When Urban Resettlement Meets Public Participatory Processes

A Case Study of the Resettlement of the Chocolatão Slum Community in Porto Alegre, Brazil

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to examine the general question what happens when urban resettlement meets public participatory processes, through a case study of the resettlement of the inner city Chocolatão slum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. In May 2011, approximately 800 residents of the Chocolatão slum were re-housed in the newly constructed Residencial Nova Chocolatão in an inner suburban region of Porto Alegre. The resettlement project was instigated based upon an expropriation request filed by the federal government so that the land upon which the slum was situated could be used as a federal administrative area. According to current international ‘best practice’ approaches to dealing with slums in the context of development-induced displacement and resettlement, the resettlement of slum communities is something that should be avoided where feasible. Slum resettlement is criticised as a substantially disruptive process associated with the loss of housing, shelter, income, land, livelihoods, assets and access to resources and services that often impacts on already vulnerable communities.

However, a distinguishing feature of the Chocolatão resettlement is that a group of community members, through participation in Porto Alegre’s internationally renowned participatory budgeting processes, requested that the families living in the slum be provided with alternative housing if they were to be evicted from Vila Chocolatão. Through qualitative document analysis, stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviewing, this thesis examines the paradoxical combination of phenomena that are widely regarded to have negative (resettlement) and positive (citizen participation) effects on slum communities in development theory and practice. More specifically, this thesis will analyse the intersections of this combination in terms of how they have contributed towards building citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members.


Declaration

I certify that the work presented is mine, except where due acknowledgement has been made, and that it has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award.

________________________________________

Felicity Cahill, 19 October 2012
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGB</td>
<td>Brazilian Geographers' Association (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Vila Chocolatão Association of Women (Associação de Mulheres de Vila Chocolatão)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMC</td>
<td>Chocolatão Residents' Association (Associação de Moradores Chocolatão)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARC</td>
<td>Chocolatão Recyclers' Association (Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>Australian Dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRL</td>
<td>Brazilian Real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMP</td>
<td>Multidisciplinary Advisory Centre (Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARs</td>
<td>Central Administrative Centres (Centros Administrativos Regionais)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEEE</td>
<td>State Energy Company of Rio Grande do Sul (Companhia Estadual de Energia Elétrica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEF</td>
<td>Federal Savings Bank (Caixa Econômica Federal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIDADE</td>
<td>Centre of Urban Studies (Centro de Assessoria e Estudos Urbanos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRANDAR</td>
<td>Centre for Integration of Social Networks and Local Cultures (Centro de Integração de Redes Sociais e Culturas Locais)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Participatory Budget Council (Conselho do Orçamento Participativo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSANS</td>
<td>Municipal Coordination of Sustainable Food Security and Nutrition (Coordenadoria Municipal de Segurança Alimentar Nutricional Sustentável)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSN</td>
<td>Chocolatão Sustainability Network (Rede para a Sustentabilidade da Vila Chocolatão)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMHAB</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Housing (Departamento Municipal de Habitação)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMLU</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Urban Sanitation (Departmento Municipal de Lixo Urbano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESFSM</td>
<td>Santa Marta Strategic Health Unit (Estratégia de Saúde da Família Santa Marta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FASC</td>
<td>Municipal Foundation for Social Welfare and Citizenship (Fundação de Assistência Social e Cidadania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIERGS</td>
<td>Federation of Industries of Rio Grande do Sul (Federação das Indústrias do Rio Grande do Sul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSL</td>
<td>Local Solidarity Governance (Governança Solidária Local)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBGE</td>
<td>Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Participatory Budget (Orçamento Participativo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMPA</td>
<td>Porto Alegre Municipal Government (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Workers' Party (Partidos dos Trabalhadores)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>Federal Union (Receita Federal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAJUR</td>
<td>Legal Aid Service (Serviço de Assistência Jurídica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASEF</td>
<td>Shirley Ann Sullivan Educational Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMED</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Education (Secretaria Municipal de Educação)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMGL</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Local Governance (Secretaria Municipal da Governança Local)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIC</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Industry and Commerce (Secretaria Municipal de Indústria e Comércio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Planning (Secretaria Municipal do Planejamento)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS</td>
<td>Municipal Health Department (Secretaria Municipal de Saúde)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRF4</td>
<td>Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region (Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN-HABITAT</td>
<td>United Nations Human Settlements Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGCCP</td>
<td>United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VFAAR</td>
<td>Federal Office for Environment, Agriculture and Residual Affairs (Vara Federal, Ambiental, Agrária e Residual de Porto Alegre)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

This thesis examines what can happen when urban resettlement meets public participatory processes, through a case study of the resettlement of the inner city Chocolatão slum community in Porto Alegre, Brazil. More specifically, it aims to analyse the intersections of this combination and how citizenship can be sustained and even recuperated amongst resettlement participants. In May 2011, approximately 800 residents of Vila Chocolatão were re-housed in the newly constructed Residencial Nova Chocolatão in an inner suburban region of Porto Alegre. The federal government owned the parcel of land where Vila Chocolatão was situated and sought to reclaim it for alternative use as a federal administrative area. The aim of this thesis is not to evaluate the merits and shortcomings of the Chocolatão resettlement, which would call for resources and expertise in evaluation that are beyond the scope of this research project. Rather, this thesis seeks to examine the paradoxical combination of phenomena that are widely regarded to have negative (resettlement) (UN-HABITAT. 2003, p. xxvi; UN-HABITAT. 2006, p. 157; Winchester 2005, p. 14) and positive (citizen participation) (Hewitt 2004, p. 622; Hillard and Kemp 1995, pp. 354-5; Michels 2011, p. 276; Nelson and Wright 1995, p. 8; Roseland 2012, p. xviii) effects on slum communities in development theory and practice. More specifically, this research project will examine the intersections of this combination in terms of how they have contributed towards building citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members.

According to current international ‘best practice’ approaches to dealing with slums, the resettlement of slum communities is something that should be avoided where feasible (Asian Development Bank 2012; Inter-American Development Bank 2012; UN-HABITAT. 2003, p. xxviii; World Bank 2011). Slum resettlement is criticised as a substantially disruptive process associated with the loss of housing, shelter, income, land, livelihoods, assets and access to resources and services that often impacts on already vulnerable communities (Amorim 2009, p. 216; Patel et al. 2002, p. 159; Price 2009, pp. 267-8; World Bank 2010; Milbert 2006, p. 305).
The negative effects of relocation on slum communities, particularly where slum dwellers are resettled in the absence of community consultation and consent, extend beyond challenges involved with moving into a new urban environment. These potentially include higher living costs, extended commuting time and the loss of neighbourhood support networks (Smolka and Larangeira 2008, p. 102). A distinguishing feature of the Chocolatão resettlement case is that a group of community members, through engagement in Porto Alegre’s internationally renowned participatory budgeting process (Goldfrank 2011, p. 165), actually requested that the families living in the Chocolatão slum be provided with alternative housing if they were to be evicted from Vila Chocolatão.

In a Brazilian context, if citizenship is broadly conceived of as having the right to have rights, non-citizenship could be understood as the opposite—being unable to exercise rights (Dagnino 2005, p. 153). According to Telles (cited in Dagnino 2005, p. 153), non-citizenship is associated with being poor in Latin American societies, as poverty is a marker of inferiority, a way of existing in which people are not recognised as bearers of rights. As Cernea (2009, p. 264) suggests, development-induced resettlement projects, such as the relocation of the Chocolatão community, are widely regarded as contributing to the impoverishment of resettled community members in a multitude of ways. In modelling displacement risks connected to impoverishment, Cernea (1995, pp. 251-52) asserts that the most widespread and interlinked components include landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation. The evidence suggests that failure to understand these impoverishment risks in development-induced resettlement projects often results in displaced persons ending up worse off and poorer than before they were relocated (Cernea 2003, p. 37). It is arguable that by contributing to impoverishment, development-induced resettlement projects detract from citizenship amongst resettled populations. Given that some 10 million individuals across the globe are resettled or displaced due to development projects every year (de Wet 2006a, p. vi),
study of examples of resettlement projects that promote, rather than detract from, citizenship represents a valuable contribution to this field.

This research project focuses on the development-induced resettlement of the Chocolatão community in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Porto Alegre is the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil (see Figure 1). The city is renowned as the birthplace of the World Social Forum, a global gathering that provides space for actors to construct local and international democratic projects in different contexts (Teivainen 2002, p. 624). It is also well known for its democratic public management model, and is the first city in the world to successfully implement participatory budgeting, which has been in operation in Porto Alegre since 1989 (Gret and Sintomer 2005, p. 1). The city is situated at the conjunction of five rivers and serves as a major industrial centre in southern Brazil (Wampler 2007, p. 108). Porto Alegre has a population of just over 1.4 million citizens and a land area of 497 square kilometres (Instituto Brasileiro de Economia e Estatística 2010). Porto Alegre is not only one of the wealthiest cities in Brazil, but also has the highest quality of life and literacy rate (97 percent) amongst the nation’s state capitals (Baiocchi 2005, p. 6).

Figure 1 – Porto Alegre Municipality, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
Like most capital cities in Brazil, Porto Alegre is ‘a visibly socially segregated city’ (Baiocchi 2002, p. 11). In Porto Alegre, as in other cities around the world, social inequalities are increasingly expressed in terms of urban spatial segregation and the substantial proportion of inhabitants living in irregular settlements. In 2007, almost a quarter of Porto Alegre’s population was living in irregular dwellings as classified by the Municipal Department of Housing (Departamento Municipal de Habitação, DEMHAB) (see Table 1). DEMHAB defines ‘irregular housing’ as a dwelling that is unfit for habitation (Instituto de Estudos Formação e Assessoria em Políticas Sociais 2004, p. 19). Factors that contribute to the classification of a dwelling as unfit for habitation include compromised or precarious basic infrastructure, the lack of formal provision of electricity, water, sewerage and garbage collection services and overcrowding (i.e. more than three people per bedroom).

**Table 1 – Increase in the Number of Irregular Settlement Areas, Housing Units, Families and Inhabitants in Porto Alegre from 1950 to 2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population of Porto Alegre</th>
<th>Irregular Settlement Areas</th>
<th>Irregular Settlement Housing Units</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Percentage of Population Living in Irregular Settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>394,000</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3,965</td>
<td>4,636</td>
<td>16,303</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>735,000</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13,588</td>
<td>15,326</td>
<td>65,595</td>
<td>8.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>895,000</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>20,152</td>
<td>22,336</td>
<td>105,833</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,135,524</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>26,093</td>
<td>28,702</td>
<td>129,200</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1,225,447</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>46,734</td>
<td>51,407</td>
<td>209,711</td>
<td>17.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1,329,472</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>75,370</td>
<td>82,907</td>
<td>293,946</td>
<td>22.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,395,751</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>85,168</td>
<td>93,684</td>
<td>332,158</td>
<td>23.79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from (Instituto Brasileiro de Economia e Estatística 2001; Moraes 2007; Secretaria Municipal do Planejamento 1989)

The Chocolatão slum was an irregular settlement in downtown Porto Alegre. It developed in the mid-1980s during a period when Brazil was experiencing turbulent economic times. A succession of negative economic trends in the years following the rapid increase in international interest rates after the second oil shock towards the end of the 1970s contributed to the ‘dire economic situation’ in Brazil throughout the 1980s (Martine and McGranahan 2010, p. 20). During this period macro-economic influences, including globalisation and the loss of Brazilian manufacturing to Asia, detracted from Brazil’s global competitiveness (Weiss
and Jalilian 2004, pp. 288-89). Porto Alegre was not immune to the economic challenges faced by Brazil during the 1980s and early 1990s. According to Baiocchi (2005, pp. 6-7), between 1986 and 1995, the city lost 30 percent of net formal jobs, the majority of them in industry. In keeping with the rest of Brazil, Porto Alegre also experienced exacerbated urban poverty and a relative decrease in revenues during this time. The combination of a decline in the pace of industrial growth and the concurrent rise of unemployment in Porto Alegre during this period contributed to a substantial increase in irregular settlements in the metropolitan area (Lima Troleis et al. 2012, p. 9) (see Figure 2). Vila Chocolatão was one of these irregular settlements in Porto Alegre and is the focus of this case study. As such, this case study represents a useful examination of the tensions between urban renewal and the democratic and egalitarian impulses at work in late capitalistic societies. The next section outlines how the research question will be examined in this thesis.
Figure 2 – Percentage of Dwellings in Irregular Settlements According to the Regions of Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget in 2002

Source: Reproduced from Núñez et al. (2003, p. 42)
Overview of the Thesis

This thesis seeks to examine what happens when two seemingly contradictory development phenomena, urban resettlement and participation in public processes, combine through a case study of the resettlement of the Chocolatão slum community. This case study will focus on the ways in which the combination of urban resettlement and public participatory processes impact upon working towards achieving citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members. The following chapter, Literature Review, reviews the recent literature on urban resettlement, public participatory processes and citizenship. The third chapter, Research Design, describes the data collection process and methodological approach adopted for this research project. The methodologies adopted for this case study, which include qualitative document analysis, stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviewing, will be discussed in detail.

