeiro contrato, mas que estão sendo feitos no segundo contrato. Então, no segundo contrato nós vamos concluir toda a proposição do PGE." "Some proposals of the PGE were not implemented in the first phase of the PVV but they are included in the second phase. Thus in the second phase we are going to complete all the proposals established in the PGE" (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

The URBEL also indicate that currently three zones of the Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement and one zone of the Marçola settlement were properly registered and are waiting the juridical process for the land tenure regularization.

Thus according to internal information provided by the URBEL, from the interventions executed in the first phase of the PVV, 10 proposals from the socio-economic scope were totally implemented, eight were partially carried out and seven were not developed by the PVV. In the urban-environmental scope five proposals were totally implemented, three were partially carried out and four

were not developed by the PVV. Some of these interventions that were not carried out by the PVV, were contemplated by other projects of the municipality, and some were not done because the proposals were already outdated at the time of the execution. A cross-check between the proposals of the PGE and the interventions of the PVV is presented in detail in the ANNEX II – Cross-check proposals of PGE versus interventions 1st phase of PVV

3) *Do communities have access to all decision-making processes?*

Medium significance (2): The strategy for the community participation in this moment changed in the sense that the actions were mainly focused on the community groups that would be directly affected by the interventions, having the reference group members and the rest of the dwellers less interference in the process, as stated in the following interview fragment:

> "*na execução essa participação, no nosso caso aqui, ela foi potencializada muito fortemente, por que aí nos fomos fazer uma participação mais direta com a população. Não é que relegamos os grupos de referência (...) mas acrescentamos os grupos de referência dentro de uma participação mais direta da comunidade (...). Indo diretamente à populaçao moradora, em vez de ficar discutindo, ou informando ou estabelecendo a interlocução apenas com os grupos de referencia, nos fomos direto à comunidade, à população que seria necessariamente atingidas pelas intervençoes, (...).*" "During the implementation, the participation was strength in the sense that the direct participation of the community was allowed. We did not relegate the reference groups (...) we add it into a more direct participation with the whole community (...). We accessed directly the dwellers instead of doing the discussions with the reference groups and establishing the communication only with them. We accessed the affected dwellers directly. (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13)

Thus, in this stage, the decision-making process was concentrated in the project team, who coordinated the actions of the building company and the finance resources according to technical premises. In this point, the directly affected dwellers could interfere in the constructions demanding changes in the structure of the project, and the community in general, including the reference group, could

make suggestions of location and structure of some interventions. These adjustments were carried out whenever the project team considered feasible, as indicated below:

> *"(...) as pessoas, as vezes, elas não tem essa reflexão das dificuldades técnicas (...). Mas é obvio, que se houvesse uma proposição, e se houvesse uma contraproposta pela comunidade que fosse algo viável, e isso já aconteceu, agente analisava sim, ta certo? Agora, se a gente tinha a convicção disso, pois a gente antes pesquisava, fazia prospecção, a gente era mais contundente. Agora, se a comunidade de todo modo, no momento da apresentação, dizia que "aqui nós não vamos aceitar", e fizesse uma manifestação, ou um protesto, então não faziamos."* "(...) the people sometimes do not know about the technical limitations of such project (...). If the community had a counter proposal that was feasible, and this had already happened, we analyzed that. However if we were sure about the best way to conduct the intervention, we did it as the technical conditions allowed. Nevertheless, if there was a strong rejection from the community, we went not further with the intervention." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

> *"Então, quando tem demanda de algum morador ou liderança que solicita alguma coisa, nós acompanhamos esse percurso. (...), por exemplo quando tinha algum problema tipo aquela casa não pode sair por algum motivo, o social falava pra gente e a gente via se tecnicamente era possível fazer essa troca."* "When a dweller or a reference group member demanded any adjustment in the intervention, we analyzed it to see if it was technically possible." *(*Project team member #4, interview date: 20/03/14).

> *"Olha é bem aberta (a participação do GR durante as obras). Sempre fica sabendo sobre as obras, a gente participa de reuniões, a gente adequa também as obras."* "The participation is very open. We always knew about the constructions, we attended to the meetings, and we also make adjustments in the interventions." (Reference group member #1, interview date: 03/04/14).

Due to this change in the participation strategy, some of the reference group members felt that they were excluded from the participation process. They claim that in this stage they had no voice in the decision-making and were not heard by the public authority as stated in the following fragments:

> *"(...) Depois de tudo pronto pra começar as obras, houve uma grande falta de respeito de funcionários da Urbel e dos executor das obras, (...), houve um grande desrespeito porque esse grupo de referência foi excluido. Ninguém ouvia mais, a Urbel não ouvia mais ninguém (...)."* "(...) when everything was set to start the interventions, there Urbel and the building company disrespected us (...), the reference group was excluded. Nobody listened to us anymore."(Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

"Após o PVV já ter começado as obras, houve uma coisa bastante desagradável, que nem eu to satisfeita (...). Por que a prefeitura em si, (...) começou a trabalhar sozinho, sem comunicar com ninguém." "After the PVV started the interventions, the city hall started to work alone, without communicating with everybody." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

"O que que aconteceu: eles fazia exatamente isso, inclusive nesse setor (remoção e reassentamento) era feita muitas reuniões. E eles fazia as reuniões, e fazia de tudo pra ninguém do grupo de referência não ir na reunião, pois aquele grupo de refêrencia, logico, sabia tudo que foi combinado, da maneira que era conduzido, da maneira que era ministrado essas reunioes (...). Esse grupo (GR) foram exicrados (...)" "They did many meetings in this sector (removal and resettlement). They did the meetings but did not invited the reference group members, who where the one aware about everything that was agreed before. The reference group was destroyed." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

"A liderança hoje é a primeira cala e a ultima que fala. Nós não temos direito de eligir nada." "The leadership currently is the last one that speaks and the first to shut up. We do not have the right to decide anything."(Reference group member #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

In the other hand, a directly affected dweller argues that this new strategy for participation was satisfactory, even though the direct participation of the leaderships was reduced.

"Mas quando a falta de participação da liderança, superou com a discussão direta com o morador, eu acho que não teve muito problema nisso aí. O morador assumiu todos os riscos do compromisso que ele fez diretamente. Acho que foi até uma parte legal pra nós." "But when the lack of participation of the leadership is overcome with the direct participation of the dweller, I see no problem in it. The dweller assumed all the risks of the commitment that they did directly with the authorities. I think that it was even good for us."(Slum dweller #3, interview date: 19/03/14).

Tanking into account the evidences presented above, the dimension of influence and power was classified in a medium/high level of the scale with a 2.3 grade (Figure 17).

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
				(2.3)		
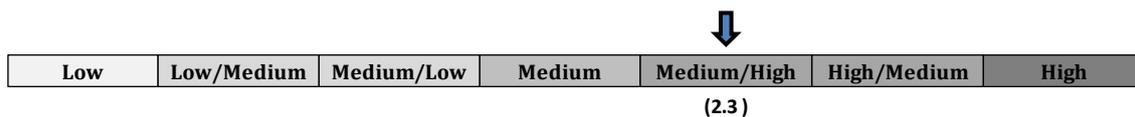
Figure 17: Participation significance for the dimension influence and power in implementation stage (Source: Author)

1) *Do communities have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program?*

High significance (3): Yes. In this stage the communities remained organized and the leaderships were active - especially when their settlement was receiving the constructions - even not having significant influence in the decision-making process, as indicated in the interview fragments below:

> *"As lideranças não se ausentaram não. (...) a Urbel sempre que teve problemas, teve o cuidado de chamar as lideranças para ta passando essas coisas (...). E nessa situação nós participamos. Para mediar o conflito. Agora decisão de onde ia ser executado com a empresa que pegou o serviço, já veio um pacotão fechado. A gente não tinha muito (o que fazer)..."* "The leadership were not absent. (...) Always when the Urbel had problems, it called the leaderships to help. So they participated to mediate the conflict. However the decisions regarding the constructions were made by the company responsible to do it." (Slum dweller #3, interview date: 19/03/14).

