

CULTIVATING CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION THROUGH CULTURE: THE
USE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING METHODS FOR COMMUNITY BASED
WATERSHED MANAGEMENT IN SANTO ANDRE BRAZIL

By

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B.A Honours, Simon Fraser University, 1998

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN PLANNING

In

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(School of Community and Regional Planning)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 2002

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Abstract

Adopting a participatory planning approach to community development has increasingly been placed on the agenda of governments, international development agencies and various non-governmental organisations. The interactive participation component of participatory planning processes can provide a pedagogical forum of informal education and knowledge sharing amongst local citizens and planners. The mutual social learning that is produced creates new meaning that contains both planner and citizen perspectives and knowledge. The presence and participation of citizens in participatory project activities can strengthen and/or establish notions of citizenship that can subsequently stimulate future community activism and mobilisation.

This thesis will illustrate how culture, as both a creative practice and a way of life, provides a valuable instrument for community participation. The role of culture as a participatory tool is analysed for its potential in the construction of active citizenship, and as a method that facilitates the expression of local knowledge. Since putting the ideals of participation into practice is difficult, the specific purpose of this thesis is to identify and document some of the opportunities and constraints to providing creative channels of participation. This study is situated in the Municipality of Santo Andre, Brazil, where a Community Based Watershed Management (CBWM) project is currently unfolding. A series of key informant interviews and participant observation provided insight on the Brazilians' perspective of the objectives of participation, the role that culture plays in participatory planning and the several opportunities and constraints to adopting innovative forms of participation. The resulting analysis reveals issues found at the community, community/municipal and municipal (institutional) levels where a combination of distinct perceptions of participation, approaches to culture, democratisation of planning information, influences of historical and contemporary socio-political structures, technocratic practices, multi-disciplinarity, and attitudes regarding active citizenship and municipal co-management, both facilitate and complicate conditions for innovative participatory planning.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who have contributed to my research with their valuable insights and analysis. These include my interviewees who willingly gave me their time and took interest in my work, as well as the numerous people who engaged in reflective conversations and helped me to obtain a deeper understanding of their fascinating and complex country. My several interactions served as a source of inspiration and without these people my study could not have been completed.

I also want to thank the Municipality of Santo Andre for opening its doors to young Canadian researchers. This has been an invaluable experience and one that I will carry with me for all my time. I dedicate this piece of work to the various people in Brazil as well as in other parts of the world that fight unconditionally for a more just and happy society. This includes the late Mayor Celso Daniel whose genuine attempts of instilling democratic governance cost him his life.

Chapter One: Introduction

The historical roots of planning as a discipline were initially shaped by positivist scientific thinkers that claimed to be rational and believed in their objective approach to issues of public interest. As such planning has traditionally been dominated by “top down” expert driven processes which have left little room for the participation of community inhabitants. Through their claimed objectivity and technical knowledge planners felt they had a strong enough basis with which to create appropriate, effective master plans that would address issues of importance in our human settlements.

Community based knowledge and insights were rarely solicited since they constituted subjective information and therefore considered an irrelevant input into the planning process. The resulting failures and/or negative impacts caused by this exclusionary form of planning triggered a strong wave of literature advocating for an increased participatory approach that has challenged the dominance of traditional methods within many planning circles. Although the prevalence of participatory planning has more force today than ever before, the ideas have been brewing for many years and are the result of prominent thinkers such as Kropotkin, Mumford, Habermas, Forrester, Friedman amongst others, who played pivotal roles in the evolution of planning. Today participation has generally been accepted as a critical element of planning. However not all forms of participation are democratic and/or productive and therefore the degree, level and objectives of participation are still in question especially in our complex and pluralistic urban centres that demand diversified channels of participation.

Participatory planning processes can represent the forum in which local knowledge is transferred to planning officials and planning knowledge is transferred to citizens. Participatory planning activities can offer a mechanism for informal education and knowledge sharing amongst participants. The mutual social learning that is produced creates new meaning, one that contains both expert planner and local knowledge, and provides an integrated information base that can then be utilised for making substantive plans of action. Participation therefore becomes a consciousness raising pedagogic process in which new information emerges and all participants learn and grow (Freire, 1970). As such it is a forum for knowledge sharing, social learning, empowerment and transformation as well as a process that strengthens civil society.

This study will illustrate how culture provides a valuable instrument for community participation. The role of culture as a participatory method is analysed for its potential in the construction of active citizenship where the participatory forum serves a pedagogic process. Chapter Two discusses the concepts of participation, culture and citizenship in greater depth. Citizenship generally consists of rights and obligations where the latter includes playing an active role in the life of the community to which one belongs (Freidman, 1987). Culture can be interpreted as a fine art and creative form of representation as well as the combination of attitudes, values and beliefs that shape people's ways of life. These two forms of culture both draw from and participate in the construction of the other (King, 1997).

Since putting the ideals of participation into practice is difficult, we need to understand more about the opportunities and constraints to adopting innovative forms of participation that facilitates the expression of local knowledge. So, the specific purpose of this thesis is to identify and document some of the opportunities and constraints to adopting creative channels of participation that strengthen citizenship and serve as forums for the expression of local knowledge.

Local knowledge can consist of and be expressed in many forms. Although often related to the concept of indigenous knowledge, local knowledge does not imply a cultural wisdom held by an autochthonous group of people that has transcended generations, but can rather be more loosely interpreted as the experiential and locational/geographic knowledge held by a particular community, as heterogeneous as they may be, about their locale as it relates to a particular subject. This is a knowledge that is formed as a consequence of lived experiences grounded in a particular context and may be social, environmental, economic, historical, cultural, or a combination of these. Local knowledge does not necessarily have to mean knowing how to do something in particular such as rotating agriculture or water harvesting, but can also consist of residents' knowledge about problems, constraints, fears, opportunities, successes, social barriers, etc in their community, all of which are valuable inputs when designing and implementing projects. After all, when planners engage in participatory planning they are often trying to seek public input regarding a particular issue and this input embraces and reflects individual and collective knowledge.

In order to be truly participatory and community based, projects devised by governments and non-governmental organisations must first emphasise the creation of comfortable zones where distinct sets of knowledge, both scientific/expert and tacit/local can be expressed, valued and subsequently integrated in order to produce a contextually relevant information base with which to plan. Although much attention has been directed towards involving communities in the planning, design and implementation of projects, considerably less emphasis has been placed on strengthening and building people's capacity to participate in effective ways. Often alienated and marginalised citizens with limited information are not prepared to embark on active participatory processes and careful strategies must be devised to involve them and value their input.

Adopting innovative forms of participation that simultaneously tap into community based knowledge and help shape identities and active citizen roles is challenging and confronted by several obstacles at the community, municipal and interface level. As a result mechanisms must be carefully thought out, planned and designed using methods that are culturally relevant and context specific. It is only within the last decade that the value of culture as a powerful instrument for communication and expression, raising awareness, building identities, mobilising communities and generally including the traditionally marginalised, has been acknowledged. Our current knowledge about the cultural dimension of participatory planning is quite limited and therefore there exists a gap regarding the potential of culture as a mechanism for the participation and inclusion of distinct social groups within society. This research hopes to contribute to the growing body of knowledge that links forms of cultural expression and active citizenship to the larger discourse on participatory planning.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The interactive participation component of participatory planning processes creates a dynamic in which citizen knowledge is transferred to planning officials and technical planning knowledge is transferred to locals. This study is interested in how participatory planning activities can provide an avenue for informal education, knowledge sharing and mutual learning. Planners learn about local realities and perceptions while participants learn about larger concepts of planning and how they can guide/direct conditions that affect their locale.