The fourth chapter, Findings, presents the findings of this study. The findings chapter will be structured chronologically. It will provide an overview of the identified intersections between residents’ resettlement to Residencial Nova Chocolatão and their participation in public processes related to the relocation project. Life at Vila Chocolatão will be examined, with a focus on the community, living conditions and livelihood activities. This will be followed by an analysis of the impetus for the resettlement project and how residents participated in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget (Orçamento Participativo, OP) in order to ensure that certain demands made on behalf of Vila Chocolatão residents were met upon resettlement to the new site. The engagement of residents in the Chocolatão Sustainability Network (Rede para a Sustentabilidade da Vila Chocolatão, CSN), a feature present throughout the relocation process, will also be examined. Key CSN projects will then be discussed in light of the overarching theme of this study—that residents’ participation in public processes throughout the resettlement project contributed to building citizenship. An overview of the features of the new site, Residencial Nova Chocolatão, and the relocation itself will then be provided. The
findings chapter will conclude with a discussion of how the processes of resettlement and public participation have combined to promote citizenship through emancipation and the promotion of livelihood opportunities following the relocation of the Chocolatão community. The concluding chapter summarises the findings of this project, evaluates the research and proposes possible future fields of investigation.
Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature on urban resettlement, public participatory processes and citizenship. The streams of studies around these topics will be explored in light of the research question: ‘What happens when urban resettlement meets public participatory processes?’

Urban Resettlement

For communities across the globe, devising approaches to dealing with slums is one of the biggest challenges to emerge from unprecedented and rapid urbanisation in the twenty-first century (see Perlman 2010). For the first time in history, the urban population of the earth is greater than the rural (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2011, p. 1). Of the world’s three billion urban residents, nearly one billion are slum dwellers (UN-HABITAT. 2003, p. xxv). Even though national differences in what distinguishes an urban area from a rural area prevent universal classification of the term ‘urban area’ (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2012), the United Nations interprets urban areas as including cities, suburban and peri-urban spaces (UN-HABITAT. 2010, p. viii). In many developing countries, urban expansion is increasingly associated with unplanned settlements, poverty and slum growth (UN-HABITAT. 2010, p. x).

The rapid growth of urban slums in the cities of developing countries around the world presents a diversity of challenges. In particular, the displacement and resettlement of slum communities where the state exercises its right to take over land for national public needs involves a myriad of issues for government administrations and slum dwellers alike (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993, p. 4). As Guggenheim and Cernea (1993, p. 2) assert,
reconciling the need of developing societies to improve their physical infrastructure with the protection of the rights and interests of the people most immediately affected by displacement is a major issue that, until recently, few countries have been prepared to address.

While the resettlement of urban slum communities is largely viewed as something that should be avoided (Bennett and McDowell 2012, p. 1), development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is sometimes an unavoidable consequence of urban development projects and infrastructure programs (Cernea 2009, p. 265).

Urban DIDR is one of many types of human movements (Koenig 2006, p. 105). DIDR is by definition involuntary resettlement as displaced persons have no choice to remain living in areas selected for an alternative use (Muggah 2003, p. 7). As Guggenheim and Cernea (1993, p. 3) state, social scientists have engaged in useful comparative studies of resettlement and other kinds of human movements. Voluntary and involuntary resettled populations both face substantial challenges in adapting to new social and physical environments following relocation. However, for analytic clarity, it is important to highlight the significant differences between displacement caused by urban development projects and other types of population movement, such as those that arise from natural disasters, conflict or voluntary movement.

Involuntary resettlement caused by development projects differs in important ways to other common types of population relocation. People who are displaced by conflict or disasters, whether they are natural or man-made, are often able to return to their homelands once turbulence has subsided (McDowell and Morrell 2010, p. 21). Conversely, resettlement instigated by development projects is permanent (Muggah 2003, pp. 15-16). The permanency of relocation for those affected by DIDR poses a different set of challenges than those who are relocated on a temporary basis due to upheaval. They must find a way to survive in the long term, as opposed to ‘making do’ in an interim period (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993, p. 4).
Permanently resettled people are also distinguishable from those who opt to engage in voluntary settlement programs or relocate to a new area independently. De Wet (2006b, p. 196) contends that those who are voluntarily resettled are self-selected. In addition, voluntary resettlement scheme managers have the capacity to screen resettlers and determine what qualities, dispositions and capabilities they should possess in order to have the best chances of succeeding following relocation. In contrast, forced resettlers have no say in their relocation (De Wet 2006b, p. 196).

According to UN-HABITAT (2003, p. 131), best practice in resettling slum communities consists of relocating households with the consent and cooperation of residents. Involuntary resettlement stands at the opposite end of the spectrum of approaches to relocation. Involuntary resettlement occurs where slum dwellers are subjected to forced eviction, or eviction with their consent where they have no power to refuse it, in the absence of community consultation and consideration of the economic and social effects of resettlement (UN-HABITAT. 2003, p. 131). As a development practice, involuntary resettlement is criticised for producing scenarios in which the state exercises its right to expropriate land against comparatively poor and powerless groups of slum dwellers, ‘typically with disastrous consequences for their economic, physical, psychological and social well-being’ (Turton 2006, p. 18). Involuntary resettlement poses particular challenges to displaced communities as relocation far away from city centres threatens to rupture social networks and makes it difficult to find jobs (Perlman 1976, p. 212).

Since their emergence in the 1930s and early 1940s, slums in Brazil have been subjected to a variety of policies, programs and projects (Koster and Nuijten 2012, p. 179). According to Caldeira (2000, p. 78), Brazilian slums are generally perceived as occupying land with high economic value, presenting health risks for all city dwellers, hiding places for criminals and a collective threat to the ‘image of modernity’. Macedo (2008, p. 263) asserts that prior to the implementation of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil, a range of tactics were attempted by local, state and federal government administrations to eradicate slums within Brazilian cities.
Denying the provision of basic infrastructure services or amenities in irregular settlements was one such tactic. However, where this proved ineffectual, local administrators resorted to the more forceful measure of demolishing slum dwellings (see Leeds 1981). Slum clearance and resettlement to low-cost housing on the outskirts of cities was the predominant mode of dealing with irregular settlements adopted by the Brazilian government throughout the 1960s and 1970s. While government programs aimed at the removal of slums were ostensibly implemented as a means of addressing and combating urban poverty, slum clearance in cities has actually resulted in an increase in the number of vulnerable people in need in Brazil (Valladares 1978). The ineffectiveness of most slum clearance and relocation initiatives over time is evidenced by the trend of relocated families selling their subsidized units situated far away from city centres and livelihood opportunities, and then re-establishing new irregular settlements in more accessible areas (Macedo 2008, p. 263). Currently, slum upgrading represents a cost-efficient and viable alternative to slum clearance and relocation in Brazilian cities and the predominant mode of dealing with slums (Apsan Frediani 2007, p. 133; Macedo 2010, p. 611).

**Public Participatory Processes**

In contrast to the asymmetrical power differential residents typically experience in resettlement projects and programs (de Wet 2001, p. 4645; Aronsson 2009, p. 37), engagement in public participatory processes is generally regarded as a positive phenomenon in development practice and policy (Cornwall and Brock 2005, p. 1043). The literature on participatory democracy in development documents the emergence of the term ‘participation’ in the 1960s as part of a broader cultural quest for greater social equality (Zittel 2007, p. 9). In participatory democratic discourse, citizen participation is often equated with citizen empowerment (see Arnstein 2011; Gaventa 2006; Leal 2011; Peris et al. 2011; Saxena 2011). Citizen participation in political processes is an ideal based on a modern stream of liberal democratic thought...
referred to as ‘neighbourhood democracy’ (Barber 2003; Chaskin 2003; Chaskin et al. 2012; Midgley 2011; Yates 1973). The idea of neighbourhood democracy, and participatory theory in general, is based on a critique of the conception of democracy as ‘a competition for political power among responsible elites’ (Zittel 2007, p. 9). Neighbourhood democracy envisions citizens with substantial and equal opportunities who participate directly in political decisions that affect them (Fung 2004, p. 4; Zittel 2007, p. 9). In theory, this kind of citizen participation promotes a redistributive politics that dilutes the power of state technocrats and governing elites by providing a compensating force.

Porto Alegre’s innovative participatory budgeting model serves as a functioning example of neighbourhood democracy in Brazil. It emerged during the early years of re-democratization and decentralization in Brazil. Following the end of the military dictatorship in 1985, the city’s Participatory Budget (OP) was originated in a consultative process driven by the municipal administration and emerging social movements (World Bank 2008, p. 1). The implementation of Brazil’s new Constitution in 1988 resulted in the initiation of a process of tax reforms and decentralization that provided space for municipal governments across the country to make more substantial decisions concerning public investment (World Bank 2008, p. 1). In 1988, a left-wing coalition dominated by the Workers’ Party (Partidos dos Trabalhadores, PT) was voted into power in Porto Alegre’s municipal elections (Gret and Sintomer 2005, p. 1). In partnership with pro-democracy social movements, the PT formally introduced participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre the following year (World Bank 2008, p. 1). The PT had a bold yet simple idea—to decentralize the power of City Hall and elected politicians to determine how municipal funds are spent and to democratize decisions concerning the use of the city’s resources. The PT’s first year in office was fraught with difficulties related to fiscal constraints. In spite of financial challenges, participatory budgeting was mobilised across the municipality’s then 16 sub-regions in 1989.¹ In the early years of its administration, the PT was

¹ A 17th region was created in 2007 after Region 1, Humaitá/Navegantes, was divided to include Ilhas das Flores, Pintada, Pavão and Ilha Grande dos Marinheiros—see Figure 3. Prefeitura Municipal de
successful in drawing a significant number of participants in the participatory budgeting process from Porto Alegre’s less privileged areas (Baocchi 2011, p. 307).

Figure 3 – Porto Alegre’s 17 Municipal Sub-Regions

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2010)

As Gret and Sintomer (2005, p. 27) note, participatory budgeting is likely to be an unfamiliar concept for most English-speaking readers (see also Marquetti et al. 2012, p. 64). In essence, participatory budgeting represents an approach to municipal administration that facilitates a reversal of public policy priorities in favour of the poor and working class (Gret and Sintomer 2005, pp. 3-4). This reversal is made possible through public participation in the prioritization of urban issues and subsequent allocation of municipal funding.² Participatory budgeting is

² For a detailed overview of Porto Alegre’s annual participatory budgeting cycle, see Appendix 1.
centred upon the promotion of a redistributive politics (Gret and Sintomer 2005, p. 21). It creates formats for public decision-making that promote citizen engagement in policy-making, enhancement of accountability, curtailment of corruption and the cessation of arbitrary allocation of public resources (Wampler and Avritzer 2004, p. 299).