> *"Então na execução do PGE e do PVV eles sempre participaram de maneira muito conjunta. O que aconteceu, é que normalmenta as associações, ou a associação que estava pertencente ao um territorio onde estava atuando naquele momento, que estava com maior volume de obras, é que participava com mais força."* "In the execution of the PGE and PVV they participated mainly together. But in the moment that one settlement was receiving the interventions the correspondent association was more active in the participation than the others."(Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

2) *Does the project team have the capacity to develop and sustain community-based program?*

High significance (3): Yes. The project team had followed the directives indicated and approved in the PGE to develop the participation strategy within the PTTS, and also counted with a capacitated team to lead the participation process with the communities considering their context, as evidenced below:

> *"Na area social o projeto propõe que haja um trabalho social bastente consistente, bastante bem estruturado para acompanhar a intervenção, estabelecer sustentabilidade, mas principalmente para criar condições para as intervenções que vão acontecer."* "In the social area, the project proposes

a very consistent approach to accompany the interventions, establish the sustainability, and mainly create social conditions to the intervention occur." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

"As crianças participavam dentro da própria escola, nas atividades que a gente fazia nas áreas esportivas, nas áreas de lazer. No programa de empreendorismo nos criamos uma cooperativa de costura, que ai a gente estabelecia uma mobilização de trabalho com a comunidade. Nos cursos que agente implantou no decorrer da obra foram acontecendo conforme seu caráter. O curso na construção civil, que a própria empreitera concedeu no canteiro de obras. Ou seja, os lugares (onde eram realizadas as reunioes) eram compativeis onde eram realizadas as ações que a gente ia fazer." "The children participated in the school, in the activities that we developed in the sport areas or playground. In the program to generate income we created a seamstress cooperative. The capacity-building activities were carried out along the implementation according the context of the implementation. For instance, there was a course of construction that the building company conceded in the intervention areas for the workers. In other words, the locations where we did the activities were compatible with the context of the actions that would be carried out." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

In this stage, they also enhanced the capacity building program to the community in general in the thematic axis proposed in the PTTS (Environmental and Sanitary Education, Professional Qualification and Income Generation, and Resettlement), in order to support mainly the directly affected dwellers (especially the removed and resettled ones), as stated by the project team member #1:

"No eixo de programa de remoção e reassentamento, a gente atuava diretamente em uma ação extremamente prática e objetiva, seguindo uma concepção teórica de trabalho social, mais muita pratica para você atingir as familias moradoras do trecho de obras para preparalas para a intervenção deste programa, e acolher-las pois elas vao passar pro um processo de remocao e reassentamento." "In the axis Removal and Resettlement, we acted directly, following the theoretical concepts of social work, with the families that would be affected in order to prepare them to the consequences of the intervention." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

3) *Is the community involvement process effectively resourced?*

Medium significance (2): As explained by a project team member #1, in the first phase of the PVV only one of the finance institutions required that part of the resource was applied to the community participation process and the amount

1.14% of the total amount invested in the PVV execution was used for this purpose, as stated below:

> *"220 milhões de reais que foram investidos para a intervenção do Aglomerado da Serra. (...). Assim o que a prefeitura conseguiu foi dois agente financeiros; o BNDES e CEF. O BNDES foi o agente financeiro que destinou o maior volume de recursos para essa obra, em torno de 130 milhões. A CEF entrou com 56 milhões e a prefeitura entrou com o restante para completar os 200 e poucos (...). O BNDES por uma questão normativa, uma questão de caráter do banco, ele não financia trabalho social (...) não faz parte do enquadramento, do escopo de financiamento do BNDES. (...) Quando a CEF, forneceu os 56 milhões ela destinou 5% disso, que é normativo dela (até 5%, que depende da demanda e volume da intervenção) (...). No nosso caso chegou até cerca de 4,5%, quase chegou no 5%, deste valor."* "220 million Reais were invested to the intervention in the Aglomerado da Serra. The BNDES was the finance agent that provided more resources, followed by the Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), and the Municipal Treasury. The BNDS do not finance social work, while the CEF requires that 5% of its resources should be applied to this. In our case we used circa of 4.5% of the resources of the CEF to develop the social work." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

Concerning the dimension capacity-building in the implementation stage the participation significance achieved a high/medium level, as indicated in the following figure:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
					(2.6)	
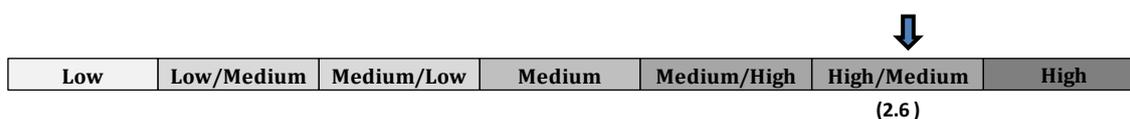
Figure 18: Participation significance for the dimension capacity-building in implementation stage (Source: Author)

Communication and learning

1) *Is there a coordinated approach to communication between the project team and communities?*

Medium significance (2): Partly. The communication channels and strategies were reinforced in this stage with the installation of the building company and project team (URBEL) offices inside the slum. This strategy is denominated *Gestão de Proximidade* (Proximity Manangement) and was created in order to generate a

closer dialog with the dwellers and to facilitate the direct communication with the community, as depict by the Project team member #4 in the following interview fragment:

> *"Eles vem direto (moradores). Por que o que no Vila Viva é muito importante: é a proximidade. Nós trouxemos o escritório aqui pra dentro. Então nós estamos em proximidade de contato. Então tudo é assim. A gente faz daqui uma mini-prefeitura. Demandas sobre as obras e outras demandas da comunidade acaba esbarrando aqui, porque eles consideram aqui como uma prefeitura."* "The dwellers come directly to us. In the PVV it is very important the proximity with the community. Therefore, we set the offices inside the slum in order to have a closer dialog with the dwellers. Here is like a small City Hall. All the demands that the community have, are directed to us." (Project team member #4, interview date: 20/03/14).

However, the change in the participation strategy, comparing to the PGE stage, was understood by the reference group members and other dwellers (who were not directly affected by the interventions) as an abandon or rejection of their participation, as indicated in the following interview fragments:

> *"Desde as primeiras entrevistas (no PGE), eu participava. Sabia de tudo como que ia ser (...). Mas acontece o seguinte, que depois eu não entendi, o que foi com a prefeitura, que a gente não está por dentro de tudo passa por la."* "In the interviews in the PGE I participated and I knew everything that was going to occur (...). However, currently we do not know what is happening in the City Hall." (Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

> *"Não. Nem fiquei sabendo (Dos cursos de capacitação e educação ambiental). Igual eu te falei: existe (as atividades), mas a informação é muito supérfula. Não abrange toda a comunidade."* "I was not aware about the capacity-building courses. As I told you, the activities exist, however the information regarding them do not reach all the community." (Slum dweller #5, interview date: 03/04/14).

> *"E quando a gente cobra, quando esse GR cobra, (o técnico do projeto) nao tem respostas. Então eu acho, que da mesma maneira que nós participamos três anos pra elaborar e confeccionar o projeto, e depois ir pra Brasília, como eu disse para a Camara Municipal, todo aquela obra que a comunidade achou que era necessário e que entrou no projeto teria que ser feita, ou no minimo alguém falar porque que não fez. (...)"* "When the RG asks for information, the project team does not have answers. I think, that in the same way we collaborated with the development of the plan and supported the acquisition of the finance resources, we should be updated about the interventions, including receive explanations regarding the interventions that were not done." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

This fact can indicate that this change in the participation process was not properly coordinated with the community and with the other actors of in this stage

and, therefore, the assistance to the community in general was debilitated provoking the dissatisfaction and also confusion of the dwellers:

> *"Ta faltando muita comunicação, muita comunicação. O PVV trabalha do lado de lá, a Regional centro-sul trabalha do lado de cá. O OP ta dentro da regional centro-sul. Ai a Vila Viva abraçou ele mas não se reuni com o povo. Não reune, a Vila Viva não reune com o povo. De espécie nenhuma. Então ta aquela divisão, por exemplo: a gente vai pra la e a gente escuta: "A sua obra vai ser executada assim, assim, assim, lá" na regional. Mas nós nao sabemos se ela vai ser executada atraves do OP ou atraves do Vila Viva. Então não casou os dois ainda. Tá um de la e outro de cá."* "There is a lack of communication. The PVV seems to be not integrated with the *Regional centro-sul* and with the PB. The *Programa Vila Viva* do not have meetings with the community. When we go to the PB meetings we hear about the interventions but we do not know what is from the PB and what is from the PVV." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