In this thesis I will argue that culture is an effective participatory planning tool that offers locally relevant forms of expression through which citizen knowledge and input is shared with planners in a forum that fosters an informational exchange and produces mutual learning. The articulation of citizen knowledge through cultural expression and the legitimising effect of integrating this knowledge as an element of the official planning process is extremely valuable and contributes to personal growth. Often people do not realise that what they know is important for the planning of their community and engaging in a process of pulling thoughts together, articulating them as an expression of what you know and having these views be valued and used for planning in your locale stimulates individual and collective identity and empowerment. Here culture is discussed and valued as an instrument of inclusion and of personal formation and transformation.

If participatory processes are designed with an educational knowledge sharing dimension to them, after participating citizens will have learnt from the experience and have an increased knowledge obtained both through the articulation of already held knowledge combined with the acquisition of new knowledge created through the information transfer within the participatory dynamic. This can have several spin off effects on local citizenry and potentially trigger future grassroots initiatives, contingent of course on issues of organisation and cohesion in the given locality. The presence and participation of citizens in participatory project activities can strengthen and/or establish notions of citizenship and community links that can subsequently stimulate future community activism and mobilisation around other issues of importance. Implementing participation is often challenging and therefore insights regarding potential obstacles can be instrumental to the success of future participatory planning attempts.

Hence, the specific purpose of this thesis is to identify and document some of the opportunities and constraints to providing creative channels of participation that are relevant to local citizens and that serve as forums for the expression of local knowledge and its integration into the planning process for community based watershed management (CBWM) where the watershed is informally settled. This will be done using a case study of the municipality of Santo Andre, Brazil where a strong commitment to participatory planning combined with the urgent need for watershed protection has triggered the adoption of a CBWM project. Presently there are numerous informal and squatter settlements located in the environmentally sensitive watershed areas and the municipality

is trying to integrate them into the city and provide them with basic infrastructure. The CBWM project aims to incorporate informal settlement residents into watershed management and subsequently enhance the stewardship of the resource. Increasing the environmental awareness of local residents while simultaneously attempting to address their immediate basic needs promises a higher level of protection in a highly environmentally sensitive and vulnerable ecosystem threatened by mismanagement and precarious settlements. The informal settlement Parque Andreense located within the watershed boundary is providing a pilot project study area for the CBWM project and the results and lessons learned here will serve to inform other urban watershed settlement issues rampant in neighbouring municipalities and in Brazil in general. My research will be based on this pilot project and will specifically focus on the use of cultural mechanisms to tap into the local knowledge of residents from informal settlements, inquiring about what are the opportunities and constraints that have characterised the attempts of Brazilian municipal planners.

Primary Research Question

What do the Brazilian municipal planners consider to be the opportunities and constraints to adopting innovative forms of participation that serve to integrate environmental local knowledge into planning process and strengthen citizenship roles?

Secondary Research Questions

According to the municipality of Santo Andre, what are the objectives of participation?

How can participation be a pedagogic and transformative process for planners and civil society?

What role does culture play in participatory planning with marginalised urban communities?

How can culture harness active citizenship and participation?

Methodology

Key informant interviews using both formal and informal semi-structured interviews, participant observation during four months of field work and attendance of several public

meetings were the main methods used in this research. Interviews were conducted in Portuguese which I learnt during my stay in Brazil. A total of fifteen interviews were performed with various key people who were selected based on their knowledge, expertise, position in the municipal hierarchy and/or involvement with the activities initiated under the CBWM rubric. The subjects can be broken down into three main categories: (1) municipal planners who are responsible for large participatory planning programs in Santo Andre and others who formulate public policy that target specific social groups (e.g. women and youth); (2) community educator/social workers actively and directly involved in the struggle to awaken a sense of awareness and citizenship amongst members of civil society and who choose culture as their method; and (3) active community residents who are considered to be "community leaders" and protagonists in their community. The latter have been involved with municipal participatory activities related to CBWM since the inception of the project. The interviews were used mainly to obtain insights into the opportunities and constraints faced by municipal workers in adopting innovative forms of participation that foster social learning and in expressing and sharing knowledge. Community resident interviews provided insight into local perspectives on the municipal government's attempts to bring forth an innovative project and some of the effects that have occurred in their locale.

Participatory budgeting, hip-hop culture and oral histories are the three case methods that were chosen to develop this research. The participatory budgeting process provides an example of innovative municipal planning initiated by the Workers Party, a relatively new and progressive political party that currently governs the municipality of Santo Andre. Since much of Santo Andre's experience with participatory planning is concentrated in this program, it was selected in order to illustrate this municipality's approach to participation and contextualise subsequent discussion. The participatory budgeting program is an example of functional participation, which Pretty (1995) defined as means to achieve project goals. Citizen involvement is sometimes interactive and involves shared decision-making, but this tends to emerge after major decisions (such as how much is allocated to the budgeting program) are already made. Planners' expertise gained through the participatory budgeting process coupled with a demonstrated political commitment to participatory planning brought forth favourable conditions for the adoption of the CBWM project. As an holistic approach to environmental management, CBWM places significant emphasis on social (and economic) development and therefore

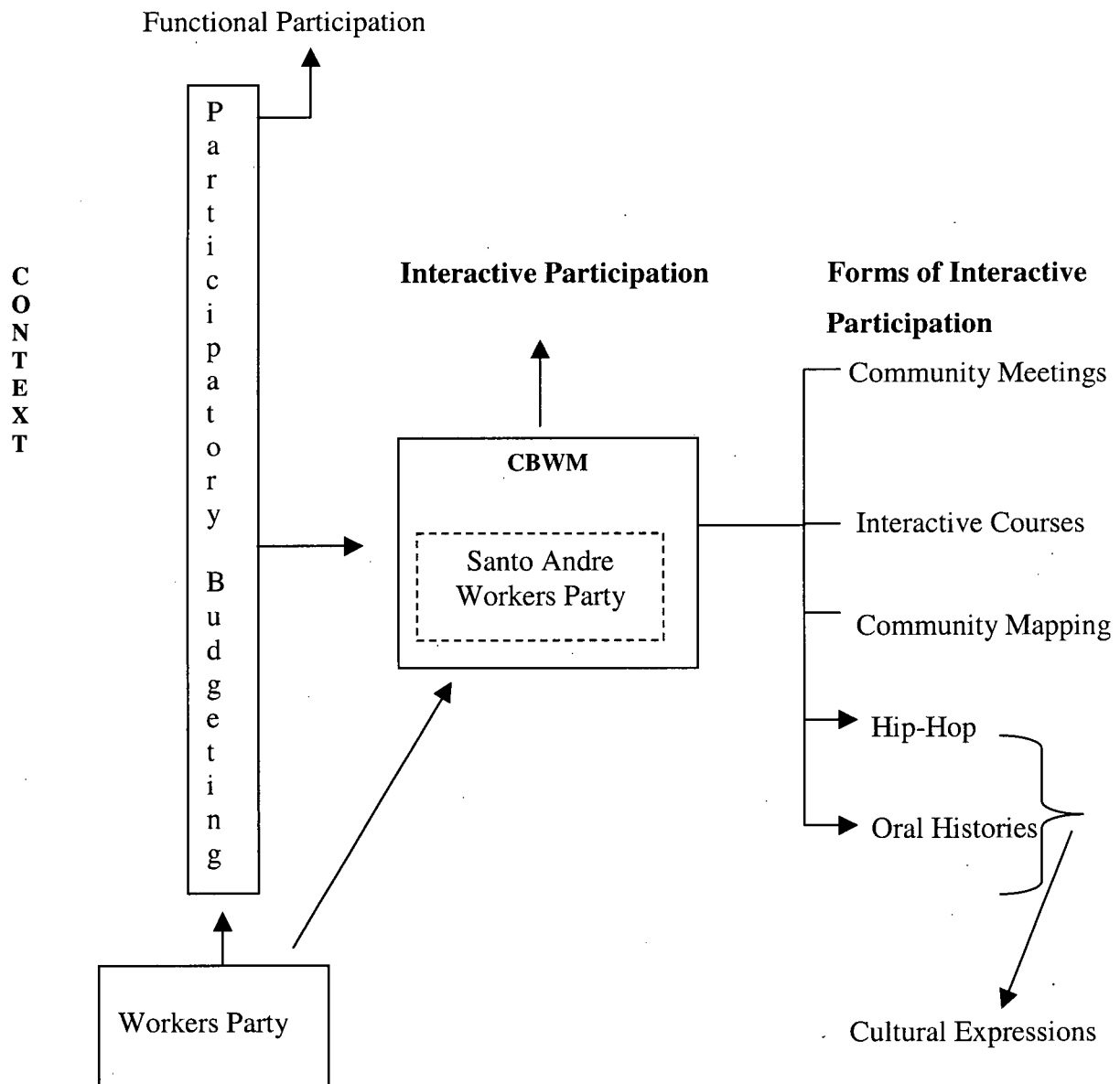
several initiatives were spearheaded that targeted these dimensions. Much of the participatory initiatives that fall under the CBWM rubric seek to espouse an interactive form of participation where people participate in “joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just a means to achieve project goals; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systemic and structured learning processes” (Pretty, 1995).