Building upon participatory democratic processes established and cultivated through Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting process, the municipal administration elected in 2005 established the Local Solidarity Governance scheme (Governança Solidária Local, GSL).3 Developed with the assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the GSL is a change management project that aims to promote a partnership approach between local government and citizens with an emphasis on shared responsibilities between municipal bodies and societal groups (Metropolis 2011a, p. 3). The GSL focuses on a change of culture as opposed to a single social practice. Institutionally, the GSL is based on the following principles:

- **Plurality**—recognising that society consists of multiple differences;
- **Dialogue**—contributing towards society becoming a system of connections that are always open and respectful; and
- **Consensus**—forming a community of projects and pacts for social responsibility for sustainable development (Metropolis 2011a, p. 2).

Working with these principles, the GSL is dedicated to organizing networks for political participation in Porto Alegre as an experiment in developing a new form of interaction between the state and society (Metropolis 2011a, p. 2). The GSL strategy is based on three key assumptions:

1. Economic growth does not (automatically) solve social problems;

2. Centralised and hierarchical policy approaches do not sufficiently meet present challenges in Porto Alegre; and

3. Democratic governance must generate concrete and tangible results (Metropolis 2011a, p. 2).

The overarching aim of the GSL is to transform Porto Alegre into a ‘Network-City’, ‘a city that envisages the future as an opportunity for citizens to exercise their citizenship, within the climate of participative democracy, as a right and a responsibility for their own development and for the development of the city as a whole’ (Metropolis 2011b, p. 2). Based on these concepts, the participatory planning of concrete programs and projects has taken place and local development plans have been established throughout the city (Metropolis 2011a, p. 20).

The role of the city’s municipal administration in the GSL is to promote a culture of partnerships (Metropolis 2011b, p. 2). Porto Alegre’s Central Administrative Centres (Centros Administrativos Regionais, CARs) were established to provide administrative support with the city’s participatory budgeting processes and they assist City Hall in working towards this aim (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre 2012a). Under the GSL, City Hall is responsible for connecting the public sector, businesses, citizens of Porto Alegre (especially the least politically organised and most socially and economically vulnerable of the population) and civil society organisations through inter-sectoral and multidisciplinary networks that are territorially organised (Metropolis 2011b, p. 2). Local solidarity governance and participatory budgeting are based on the promotion of citizen empowerment at the local level. Chaskin et al. (2012, p. 7) articulate this idea as follows:
An emphasis on local power (and ‘empowerment’) concerns both the assumption that local knowledge and rights will be channeled into deliberative and decision-making forums in meaningful ways—that they will have influence and impact—and that participation in such forums will further build the capacity of community members to be active, effective citizens.

Citizenship

If, as Chaskin et al. (2012, p. 7) assert, participation in public processes in an urban context is aimed at building the capacity of community members to be active, effective citizens, what does the idea of ‘citizenship’ involve? Citizenship is a contested concept that has been used in a range of different contexts (political, legal, philosophical and academic). This renders the task of reaching consensus as to what the term means virtually impossible to achieve (Dwyer 2003, p. 1). In spite of this challenge, Marshall’s famous tripartite classification of citizenship is a useful starting point. Attributed with providing the basis for a modern theory of citizenship with his 1950 essay on *Citizenship and Social Class* (Garcia 1996, p. 7), Marshall (2006, p. 30) posits that citizenship consists of the following three kinds of rights:

- **Civil**—rights to liberty and equality in law;
- **Political**—the right to vote and participate in political processes; and
- **Social**—rights to basic welfare and full participation in society.

In Marshall’s (1950, p. 28) view,

citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.
The duties to which Marshall refers go hand-in-hand with the rights afforded by citizenship. These duties might include adhering to legal rules, paying taxes and bills, or engaging in a degree of education that will allow an individual to be employable (Garcia 1996, pp. 7-8). ‘Full’ or ‘inclusionary’ citizenship occurs where the conventional aspects of citizenship (civil, political and social rights and corresponding duties) operate without excluding any social categories (Koonings 2004, p. 81).

According to Isin and Wood (1999, p. 4), it is possible to describe citizenship as both a practice (of holding civil, political and social rights and adhering to related duties) and a status (signifying component membership to a polity). Conceptions of citizenship as a practice and as a status are not mutually exclusive. This is supported by the idea that those who are not bearers of civil, political and social rights are denied from becoming a full-fledged member of a given polity. In a modern day urban context, Garcia (1996, p. 8) contends that while citizenship is universal in its definition, it fails to include all members of societies in practice. In his opinion, this is particularly the case in contemporary cities in the developing world. While this proposition is contestable, he states that ‘the problem is more acute because cities lack the autonomy and economic resources to enhance citizenship (assuming their government would wish to do so)’ (Garcia 1996, p. 8). By and large, those who are currently excluded from practicing citizenship and being assigned substantive citizenship status are the urban poor living in cities across the globe (Holston 1998, p. 52). As Holston and Appadurai (1999, p. 4) assert, cities represent ‘salient sites’ for citizenship as formal inclusion as a member of a nation-state is increasingly neither a requisite nor a sufficient condition for citizenship in practice. This is apparent for many amongst the urban poor who are formal citizens of the nation-state but who are excluded from enjoying the rights that stem from citizenship.

In Latin America, and in Brazil particularly, inequality, social exclusion and ‘incomplete citizenship’ continue to compromise the quality of democracy in spite of over two decades of development and consolidation (Koonings 2004, p. 79). Citizenship is multifaceted and
historically defined in Brazil (Júnior et al. 2005, p. 110). In relation to contemporary struggles over citizenship in Brazil, Dagnino (2005, p. 153) suggests that exclusion from full citizenship is based on the ‘pervasive social authoritarianism that underpins the unequal and hierarchical organization [sic] of relations within the larger society’. From her perspective, factors such as class, race and gender form the basis of sharp social stratification in Brazilian society. The implications for excluded sectors, she argues, is submission to cultural norms that fail to recognise poor people as rights bearers. Holston (1998, p. 4) argues that this social authoritarianism legalizes social differences in a way that legitimates and perpetuates inequality in Brazil.

This survey demonstrates something of the vast literature on urban resettlement, public participatory processes in urban settings and citizenship. While the subjects of development-induced displacement and resettlement (see, for example, Bartolomé 1984; Cernea 1999; 2007; Crisp et al. 2012; de Wet 2006a; McDowell and Morrell 2010; Picciotto et al. 2001; Shami 1993; Sutton 1977; Thomas 2002) and public participatory processes in development (see, for example, Blair 2000; Cornwall 2011; Devas and Grant 2003; Halla 2005; Hickey and Moran 2005; Russell 2000; Stiglitz 2002) have been well documented in international development discourse, the literature on the apparently paradoxical cases of participatory-based urban resettlement practices is comparatively scant. Moreover, there is a scarcity of studies that seek to examine how forced urban resettlers’ involvement in public participatory processes might further combine to promote citizenship. This study aims to contribute to this gap in the literature by exploring the case of Chocolatão, as described in the next section.
Research Design

This chapter outlines the methodological approach adopted to analyse the data collected during this research project. It describes the overarching use of a single case study design, as well as the use of mixed methods in that study. The mixed methods that have been incorporated in this case study, which include qualitative document analysis (QDA), stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviewing, will be outlined in detail in this chapter.

Case Study Research

This research was conducted as a case study, in order to develop an in depth portrayal of how urban resettlement combined with residents’ participation in public processes can build citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members. It employs a qualitative case study design that uses a mixed methods approach (see Simmons 2009; Yin 2009), incorporating QDA (see Altheide et al. 2008), stakeholder analysis (see Brugha and Varasovszky 2000a) and qualitative interviewing (see Charmaz 2003; Yin 2010, pp. 134-142) (see Figure 4). These methods were selected because each of one reveals different information about the resettlement of the Chocolatão community. QDA was employed at the outset of the study as a grounding technique in order to understand as much as possible about the resettlement project and Porto Alegre’s participatory governance mechanisms. Stakeholder analysis was subsequently used to determine key actors and their roles throughout the resettlement process. QDA and stakeholder analysis therefore provided the ‘bare bones’ of the case study. Qualitative interviewing was later conducted in order to flesh out the information obtained through QDA and stakeholder analysis. Interviews with participants and further QDA also served to clarify aspects of the data that were unclear. At the completion of the data collection phase, each research strategy was triangulated to produce a broad picture of the resettlement project. In qualitative inquiry,
triangulation refers to the process of combining the results of two or more methods to facilitate the emergence of a more comprehensive picture of the results than either method could achieve in isolation (Goffman 1989, p. 131; Morse 2003, p. 190).

This research employs a single-case study approach in order to better understand the distinctiveness of the Chocolatão resettlement process (Simmons 2009, p. 3; Yin 2009, p. 47). A ‘case’ is an empirical unit or theoretical construct that can be subjected to evaluation (Scholz and Tietje 2002, p. 1). According to Scholz and Tietje (2002, p. 5), case studies ‘are often used as a pragmatic research tool in order to understand thoroughly the complexity of a given problem and to support decision making’. Yin (1994, p. 16) suggests that case study research, whether single or multiple, can be both descriptive and explanatory. He further states that single case studies can be categorised as either critical, extreme or revelatory (Yin 2009, p. 50). The aim of a critical case study is to test a theory. Extreme, or unique, case studies seek to study deviant or unusual groups. Revelatory case studies occur in situations where a certain phenomenon has not been studied or where an opportunity opens up to research something that has not been accessible previously. Regardless of its categorisation, a single case study is considered to be complete in itself. Case studies can be further distinguished as holistic or
embedded. Holistic case studies have only one unit of analysis, while those that have a number of units of analysis are referred to as embedded (Blaikie 2010, p. 190).

This research project represents a single, critical, embedded case study, as it incorporates a variety of evidence and subunits of analysis (qualitative interviewing, QDA and stakeholder analysis) in relation to a unique resettlement process. It explores the intersections between the resettlement of a community living in Porto Alegre’s downtown Chocolatão slum and civic participation in the city’s public participatory processes. These include Porto Alegre’s renowned participatory budgeting forums and a more recent initiative known as Local Solidarity Governance. Given that residents were relocated from the slum to Residencial Nova Chocolatão in May 2011, it is too early to evaluate whether or not the resettlement process has been a ‘success’ (Horowitz et al. 1993, p. 229). However, this study will demonstrate that there are useful insights that can be drawn from the participatory resettlement of the Chocolatão community. The discourse on development-induced displacement, described in the literature review, evidences the paucity of population resettlement projects that have incorporated genuine community participation. This case study seeks to fill this gap, by mapping the resettlement project from its inception to the present day, with a particular focus on how residents’ participation throughout this process has promoted citizenship.

**Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA)**

The first step in the research process for this study was to devise a research question: ‘What Happens When Urban Resettlement Meets Public Participatory Processes?’ Identifying a research question was an essential preliminary task before engaging in the first phase of exploration: QDA. This study employs Altheide et al.’s (2008) interpretation of QDA due to their focus on the emergent nature of the methodology. QDA ‘refers to an integrated method, procedure and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving and analyzing [sic] documents for
their relevance, significance and meaning’ (Altheide et al. 2008, p. 128). Emergent QDA encourages the researcher to pursue investigation during the data collection phase with an ‘explorer’s eye’ (Altheide et al. 2008, p. 127). This allows the researcher to reflexively pursue ideas, data and other sources of information that emerge throughout the research process.