Nevertheless, it is clear that the treatment to the directly affected dwellers was well supported as indicated below:

> *"As famílias que foram reassentadas, nós tivemos um trabalho muito intenso com eles, então criou com eles também uma prática, ou uma rotina, ou uma necessidade deles buscarem informações, reividicarem outras coisas, buscarem nos solicitar também outras demandas. Porque a gente fez o acompanhemanto, assim, de executar reparos nos prédios que ás vezes eram necessários, passar algumas informações de demandas que eles tinham, (organizadas ou individuais.)"* "We had a intense work with the resettled families and this created a link between the community and us, in the sense that they come to us to ask for information and to demand what they need, for instance repairs in the buildings." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

> *"Todas as vezes que eu fui lá eu fui atendida, eu pude falar do meu problema. eu só nao tive o retorno que eu esperava. Mas isso ai a gente nem sempre vai ter na vida. Mas assim, eu nunca tive dificuldade"* 'Every time I was in the office was assisted, I could express my problem. Not always I had the answer that I expected, but I understand that not always we can get what we want." (Slum dweller #5, interview date: 03/04/14).

Additionally, it is possible to see that also in this stage the reference group was used to support the mobilization of the community, in order to them about the interventions that were foreseen or were being executed in their settlements, as indicated below:

> *"A gente ficava sempre sabendo pela (Liderança). A (Liderança) dava os bilhetinhos que tinha as reuniões aí falavam que iam fazer um obra no Beco José dias, por exemplo, aí explicava o local, se ia ter ônibus, etc..."* "We got to know about everything through the leadership. The leadership gave us the folders that informed about the meetings and the interventions that would

be carried out in the settlements." (Slum dweller #6, interview date: 03/04/14).

2) *Is there a coordinated approach to learning between the project team and communities?*

Medium significance (2): As in the PGE the learning process in this stage was carried out by means of a continuous monitoring of the participation process, as stated by the project team member #1:

> *"Então este monitoramento e esta avaliação foram acontecendo ao longo do tempo. O que aconteceu no final, foi que na conclusão do contrato, até por normativa e exigência do agente financeiro, a gente trabalhou uma pesquisa (...) Nós usamos nossa equipe para aplicar uma pesquisa, consideramos que os profissionais eram ético, honestos, e aplicamos uma pesquisa para apresentarmos esse resultado, essas avaliacao, ta certo? Isso poderia ter sido feito por outros profissionais mas foi feito por nós. Ai nessa pesquisa, ai sim, ai a gente estabelece um monitoramento e uma avaliação final dos resultados.."* "The monitoring and evaluation were carried out continuously along the implementation. In the end of the contract the finance agent requests a final evaluation to assess the outcomes of the project. We assumed that our team was honest and ethic enough to conduct this research and therefore it was carried out by our team in the field. In this research we established the monitoring and the final evaluation of the outcomes." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

During the PVV, differently from the PGE, the monitoring methodology was structured and presented as an official document. It indicates the general numbers related to the participation strategies, and also the results of the survey carried out with the resettled families regarding their satisfaction front the implementation of the upgrading project (Fonseca, Lima, and Cardoso n.d; URBEL 2010, p.5) Nevertheless, also in this stage there is no directives that indicate how the information gathered should be used to promote the reflection and learning of the project team and community regarding the participation.

Although the lack of formal documents to evidence this parameter, in the interviews with the community was possible to identify that they had somehow reflected about their participation and about the work of the project team in this

stage. As indicated by the reference group member #4, the deficient communication may have led to a demobilization of the community in what concern the importance of their active participation to achieve the improvements:

> *"Ás vezes a família que recebeu moradia, chegou a desafiar que o negócio (melhorias na favela) não tinha nada a ver com você (liderança comunitária), e que é a prefeitura só e tal. Eles (a prefeitura) deveria, se fosse um pouquinho de bom senso, dizer que nós é que fizemos (as melhorias). Nós é que demos mastigado para eles. Simplemente, dizer que foi através da associação de bairro, que esse é o representante..."* "Sometimes the people that received the housing units claimed that the improvements in their lifes we given by the City Hall and did not recognized the work of the leadership. The City Hall should highlight that the improvements were carried out because of the participation of the leaderships and the community associations." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

This dimension was classified as medium in the assessment scale, as indicated in the Figure 19.

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High
			(2)			
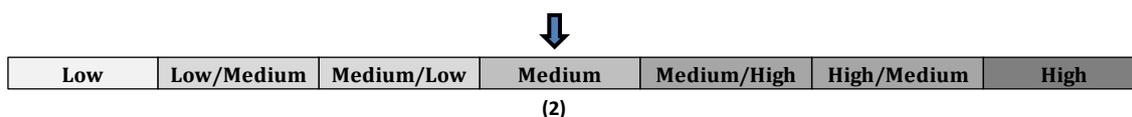
Figure 19: Participation significance for the dimension communication and learning in implementation stage (Source: Author)

Impacts and outcomes

1) *Does participation make a difference?*

Medium significance (2): The community recognizes that their participation was crucial to achieve improvements for their settlements:

> *"A história é o seguinte: todo o trabalho a comunidade tem que estar em peso (...). É a mesma coisa de uma congregação. Se os membros não tiver ali ativos (...) aquela igrejinha nunca cresce."* "It is like a congregation. The community must participate to see the improvements."(Reference group member #5, interview date: 17/03/14).

> *"Foi tudo luta da gente. Isso aqui era ruim. Isso aqui nao era pra ser predinho. Eu fiquei ate boba quando sairam esses predinho."* "Everything is the outcome because of our fight. Here was very bad before, and now I am surprised that we have buildings."(Slum dweller #7, interview date: 17/04/14).

Nevertheless, in this stage the reference group members understood that their participation was scorned and not properly recognized by the project team. This fact associated with the non accomplishment of all proposals established in the PGE, contributed to the loss of credibility of the traditional leadership front the communities and, therefore, discouraged the dwellers to cooperate with them in the participation arenas, as stated by the following interviews:

"Por que nós, líderes comunitários, precisamos da presença das pessoas. Porque quando as pessoas da comunidade abandona a gente, a gente perde a força. Foi o que aconteceu com a liderança comunitária do Aglomerado da Serra. (...)Então houve uma desmotivaçao muito grande da participação popular no Agloemerado da Serra por causa de politicagem, então as pessoas se afastaram, muitas não voltaram até hoje, por falta de compromisso, falta de cumprir aquilo que foi combinado e documentado, e aprovado pelo legislativo, pelo executivo, e pelas comissoes de referencia e pelo povo." "We community leaderships need the participation of the community members, because when they abandon us we lose our strength. That is what happened with the community of the *Aglomerado da Serra*. (...) The community is discouraged to participate because of the lack of the commitment of the City Hall that has not accomplished what was agreed with us." (Reference group member #2, interview date: 19/03/14).

"As famílias já começa a não querer mais participar. Ela diz pra gente assim: "Não.. a prefeitura que me deu meu barraco, meu documento, foi a prefeitura que fez isso, que fez aquilo..." Que dizer: a liderança ficou fora. Então, como que a liderança vai ficar arrastando gente pra participar, como é necessário? (...) Quer dizer: isso tira a autonimia da associação, para ficar só na base da prefeitura." "The families no longer want to participate. They tell us that the city hall had gave the benefits to them and that the leadership has nothing to do with that. So how should we bring the people to participate when it is necessary? This takes the autonomy of the community association away." (Reference group member #4, interview date: 13/03/14).