Hip-hop culture and oral histories, the main two case methods selected for this study, were adopted under the CBWM project and focus on culture as a mechanism for participation. They include the use of hip-hop with youth and oral history documentation with residents from the informal settlement. Although there exist several participatory planning methods (e.g. community mapping, interactive courses, community meetings, etc), culture was selected in order to provide insight on how it can provide a powerful mechanism for fostering citizenship and participation. Hip-hop is an expression that has gained significant momentum over recent years and whose roots have often been misrepresented and neglected. As a form of expression that a weighty portion of youth living in marginalised neighbourhoods on the urban periphery identify with and produce, hip-hop provides a vivid reflection of local realities. The municipality of Santo Andre has recognised the hip-hop movement as a potential source of youth organising and is therefore actively being integrated into participatory planning methods. As such it provides a good example to bring forth in this study. Likewise, oral history documentation presents an innovative and creative method for tapping into local knowledge, tracing the process of change in the local environment while simultaneously providing an opportunity for social learning and transformation. The main intent is to explore the cultural dimension of participatory planning in the urban context of developing countries illustrating its potential for augmenting the inclusion and citizenship of marginalised residents. The following diagram illustrates the aforementioned discussion and provides a visual layout of the study.

The literature on participatory planning, culture and citizenship reviewed in Chapter Two provides the theoretical background that informs the conceptual framework for this study. Written materials about the Workers Party of Brazil, past conferences/workshops, minutes from meetings and other documented information that is relevant to this study

were also analysed in order to formulate and provide context. In addition, the numerous informal conversations I had with politically active and socially conscious people while in Brazil, were invaluable and served to nourish my understanding of the dynamics at play in this highly complex web of historical and contemporary realities that shape the societal conditions of this country. Therefore occasionally the ideas and insights found throughout this study are a reflection of my own analysis and constructed perspective.

Figure One: Layout and Justification for Study



Scope

The Community Based Watershed Management (CBWM) project that provides the case study for this research is highly complex and involves numerous stakeholders, organisations and partners all of which play specific independent and interrelated roles. It is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis to integrate all these details into the study. In fact the research focus is not on CBWM as such but rather on what we can learn about the opportunities and constraints involved in adopting innovative strategies (i.e. cultural expression) for involving marginalised sectors of society living in environmentally sensitive watershed areas into the planning of the watershed. Therefore although several elements are taken into consideration, this study does not intend to provide an analysis of the CBWM project. It is important to state however, that the observations that have been made in relation to the CBWM project are reflective of a specific moment in time and are evidently subject to change. For this study, the primary emphasis is given to those elements that relate directly to the aforementioned research question.

Although terms such as social learning, local knowledge and empowerment are used in this thesis it is beyond its scope to indulge in the vast literature attached to these concepts. This theory-informed research does not provide new breakthroughs but rather, it provides an analytical understanding of what we can learn from one experience of integrating participation, culture and citizenship as they relate to urban planning and democratic practices emerging from a developing country like Brazil.

Organisation of the Study

This thesis is structured in the following way. The first chapter above lays out the introduction and context for the research question. The second provides a literature review and conceptual framework based on the concepts of participation, culture and citizenship. The third chapter provides the political, geographical and socio-economic context and characteristics of Santo André. Chapter four briefly discusses the participatory budgeting program of Santo Andre as an example of an institutionalised mechanism of participatory planning that integrates public input/knowledge with municipal planning knowledge to determine the priorities that the city needs to address in terms of public works. This will provide insight into how information is given, obtained, integrated and used and sets the stage for the adoption of the CBWM project which is briefly summarised here. Following are two chapters (five and six) that present two

examples on the use of culture as a vehicle for participation. Chapter five illustrates this through the youth hip-hop movement and Chapter six focuses on a project of oral history documentation. The fifth chapter observes how hip-hop culture is used as a mechanism to encourage youth participation in the CBWM project and the sixth presents the insights, experiences and potential uses of an oral history documentation project. Based on the participatory activities discussed in the previous two chapters, chapter seven will discuss various opportunities and constraints that challenge the espousal of participatory channels that are open to the different voices found in society and that attempt to instil and new form of citizenship. Finally, the conclusion pulls the strings together extrapolating the implications for planning practice and suggesting areas for further research.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Framework: Participation, Culture and Citizenship