QDA has been applied here by becoming familiarised with existing documents relating to the resettlement of the Chocolatão community made available by the United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme (UNGCCP). These consisted of historical email communication between UNGCCP and Porto Alegre City Hall staff (2007 to 2011), brochures produced by City Hall on participatory budgeting, local solidarity governance and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network, internal City Hall documents pertaining to the resettlement project, observational field notes from site visits conducted by UNGCCP staff in 2010 and 2012 and news articles about the Chocolatão community. After examining documents relevant to the resettlement project, I selected a number of further avenues for analysis, including:

1. Internal reports, meeting minutes and briefing notes produced by Porto Alegre’s municipal departments involved in the resettlement project (such as the Department of Housing (Departamento Municipal de Habitação, DEMHAB), the Department of Urban Sanitation (Departmento Municipal de Lixo Urbano, DMLU) and the Department of Local Governance (Secretaria Municipal da Governança Local, SMGL)) on various aspects of the relocation process;

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4 The UNGCCP is the urban arm of the Global Compact initiative. It supports and implements the ten principles of the Global Compact around human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption. The UNGCCP is managed by an International Secretariat hosted by RMIT University in Melbourne. City engagement with the UNGCCP occurs at different levels— signatory, reporting and innovating. At the innovating level, city leaders approach seemingly intractable urban challenges from a broad perspective. This is facilitated by a methodology that promotes genuine inter-sectoral collaboration, application of sustainability principles and the selection of key indicators to assess the city’s progress in resolving its selected challenge. Porto Alegre has been involved with the UNGCCP at the innovating level since 2005. The city identified the resettlement of the Chocolatão community as its urban challenge. For more information, see United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme (2010).
2. Reports prepared by organisations that opposed the resettlement, including the Brazilian Geographers’ Association (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros, AGB) and the Legal Aid Service (Serviço de Assistência Jurídica, SAJUR);

3. Reports written by international organisations, including the World Bank and Metropolis, that have been involved in the resettlement project or, more broadly, Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget and/or Local Solidarity Governance scheme;

4. Websites and reports of significant project stakeholders; and

5. Academic journal articles and books about Porto Alegre and the city’s Participatory Budget and Local Solidarity Governance scheme.

The sources of documents analysed in this research represent different points of view. Document selection was motivated by the identified need to canvass a range of documents from different, and sometimes ideologically opposed, sources. These documents were primarily sourced online. Internal reports, meeting minutes and briefing notes produced by Porto Alegre’s municipal administration that were not available online were obtained directly from City Hall. The documents outlined above were selected because they contributed to the process of mapping the history of the resettlement project. In addition, they illuminated the nature of public participation in local government decision-making in Porto Alegre and how it impacted upon the resettlement of the Chocolatão community. While a small number of these documents were written in English, the majority were written in Portuguese. Difficulties presented in terms of understanding content and translation will be discussed in the limitations section below.

During the process of obtaining data from these sources, I devised numerous categories to guide initial research (Altheide et al. 2008, p. 128). Initial categories, based on both prevalence in the documentary sources and relevance to the research question, included the following:
• Key Terminology;
• Porto Alegre;
• Participatory Budgeting;
• Local Solidarity Governance;
• Background and Context;
• The Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project;
• The Chocolatão Sustainability Network; and
• Stakeholders.

These categories were pursued in the discourse and added to as new categories emerged throughout the data collection process.

Stakeholder Analysis

During the QDA phase of this research project, I concurrently engaged in initial stakeholder analysis. While analysing relevant documents, I began to map people and organisations who appeared to have contributed to the participatory resettlement of the Chocolatão community. Stakeholder analysis has become increasingly popular in management, development and health policy literature in the last two decades (Brugha and Varasovszky 2000b, p. 239). Today, stakeholder theory is found in a range of disciplines, including economics, ethics, marketing, systems science and political theory (Simmons and Lovegrove 2005, p. 496). In the context of policy reform in international development, the World Bank defines stakeholder analysis as ‘a systematic methodology that uses qualitative data to determine the interests and influence of different groups in relation to a reform’ (Holland 2007, p. 126). This study adapted Brugha and Varasovszky’s (2000a) stakeholder analysis method. While it is formulated for health policy contexts, Brugha and Varasovszky’s version of stakeholder analysis is readily applicable to the present study. According to Brugha and Varasovszky (2000a, pp. 338-42), stakeholder analysis is a tool for generating knowledge about actors (individuals or organisations) and understanding their actions, intentions, interactions and interests. It can also be used to assess
the influence and resources of different actors on decision-making or implementation processes.

In the context of this study, the first step in stakeholder analysis was to engage in QDA in order to understand the research context and decide how to engage with stakeholders and collect data. The second step was determining the level at which stakeholder analysis would take place as it is can occur at one or more levels—local, regional, national and international. The third step was identifying and approaching stakeholders and mapping their respective roles in relation to the resettlement of the Chocolatão community. The mapping process included individuals, organisations, different individuals within an organisation and networks of individuals and organisations (e.g. the Chocolatão Sustainability Network). Stakeholders were identified through face-to-face interviews and secondary sources, such as published and unpublished documents, reports, policy statements, meeting minutes and websites, using QDA. They were then represented in a stakeholder map detailing each actor’s role in the resettlement project and their relation to each other. Preparing this stakeholder map was an essential step in identifying potential participants to interview in order to fill in gaps in knowledge following QDA and stakeholder analysis. This analysis served as a bridge between QDA and qualitative interviewing.

Qualitative Interviewing

Qualitative interviewing ‘provides an open-ended, in-depth exploration of an aspect of life about which the interviewee has substantial experience, often combined with considerable insight’ (Charmaz 2003). According to Yin (2010, pp. 134-5), there are a number of characteristics that distinguish qualitative interviewing from structured interviewing. First, the relationship between the researcher and the participant in qualitative interviewing does not require the use of strict scripts or a predetermined list of questions. While the researcher will
have a firm idea of the questions that will be posed to a participant during an interview, qualitative interviewing allows for fluidity throughout the process. Second, qualitative interviewing is based on the idea of interviewing as a relationship. This allows for the interviewer to adopt a conversational mode and change his or her behaviour in response to the demeanour of interviewees. Third, open-ended questions, as opposed to closed-ended questions that feature in structured interviewing, are a key facet of qualitative interviewing. Open-ended questions provide scope for participants to respond to questions in their own words (Rapley 2001, p. 309). This supports one of the foundational aims of qualitative research, which is to understand complex social phenomena from an interviewee’s point of view (Yin 2003, p. 2). In light of these considerations, qualitative interviewing was incorporated as a data collection strategy for this research project.

In this case study, potential interviewees were selected following stakeholder analysis based on their engagement in a cross-sectoral group that was significantly involved with supporting civic participation amongst Chocolatão community members—the Chocolatão Sustainability Network. Between 2005 and 2012, Network members have played a key role in promoting community participation through public processes connected to the resettlement project, including Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting assemblies, Local Solidarity Governance scheme and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network itself. The Network has been a significant driver behind the creation of intersections between the resettlement project and public participatory processes, which is why Network members were selected as interviewees. The current administrator of the Network is a Governance Agent from Porto Alegre City Hall’s Department of Local Governance (SMGL) who has worked closely with the community since 2007. In January 2012, I sought her assistance with contacting potential interviewees in Porto Alegre from the Network whom I identified as having played a significant role in the resettlement process. From the group of Network members I selected as potential interviewees, 14 agreed to be interviewed. In February 2012, a colleague, Dr Elizabeth Kath (Research Fellow, RMIT University’s Global Cities Research Institute), conducted qualitative interviews
with 14 participants based on a semi-structured questionnaire I prepared. Dr Kath was in Porto Alegre at this time and agreed to conduct the interviews in my place. I selected these individuals for interviewing because they represented a mix of different sectors (the Chocolatão community, civil society, the municipal government and local industry) and had contributed to the resettlement project in various ways.

The primary research question for the interviews was: ‘What can be learned from the Chocolatão Sustainability Network?’

There were a number of specific sub-questions:

- How was the Network established and how did it function?
- What was the role of the organisations represented in the Network in the Chocolatão resettlement project?
- What is the envisaged future role of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network?

This line of questioning was pursued in light of the Network’s substantial involvement with the Chocolatão community since 2005, particularly in terms of its promotion of residents’ participation in initiatives aimed at building citizenship both prior to and following resettlement. The 14 participants were approached to participate in the research, the objectives of the research explained to them and their consent obtained. Participants were provided with a Participant Information and Consent Form that I prepared for their perusal and signature in advance of interviews being conducted. Dr Kath, a fluent Portuguese speaker, conducted interviews in Portuguese in one round in February 2012 in Porto Alegre. Interviews were audio-visually recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated into English. Interviews covered objective aspects of the resettlement project (key events, personnel, decisions), along with subjective and evaluative impressions.
Synthesizing Data to Produce a Case Study

At the completion of the data collection phase, I synthesized primary and secondary data to produce a range of analyses to inform the overall case study, and to understand what outcomes emerge from the intersections between involvement in public participatory processes and population resettlement in an urban setting based on the experiences of the Chocolatão community in Porto Alegre. In this study, in order to answer the research question, it was necessary to produce a narrative of how the resettlement of Chocolatão residents has unfolded from the inception of the project up to one-year following relocation. In order to begin to construct this narrative and examine these intersections, I combined data obtained from QDA, stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviews to produce a historical timeline of events from 2000 to the present day. I then superimposed the results of my stakeholder analysis and mapping on the historical timeline to identify the points at which key individuals and organisations became involved in the participatory resettlement of the Chocolatão community. I then incorporated data from the qualitative interviews to enrich and enliven this narrative timeline. The themes that emerged from the triangulation of the results of QDA, stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviewing in this case study informed the response to the research question.

Limitations

A number of limitations arose in preparing this case study. In relation to the QDA undertaken in this research, there are a number of potential flaws inherent in this method. As Bowen (2009, p. 32) highlights, these include:

- Insufficient detail to answer a given research question where documents are produced for a purpose other than research;
• Low retrievability of documents (access to which might sometimes be deliberately blocked by an individual or organisation in possession of them); and
• Biased selectivity where, in an organisational context, available documents are likely to be aligned with the agenda of a particular organisation’s principles.

In this case study, these limitations did not outweigh the benefits of engaging in QDA, which include efficiency, availability, cost-effectiveness, lack of obtrusiveness and reactivity, stability, exactness and coverage (Bowen 2009, p. 32).

The stakeholder analysis engaged in for this study sought to add value to the research by obtaining and analysing stakeholders’ current perceptions of historical processes. As Brugha and Varasovszky (2000a, p. 344) assert, ‘recall and perceptions of these processes are influenced and coloured by the events in the intervening period, and by current positions and interests’. In an effort to clarify relevant events that occurred in the resettlement process from 2000 to the present day, data obtained through stakeholder analysis were checked through supplementary QDA.