"Bom, no início de todo esse processo, a participação popular era incentivante, era uma população que realmente se juntava às lideranças e ajudavam a liderança a cobrar e a progredir, e buscar aquilo que era de melhor para eles. Mas depois que a prefeitura veio com essa burocracia toda, que um processo de projeto leva 5, 6 anos pra ser projetado, como tem obra ai que ta pra mais de 10 anos aí, que ainda não foi executadas. A população vai desistindo. Você pode chamar, chamar, chamar que um mínimo que aparece lá é 7, 10, 40, 50 pessoas de uma comunidade.." "In the beginning of this process the participation was stimulating, the dwellers were united with the leaderships and together we requested the improvements. However, after this bureaucracy of the City Hall, of a project that takes 5, 6 years to be projected, and also that till now have not been concluded makes the people give up. Currently, we try to mobilize the community to participate, but only 7, 10, 40, 50 people show up." (Reference group member #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

Thus, in one of the communities the respective leadership indicated his discourage in continuing the participation, due to this fact:

> *"(…) então a Vila Fátima tá parada. (…) então a liderança da Vila Fátima desistiu de participar, porque nós temos obras aí de 2004, ainda de obras do PAC 1 sem fazer (…)"* "(…) So the *Nossa Sra. De Fátima* Settlement stopped. This settlement desisted to participate, because there are interventions to be done since 2004, and there is still interventions of the first phase of the PVV unconcluded." (Reference group member #3, interview date: 24/03/14).

Also, some dwellers assume that the community participation is decreasing along the time due to some reasons:

> *"Ela tinha aquela força (Liderança comunitária). Mas também, além dessa força a gente pensa também que lá não tinha nada, nada mesmo. Então a comunidade valorizava mais (a atividade da liderança) (…) Porque na (Vila Fátima) eles conseguia mobilizar muita gente, mas agora já vai menos. Então a gente também fica perguntando: Sera que é por que a liderança tá perdendo a força, ou se é por que agora eles já tem bastante coisa? (….)."* "The leadership had that strength. But we think that maybe this strength was more powerful when there was no infrastructure in the settlement. Thus the community valued more the leadership work. However, currently there is less participation, and I sometimes ask myself: "Is that because the leadership is losing strength, or is because the settlement has already achieved the improvements that were needed?"(Reference group member #1, interview date: 03/04/14).

> *"Aí foi a onde a gente tá ficando um pouco perdido pela essa programação que começou muito ativa, junto com a URBEL aqui, até terminar as obras tava ali mais ativo, entendeu? Agora eles convida, mas você nao ve a pessoa ali que recebeu o beneficio, interessado, pedir pros outros demais que ficou perdido pra trás."* "That why I got a bit lost, because in the beginning the participation was really active together with the Urbel. After the interventions, the people who were directly beneficiated did not want to participate, to keep requesting the benefits to other dwellers."(Reference group member #5, interview date: 17/03/14).

2) *Are the outcomes of participation inclusive?*

High significance (3): As explained above, in this stage the community participation was less robust than in the planning stage, being the decision-making concentrated in the project team, and some proposals were not implemented in the first phase of the project. Nevertheless, the interventions carried out in this moment impacted all the six communities and executed many of their demands. In this sense, the project team #1 mentions that there are currently two realities

inside the slum regarding the achievements of the interventions that were beneficial to all:

> *"Entao você tem aí dois universos, que não tem conflito nenhum. (...) Eles (os moradoreds que não foram reassentados) sentem até uma autoestima muito elevada ao ver um vizinho sendo reassentando e saber que ele também irá usisfruir de uma condição melhor, (...). (...) de modo geral aqueles que conseguiram já obter o benefício da intervenção, eles também ficam muito satisfeitos de ter também uma qualidade de vida alterada em relação a isso, tá?"* "So you have to universes, and there is no conflict in it. (...) The dwellers that were not resettled even feel a high self-esteem when they see a neighbor being resettled and knowing that he is going to benefit from the infrastructure as well (...) In general the ones who could receive the benefit of the intervention are very satisfied to have the life quality improved." (Project team member #1, interview date: 19/07/13).

Thus, as demonstrated above the impacts and outcomes dimension achieved medium/high significance in the assessment as indicated below:

Low	Low/Medium	Medium/Low	Medium	Medium/High	High/Medium	High

(2.5)
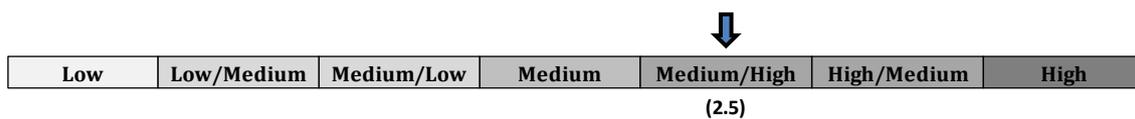
Figure 20: Participation significance for the dimension impacts and outcomes in implementation stage (Source: Author)

To summarize, in the implementation stage the level of significance was also classified as medium/high (Figure 21).
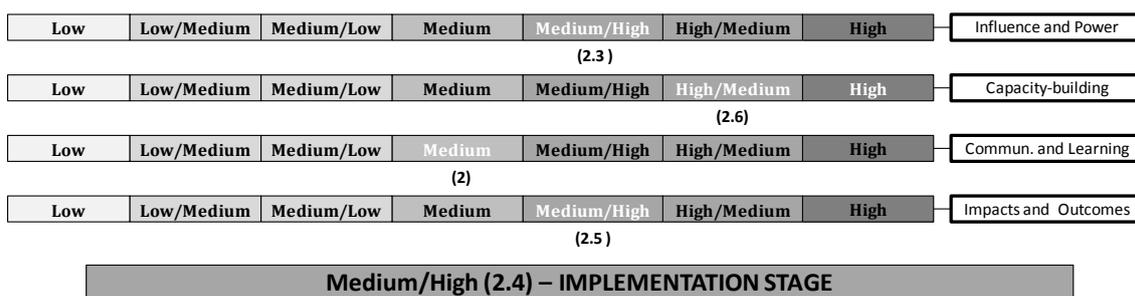
Figure 21: Participation significance in implementation stage (Source: Author)

V.II.III Which is the level of participation?

Analyzing this stage under the typology of Choguill (1996) it is possible to identify that the level participation allowed was mainly **informative** and

diplomacy. The level of participation in this stage seems to decrease because the PVV implements what was decided with the community in the PGE. Thus, it is somehow assumed that, even after five years of time gap, the dwellers would still agree with the directives and proposals established at that time.

Starting with the meeting to reactivate the reference groups - and consequently the start of the community mobilization - and the kick-off assembly, the community was informed about the constructions that would be executed and had information about the timeframe, category of interventions that would be done in their settlement, and the areas where people should be removed.

After this first moment, the project team and the building company directly notified the dwellers that would be removed, in order to inform them about their options (resettlement in the habitation units or financial compensation). Once these dwellers decided to choose the habitation unities, they were set in a resettlement group that was the target for the numerous meetings denominated "Pre-resettlement", and after their movement to the apartments "Post-resettlement". As stated in the official documents, these meetings had an informative and organizational character (URBEL n.d, p. 18) and had the goal to support them to adapt to the new lifestyle in a condominium.

This group had direct access to the project team and building company along all the intervention period, and could suggest changes in the original design of the apartments or complain about defects in it. These requests were sent to be analyzed by the project and building team, who approved the changes whenever feasible. Thus, in this scope of action the level of participation achieved can be considered **informative**.

The other group that was target for mobilization and participation was composed by the dwellers that were directly affected by constructions, for example the renovation of alleys and squares. The meetings with this group are characterized as **informative**, but in some cases they could be also considered **diplomacy**. For instance, for the renovation of the alley Santo Antonio, the affected dwellers received a questionnaire where they could indicate the best option to use the alley area. A sample of this document is provided below.

Figure 22: Sample of the questionnaire used to consult the dweller affected by the constructions (Source: Official documents PVV)

Regarding the participation in the capacity-building programs it achieved the **informing** level due to the nature of the action. Nevertheless, in the documents consulted is indicated a meeting where the community could discuss with the project team the theme of the professional qualification program. Although no evidence of this was provided, in an interview with a community dweller, she mentions an informal consultation action:

> *"Ai depois é que, que como eles me viram la bordando e fazendo…ai eles falaram "ô Dona 'fulana', vamos fazer uma cooperativa" e tal…ai começo né. Um falava dali, outro falava daqui se a gente tinha interesse, e agente falava que podia vir que nós tamo aqui (…)"* "They saw me sewing and asked if I was interested in the formation of a cooperative. Then I told them yes."(Slum dweller #1, interview date: 17/03/14).