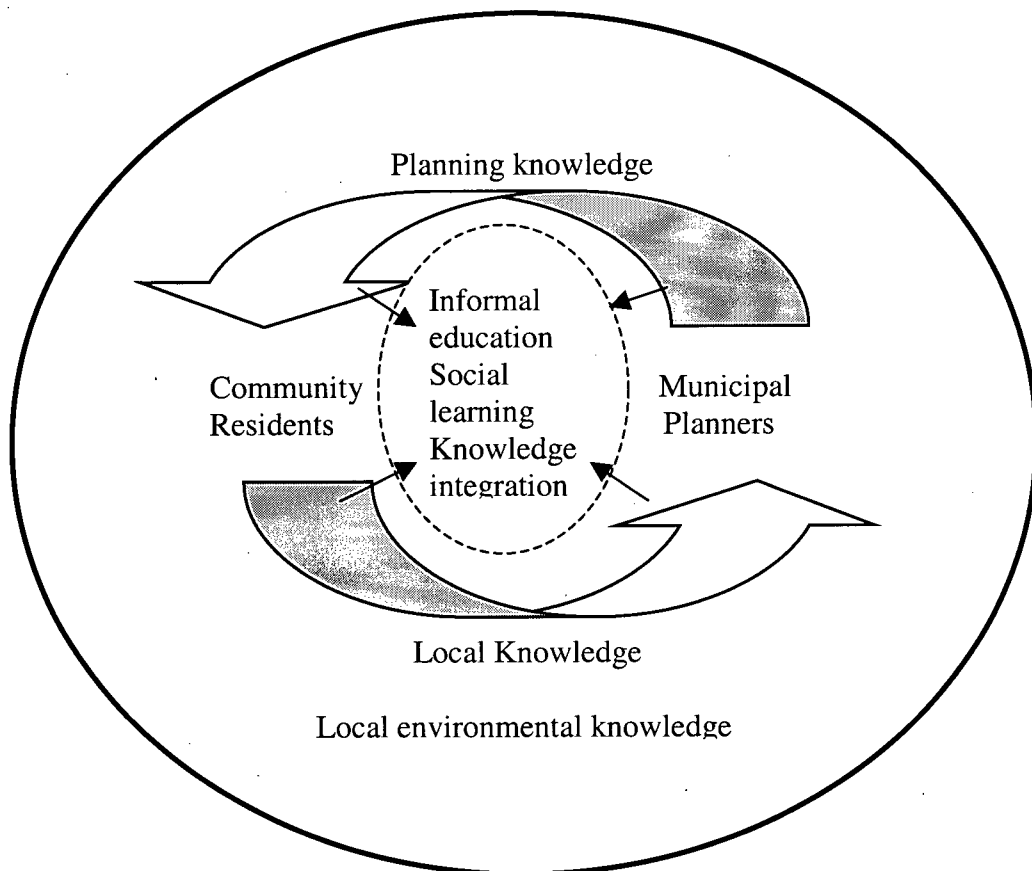
Throughout the past three decades governments, international development agencies and various organisations have increasingly reflected an interest in adopting, either in policy or rhetoric, the idea of community participation. This increased interest stemmed from years of failed projects that repeatedly used top-down prescriptive methodologies to achieve an ethnocentric imposed form of development that was “pre-packaged” in donor countries. The realisation that project success was contingent on more inclusive forms of development launched years of academic discourse on methodologies for and variations of participation. One of the greatest polemics encountered both in discourse and practise involves the interpretation and subsequent meaning that different ideologies attribute to participation. There has been a general lack of consensus regarding what participation should entail. Governments and organisations have readily incorporated and accepted that participation is a critical element of development initiatives, but this general acceptance has caused the neglect of deeper discussion on the objectives for adopting participatory methods (Plummer, 2000). The following discussion explains some of the fundamental concepts and assumptions that inform this thesis.

Participation is a forum of interaction between planners and civil society. Within the context of participatory planning for environmental management, the integration of "expert" and local knowledge promises the most relevant information base with which to formulate plans. Through this interaction with the community, planners' knowledge can be contextualised and modified to fit a particular locality and community residents can learn about the importance and methods of planning in general. Figure Two illustrates this idea of information transfer, knowledge sharing and social learning.

The use of culture as a mechanism for community engagement offers an effective tool that has the capacity to reach and interest diverse segments of society in the management of their surroundings. In order to be successful the planning processes that seek to integrate community perspectives and knowledge must themselves be planned carefully and often require that local organisations and/or government have the necessary skills, mechanisms, and attitude to be proactive in this regard. Among low-income populations

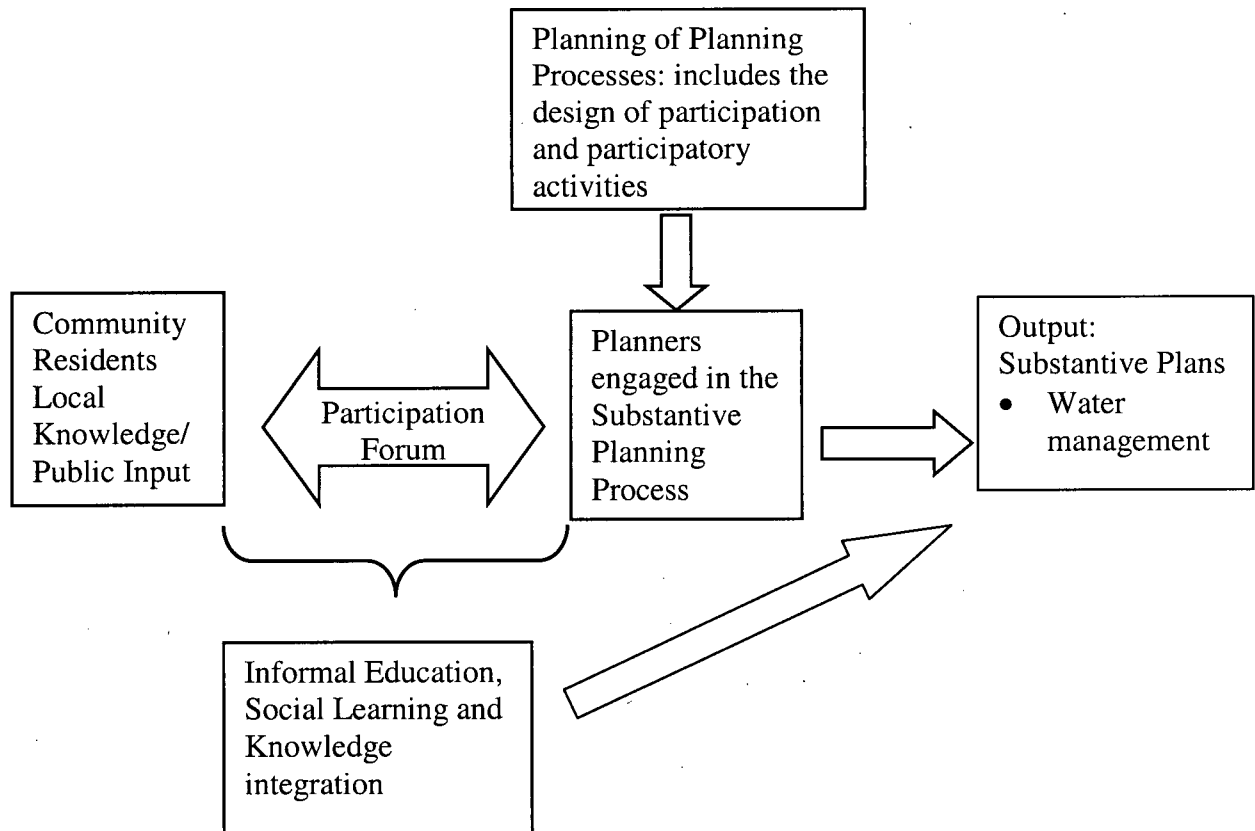
in Third World countries the use of local culture and sub-culture has been instrumental in fostering self-esteem, identity, access, and solidarity (Hart, 1997; Cunha, 1998; Freire, 1970; Kley Meyer ed., 1994; InterAmerican Development Bank, 2002; UNESCO, 2002) which are often important stepping stones for effective participation. Often people who participate in processes that use culture create a new self awareness and start to critically observe their social situation, many times leading them to take the initiative to act in the transformation of the society that has always neglected them the opportunity of participation (Shaull, Foreward of Freire, 1970). Being aware of the opportunities and constraints involved in adopting innovative forms of participation that foster knowledge sharing and learning is important for planning practice, since it may provide insights into how the participation in planning processes can be designed and amended to the larger objectives of social learning and social transformation through increased active citizenship.