The qualitative interviews conducted for this study presented a more complex set of challenges. As Lopez et al. (2008, p. 1792) highlight, conducting translinguistic qualitative research in languages other than the researcher’s primary language is currently a rare practice. It is also particularly challenging in light of the need to capture meaning, context and nuances in conversational speech in qualitative research. In the literature on conducting cross-cultural research involving different language speakers, there is a consensus that researchers should be ‘insiders’ (Irvine et al. 2008, p. 36). In other words, they should share a common language and culture of the researched. In this study, I prepared questions in Portuguese for the qualitative interviews, which were conducted in interviewees’ first language by Dr Kath. As a Postdoctoral Research Fellow who specialises in Brazilian politics and culture with advanced Portuguese language skills, Dr Kath was well placed to interview participants.
A further limitation involved in this research is that this case study is currently in flux. The Chocolatão resettlement is complex, multifaceted and dates back to 2000. In light of the diversity of events that have occurred over the past 12 years or so, time constraints prevent this case study from analysing each aspect of the resettlement in depth. As such, this case study is not complete and, arguably, never could be complete. However, all efforts have been made to accurately reflect one aspect of the resettlement process: the ways in which intersections between relocation and public participation have contributed to the promotion of citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members. Hence the limitations are to some extent offset by the value of the findings presented, and by efforts to triangulate and integrate multiple sources of data. Further longitudinal study, and consultation with native speakers, would be necessary to confirm and substantiate the results presented here.
Findings

This chapter presents the findings of this research project. The data is structured chronologically, and focuses on the intersections between residents’ resettlement to Residencial Nova Chocolatão and their participation in public processes related to the relocation project. QDA, stakeholder analysis and qualitative interviewing will be blended in this chronological account. In addition, documents and interview transcripts have been selectively cited and analysed in this chapter. To begin with, an overview of the positions and organisations of interviewees, who are all members of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network, will be provided (see Table 2). The former location of the Chocolatão slum will then be discussed, with a focus on the community, living conditions and residents’ livelihood activities. This contextual overview serves as a necessary backdrop to understanding the impetus for the resettlement project, which was initiated in January 2000 and completed in May 2011. The analysis will then shift to focus on how community members participated in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget in an effort to ensure that certain demands made on behalf of Vila Chocolatão residents were met upon resettlement to the new site. In addition, residents’ engagement in the activities and projects of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network (CSN) throughout the relocation process will be examined.
Table 2 – Overview of Interviewees’ Positions and Organisations

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Olivia*</td>
<td>Chocolatão Community Education Committee</td>
<td>Former Coordinator Ex-coordenador</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comissão de Educação Comunidade do Chocolatão – Estudante</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evelyn*</td>
<td>Municipal Foundation for Social Welfare and Citizenship</td>
<td>Social Worker Assistente Social</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fundação de Assistência Social e Cidadania, (FASC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Helena*</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Housing</td>
<td>Superintendent of Social Action and Cooperatives</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Departamento Municipal de Habitação (DEMHAB)</td>
<td>Superintendente Ação Social e Cooperativismo</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Carolina*</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Education – PIM/PIA (Better Early Childhood/Porto Alegre)</td>
<td>PIM/PIA Coordinator Coordenador – PIM/PIA</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secretaria Municipal de Educação – PIM/PIA (Primeira Infância Melhor/ Porto Infância Alegre)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mariana*</td>
<td>Osicom</td>
<td>Psychological Counsellor Psicopedagoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gabriela*</td>
<td>Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region</td>
<td>Judiciary Technician Técnico Judiciário</td>
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<td>Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região (TRF4)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Lara*</td>
<td>Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region</td>
<td>Social Worker Assistente Social</td>
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<td>Estella*</td>
<td>Centre for Integration of Social Networks – Local Cultures Division</td>
<td>Project Coordinator Coordenador</td>
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<td>Centro de Integração de Redes Sociais Culturas Locais (CIRANDAR)</td>
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<td>Gustavo*</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Waste</td>
<td>Director of Social Projects Diretor de Projetos Sociais</td>
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<td>Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association</td>
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<td>Raquel*</td>
<td>Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association</td>
<td>PresidentPresident</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão (ARC)</td>
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<td>Camila*</td>
<td>Multidisciplinary Advisory Centre</td>
<td>Social Educator Educadora Social</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Centro de Assessoria Multiprofissional (CAMP)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Eduardo*</td>
<td>Soluções Usiminas</td>
<td>Manager of Environment and Sustainability Gerente de Meio Ambiente e Sustentabilidade</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ana*</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Local Governance</td>
<td>Governance Agent Agente de Governança</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secretaria Municipal da Governança Solidária Local (SMGL)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Interviewees’ names have been changed to protect their anonymity.

The main theme to emerge from this study is that residents’ participation in public processes throughout the resettlement project contributed to building citizenship amongst former Vila Chocolatão community members. Key projects prior to resettlement that emerged from the CSN’s core project, the Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project, will be discussed in light of this overarching theme. These include the ‘mapping’ of the Chocolatão slum, the legal provision of electricity to the community, the establishment of a temporary recycling shed and
the formation of the Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association (Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão, ARC). An overview of the features of the new site, Residencial Nova Chocolatão, and the relocation itself will then be provided. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of how the processes of resettlement and public participation have combined to promote citizenship through emancipation and the promotion of livelihood opportunities following the relocation of the Chocolatão community.

Prior to its demolition, Vila Chocolatão was an irregular settlement situated in Region 16 (Centro) of Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget (Instituto de Estudos Formação e Assessoria em Políticas Sociais 2004, p. 19). The slum was surrounded by a number of federal government buildings in the Praia de Belas suburb in close proximity to the city’s historical centre and waterfront (Schwedler 2011, p. 30). In 1984, the first families to settle in this highly desirable area established dwellings using discarded materials on Otávio Francisco Caruso da Rocha Street. Vila Chocolatão developed gradually and expanded over time to cover an entire inner city block by 2011 (see Figure 5). Irregular dwellings were constructed on a parcel of land owned by Brazil’s Federal Union (Receita Federal, RF). One of the federal buildings located next to the slum resembles a chocolate bar and inspired the name Vila (slum area) Chocolatão (chocolate).

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Olivia (former community member) provides that a number of community members living in the slum had relocated from rural areas to the city in search of work. The majority of Vila Chocolatão residents supported themselves by working as *catadores*—collectors and sorters of recyclable waste. As the slum was situated in Porto Alegre’s central business district, community members who made a living working as catadores were in a strategic location in terms of access to recyclables. Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) describes how ensuring a livelihood as a catadore in downtown Porto Alegre involved working long hours collecting waste for recycling in the streets and in between traffic. Catadores stored their collected recyclable waste in large carts (*carrinhos*) that they pulled through the city streets (see Figures 6 and 7). She says that in Vila Chocolatão, catadores who could not afford to buy their own carrinhos rented them from middlemen who ran informal carrinho sheds. Catadores who rented their carrinhos from these middlemen would deliver the recyclable waste they collected to the middlemen at the end of each day. The middlemen would then purchase catadores’ recyclables at a heavily reduced cost and on-sell them to formal recycling companies. Ana refers to this process as ‘a cycle of misery that is difficult to escape from’. In her words, Chocolatão was ‘a community that worked during the day to eat at night’.

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Residents of the slum generally lived in precarious, overcrowded and unhygienic conditions (see Figures 8 and 9) (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros 2011). A number of interviewees
talk about Vila Chocolatão as a vulnerable community that lacked basic infrastructure, adequate housing and sanitation. Evelyn (Social Worker, FASC) depicts Chocolatão as one of the most impoverished communities in Porto Alegre. She says that in comparison to other communities in the city, Vila Chocolatão was disorganised and less engaged in civic participation (see Table 3 for basic demographic information about the residents of Vila Chocolatão from 2011). In Lara’s (Social Worker, TRF4) view, Vila Chocolatão was an informal community where people lived ‘irregularly’. Some community members obtained illegal access to running water and electricity grids (Glock 2011). While formal electricity was eventually supplied to the slum in 2009 (Medeiros 2009), Olivia (former community member) asserts that residents who illegally tapped into these services prior to their formal provision did not pay for them. Olivia and Evelyn provide that the community faced numerous challenges, including problems related to crime, violence, addiction to narcotics and children engaging in begging around the federal buildings that surrounded the community. Persistent outbreaks of fire and flooding within the slum posed a continuous threat not only to residents’ physical safety but also the integrity of their dwellings (Glock 2011).

Figure 8 – A ‘Street’ in Vila Chocolatão
Figure 9 – Waste Storage in Vila Chocolatão

### Table 3 – Basic Demographic Information for Vila Chocolatão in 2011

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of residents</strong></td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of males</strong></td>
<td>376 (51.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of females</strong></td>
<td>356 (48.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age of residents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 0 – 14 years:</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 15 and 59 years:</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 years:</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage of residents who had lived in Vila Chocolatão for less than 3 years</strong></td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average monthly income</strong></td>
<td>74% of the minimum wage in Brazil (approximately 403 BRL, or 190 AUD per month).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011)

Life in Vila Chocolatão was characterised by various threats to safety. Olivia (former community member) describes how residents were vulnerable to contracting illnesses from being constantly surrounded by waste and rats and the threat of injury or death from frequent outbreaks of fire. Prior to 2009, the lack of provision of legal electricity in Vila Chocolatão constituted a significant problem for community members. This situation resulted in a number of fires in the slum due to illegal connections to surrounding electricity networks, the use of candles for light during the night and the considerable amount of debris and recyclable waste in the area (see Table 4 and Figure 10).\(^\text{11}\) Olivia recalls that the community was particularly shaken by a serious outbreak of fire in 2005, which resulted in the death of a 36-year-old man and a 4-year-old girl.

---

### Table 4 – Number of Dwellings Damaged by Fire in Vila Chocolatão from 2003 to 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Dwellings Damaged by Fire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 2003</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2003</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>December 2003</td>
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<td>December 2004</td>
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<td>May 2005</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>October 2005</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>December 2006</td>
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<td>October 2007</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 2009</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>June 2009</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 2010</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2010</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2011</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011)

**Figure 10 – Outbreak of Fire at Vila Chocolatão**

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011)
Impetus for the Resettlement of the Vila Chocolatão Community

The impetus for the resettlement project is traceable to a judicial expropriation request filed by the Federal Union (RF) with the Federal Office for Environment, Agriculture and Residual Affairs (Vara Federal, Ambiental, Agrària e Residual de Porto Alegre, VFAAR) on the 14th of January, 2000 (Vara Federal Ambiental Agrària e Residual de Porto Alegre 2000). At this time, the Federal Union sought to reclaim the land upon which the slum existed for alternative use as a federal administrative area. As residents would be forced to relocate so that the federal government could construct new administrative buildings at the slum site, the resettlement of the Chocolatão community came within the ambit of development-induced displacement and resettlement. Upon hearing the Union’s claim, the Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region (Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região, TRF4) determined that the eviction of the Chocolatão community should be postponed as the Director of the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHAB) indicated that there was no immediate area available for the resettlement of residents (Vara Federal Ambiental Agrària e Residual de Porto Alegre 2000).

While the TRF4’s decision was issued in 2000, the resettlement project was not initiated until 2005. According to Lara (Social Worker, TRF4), the TRF4 postponed the eviction proposed by the Federal Union in response to anxiety and opposition within the Chocolatão community following the expropriation request. Olivia (former community member) recalls that residents feared being evicted and having nowhere to live. Lara provides that initially, the Federal Union’s chief concern was to reclaim the area upon which Vila Chocolatão was established. She says that after seeing the community as it existed in 2000, the TRF4, which stands adjacent to the former slum site, decided to become involved with the community and begin a process of sustainable resettlement. From her perspective, the TRF4’s executive management at the time felt that there was a need to assist with preparing residents for survival upon their
resettlement to an alternative site in the future. She states that this preparation phase contributed to the long period of delay prior to resettlement.

As a heterogeneous group, the Chocolatão community reacted to the possibility of being relocated to an alternative housing area in different ways. Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) maintains that a number of community members were afraid that once they were removed from the parcel of land owned by the Federal Union, they would not be compensated or provided with an alternative place to live. In Lara’s (Social Worker, TRF4) view, the biggest concern of the majority of community members following the Federal Union’s expropriation claim was the threat of eviction and homelessness. Olivia (former community member) says that other residents welcomed the prospect of moving out of Vila Chocolatão and establishing themselves in what they hoped would be less precarious and vulnerable living conditions.

**Forming a Group to Represent the Community in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget**

Sophia and Raquel, who lived in the slum and are now living in Residencial Nova Chocolatão, describe Vila Chocolatão as a ‘hidden village’ that had limited interaction with the outside world. Olivia (former community member) provides that there was a lack of social organisation within the community in the initial stages of the resettlement project. In terms of civic participation, Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) remembers that when she first started working with Chocolatão residents in 2005, the community was in ‘a disorganised state’. She talks about how the majority of residents were working in isolation as catadores and that the community ‘did not have a collective identity’. In her view, ‘having a collective identity is necessary in order to mobilise community members in fighting for rights’. She also says that it was challenging at first to identify community leaders within Vila Chocolatão.
Olivia (former community member) recalls that in response to concerns of community members related to the prospective resettlement, a group of approximately 10 women formed the Vila Chocolatão Association of Women (Associação de Mulheres de Vila Chocolatão, AM) in 2005. She states that the AM’s mission was to preserve residents’ recycling activities and to represent the Vila Chocolatão community in Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting forums. According to Olivia, this group of women worked alongside a number of men from the community who were working as delegates of the Participatory Budget (OP) at the time. From her point of view, it was necessary for community members to come together to form a group to represent Vila Chocolatão and engage in the city’s participatory budgeting platform. She stresses that in 2005, there was a need to establish some sort of formal organisation within the community so that residents’ demands and requests would be viewed with greater legitimacy. In her words, ‘becoming a legally recognisable group was the first step towards achieving citizenship’.