Thus, in this scope the consultation level may also be considered to be achieved, but in low grade.

VI.   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section the findings are summarized and discussed with the appropriated referential framework, answering the questions established in the section I.III Objectives which refers to the objectives of this study.

VI.I How the participation process was carried out?

The planning and implementation stages of the upgrading project in the *Aglomerado da Serra* carried out different strategies to allow the community participation.

In the planning stage the sequence of actions were carried linearly starting with the information collection and followed by information analysis and development of proposals. The participation process in this stage was mainly based on representatives and embraced the six communities of the slum cluster.

In the implementation stage, the participation process followed the physical interventions schedule and was focused on the groups of dwellers that were directly affected by the constructions and/or were resettled. In this moment the direct participation of the dwellers was reinforced, while the power of the representatives was reduced.

VI.II Who participated?

In the context of the slum community, three groups of stakeholders were defined for this analysis: the slum dwellers that represent the community in general and do not have direct access to the decision-making arena; the reference group members, which are the official representative of these dwellers in the

decision-making regarding the upgrading project; and the slum dwellers that were directly affected by the interventions.

In the development of the PGE 13 stakeholders have participated providing information, articulating institutions and financing the plan. In this stage the participation per representation was adopted and therefore, the most important and influential actors in this moment were the project team, represented by the URBEL and the consultancy company hired to elaborate the plan, and the Reference Groups, who represented the communities in the decision-making arena together with the project team.

As indicated by Imparato and Ruster (2003) the participation per representation is an adequate strategy to involve the community in the decision-making regarding a slum upgrading project, as long as the representatives act as a bridge between the local authority and the community in general. Although there is many constraints and critics regarding this topic in the literature in general (e.g. Gaventa 2004) in the case of this slum upgrading project, it seems that the representativeness was authentic. Due to the long time of community leadership carried out by the main members of the reference groups, it is possible to infer that their representativeness was legitimized by the slum dwellers. This fact is evidenced when some of the dwellers mentioned, in the interviews, that there were a constant negotiation between the dwellers and the reference group members before they take the final decisions. Nevertheless here is important to remark that this finding can be biased, since the majority of the dwellers interviewed were suggested by the reference group members. Therefore, it is

possible that slum dwellers that did not share the same perspective have been suppressed in the data collection.

The implementation stage counted with 25 stakeholders. The increase in the number of stakeholders can be attributed to the integral and inter-sectoral characteristic of the slum upgrading project, which demands a broader articulation with institutions of different sectors and scales in order to achieve the provision of services and amenities to the slum. This fact, as mentioned by Lobato, Silva, and Bicudo (2003) for the Program *Favela-Bairro*, is positive in the aspect that enhance the quality of the interventions, but also present important challenges in what concerns the commitment and the coordination of multiple actors.

Regarding the actions conduced with the community, at this moment, the participation strategy shifted to a direct contact with the dwellers, specifically the ones that would be somehow affected by interventions. As sustained by Imparato and Ruster (2003, p. 16) "Poor intermediation and poor management of the project cycle may mean that stakeholders' expectations are first raised and then frustrated by long delays or changes of approach, compounded by lack of information on their cause or discussion of alternative remedies to the situation with the stakeholders". Corroborating with this statement, in the case of the *Aglomerado da Serra* a conflict between the reference group members and the project team, seemed to have emerged due to this shift in the participation strategy. As evidenced by the interviews, the RG members felt excluded from the participation process and this caused a loss of credibility in the local authority that had earned the trust of the dwellers during the planning stage. Therefore, one of the main

qualities that are claimed to enhance the community engagement, the trust (Gaventa 2004), was broken in this moment.

Although this approach can also be understood as a reinforcement of the individualistic behavior in the community, - in the sense that the beneficiaries had direct access to the URBEL and stopped to request improvements that would benefit the collectivity (as claimed in some interviews) - in other hand it enhances the support to these dwellers and open the participation arena to a broader level (at least in numeric terms). This fact was recognized by these dwellers, who externalized their satisfaction regarding their participation and the support offered by the project team in this stage.

In the PVV the influence of the finance institutions in the design of the participation mechanism was identified. This fact validates the observation of Magalhães and Villarosa (2012) which indicates that the interests of these institutions may suppress the community's ones in the negotiation with the local authority.

VI.III How significant was the participation process?

As indicated by Imparato and Ruster (2003) the planning stage shall evoke more resources to mobilize, capacitate and organize the community, because is in this moment that the majority of the decisions are made. As a consequence of this fact in all dimensions analyzed, the planning stage achieved a higher level of significance (Figure 23).

PLANNING   **IMPLEMENTATION**
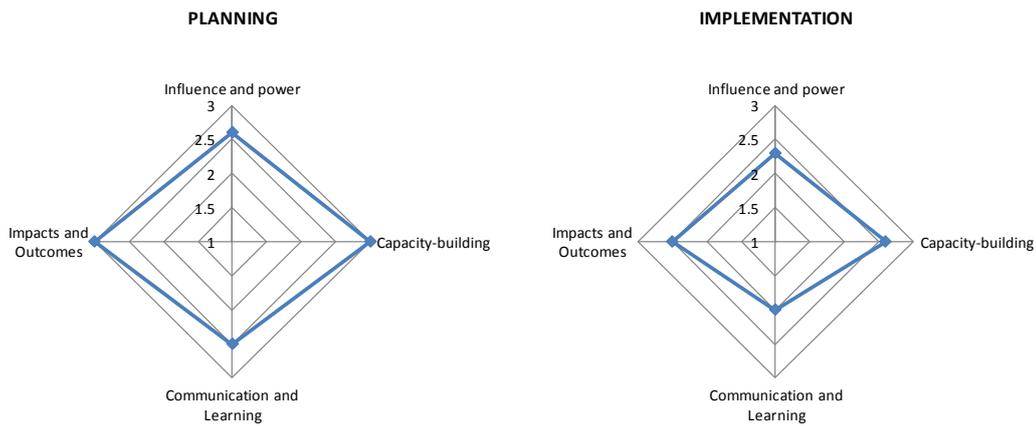
Figure 23: Level of significance achieved in the planning and implementation stages (Source: Author)

Concerning the dimension "Influence and Power" in both stages actions to allow the participation of all communities of the *Aglomerado da Serra* were carried out and, therefore, it can be considered that in this aspect the participation process was inclusive. Also in both stages the majority of the procedures to plan/execute were determinate by the project team. This fact corroborates with the idea Imparato and Ruster (2003) who indicate that the experts normally take the control of the design of the project based on the assumption/conclusion that the community do not have the technical capacity to play this role. In relation to the decision making, in the implementation stage community power was reduced. In this moment it was assumed that all the interventions planned were already approved by the community, and changes in the design of the original proposals were considered as an exception when came from the demand of the community, and were carried out according to the engineering logic and policies update.

Regarding to the "Capacity-building" dimension, as stated by Burns et al (2004, p. 30) "Many community participation strategies have collapsed because they have not had sustained political leadership." In the case of the *Aglomerado da Serra* was evidenced that these leaderships were consistent, and that they were

active in both stages of the upgrading project requiring information, charging for results and mediating conflicts. The project team seems also to have the capacity to develop and sustain a community base project since it conjugated the staff of the local authority, which had a consolidated knowledge of the slum and the municipal policies, and technical experts that had the know-how related to the participatory approaches. Nonetheless, as stated by Burns et al. (2004, p. 28) "Community participation does not just happen – it needs a strategy, resources, commitment, time and a planned approach. It also requires attention to capacity building in partner agencies as well as communities". During the planning stage they applied efforts to capacitate the reference group members, in order to enhance their participation and critical analysis in the development of the plan. In the implementation capacity-building programs were provided to the general community to support them in the use of the new equipments and infrastructure, and also to enhance the sustainability of the project.

In what concerns the finance resources disposed to the participation process, Imparato and Ruster (2003, p. 18) observed that participatory projects cost between 10% and 15% more than non participatory projects. Burns et al. (2004) established that a minimum of 5% of the total budget should be destined to this purpose, so that the participation process could be considered effectively resourced. In the planning, it achieved approximately 12 %, fulfilling this parameter, but in the implementation this value was much under the value proposed, because only one of the finance actors required in its scope the realization of a participatory work. This fact reinforces the observation of Magalhães and Villarosa (2012) about the influence played by the finance agents in the design of a project.