Figure Two: Participation Forum



The forum of participation is one element of the larger participatory planning process and fits into the larger picture as shown in the diagram below. Prior to undertaking any participatory activity the substantive planning process, in which participation will occur, must itself be planned. This includes articulating the method (e.g. cultural expression), target group and particular objectives the participation component should encompass and subsequently design these accordingly. They are then played out through the substantive planning process in which the pre-designed activities will potentially, and depending on their intent and design, foster the transfer of information and creation of knowledge and interest in exercising citizenship rights and obligations. The outcomes of this participatory interaction between planners and community residents are twofold. On the one hand it provides a relevant information base for specific substantive plans, while also increasing awareness and the likelihood of future participation on behalf of civil society.

Figure Three: Participatory Planning

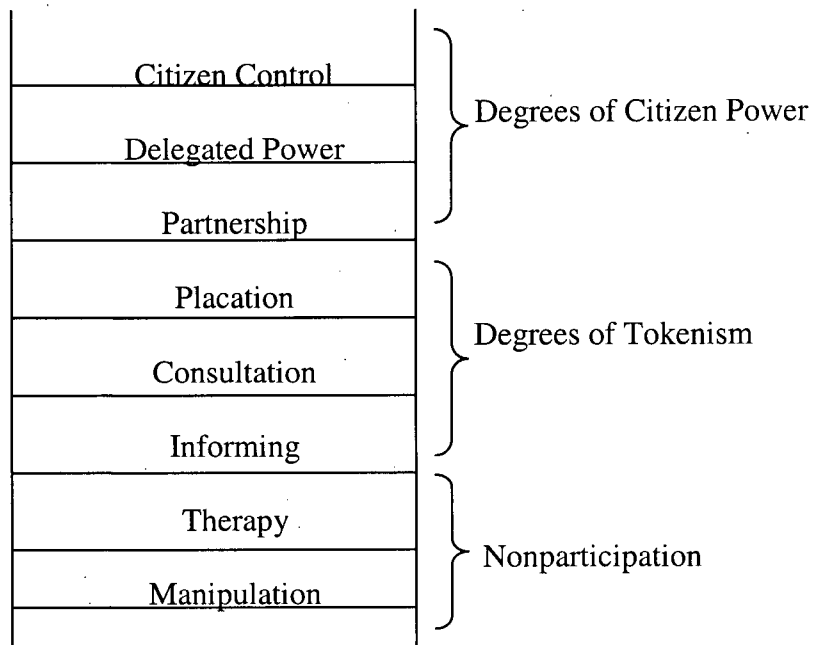


Participation

The underlying logic that governments usually have for endorsing and being receptive to community participation is pragmatic and instrumental, in that it seeks to increase the acceptance and effectiveness of an particular investment, proposal and/or project.

Although these are legitimate goals, they only symbolically address the more encompassing issue of alleviating poverty through social transformation. In a “rights-based approach to development people’s participation is seen as a means to a more fundamental end: to strengthen civil society and democracy” (Plummer, 2000, pg. 27). In fact most people would agree that participation is the cornerstone of democracy, yet such a vague term can be loosely defined and accommodated to suit a variety of objectives. In 1969 Arnstein stipulated that citizen participation is simply a “categorical term for citizen power” and she established a ladder of citizen participation (see figure five) reflecting forms of involvement that range from manipulative and disempowering to controlling and empowered. Only at the top three levels of partnerships, delegated control and citizen control do people have a strong say in the decisions that are made regarding the circumstances that affect their lives. Participation that fosters the recognition and adoption of citizen control over forces that shape one’s community can be a source of empowerment. The local context will often determine the degree of citizen control that is viable and effective.

Figure Four: Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Arnstein, S. (1969, pg. #) “A Ladder of Citizen Participation” Journal of American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35, American Institute of Planners

In the worst case scenario, participation is used as a mechanism of domination and coercion that attempts to use community resources to facilitate and sometimes fund an already determined governmental agenda. Participation through information sharing also takes on an authoritarian character since the participatory forum simply serves to provide information to the community on ideas and proposals that have already been decided by public administration officials and therefore has very limited benefit for the community. It is important to note that the information that is provided in this forum of participation is often biased, incomplete and/or profuse with jargon, rendering it inaccessible for the average citizen (Plummer, 2000).

Consultative participation is probably the most common and widely accepted form of public participation that is exercised by governments who claim to be participatory. Here municipal officials call citizens to public meetings in which proposals or already established ideas are discussed and the public is consulted, giving space for their opinions and ideas to be expressed. There is no assurance that citizens' concerns will be taken into account (Arnstein, 1969). Municipal officials subsequently make a decision regarding the issue, taking into consideration the discussion held at the public meeting. Although this form of participation undoubtedly has potential benefits both for citizens and public officials, this is significantly limited due to the exclusionary nature of the decision making process. Technically the decision remains in the hands of municipal planners who decide based on discretion how and what aspects of citizen concerns/points of view to integrate. In addition, planners' decisions are often hindered by and subject to the interests of the mayor who often benefits the corporate interests of developers. Although this is not always the case, its frequent occurrence has caused scepticism among critics who speculate that this form of participation risks becoming an instrument of state legitimisation of dominant views and decisions that have already been made without the public interest in mind. Conversely, when consultative participation unfolds successfully, it can serve to bring together several different types of information, points of view and knowledge which once integrated and applied to a specific issue, will undoubtedly lead to a far more effective decision (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). In this case, although indirectly, the community is somewhat partaking in the decision that is being made.

If participation is undertaken and initiated with the objective of strengthening civil society to partake in municipal management, then the participatory forum should be designed accordingly. Participation does not have to be either about information sharing or consultation or co-operation/partnerships, but rather can and should integrate these elements. Information *must* be shared, but this must be a two-way flow between citizens and planners. People *should* be consulted regarding municipal intentions, but this consultation should produce a decision that stems from a negotiation between public power and citizens. The important point is to integrate these weaker forms of participation into a more comprehensive and evolving strategy that is productive and enlightening for all participants.

Participation is both a dynamic process as well as a rewarding product. Moser (1983) discussed participation as a “means” to obtaining a desired outcome/product such as an improved water supply system, or as an end in which the “end” itself is the increased ability and effectiveness of participation through augmented community control. Although participatory attempts are characterised as one or the other they can create a dynamic that encompasses both (Moser 1987). In a participatory context that envisions citizen involvement as a method of increasing community responsibility and power, the participatory forum itself must be one that provides an opportunity to gain the knowledge, skills and power to exercise citizen rights in the future. In this sense participation is a *process* that strengthens civil society and a *product* that increases community capacity to organise and participate. The latter can coalesce with other predetermined objectives of the given project (e.g. drainage delivery system). It is participation as a forum for knowledge sharing, social learning, empowerment and transformation that is used throughout this thesis.

The ideas of Paulo Freire (1970) have been extremely insightful in the discourse of participation as a learning process. His methodologies of liberation education can easily be applied to the planner-citizen relational dynamic. In the participatory forum both planners and citizens are subjects, whom through a permanent relationship of dialogue and mutual reflection, come to unveil reality and knowledge, and as result of this interaction, re-create knowledge. Participation therefore becomes a consciousness raising and pedagogic process in which new information emerges and all participants learn and grow (Freire, 1970). This social construction of knowledge recalls the tradition of social

learning found in the evolution of planning practice. As Friedman (1987) discussed, social learning theorists believed that knowledge is derived from experience and emanates from an ongoing dialectical process where there is openness in communication and tolerance for differences (Friedman, 1987). The social learning tradition was concerned with how “formal and informal ways of knowing can be linked to each other in a process of change oriented action that involves mutual learning between those who possess theoretical knowledge and those whose knowledge is primarily practical, concrete and inarticulate”(Friedman, 1987).