A number of Vila Chocolatão residents participated in the OP between 2005 and 2010 in an effort to ensure that certain group demands pertaining to housing and livelihoods within the prospective resettlement process were addressed at the municipal government level. Olivia (former community member) explains that the Association of Women (AM) came together to request, through the OP, that the Chocolatão community be resettled to an alternative location in the city. For Olivia, Porto Alegre’s OP was ‘a springboard for initiating the resettlement process’. She describes how citizen participation in participatory budgeting is connected to the construction of citizenship, social inclusion and respect for human dignity. In her mind, the process of engaging in Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting processes to pursue these demands was ‘a form of protest in order to pursue growth’. She recalls that the group representing the Chocolatão community in the OP was primarily concerned with housing, which is a persistent priority represented in Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting scheme.
The group articulated a number of demands, including:

- That the community be resettled to an alternative site;
- That a childcare centre be constructed at the new site; and
- That a recycling centre be established at the new site.

Table 5 – Citizens’ Top Three Priorities from 1992 – 2003 in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget

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Source: Centro de Assessoria e Estudos Urbanos (2003, p. 35)

It is important to highlight that the data did not reveal who represented Vila Chocolatão in the OP. In addition, it did not illuminate whether or not the demands made by this group were representative of the wishes and concerns of the broader Vila Chocolatão community (on this point, see Swindell 2000). It is also noteworthy that Vila Chocolatão residents have not traditionally been represented in Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting processes. Community participation in the OP began to strengthen when external individuals and agencies started to engage in activities and projects related to the relocation following the TRF4’s decision to pursue a sustainable resettlement process with Vila Chocolatão residents.
Beyond Participatory Budgeting: Local Solidarity Governance and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network

Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) explains that the TRF4 entered into ‘a commitment of social responsibility’ with Vila Chocolatão residents following its decision to suspend the Federal Union’s reclamation efforts and drive a process of sustainable resettlement in collaboration with community members. At the outset of its involvement with residents, Lara says that the TRF4 acknowledged that it would be necessary to share its social responsibility commitments with other organisations in order to ensure the sustainability of community support. In this way, the TRF4 assumed the role of coordinator of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network. The Network is a cross-sectoral group that consists of members from all levels of government, civil society, the private sector and the local community (see Figure 11). From Lara’s perspective, one of the benefits to the community of having the TRF4 steer the formation of the Network is its reputation as a credible body with an interest in upholding justice in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná. She says that the TRF4 is ‘an agency that has no political purpose and is not subjected to political shifts’. In her view, this promoted the credibility of the Network during its establishment and the resettlement project that was being undertaken with the Chocolatão community.
Olivia (former community member) describes the work of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network as having arisen naturally in response to plans to resettle the community. She details how members of the Network sought to ‘invest in the transformation of the community and to promote processes of social inclusion’. She further states that ‘all of the people who formed the Network believe in the power of transformation’. In a similar vein, Evelyn (Social Worker, FASC) says that the Network is a ‘living tissue that was formed in response to the needs of the Chocolatão community’. In her view, the Network ‘represents a new management model for Porto Alegre’. Helena, a high-level DEMHAB executive, reinforces this sentiment, stating that she perceives the resettlement of the Chocolatão community as a project that is impossible to organise through a single municipal government office. From her perspective,
all departments have to have the spirit of this change. It is necessary that such a resettlement process is viewed as belonging to every sector of the municipality and to the community itself. Broader Porto Alegre society must understand that it is also part of a resettlement like this.

Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) posits that one of the key objectives of the Network is to work with the community towards the goal of achieving emancipation. This involves improving the community’s access to basic services and quality of life amongst residents. She explains that there is an integral concept underlying the community’s access to basic services in Residencial Nova Chocolatão—that rights and responsibilities go hand in hand. In her opinion, beginning to assume responsibilities is the first step for community members in working towards emancipation and enjoying the benefits of living at the new site. In relation to the idea of emancipation, Olivia (former community member) draws a distinction between ‘social inclusion’ and ‘social welfare’. In her words, ‘social inclusion generates opportunities, while social welfare is concerned with donating’. Similarly, Gabriela (Judiciary Technician, TRF4) relays that when the community was situated nearby the TRF4, it received a lot in terms of donations from organisations and government bodies. She says that these organisations felt obligated to donate to the community, and certain community members felt they had a right to receive donations. This mindset, the ‘right to receive’ mindset, was well entrenched when the Network started working with the community. Through the resettlement project, the Network sought to put structures in place so that community members could generate their own income. This, I think, is the greatest challenge—to change this mindset of the receiver to the mindset of somebody who believes they can earn, seek out opportunities and have the ability to get what they need.
Initial Steps Towards Building Citizenship

Prior to resettlement, the Chocolatão Sustainability Network steered a number of significant projects related to building citizenship within the Chocolatão community through the broader Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project. This section discusses the Social Inclusion Project and related sub-projects, with a focus on analysing how they arose from the intersections between community participation in the Network and the resettlement project between 2005 and 2012. Significant sub-projects that occurred prior to resettlement include providing space for community participation to occur, ‘mapping’ the former slum, the legal provision of electricity to the community and the promotion of recycling-based livelihoods.

The Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project

Driven by the then President of the TRF4, Justice Nyelson Pain de Abreu, the Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project was initiated in August 2005 in the TRF4’s capacity as a leading partner of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network (Tribunal Regional Federal da 4a Região 2006). It grew into a significant cross-sectoral initiative that ran alongside the core resettlement project that was administered by City Hall. The TRF4’s engagement with the community began with seeking out and establishing partnership opportunities to create the Chocolatão Sustainability Network. Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) provides that when she first started working with the Network, a key objective of the group was to prepare residents for resettlement. She says that the community was ‘extremely vulnerable with many needs and unprepared in terms of political organisation’. Lara recalls that there were several organisations already working with the community in 2005. She asserts that at this time, it was imperative to collect information about these organisations, which included public agencies and non-

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governmental organisations, to determine precisely how they were working with the community. By doing so, she maintains that the TRF4 sought to avoid the duplication or overlapping of work. In her opinion, the first challenge was to identify and map the partners that had already been working with the community. After this exploratory mapping phase, Lara informs that the TRF4 began to search for community leaders and partners to work with in anticipation of the resettlement project.

Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) maintains that at the outset of the project, the TRF4 viewed ensuring adequate housing for community members following resettlement as the most important goal. In addition to this overarching aim, she says that key goals included promoting citizenship, access to fundamental rights and human development. Interestingly, DEMHAB, the municipal housing department that would be responsible for the lion’s share of the implementation of the resettlement project, initially viewed the sole project aim as the provision of new housing for Vila Chocolatão community members. Evelyn (Social Worker, FASC) confirms that subsidiary goals such as the promotion of citizenship, human rights and improved development outcomes within the community were not considered as integral by DEMHAB in the early stages of the project. However, she says that over time, others in the Network became motivated to encourage municipal government departments involved in the resettlement project to work in favour of the community by adopting a more holistic approach. She states that the Network worked in a relatively short period of time to ensure that municipal government departments focused on more than the physical relocation of community members from Vila Chocolatão to Residencial Nova Chocolatão.

Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) states that the main objective of the Social Inclusion Project was to improve quality of life for and promote the dignity of Chocolatão residents both prior to and following resettlement. Within this core focus, the project also sought to engage in preventative measures to ensure that families did not return to living in slum conditions after
resettlement and abandon or sell their new homes. In addition, a central project aim was to ensure that resettled families would be able to generate income once they were relocated to the new site, which is relatively far away from many residents’ sources of income as catadores in downtown Porto Alegre (approximately 12.8 kilometres, which is 23 minutes by car and 2.5 hours by foot; see Figure 12). The project was centred upon supporting the empowerment of residents in preparation for their new lives at Residencial Nova Chocolatão.

Figure 12 – Distance from Vila Chocolatão to Residencial Nova Chocolatão

Source: Google Earth (2009)

The Role of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network

The Chocolatão Sustainability Network steered a number of important projects prior to resettlement in terms of residents working towards achieving citizenship. In this section, key sub-projects within the broader Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project are discussed. These include sub-projects that focused on providing space for community participation to occur,

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
‘mapping’ Vila Chocolatão, the legal provision of electricity to former slum and the establishment of a cooperatively managed temporary recycling shed.

**Providing Space for Participation to Occur**

In this resettlement project, providing space for community participation to occur was critical in terms of building residents’ citizenship. On a practical level, it was necessary to identify a physical communal space for community members to attend public meetings related to the resettlement process. Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) informs that over time, community members began to conduct assemblies in the auditorium of the TRF4. The TRF4 provided this space for the purpose of facilitating community discussions related to the resettlement project. Olivia (former community member) remembers that throughout the resettlement project, there were ‘many, many discussions, meetings and assemblies’. Lara adds that that while

> there have been many disagreements about how the project should be carried out amongst Network members, disagreements were usually resolved in the public forums. They were a place for participants to have discussions, argue and offer different viewpoints.

On a symbolic level, creating space for participation also refers to the establishment of bonds between community members and outsiders from the Network. Evelyn (Social Worker, FASC) states that establishing a bond with and being accepted by the community has been essential for the Network’s legitimacy. In her words, ‘you must have legitimacy in the community so that there is a bond of trust’.
‘Mapping’ Vila Chocolatão

After identifying a location for regular community meetings to be held, one of the first projects initiated by the Chocolatão Sustainability Network was ‘mapping’ Vila Chocolatão. Prior to resettlement, the slum existed in a state of informality. Dwellings were not numbered and there were no street names, making it difficult for residents to identify precise home addresses. The inability to provide a formally recognisable home address constituted a significant impediment to participating in society as a ‘formal’ citizen for Vila Chocolatão residents. It is necessary to have a signed labour card (sem carteira assinada), and a residential address, in order to obtain work in the formal employment market in Brazil (Veras Soares 2004, p. 7). Gacitúa Marió (2008, pp. 99-100) provides that some suggest that workers often seek out informal employment opportunities because signing a labour card requires them to make social security system contributions, which workers perceive as disadvantageous. However, he goes on to argue that in spite of different motivations for participating in the informal sector amongst workers with different earning capacities, there is no choice but to participate in informal work for the most vulnerable sectors.

In the context of the Vila Chocolatão community, Network members prioritised establishing formal addresses for residents living in the slum as an initial step towards achieving citizenship prior to relocation. Sometime between 2007 and October 2009, the Municipal Health Department’s (Secretaria Municipal de Saúde, SMS) Santa Marta Strategic Health Unit (Estratégia de Saúde da Família Santa Marta, ESFSM) ‘mapped’ Vila Chocolatão for the first time in the slum’s history. This process involved ESFSM workers walking through and naming the community’s ‘streets’, numbering peoples’ houses and identifying residents living in each dwelling (see Figures 13 and 14). This work led to the provision of essential information to the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHAB) and the State Energy

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Company of Rio Grande do Sul (Companhia Estadual de Energia Elétrica, CEEE) to allow these agencies to conduct their work more efficiently and safely. Putting Vila Chocolatão ‘on the map’ constituted a pivotal step in the process of contributing to the formalisation of the community. For the first time since the slum was established in 1984, residents had addresses that could be recognised by external individuals and organisations.