From the four indicators, the communication and learning received the lower value for both stages. In what concern the topic "Coordinated approach to learning between the project team and communities" both stages received a medium qualification due to the lack of consistent guidelines to monitor the participation process. This corroborates with the following statement of Burns et al. (2004, p. 44):

> "Often groups and organizations do not see learning as high priority, but it is vital to any participation process, in particular where issues are complex and controversial. If people are asked their views on things without having explored the issues with other people, or without really knowing what the alternatives or opportunities are, then they can only participate in a limited way. Very often we have found that the professionals who are given the job of working with communities have never had any community development."

Without having these clear guidelines to track this together with the community both parts lose the opportunity to learn with their own mistakes, and to improve their strategies to a achieve a meaningful participation. The question of learning is for Ran (2012) a normative benefit that the participation can bring both to the community and project team, allowing them to increase the understanding of the process and, thus, promoting changes in their awareness and maturity to deal with their problems.

Another point that deserves to be highlighted is the communication aspect. In the PGE, it seems that the communication considering the three actors: project team, reference group members, and dwellers, was effective since the statements of the dwellers indicate their awareness and their satisfaction in contributing to the elaboration of the plan. Nevertheless, the shift in this strategy in the PVV has created a rupture in the communication channel generating confusion between the dwellers. At this point, the reference group members claim that the lack of communication made many of the dwellers believe that the interventions were a

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benefit "given" by the municipality, and not a result of their participation. This fact, contributed to the loss of credibility of the URBEL front the leaderships, and of the leadership in the view of the dwellers, who did not recognized the work of the reference group. A consequence of this was the discouragement of the leaderships in contributing with the municipality, and the decrease in the number of people in the participation arenas, as stated by some interviewees. This point goes back to the question of losing trust, and indicates how much a bad communication channel can put the reputation of a project in risk.

Finally, in respect of the dimension "Impacts and Outcomes", the evidences indicate that in both cases the outcomes of the participation included all six communities of the *Aglomerado da Serra*. Nonetheless, also here the implementation stage seems to be less meaningful in relation with the planning in what concerns the recognition from the part of the community of the advantage of their participation. According to Gaventa (2004, p. 28) " (…) one way to strengthen the quality and sustainability of forms of community leadership and participation is to focus on the results and outcomes which emerge from such engagement." In this sense, since that in the PVV a proper monitoring and communication strategies seems to have not occurred, part of the community was discouraged to keep participating, especially the leaderships that claim not to see their work being valorized.

Nevertheless, as sustained by Lobato, Silva, and Bicudo (2003), the low participation cannot be attributed only to the loss in the credibility in the local authority and to the deficient strategy of participation, but also to the political tradition and organization of the community.

Despite of these constraints, the significance of the participation in the planning and implementation stages were situated in a high-medium and medium-high levels, respectively, and was possible to notice during the field work that, apart from the critics regarding the deficient communication and impairment of the leaderships in the implementation stage, that, in general, the upgrading could fulfill many of the expectations of the dwellers and also achieve the majority of the interventions proposed in the PGE.

VI.IV Which level of participation was achieved?

The participation level varied between the stages and among its phases as depicted in the Figure 24.
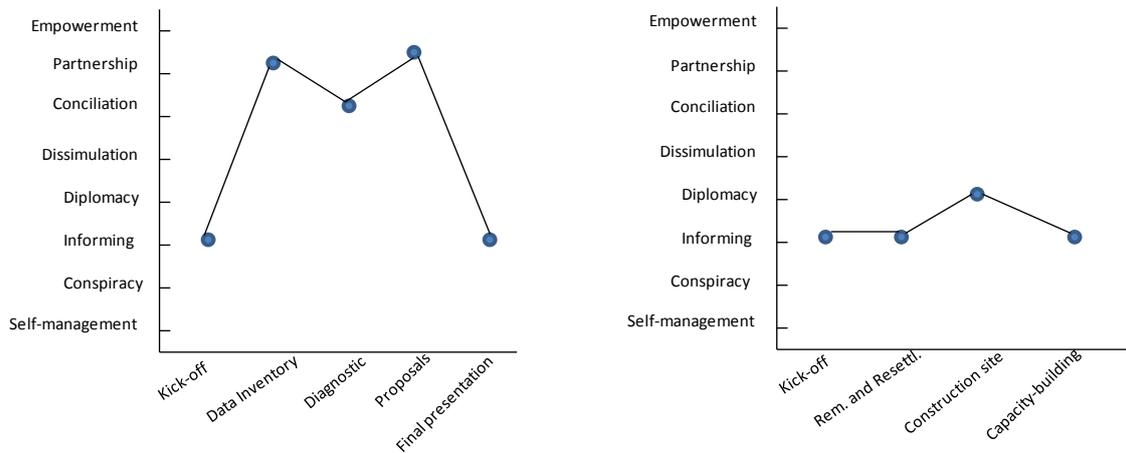
Figure 24: Levels of participation achieved in the planning and implementation stages (Source: Author)

As indicated by Arcila (2008 p. 35) it is very difficult to always guarantee the same level of participation along the upgrading process, because the dynamics of the project also changes. In this sense, based on the idea of effective levels of participation in each stage of a slum upgrading project from Hamdi and Goethert (1997 *apud* Arcila 2008), it is possible to notice that in the planning stage levels of partnership were achieved in the data inventory and proposals. In the diagnostic

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the participation of the community decreased to the level of conciliation. In this stage the rational is the design of the plan and is carried out by the project team, having the community the power to approve the final text or not. In the implementation, as also indicated by Hamdi and Goethert (1997 *apud* Arcila 2008), all levels of participation could take place. In the case of the *Aglomerado da Serra*, it remained between diplomacy and informing, indicating that in this stage the process was mainly conducted by the local authority and building company.

Imparato and Ruster (2003, p. 44) indicate that depending on the level of involvement of the community, a different outcome can be expected:

- Participation in information gathering and analysis raises the awareness level in relation to the area's problems and resources;

- Participation in the analysis of alternatives for intervention and in area development planning allows the project to make better, more informed decisions and enables local people to get acquainted with the key concepts of planning and development in relation to their area;

- Participation in the analysis of alternatives and in the decision-making related to the organization of construction activities offers opportunities for community members to know and understand relevant details of the infrastructure being implemented;

- Participation in the discussion of project costs and alternatives for cost recovery and operations and maintenance enhances cost consciousness and acquaints local people with the key issues involved in the conservation of

the benefits generated by a project, laying the groundwork for a successful post-implementation phase.

Regarding to the expected outcomes of the participation, it can be considered, that in general, the upgrading project in the *Aglomerado da Serra*, has only missed to promote the discussion with the community about the project costs (See section II.III Community participation in the slum upgrading, for further details). The other outcomes expected by the application of the participation strategies indicated by Imparato and Ruster (2003, p.44), seems to have been achieved, based on the analysis of the interviewee statements. Also, it is recognized that to achieve higher degrees of participation in the slum upgrading project a higher level of qualification and organization of the community is required, and also the procedures applied by the local authorities improved.

VII.   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The planning and implementation of the slum upgrading program in the *Aglomerado da Serra* were carried out considering the participation of the slum communities. Although the strategies to allow this participation differed between the stages and achieved different levels of community involvement, it was evident that the significance of the process established achieved the higher levels of the standard. Additionally, multiple actors were involved in both stages establishing an integrated upgrading approach consistent with the complex reality of the slum.

The findings of this study indicate that the PGE and *Programa Vila Viva* carried out in the *Aglomerado da Serra* can be considered a participatory project of slum upgrading. Nonetheless, there is still room for improvements in the participatory methodology. Relevant shortcomings were found, especially regarding the communication, learning and monitoring strategies applied. In this sense, in the following paragraphs the current situation and challenges in the planning and implementation of the slum upgrading project will be briefly descript. Subsequently, recommendations for the improvement of the participation strategy will be presented.