The field of agricultural sciences has explored the idea of knowledge blending and sharing as a method of reconciling the distinct ways of knowing held by local farmers and scientists and found that both forms of knowledge are instrumental to successful agricultural and nature conservation techniques (Harrison et. al, 1998; Nygren, 1999). Knowledge that is shared and expressed by community members via participatory processes (e.g. Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Action Research) is often viewed as a homogeneous knowledge, yet since knowledge is socially constructed, community members have distinct types of knowledge that are determined by gender, race, class and other social differentiations (Feldman & Welsh, 1995). In the context of urban participatory planning, community involvement that aims to strengthen civil society and to transform their society into more equitable sustainable spaces of coexistence, need to design processes that harness the mutual expression, creation, acquisition and reflection of information and knowledge thereby triggering subsequent activism. The urge to adopt active citizenship cannot be packaged and sold, rather, it is reached and is the outcome of reflection and action if it is to be authentic (Freire, 1970). The mutual social learning that results from interaction in the participatory context is an integral and invaluable element of the larger struggle against structural inequality and towards social transformation. The learning that emerges from participatory dialogue serves as the foundation for developing a critical consciousness and triggering collective mobilisation. As such in planning tradition, the paradigm of social learning plays a significant role in planning for social mobilisation (Friedman, 1987).

Given the increasing complexity, diversity and pluralistic nature of our urban centres, the idea of singular institutionalised forms of community participation have become obsolete as effective methods of integrating the voices of distinct societal groups and sub-groups.

Sandercock (1999) has discussed the need for a multicultural type of planning that is capable of encompassing and integrating the voices of distinct segments of society. Municipalities, the government level that is closest to civil society in terms of scale, often lack the disposition and creativity to provide interesting and innovative channels of participation that will attract diverse population groups to be involved with the management of their city. Planners have repeatedly clung onto conventional methods of participation despite the ever changing and increasingly unconventional nature of contemporary cities. The use of culture and cultural expression is a much overlooked yet powerful method of mobilising people to participate and organise to address issues of social, economic and environmental relevance.

Culture

There has been much agreement on behalf of large organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Inter-American Development Bank, Felipe Herrera Foundation and Inter-American Foundation, to name just a few, that culture plays a number of pivotal roles in the development process by serving as a vehicle for strengthening community participation and the inclusion of various sectors of society (InterAmerican Development Bank, 2002). Following a series of Intergovernmental Conferences on Cultural Policies that took place in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, UNESCO conceived the idea of proclaiming 1988-1997 the World Decade for Cultural Development based on the Mexico City World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) declaration that “balanced development can only be ensured by making cultural factors an integral part of the strategies designed to achieve it” (UNESCO, 2002). Increasingly development agents working with communities have used grassroots cultural expression to foster creativity; to teach and raise awareness; to overcome feelings of inferiority and alienation; to strengthen collective identities and social organisation; to generate social energy; and to penetrate market systems through the production of goods and services (World Commission on Culture and Development, 1995).

The concept of culture itself has been subject to several interpretations. Some narrowly associate culture with fine arts such as music, dance, literature, painting, sculpture, etc., and regard these forms of expression as leisure for an elite minority (due to the cost involved rather than appreciation and/or interest). Kleymeyer (1994) defines cultural

expression as “the representation in language, symbols and actions of a particular group’s collective heritage- it’s history, aesthetic values, beliefs, observations, desires, knowledge, wisdom and opinions” (Kleymeyer, 1994). The 1982 MONDIACULT Conference articulated culture to be “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, 2002).

Still others refer to human culture as a product of interactions between our species and particular places that have emerged in response to the demands and opportunities of specific ecosystems (Smith & Williams, ed. 1999, pg.5). In their book *Ecological Education in Action: Education, Culture and the Environment*, Smith and Williams (1999) argue that we need a fundamental transformation of culture in order to move away from our current environmental crisis. That is a shift in the “way we perceive the world and one another as well as the nature of our membership in both the human community and the community of all beings” (Smith & Williams, 1999, pg. 5). The culture that is being referred to here is not determined by heritage, ethnicity or race, but on the attitudes, life styles and modes of functionality that “we” as a modern society have based our evolution on and the current social, economic and political order we have constructed for ourselves. King (1997) suggests that “culture in its sense of art, literature, film practices of representation of all kinds, both draws from and participates in the construction of culture as a way of life, as a system of values and beliefs, which in turn affects culture as a creative, representational practice (King, 1997). Obviously within this “culture” there exists an immense complexity of sub-cultures some of which come together based on shared interests, employment, life stage, social/economic conditions, deviant behaviour, ethnic background, race, gender, sexual preferences, religion, intellectual interests, etc, and any imaginable combination of these. Therefore although a multiplicity of ethnic cultures reside in most large urban centres, today there also exists a wide range of sub-cultures.

Anthropologists and sociologists have given much attention to studying the occurrence and realities of sub-cultures in our societies. Ethnographers have for long investigated cultures through participant observation, initially focusing on foreign cultures and later on national sub-cultures. Rather than looking across borders in discussing culture they have

engaged in an “intra-national analysis” to look at sub-culture as a “sub-division of a national culture, composed of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background regional and rural or urban residence...but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual” (Gordon, 1997). Sub-cultures are worlds within a world. They are social worlds with a shared perspective, an explicit lifestyle yet not particularly attached strongly to any definite group or segment (Irwin, 1997). For example, youth subcultural ideologies are often a means by which they “imagine their own and other social groups, assert their distinctive character and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass” (Thornton, 1997). There is a plethora of ways to define sub-cultures. In a simplistic form sub-cultures are groups of people that have something in common which differentiate them in a meaningful way from members of other social groups. Mainstream society often places sub-cultures in a negative light, associating their formation as a cluster of deviant people who refuse to prescribe to the normative ideals of adult society (Thornton, 1997).

The concept of culture that is used in this thesis is based on King’s (1997) definition and deals with sub-cultures as distinct social groups that have in common either socio/economic status, housing arrangements, race, age and forms of musical/cultural expression. More importantly however the main argument of this research is based on the power of cultural expression, in this case oral stories and music/dance/art, as a method to bring out the beliefs, observations, opinions, knowledge and perspectives of particular sub-cultures. Due to the non-homogeneous nature of communities, it is critical for planners to be aware of the distinct social groups that they are planning with. In the context of participatory planning, cultural expression can serve both as a channel of communication between public power and civil society as well as an instrument of social transformation at the grassroots level. As previously mentioned extensive studies have been documented on the empowering effect of cultural expression particularly for low income marginalised communities who suffer from eroded identities and low self-esteem (Kleymeyer ed., 1994). Here culture is a locus that fosters the strengthening of self-esteem and identity as well as a forum used to raise consciousness regarding environmental, social, economic and political realities and to discuss avenues for action and activism. In this sense culture is used as a mechanism to stimulate people to adopt active citizenship roles and make use of participation channels.

Citizenship

Recently the concept of citizenship has presented a fundamental instrument appropriated by social movements in their struggle to broaden the meaning of democracy (Dagnino, 1998). Simply put citizenship entails both rights and obligations where the latter includes playing an active role in the life of the community to which one belongs be it political, social, economic, or other (Freidman, 1987). Holston (1998) makes the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship where formal refers to membership of a political community and substantive describes the wide range of civil, social and political rights available to people (Holston, 1998). However the type of citizenship that is granted to civil society and exercised by them is to a large extent subject to the political tendencies of the dominating order. Discourse regarding the meaning of citizenship is not neutral. It stems from various political contexts and reflect an array of ideological beliefs (Smith, 1995). As such this concept has several contradictory interpretations that evidently affect the framework within which it operates.