Figure 13 – A Numbered Dwelling in Vila Chocolatão


17 Ibid.
Legal Provision of Electricity

Hand-mapping Vila Chocolatão was a significant prerequisite to the legal provision of electricity to the community in 2009. As Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) provides, access to basic services in urban areas is an important element of citizenship because it contributes to the characterisation of a housing area as formal (as opposed to irregular). Sophia and Raquel (former and current community members) relay that the lack of the provision of legal electricity in Vila Chocolatão was a significant problem for community members. Aside from the stigma of irregularity associated with the absence of formal electricity supply to the community, this situation resulted in a number of fires in Vila Chocolatão due to illegal connections to surrounding electricity networks, the significant amount of debris in the area
and the use of candles for light during the night. In order to prevent the occurrence of fires in the slum, and to bring more dignity into the lives of community members, the Municipal Department of Local Governance (SMGL) coordinated a group of Network members to legalise and establish an electricity network in Vila Chocolatão (Medeiros 2009). This group consisted of the Energy Company of Rio Grande do Sul (CEEE), the TRF4 and the municipal administration of Porto Alegre.

Initially, the CEEE was unable to install an electricity network in the slum due to legal issues (Medeiros 2009). However, Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) asserts that a law that allows for the temporary provision of legal electricity to travelling circuses in Porto Alegre was applied to Vila Chocolatão in order to circumvent this obstacle. In October 2009, the CEEE installed a 150 kilovolt ampere transformer, 66 wooden poles, 39 galvanized steel poles and a 750 metre low voltage electricity network worth 66,500 BRL (Medeiros 2009) (see Figures 15 and 16). The provision of electricity to the community was accompanied by a special social subsidy so that the 120 customers who had registered with CEEE to receive electricity would pay 3.78 BRL per month for this service (Medeiros 2009). The work of hand-mapping the slum conducted by the Santa Marta Strategic Health Unit team was an essential preparatory project that allowed the CEEE to readily identify customers and their postal addresses for correspondence and billing. Ana describes the legal provision of electricity to the community as a ‘paradigm shift’. In her words, ‘legalising an electricity network in an illegal settlement was a means of promoting social inclusion in the Vila Chocolatão community. It also prepared the community for their new residences at Residencial Nova Chocolatão’. Sergio Camps de Morais, the president of the CEEE group at the time when the electricity network was installed, says that the interim network would ‘bring more dignity to people who live in Vila Chocolatão’ (Medeiros 2009).

Figure 15 – CEEE Electricians Installing Electricity in Vila Chocolatão

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2009)

Figure 16 – Electricity Wires Installed by CEEE in Vila Chocolatão

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2009)
Supporting Sustainable Livelihood Opportunities

Since its inception in 2005, the Chocolatão Sustainability Network has had a core focus on livelihoods based on recycling. As discussed above, the majority of Vila Chocolatão residents made a living by working as catadores in an informal recyclable waste value chain. In 2009, 45 percent of community members reported working in the collection and sorting of recyclable waste, while 24 percent were unemployed in either the formal or informal markets (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros 2011, p. 10). There were also a number of commercial enterprises trading within Vila Chocolatão. Prior to resettlement, local trade in Vila Chocolatão consisted of seven small establishments (bars and food stalls), six metal yards and six sheds for sorting, pressing and weighing recyclable waste (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros 2011, p. 11).

Sophia and Raquel (former and current community members), who are now both employed at the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão, say that catadores generally worked in isolation before Network members began working with the community. Olivia (former community member) recalls that with the support of a number of Network participants, the community’s first recycling cooperative was formed and communal sorting shed established in 2005. She states that there was initial resistance from some community members to the proposal to form a recycling cooperative within the community as they were concerned about the prospect of pooling their earnings.

A key partnership was established between Instituto Vonpar and the Multidisciplinary Advisory Centre (Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional, CAMP) in mid-August 2010. These organisations partnered in order to support the establishment of the Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association (Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão, ARC). Instituto Vonpar is a subsidiary of the Coca Cola group in Brazil. It supports the professionalization of recycling shed cooperatives in the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina (Instituto Vonpar 19 Salvadori Vitri, J. 2012. Avaliação do Projeto de Inclusão Cidadã e Produtiva dos Catadores da Vila Chocolatão, internal briefing notes, Centro do Assessoria Multiprofissional, Porto Alegre.
20 Ibid.
2011). CAMP is a non-governmental organisation that contributes to and supports the formation of processes of collective organisation in communities in order to strengthen democracy, social justice and environmental sustainability (Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional 2012). Camila (Social Educator, CAMP) says that CAMP has extensive experience in providing advice to cooperatively managed community recycling sheds. Instituto Vonpar entered into a three-year partnership with the Chocolatão Sustainability Network in 2009 aimed at promoting financial emancipation and social inclusion for Vila Chocolatão residents. At the invitation of Instituto Vonpar and the Mayor of Porto Alegre (José Fortunati), CAMP became involved in the resettlement project.

In August 2010, the Instituto Vonpar/CAMP team consisted of two social workers who worked with seven residents from the Chocolatão community interested in forming the ARC. The strategic plan of the group in establishing the ARC involved a range of elements, including:

1. Defining the founding partners;
2. Organising a temporary recycling shed space in Vila Chocolatão for bench-top screening of waste and storage of electric wireless network equipment, baling and waste;
3. Buying gloves and ropes for ARC members to use whilst working in the recycling shed;
4. Establishing a partnership with the Municipal Department of Urban Sanitation (DMLU) for the supply of recyclable waste;
5. Creating the ARC as a legally recognisable entity;
6. Devising institutional rules for the ARC as a group and operational rules to govern activities connected to working in the recycling shed;

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7. Providing training for ARC members to gain knowledge of the necessary classification of materials for proper screening of recyclable waste in accordance with market standards in the recycling industry; and

8. Engaging in dialogue and partnerships with other collectively managed recycling sheds in the Port Alegre metropolitan area.23

By early 2011, the ARC membership had increased to thirteen community members.24 The Instituto Vonpar/CAMP social workers provided education opportunities for these residents to learn about working in a group as an association.25 At the time, community members working in the temporary recycling shed received a grant of 100 BRL per week as an incentive to work cooperatively.26 The temporary recycling shed was a pilot project implemented in partnership with the Municipal Department of Urban Sanitation (DMLU).27 Prior to resettlement, DMLU provided three loads of recyclable waste to the community per week.28

Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) explains that a number of Network members worked together in the years leading up to resettlement to establish a temporary recycling shed in the slum. She informs that the temporary recycling shed had the capacity for 13 workers to sort and package recyclable waste. The idea behind providing a temporary shed for recycling activities, Ana says, was to prepare a group of community members whose livelihoods were based on working as catadores to trial the cooperative recycling management model prior to relocation. She states that a secondary aim was to ‘break the routine of these catadores of working during the day to eat at night’. She asserts that this was a significant challenge that contributed to the formation of the ARC. Camila (Social Educator, CAMP) reports that the

23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
success of the ARC increased the group’s credibility within the Vila Chocolatão community. She provides that this was important because the shed within which the ARC was conducting recycling activities initially had limited operational capacity. For Camila, the ‘experiment’ that was the formation of the ARC was relatively successful in a short space of time.

Relocating to Residencial Nova Chocolatão

Residencial Nova Chocolatão is located in the Morro Santana suburb in Region 3 (Leste) of Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre 2012b; Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre 2012c). It is about 12.8 kilometres from the former slum site (see Figure 12 above) and covers an area of approximately 33,450 square metres.29 Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) informs that the Federal Union ceded an area of land it owned in Morro Santana in exchange for the repossession of the parcel of land upon which the Vila Chocolatão slum was established in order to facilitate the construction of new housing units for community members. Residencial Nova Chocolatão consists of 181 housing units, four commercial units, paved streets, street lighting, a sewerage treatment plant, a community daycare centre, a library, a sports field and a new recycling centre (see Figures 17 and 18).30 The state-of-the-art recycling centre at the new site has the capacity for 60 workers per shift (180 workers per 24 hours) and was financed and constructed by a neighbouring steel company in Morro Santana, Soluções Usiminas (see Figure 19).31 Each housing unit comprises two bedrooms, a lounge room, a kitchen and a bathroom.32 One of the houses has been adapted for a disabled resident.33 30 per cent of the new houses were made from pre-fabricated material donated by the Federal Union (RF).34 In total, the construction of Residencial Nova Chocolatão cost approximately 8.7

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30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
million BRL (31.6 percent provided by the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHBAB), 68.4 percent financed by the Federal Savings Bank (Caixa Econômica Federal, CEF)).

Figure 17 – Plan of Residencial Nova Chocolatão

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011)

Figure 18 – Residencial Nova Chocolatão

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011)

In the lead up to the resettlement of the Vila Chocolatão community in May 2011, the Municipal Department of Health (SMS) and the Foundation for Social Welfare and Citizenship (Fundação de Assistência Social e Cidadania, FASC) met in August 2010 to finalise criteria to be adopted by the Department of Housing (DEMHAB) to determine residents’ eligibility for securing new housing. These criteria, which were also discussed with community leaders and members at Chocolatão Sustainability Network meetings, are as follows:

1. Registering with DEMHAB as a resident of Vila Chocolatão between 2005 and 2009; and
2. Evincing an intention to remain living in Residencial Nova Chocolatão after resettlement.

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37 Ibid.
When DEMHAB’s register closed in 2009, the number of families living in the slum was 225. However, only 181 housing units were constructed at the new site. For Helena (Superintendent of Social Action and Cooperatives, DEMHAB), a significant issue prior to resettlement was determining who was genuinely entitled to secure new housing at Residencial Nova Chocolatão. In her opinion, the postponement of the resettlement had a detrimental effect on the project overall as ‘there were “opportunists” who were aware that the relocation would occur. They engaged in “land-grabbing” in order to secure a new house upon resettlement’. Those who were not eligible to relocate to the new site were referred to federal government’s Minha Casa, Minha Vida (My House, My Life) program. Established in 2009, the program seeks to construct two million houses for impoverished families across Brazil (Departamento Municipal de Habitação 2012).

The move from the slum to Residencial Nova Chocolatão began on the 12th of May 2011 and concluded with an official handover ceremony the following day (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre 2011). As Figure 12 above demonstrates, the distance between Vila Chocolatão (located in Praia de Belas) and Residencial Nova Chocolatão (located in Morro Santana) is approximately 12.8 kilometers. Several bus lines are accessible by community members in their new neighbourhood, with one line (the 491) that stops at the entrance to Residencial Nova Chocolatão. From Ana’s (Governance Agent, SMGL) perspective, the relatively substantial distance between the two sites is a positive aspect of the resettlement project for the community. She contends that this distance is an essential element in ‘breaking the cycle of misery that comes with working as a catadore within the city’s informal economy’.

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38 Ibid.
41 Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre. 2010. Reunião sobre a Vila Chocolatão, internal meeting notes, PMPA, Porto Alegre.
One Year Following Resettlement

Chocolatão residents were resettled to Morro Santana just over one year ago. In reflecting upon the intersections between residents’ engagement in the Chocolatão Sustainability Network and Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting processes throughout the resettlement process, it appears as though these interactions have contributed to building residents’ citizenship in a variety of ways. This section will discuss how working towards emancipation and the promotion of livelihood opportunities have impacted upon building citizenship for community members throughout the resettlement process.

Achieving Citizenship through Emancipation

In Lara’s (Social Worker, TRF4) opinion, ‘the quest for emancipation is everything’. She states that the community ‘did not exist in a state of emancipation whilst living in Vila Chocolatão’. However, she asserts that as the community became more organised, it concurrently began to engage in the process of becoming increasingly emancipated. Lara, together with others in the Network, ‘witnessed this evolution of the community’. Now that the Chocolatão community has taken a significant step towards emancipation—moving into newly constructed housing units with full provision of utilities at the new site—she says that she has noticed a difference in the dignity and self-esteem of community members: ‘Today, I can see that they are so proud that they have their homes that are nicely arranged that they can to show to others’. In comparison to the ‘terrible situation’ of residents whilst living in the slum, she describes feeling uplifted when she sees people working in the recycling shed when she visits Residencial Nova Chocolatão. In spite of this, Lara states that it is likely that a number of people ‘will not be able to emancipate themselves’ throughout the long-term adjustment to life at the new site. From her perspective, there is more hope for children than adults in terms of adapting and changing in the face of new possibilities. She says that she sees a substantial
difference in the children she has been tutoring over the past year—‘they have new possibilities and new faces’.

Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) also supports the idea that the eventual emancipation of the community has been a key aim of the resettlement project from the Network’s point of view. As Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) maintains, people from the Network working with the community ‘strongly identified with the idea of the eventual emancipation of the community’. However, Ana insists that the continued presence of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network is required in order to provide community members with support aimed at capacity building while they are establishing their new lives in Residencial Nova Chocolatão. On this point, Olivia (former community member) states that it has been essential for Network members to continue their work following resettlement in order to mitigate stress for community members who might have been experiencing shock after relocation. She asserts that ‘it is the responsibility of the Network to keep this whole process of adapting going, strengthen leadership and promote the active participation of the community’. Gabriela (Judiciary Technician, TRF4) reiterates that the general expectation amongst Chocolatão Sustainability Network members for the future of the community ‘is to work with residents so that they are able to stand on their own feet’. In this way, she sees the resettlement project as continuing, even though community members were relocated in May 2011. She would like community members to ‘start to see that they have the capacity to manage their own futures and that they do not need to have things come to them for free—that they are able to pursue what they want themselves’.

Helena (Superintendent of Social Action and Cooperatives, DEMHAB) states that now that the community has been resettled, it is likely that DEMHAB will only maintain an administrative, contractual relationship with residents. In her mind, the community will now be somewhat distanced from DEMHAB. From Helena’s perspective, the idea of the emancipation of the
Chocolatão community is essentially a paradigm shift. She frames the shift from the conception of Chocolatão residents as beneficiaries to independent citizens as follows:

How do you break the status quo for a person or family living in a vulnerable community like Chocolatão? How do you create a paradigm shift so that underprivileged people can advance and achieve equality with others in their own community or, more broadly, in Porto Alegre’s society? The provision of decent housing is one element of citizenship, together with having clean water, sanitation, equal rights, opportunities for income generation and access to education. But how do you encourage a person to become emancipated, so that he or she does not feel the need for guardianship? How are they going to become authors? The biggest challenge is not moving into a new house, but how an individual experiences change and transformation internally.

Promoting Emancipation through Livelihood Opportunities

Together with having access to and paying for basic services and adequate housing, engaging in formal employment emerged as a significant element of citizenship in this case study. Promoting livelihoods based on collectively managed recycling activities has been a core focus of the resettlement project overall and the involvement of Chocolatão Sustainability Network members. Increased space and new equipment in the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão allowed for the expansion of the Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association (ARC) membership and an increased demand for formal recyclable waste workers. Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) provides that the founding seven members of the ARC who were trained in the cooperative recycling management model were joined by an additional 22 residents by June 2011 (approximately two weeks following resettlement). In July 2012, 110 community

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members were registered as formal employees at the recycling centre constructed by Soluções Usiminas. 43

Instituto Vonpar, CAMP and founding ARC members from Vila Chocolatão have worked with the community at the new site to include and train new members in the ARC to work in the recycling centre. 44 This process has involved training related to staff policies and guidance on opening an ARC bank account and hiring an accountant. 45 ARC members have also learned how to monitor the supply of waste to the new site and to ensure productivity and profitability of operations with the increasing number of workers. 46 ARC managers have received training on how to use computers to assist with administrative aspects of managing the cooperative. 47 In Camila’s (Social Educator, CAMP) opinion, the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão has great prospects for becoming a ‘best practice’ example in the Brazilian recycling sector if Network members continue to support its operations until it is sufficiently strengthened. 48 Olivia (former community member) reports that a number of people who were making a living by working as catadores have moved on from working in the new recycling centre and are now employed in the formal labour market. She further states that some people are now managing their own businesses, while others have expressed an interest in pursuing further education.

This chapter provided a broad, chronological overview of the resettlement of the Chocolatão community, with a particular focus on residents’ engagement in public participatory processes in Porto Alegre. This engagement included a range of precursory improvement projects prior to the resettlement itself—projects that were crucial to the development of trust and maturation

45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
of citizenship. The core theme to emerge from this research was explored—that residents’ engagement in participatory budgeting and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network throughout, and following, the resettlement process contributed to building their citizenship. The following chapter evaluates these findings critically, and proposes further areas of research.
Conclusion

This thesis, *What Happens When Urban Resettlement Meets Public Participatory Processes? A Case Study of the Resettlement of the Chocolatão Slum Community in Porto Alegre, Brazil*, sought to examine the interconnections between the resettlement project and residents’ involvement in public participatory processes in Porto Alegre. More specifically, this research aimed to analyse how these intersections have contributed towards building citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members. The central question examined was: What happens when urban resettlement meets public participatory processes?

The overarching theme to emerge from this study is centred on the idea of citizenship. Citizenship is a multifaceted term that is used in different ways in the key documents analysed for this research and by interviewees, both from the community and from the various sectors represented in the Chocolatão Sustainability Network. In Porto Alegre, someone who has citizenship is a ‘full-fledged’ citizen. A full-fledged citizen is somebody who participates in and is recognised within the city’s formal socio-political sphere. In order to be a legitimate actor within this sphere, it is necessary to meet certain preconditions. In the context of Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting processes, a readily apparent precondition is citizen participation through a formally registered group or association. More broadly, achieving the citizenship required to participate in formal society might involve making a living through formal avenues that require identity documentation for employment, as opposed to engaging in the city’s informal economy for livelihood opportunities.

For residents living in Vila Chocolatão, citizenship was generally out of reach. The majority of community members generated income by engaging in informal recyclable waste management activities. In Porto Alegre, this sort of informal work is a signifier of not having achieved citizenship. Non-payment for the use of basic services is also a marker of not being a full-
fledged citizen. This is based on the concept that a citizen is entitled to certain rights but, at the same time, is expected to assume the duties that go hand-in-hand with those rights. For example, a citizen has the right to access basic services (such as electricity, running water and sewerage) on the condition that he or she pays for the use of those services. At the outset of the resettlement project, a serious obstacle to achieving citizenship for community members living in Vila Chocolatão was the lack of basic services to the community and the illegal tapping of formal electricity networks by certain residents.

Donations to the former Vila Chocolatão community, in the form of food, clothing and volunteered services, also constituted an impediment in terms of community members being treated as citizens. This is related to the association between emancipation and citizenship expressed by a number of interviewees in this study. A full-fledged citizen is entitled to social benefits, however, he or she is viewed as living in a state of emancipation if there is no need to rely on external individuals (outside of family and friends) and organisations for material assistance on a day-to-day basis. Those living in Vila Chocolatão at the inception of the resettlement project were generally in receipt of donations, lacking the provision of basic services (and not paying for them where they were accessed illegally) and not formally represented in Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting processes. These factors combined presented a formidable challenge for residents in terms of building citizenship whilst living in the slum.

The stigma of being cast as a group of non-citizens at the outset of the resettlement project had significant implications for key initiatives that were implemented in the community in the lead up to relocation. These initiatives include the formation of a group to represent the residents of Vila Chocolatão in the city’s Participatory Budget, the construction of a temporary recycling shed to support the activities of the emerging Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association and the installation of a formal electricity network within the community for the first time. There were those who feared that installing electricity and establishing a communal recycling shed in Vila
Chocolatão would encourage residents to resist relocating to Residencial Nova Chocolatão. These initiatives were also viewed by some as a waste of precious time and resources as it was inevitable that Vila Chocolatão would be demolished upon resettlement. In contrast to these perceptions, there were others who supported these initiatives on the basis of their value as a means of promoting citizenship within the Chocolatão community prior to relocation.

This case study demonstrates that the intersections between residents’ participation in public processes (participatory budgeting, local solidarity governance and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network) have contributed to building citizenship amongst Chocolatão community members. Yet it is uncertain whether or not the whole neighbourhood of Residencial Nova Chocolatão has achieved ‘full’ citizenship and participation in Porto Alegre’s society. It is clear, however, that there is an important connection between building citizenship and the sustainability of this resettlement project. All indications one year following resettlement point to the relative ‘success’ of this particular relocation project in terms of genuine community consultation, participation and ownership. This is particularly supported by the outcome of all demands made on behalf of the community through the city’s Participatory Budget (the relocation of the community to an alternative site, the preservation of the community’s recycling activities and the establishment of a daycare centre at the new site) having been met.

In order to effectively gauge the relationship between the building of citizenship amongst Chocolatão residents and the sustainability of the resettlement project in the long term, longitudinal research needs to be conducted. The concept of using citizenship as a ‘test’ for urban resettlement via public participatory processes is potentially useful in development practice. The concept of cumulative participation in resettlement processes is also valuable, as resettlement is not an isolated event. Rather, resettlement is more usefully conceived of as being connected to an ongoing process of engagement. In urban resettlement projects, it can take years, or even decades, before it is possible formally evaluate the ‘success’ of a given
population relocation (see Perlman 2010). The use of citizenship in the early months or years following an urban resettlement project involving public participation could be a valuable tool in assessing the initial prospects of post-resettlement success outside of formal evaluation.

In spite of the recent attention devoted to the development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) of slum dwellers, participatory development and citizenship studies, relatively few studies have examined cases where these fields intersect. The case of Vila Chocolatão represents what is to date an unusual combination of ‘participatory resettlement’. It especially warrants study, however, in light of the significant number of urban slum dwellers who will be affected by DIDR and rapidly increasing urbanisation in the years ahead. While it is far too early to say categorically whether this example of resettlement has been a success, the indicators of citizenship I have described suggest that sustained and systematic community participation has yielded much greater chances than a purely ‘top-down’ and authoritarian initiative might have done.

The community now residing at Residencial Nova Chocolatão was resettled just over one year ago. There continues to be a relatively high number of former residents of Vila Chocolatão living at the new site, and this suggests that further longitudinal study could be instigated, to measure impacts of resettlement over more meaningful timeframes—5, 10 or even 20 years—than this study has been able to. Further work could also extend to more in-depth use of qualitative and quantitative methods, including open-ended interviews, life histories, observations and survey questionnaires. Together with a longer timeframe, and building upon the results of this thesis, such research could help resolve more fully the question of what happens when urban resettlement meets public participation.
References


**Appendices**

**Appendix 1 – Annual Cycle of Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget**

The following outline of the annual cycle of Porto Alegre’s participatory budget has been reproduced from Gret and Sintomer (2005, pp. 38-9).

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Annual cycle of the participatory budget</th>
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| **March – April:** Preparatory district and thematic meetings (first round) | • Executive assesses the previous year’s investment plan and presents its plan for the year.  
• Executive presents the internal rules of the participatory structure for the year, together with the criteria for distribution of investments and technical criteria.  
• Discussions on thematic priorities.  
• Proposals for actions via the Internet. |
| **Second half of April – May:** District and thematic plenary assemblies (second round) | • Thematic priorities are ranked in order of priority.  
• Election of delegates to the district or thematic participatory budget forum by plenary meetings. |
| **May – July:** District and plenary meetings (third round) | • Election of forum delegates.  
• Delegates visit other neighbourhoods and districts.  
• Residents prioritize their demands and the work to be undertaken.  
• Forums discuss proposals made via the Internet. |
| **First half of July:** Festive plenary meeting (beginning of the fourth round) | • New councillors assume office.  
• Final selection of works and services.  
• Discussion of general topics. |
| **July – September:** Analysis of demands, development of budget matrix | • Technical and financial analysis of the demands by executive.  
• Executive elaborates the budget matrix. |
| **August – September:** Approval of the first budget matrix | • The participatory budget council (COP) discusses and adopts the first budget matrix, which distributes resources according to the themes and the districts. |
| **October – November:** Approval of the final budget matrix (beginning of the last round) | • Detailing of the plan of investments and services.  
• Approval of the final budget matrix.  
• The budget bill is submitted to the legislature. |
| **November – January:** COP debates and votes on the investment plan | • Meetings of the COP and municipal bodies debate and put together the follow year’s investment plan, which is voted on by the COP.  
• COP and forums discuss and vote the internal rules of the participatory structure, the criteria for distribution of investments and technical criteria. |
| **January:** Vacation |  

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