VII.I Planning

The planning stage had a participative approach that involved the community as partners of the project team. Although the process is still not perfect, as indicated in the sections above, it is known that the local authority has been adapting and improving the participation methodology based on their practical experience. As explained by a member of the project team, currently they

take care that the entire process is recorded and that the complete documents are available to the community. This action increases the transparency of the project and therefore can reduce misunderstandings at the time of the interventions. Furthermore, they changed the structure of the plan meetings in order to emphasize the community participation in the decision-making of proposals.

However, aspects related to monitoring and coordinated learning seem not yet been developed and the method for forming reference groups can be fragile in other circumstances.

Recommendations for the planning stage

Considering the above mentioned, the following is recommended:

- Establish a monitoring tool so that the community and project team can learn with each other and map the effectiveness of the participation, and motivate them to keep participating;

- Whenever possible apply participatory research methods in the planning stage, inclusive to establish the monitoring parameters;

- Create an official process for the candidature and election of the reference group members.

VII.II Implementation

In the implementation of the PVV, was clear that, besides the deficient monitoring and coordinated learning, the inadequate communication strategy played a significant role in the PVV criticism. This provoked the conflicts and the loss of credibility in the local authority by part of the interviewees.

The PVV is being replicated in other slums of Belo Horizonte and receives, currently, finance support from the federal program *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento - PAC* (Growth Acceleration Program), which has in its directives the incentive of the social participation. However, the availability of more resources to the participation process is not enough if an effective strategy for communication with the community and adequate monitoring are established. The lack of these mechanisms may result in the lost of learning opportunities and community involvement in the long term.

Recommendations for the implementation stage

Thus, the recommendations proposed for this stage are:

- Create a closer communication with the planning team and with the reference groups before starting the interventions, in order to foresee the necessity to update the proposals considering the community and project team demands;

- Properly highlight that the interventions were a result of the community participation, in special due to the work of the ones who voluntarily composed the reference groups to represent the community members;

- Define a monitoring strategy that can be a continuum of the monitoring in the planning stage, and keep the community informed about their roles, duties and rights;

- Keep the same logic of communication established in the PGE in order to avoid misunderstandings, and establish the reference group members as a fiscal council during the interventions execution and maintenance.

VIII.   FUTURE RESEARCH

In the scope of this study was possible to identify that the monitoring of the participation process is a weak point n the PGE and PVV methodology. Thus, would be important to carry out a deeper research about possible monitoring methods that could be applied in slum upgrading projects in order to track the participation performance and outcomes.

Additionally, an comparative analysis of the *Aglomerado da Serra* community participation, and the currently practice in the slums that receive the PGE and *Programa Vila Viva* in Belo Horizonte, should be carried out to assess the effectiveness of the improvements already carried out in the participatory methodology.

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ANNEX I – Questions for the interviews

Goal/Dimension	Question	Interviewee			
		URBEL (PGE)	URBEL (PVV)	Dweller	RG
IP1, CB3	Quais subgrupos podem ser identificados dentro da cada comunidade? (Mulheres/homens; religiosos não religiosos; jovens esportistas/jovens musicos, etc). Como eles foram incluidos no processo de participação? Por que eles foram incluídos/excluídos da participação?	x	x		
CB5	Como funciona a gestão compartilhada no PVV? Esse principio foi adotado no PGE também? Como a comunidade participa nisso?	x	x		
Complementation of the Stakeholder analysis and to understand the motivation for the critics to the project	Quais universidades/centros de pesquisa participaram do PGE e PVV? Qual era seu papel?	x	x		
IP3, IP4	Como as propostas do PGE foram criadas? Os GR participaram da elaboração técnica ou somente aprovaram o texto após ele ser elaborado pela URBEL?	x			x
IP3, IP4	Quais decisões eram tomadas juntamente com a Comunidade e com os GR? (estrutura dos programas de educação, propostas PGE, sequencia de obras do PVV)	x	x		x

CB1	Quais associações comunitárias existiam antes do Vila Viva? Elas permanecem ativas até hoje?	x			
CB1, CB2	Estas associações continuaram sua atividade após a criação do GR? Qual delas era mais ativa nas reuniões.	x	x		
CB1	Como foi definido o Grupo de Referencia e como a participação dos componentes evoluiu ao longo do PGE e PVV? Quais eram as regras para a sua formação?	x	x		x
IP1, CB1, CB2	As comunidades/key stakeholders tinham acesso aos documentos do projeto (PGE, PVV, planilha de custos, material das oficinas, etc)? Há algum registro de acesso destes documentos?	x	x	x	x
CL1	Durante o PGE o GR era o ponto de contato entre a urbel e a comunidade. No entanto, se algum morador isolado quisesse se manifestar, qual era o canal de comunicacao acessivel?	x		x	
CB4	No PGE havia um montante especifico das verbas destinado a mobilizacao e participacao comunitaria?	x			
CB6	Foi feita uma análise de barreiras e um plano de comunicação para a interação com a comunidade no PGE e PVV? Ou isso foi contemplado de forma informal baseado na experiencia dos profissionais envolvidos?	x	x		
IP3, IP4 (see the dominance ofthe actors)	Quais eram as regras para participação em cada tipo de reunião? (sequencia de ações, momentos de interrupção, fechamento, etc.) - *CHECAR OBJETIVOS DE CADA CATEGORIA DE REUNIÃO COM OS ENTREVISTADOS.*	x	x		
CB2, CL2	Havia comunicação e articulação entre as comunidades durante o PGE e PVV? Foi criada alguma associação comum entre as vilas durante ou após o PGE e PVV?	x	x	x	
CL2	Durante o processo de elaboração do PGE e PVV houve um monitoramento continuo? Como a comunidade podia dar um feed-back para a URBEL? Como esse monitoramento foi realizado?	x	x		x

IP3	Quais comunidades haviam pedido melhorias no OP e que melhorias estavam sendo solicitadas? Alguma delas não possuia solicitações e ainda sim foi beneficiada pelo programa? Como as comunidades reagiram a substituição de suas demandas pela elaboração do PGE (ex. necessidade de um prazo maior antes da implementação)?	x			
CB3,	Quais técnicas de participação foram aplicadas nas reuniões? (Dinamicas, apresentações em power point, etc).	x	x	x	x
Community associations' role	À parte do GR as associações participaram de alguma atividade no PGE e no PVV?	x	x		
Community associations'role	As associações de cada vila se reunem para discutir os problemas e soluçoes gerais para o AS? Isso acontecia antes do PGE e PVV?			x	
IO2	Você ficou satisfeito com os espaços abertos para sua participação durante o PGE e PVV? Por favor comente os beneficios e déficits, e se possivel de sugestões.			x	x
Participation in the PGE and PVV	Quais tipos de reunião você mais participou e porquê?			x	x
IO1, IO2	A URBEL incorporou a solicitações de vocês ao documento final do PGE e às obras do PVV?			x	x
Community perception	Você se considera um morador do Aglomerado da Serra? Ou você se indentifica mais com a Vila onde você mora?			x	
CB1	Na época da elaboração do PGE você pode entender para que o plano estava sendo elaborado? Você tinha acesso a esclarecimentos e aos documentos gerados quando necessitava? Você solicitou estes documentos alguma vez?			x	x
Perception PGE and PVV	O que você acha que faltou ser contemplado no PGE e consequentemente no PVV?			x	x
IO1, IO2	Você acha que o fato de ter participado nas reuniões fez com que a sua opinião fosse levada em conta?			x	x
IP3, IO1, IO2, IP2	Havia alguma demanda da comunidade que não foi cumprida pelo PVV ou contemplada no PGE? Se sim, porque você acha que isso		x	x	x

	aconteceu?				
IO1, IO2	Como você participou do desenvolvimento do PGE e PVV? Você acha que a sua opinião foi levada em consideração? Você viu seus interesses refletidos no PGE e no PVV?			x	
CL1	Durante o PGE e PVV como você foi informado das atividades? (GR, radio, cartaz, folheto)			x	
CL1	Através de que canais de comunicação você podia acessar a URBEL durante o PGE e PVV?			x	x
IO1, IO2	Você acha que o PVV touxe impactos positivos para a sua comunidade? Você acha que sem a ativa participação das comunidade esses beneficios seriam realizados?			x	x
Perception PVV	Você acha que as obras executadas no PVV cumpriram os objetivos do projeto de integração do AS e melhoria da qualidade de vida? Se não, por que você acha que isso não foi cumprido?	x	x	x	x
IO1, IO2	O que você considera como positivo no PVV com relação a participação da sua comunidade? Você acha que depois do PVV a comunidade se fortalceu e ficou mais organizada?			x	x
Relation between the communities	Você acha que durante a elaboração do PGE e PVV houve conflito de interesses entre as comunidades envolvidas? Como você vê a atuação da URBEL na resolução deste conflito?	x	x	x	x
Relation RG and dwellers	Como o GR informava a comunidade o que acontecia no PGE e PVV? Os moradores podiam acessar ao GR de que maneira? E como se asseguravam que o GR passava as demandas para a URBEL?			x	x
Relation RG and dwellers	Quem era/é o lider comunitario da sua comunidade? Ele participou ativamente do GR no PGE e PVV?			x	
Relation RG and dwellers	Voces estavam conscientes do poder do GR? Estavam de acordo com a composicao de este quando foram tomadas as decisões no PGE?			x	