Probably the two main contrasting perspectives of citizenship come from social democratic and neo-liberal interpretations. Studies from Latin America have put forth contrasting conceptions of citizenship. In a marginally liberal democratic mind frame, citizens are thought of as consumers who are attempting to satisfy particular needs and whose demands only become collective through the periodic exercise of voting rights (Baierle, 1998). For Christian democrats (a political tendency), citizens need to have "their social rights redeemed" and therefore participation takes the form of efforts on behalf of volunteer sections of organised civil society to incorporate marginalised people. The heightened popularity of the term citizenship has caused neoliberal sectors and conservative governments to appropriate the concept, adjusting it to their exclusionary and oppressive structures. From their perspective citizenship consists of integrating individuals into the market while simultaneously working methodically to extinguish peoples consolidated rights (Dagnino 1998; Baierle, 1998). In Britain political geographers have criticised a deeply manipulative adoption of active citizenship by neo-conservative governments where active citizenship and education for citizenship emphasises the obligations rather than rights of civil society and is constructed so as to depoliticise and devocalise the population (Kearns, 1995). In this context active citizenship is used as a method of coercing citizens to assume the role of the state in the

provision of services and transforms social responsibility into voluntary altruism. It is an individual conception rather than one that stems from a communal sense of belonging (ibid).

The concept of citizenship that is used throughout this thesis is one that stands in stark contrast to the aforementioned and can be classified as belonging to the social democratic conception that guarantees basic rights stressing the entitlement of participating in the social, economic and political aspects of city life (Smith, 1995). The “new citizenship” as some have called it, has emerged with a more complex and deepened definition that has increasingly gained impetus in theory and practice particularly in the realm of Brazilian urban politics.

The “new citizenship” departs from a redefinition of rights. “The right to have rights”, where rights are not confined to those that have been determined by governments, but expanded to include the invention and creation of new rights (Baierle 1998; Dagnino 1998; Paoli & Telles, 1998). New citizenship does not seek to integrate excluded sectors of society via an established elitist state strategy thereby claiming to have increased social integration. Rather it requires “active social subjects” (often in the form of social movements) who define what they consider to be their rights and fighting for them. The new citizenship goes beyond discourse on access and belonging to a given political system. It emphasises the importance of participating in the actual definition of the socio/political system, that is “to define what we want to be members of” (Dagnino, 1998). This point underlines the importance of popular participation as an integral component both in the construction and exercising of citizenship, and has significant implications for the relationship between civil society and public power (Pontual, 2000).

However this new citizenship does not only have implications for government-citizen dynamic but requires a “new sociability”, “rules of public coexistence” in which all levels of social relations are democratised and rendered more egalitarian (Paoli & Telles; Dagnino, 1998). Therefore citizenship is “constructed by the direct and indirect participation of citizens, as political subjects, not only in solving their problems in public spaces where collective decisions can be made but also by engaging in a process of democratic radicalisation aimed at transforming the very order in which they operate” (Baierle, 1998).

It is this aforementioned concept of citizenship that is used throughout this thesis. The conceptual framework that provides the lens for this research therefore views participation as a pedagogic process that not only seeks public input but also the formation of critical citizens. Traditionally marginalised subaltern sectors of society in particular often need to construct and/or strengthen their capacity to participate in planning processes and this in itself is a process that can be played out as part of the participatory forum. In this sense the objective of participation, as mentioned earlier is not only extractive but formative. The use of culture and cultural expression as a participatory mechanism seeks to teach and strengthen people's sense of selfhood and their ability to critically analyse the society they are a part of. In building self-esteem, identity and a critical consciousness culture brings civil society closer to the endeavour of active citizenship. Active citizens in turn will be far more inclined to create, appropriate and/or use participatory channels that are made available to them by municipal government relying that these are creative, relevant and interesting to them. Active, informed and political citizens will ensure that their participation is effective and will consistently pressure government for accountable and shared governance.

Stemming from a well-designed participatory experience accompanied by educational dialogue and exchanges, citizens are able to learn and become increasingly critical of their society and the role that they play in it. The following figure has been created for this study. The larger circle of participatory planning makes participation a pedagogic process that seeks public input and fosters the construction of active citizenship and social responsibility, hence the arrows pointing inwards. Cultural expression is embedded in the participatory planning circle and is used as a mechanism that aims to strengthen civil society by nourishing the formation of identities, self-esteem and a critical consciousness bringing people closer to the endeavour of active citizenship. Active citizen in turn will radiate outwards and will be far more inclined to actively participate in the other municipal issues and/or in the cultural scene of their city.

The participatory budgeting program in Santo Andre offers an example of a participatory approach that seeks to be pedagogic and transformative in altering the planner/citizen dynamic. In this sense it provides the more general context for subsequent discussion on creative participatory methods of community involvement. A small section of the culture

and expression circle is occupied by participatory budgeting since some cultural methods are used in the process yet they are not the focal point. Hip-hop and oral histories on the other hand occupy the majority of the culture circle because it is through these two case studies, which fall within the participatory planning circle that this research seeks to illustrate the valuable role that culture plays as an instrument for stimulating participation and citizenship. In the municipality of Santo Andre since the Workers Party won in 1996, often one of the principal objectives underlying participatory processes in general is to inspire a sense of active citizenship among urban residents. It is believed that this will strengthen civil society to consistently be active in the management of their locale and may ultimately serve to mitigate the several existing inequalities. The analytical framework explicitly states how these three case methods use cultural expression and contribute to pedagogic transformation and active citizenship.