Category	Question	IP	CB	CL	IO
Relation RG and dwellers	Voce sentia que seus interesses estavam sento adequadamente representados pelo GR? A comunicação do GR com a communidade era frequente/adequado?			x	
Relation RG and dwellers	Porque você não quis fazer parte do grupo de referencia?			x	
Relation RG and dwellers	Porque você optou participar do GR? Como era a sua participação nas reuniões? Você acha que sua opinião foi levada em consideração? Você viu seus interesses refletidos no PGE e no PVV?				x
CB5	Depois da implementação do PVV você continua participando das atividades de manutenção dos equipamentos ou outras atividades dentro do escopo da gestão compartilhada?			x	
Understand the waves of participation/mobilization/demobilization	Porque você somente participou/participou mais no PGE/PVV?			x	
Understand the waves of participation/mobilization/demobilization	Porque você acha que algumas pessoas não permaneceram no GR durante os dois estágios?				x

Legend: IP (Influence and Power dimension); CB (Capacity-building dimension); CL (Communication and Learning dimension); IO (Impacts and Outcomes dimension)

ANNEX II – Cross-check proposals of PGE versus interventions 1st phase of PVV

Axis	Sector	Proposals in the PGE	Execution in PVV (phase 1)	Comments
I. Socioeconomic and organization development	Health and environment	Promote the articulation, reorganization and capacity-building of the Local Health Council and its articulation with the RGs as a measure for the social control, including the program BH Vida.	Yes, partially.	An environmental education course was provided to the community health agents.
	Health and environment	Promote the integration of the Health Centers with the community by means of capacity-building instruments.	Yes.	Environment and Sanitary Education Program.
	Health and environment	Improve the publicity of the activities related to environmental education and health, already developed by the municipality, in order to improve the access of the community.	Yes.	Environment and Sanitary Education Program.
	Health and environment	Build one Health Center in the Marçola settlement and one in the Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement.	Yes, partially.	In the Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement the Health Center was constructed, but in Marçola settlement it is still working in a rented house in the surrounding neighborhood named Serra.
	Health and environment	Articulate agreements with Third Sector Institutions in order to enhance the offer of activities in the environmental and health areas.	Yes.	
	Security	Build one Company of Police in the Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement.	No.	The construction of Companies of Police is not a policy of the State anymore.
	Security	Articulate the community, through the RG and Community Associations, with the police, in order to integrate them by means of preventive and educative actions.	No.	This initiative was already covered by the project "Projeto Fica Vivo"
	Security	Improvement of the Community Council of Public Security, in order to enhance the capacity of the police officers, and improve their relation with the community.	No.	This initiative was already covered by the project "Projeto Fica Vivo"
	Education	Build a school in the Novo São Lucas settlement, and a secondary school in the Santana do Cafezal settlement	Yes, partially.	Only in Novo São Lucas settlement a children and a primary school were

			built.
Education	Use the inactive spaces of the public schools to carry out courses for professional qualification, adult literacy programs and community activities.	No.	This initiative was already covered by the Municipal Secretariat of Education.
Education	Promote articulation between the schools of the AS and other institutions in order to reduce the violence in the school environment.	Yes.	Environment and Sanitary Education Program.
Education	Provide school transport in the night shift.	No.	Responsibility of the Municipal Secretariat of Education
Education	Improve the illumination of the roads/streets that surround the schools.	Yes.	
Education	Articulate agreements with institutions and projects to provide education programs and support to students.	Yes.	"Colonia de Férias", Environment and Sanitary Education Program, Art therapy for kids.
Sport, entertainment and culture	Build one Center for Community Support in the Santana do Cafezal/Nossa Senhora da Conceição settlement.	Yes, partially.	One BH Cidadania (Center for Community Development and Support) was built to assist the settlements Nossa Senhora de Fátima, Novo São Lucas and Santana do Cafezal.
Sport, entertainment and culture	Build one Center for Community Development in the Marçola, Novo São Lucas, Nossa Senhora de Fátima and Nossa Senhora Aparecida settlement.	Yes, partially.	One BH Cidadania (Center for Community Development and Support) was built to assist the settlements Nossa Senhora de Fátima, Novo São Lucas and Santana do Cafezal.
Sport, entertainment and culture	Enhance and qualify community groups related to art, culture and sports.	Yes, partially.	There was no program directed to them but the equipment built in the community helped their development.
Sport, entertainment and culture	Articulate agreements with sport clubs from the city to support athletes from the community.	Yes, partially.	There was no program directed to them but the equipment built in

				the community helped their development.
	Income and employment generation	Install Cooperatives incubators in the AS.	Yes.	Seamstresses' Cooperative.
	Income and employment generation	Promote professional qualification and support initiatives from the community.	Yes.	Program for professional qualification.
	Income and employment generation	Create agreements with public or private entities that could absorb the labor force.	Yes.	
	Community organization	Support the creation of a Organização da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Social - OSCIP (Civil Society Organization for Social Interest)	No.	
	Community organization	Capacity-building of the RG members and Community Association members to elaborate projects and formalize requerements.	Yes, partially.	There was no program with this specific purpose. The capacity-building was carried out informally.
	Community organization	Incentive the formation of Commissions for Specific Subjects, which could coordinate popular initiatives.	No.	This is carried out by the BH Cidadania
	Community organization	Develop process of popular education concerning themes of collective interest *e.g. environment, culture, education, etc.).	Yes.	
II. Urban and environmental interventions	Urban planning	Renovation of squares and public spaces.	Yes.	
	Urban planning	Renovation of areas of sport and entertainment.	Yes.	
	Urban planning	Renovation and regularization of the main existent streets	Yes, partially.	Not all interventions proposed were carried out.
	Urban planning	Renovation of the square "Praça da Volta"	No.	
	Urban planning	Creation of the Cardoso Park together with the implantation of the Cardoso Street.	Yes.	
	Urban planning	Renovation of the "Praça de esportes/Campo Najá, Bola de Ouro", Health Center and Center for citizenship Development (CDC) in Marçola settlement.	No.	
	Urban planning	Renovation of the Company of Police and Health Center of Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement.	Yes, partially.	The health center was renovated, but the Company of Police not.
	Urban planning	Renovation of the school in Novo Sào Lucas settlement.	Yes.	Actually the school was built.
	Urban planning	Renovation of the CDC between Nossa Senhora da Conceição e Nossa Senhora da Aparecida settlements.	No.	
	Urban planning	Renovation of the Center for community Support in	No.	

		the Contorninho		
	Environmental recovery	Create Areas for Environmental Protection in:	Yes, partially.	Not all interventions proposed were carried out.
	Housing	Housing units in situ (160 units - referent for the 1a stage of implementation)	Yes.	816 units were built.
III. Land tenure regularization		Registration of dwellings	Yes, partially.	Three zones of the Nossa Senhora de Fátima settlement and 1 zone of the Marçola settlement were registered and are waiting the juridical process.
		Titling of the property	No.	Till now, nobody received the title of the property.

ANNEX III – Interviews' audio and transcriptions

Attached in zip file denominated:

"InterviewData_MasterThesis_01072014_FernandaDelLama".