Figure Five: Conceptual Framework

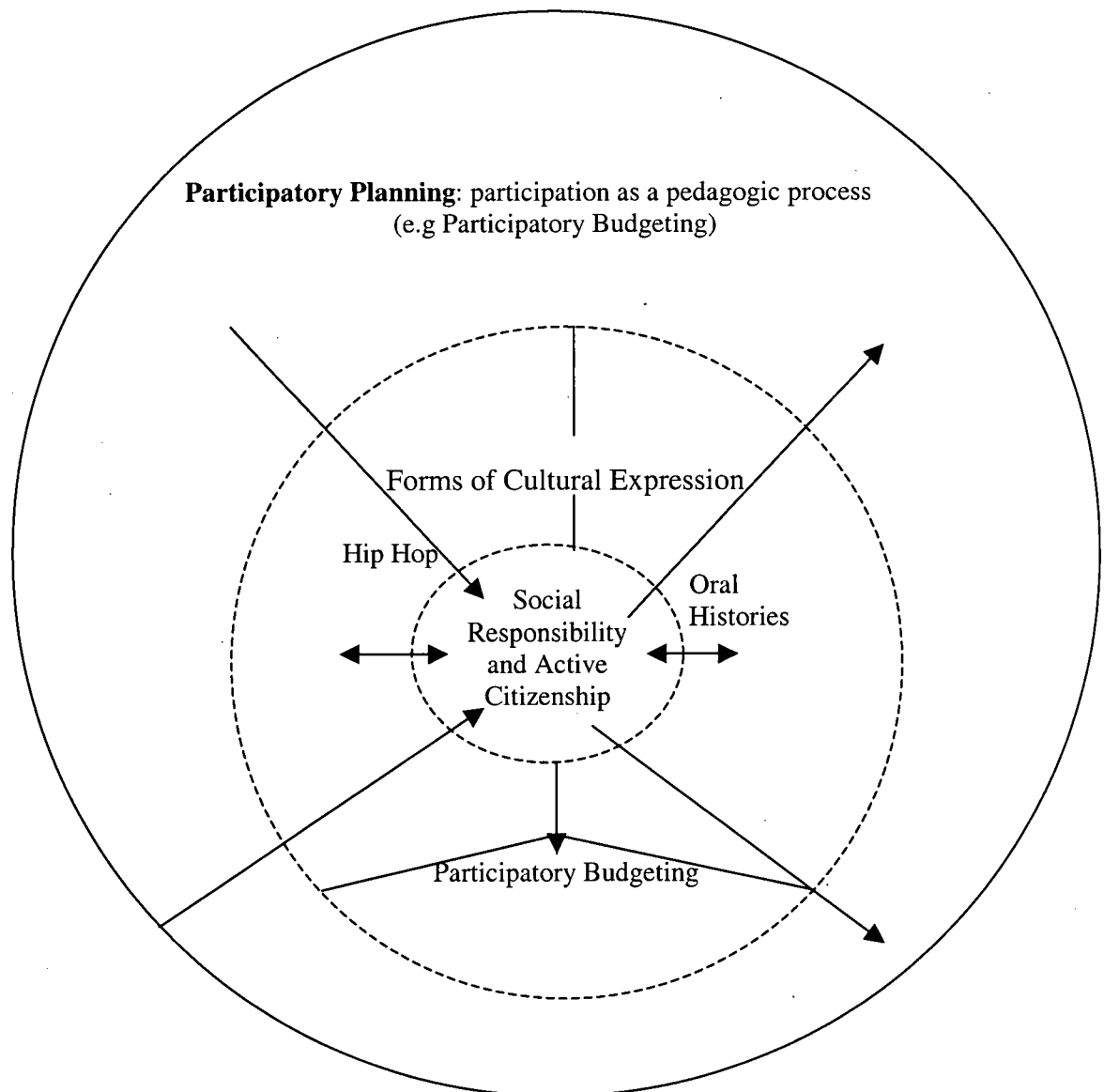


Figure Six: Analytical Framework

| Dimension | Contribution to Pedagogic Transformation | Use of Cultural Expression | Contribution to Active Citizenship |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Methods | | | |
| Participatory Budgeting | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shared decision making and constructive dialogue. Articulation of personal knowledge Mutual learning that stems from participatory forum Information sharing The construction and defence of an articulated budget proposal Capacity building initiatives that increase councillors familiarisation with municipal administrative issues and the general needs existing within the different districts of the city. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture is mainly used as an icebreaker in the beginning of the plenaries. Short puppet shows, skits, and/or musical presentations are used to reach the audience bringing forth the importance of participating in the budgetary process. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alters traditional clientelistic practices by providing a space for the de facto exercise of citizenship Amplifies concept of democracy emphasising active participation Shifts paternalistic mind frames and contributes to a new political culture increased transparency provides insight on avenues for activism The inclusion of pedagogic elements throughout this process contributes to further activism in municipal affairs. Neighbourhood level organisation |
| Hip-Hop | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthens identity, confidence, self-esteem and sense of belonging to a larger group/community. Learning occurs through discussion and debate that focus on citizen roles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poetry expressed as rap Break dancing Graffiti Mcing/beatbox | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides a channel of expression and a forum for social discussion and analysis of society Construction of identity leads to increased citizen activism Attracts youth to organise and participate via their own expression |
| Oral History | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Articulation of local knowledge Use of main themes for social discussion Fosters the strengthening of identities and community relationships | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expression of knowledge and experiences of life in the watershed Sharing personal stories and insights | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trigger interest in participating in local management Familiarisation with other residents Increased community cohesion |

Chapter Three:

Sao Paulo, Santo Andre and the Local Context of Participatory Planning

The social and political forces that have shaped contemporary realities in Santo Andre are crucial in order to obtain an understanding of some of the factors that enable, as well as hamper participatory planning approaches to watershed management where the watershed is informally settled. As such the following chapter discusses the geographic, social and political background of this Brazilian city, providing the local contextual information necessary to situate the study.

São Paulo

Founded in 1554 by a group of Jesuit priests the city of São Paulo was established on an elevated plateau approximately sixty miles from the Atlantic Ocean. The city was initially used as a stop over for gold miners and sugar traders on their way to Santos, the main port, and/or the interior of the country where extraction activities were taking place. Despite its low profile during the colonial period, after Brazilian independence was declared in the early part of the 19th century, São Paulo became a provincial capital and a period of increased development occurred which was mainly fuelled by the rapid expansion of coffee cultivation and the establishment of a strong industrial base (Draffen et. al, 1998). Accompanying this development and contributing to the growth of São Paulo was the influx of millions of European immigrants who came to settle in this new emerging city, marking a trend of population increase that has not yet levelled.

The years between 1950 and 1990 marked a significant period for the development of São Paulo in which the city experienced exponential migration rates from the surrounding regions of Brazil. Conditions in the countryside had steadily deteriorated for the average small scale farmer whose viability was seriously compromised with the emergence of large scale mechanised agriculture. Simultaneously São Paulo was experiencing a major economic boom in which numerous large scale industries located in the area served as a migration magnet, attracting huge amounts of periphery inhabitants in search of employment and a better life. This scenario led to a migration phenomenon that saw literally thousands of people flowing into the city on a daily basis. The influx of millions of people over a short period of time is a major factor that shaped São Paulo's urban development. Combined with heavy reliance on ineffective centralised planning tools

such as the Master Plan, urban migration has led to the haphazard and irregular growth of the metropolitan area (CHS, 1998). Exponential migration rates combined with the lack of housing infrastructure to accommodate these newcomers, led to the proliferation of informal settlements on the metropolitan fringe where the native *Mata Atlantica* (Atlantic Rainforest) has been cleared and transformed into clusters of *favelas*.

Favelas can be generally defined as precarious settlements that often locate in marginal areas near solid waste dumps, on unstable lands prone to land slides or flooding, under power lines, etc., and are characterised by a lack of basic infrastructure such as water, sewage and solid waste disposal, leading to highly unsanitary conditions (CHS, 1998). Although there are varying degrees of "informality" of settlements, most suffer from the aforementioned conditions as well as serious issues of land tenure. Although population growth in São Paulo has slowed, there exists a disparity between growth within the city itself, 1.2% per annum, and the periphery where rates reach 3.2 % (CHS, 1998). These settlements and the social, economic and cultural marginalisation of its inhabitants is one of the major sources of São Paulo's deeply rooted social and environmental problems.

Santo Andre

Santo Andre is one of the thirty nine municipalities that comprise the greater São Paulo Metropolitan Area (SPMA). The municipality falls within what is called the Greater ABC Region, where in the 1950s the Brazilian government established the auto industry, giving this area a pivotal position in the economic development of Brazil in general, and São Paulo in particular. Santo Andre's social and political development thereafter has been largely shaped and affected by its role as an industrial area. Numerous migrants from surrounding states came to Santo Andre to fuel this industrial growth and many settled informally and illegally on urban vacant lands thus creating *favelas*. Presently macroeconomic restructuring has caused many industries to move to the interior of the state therefore changing the employment structure in Santo Andre, and significantly decreasing formal industrial employment.

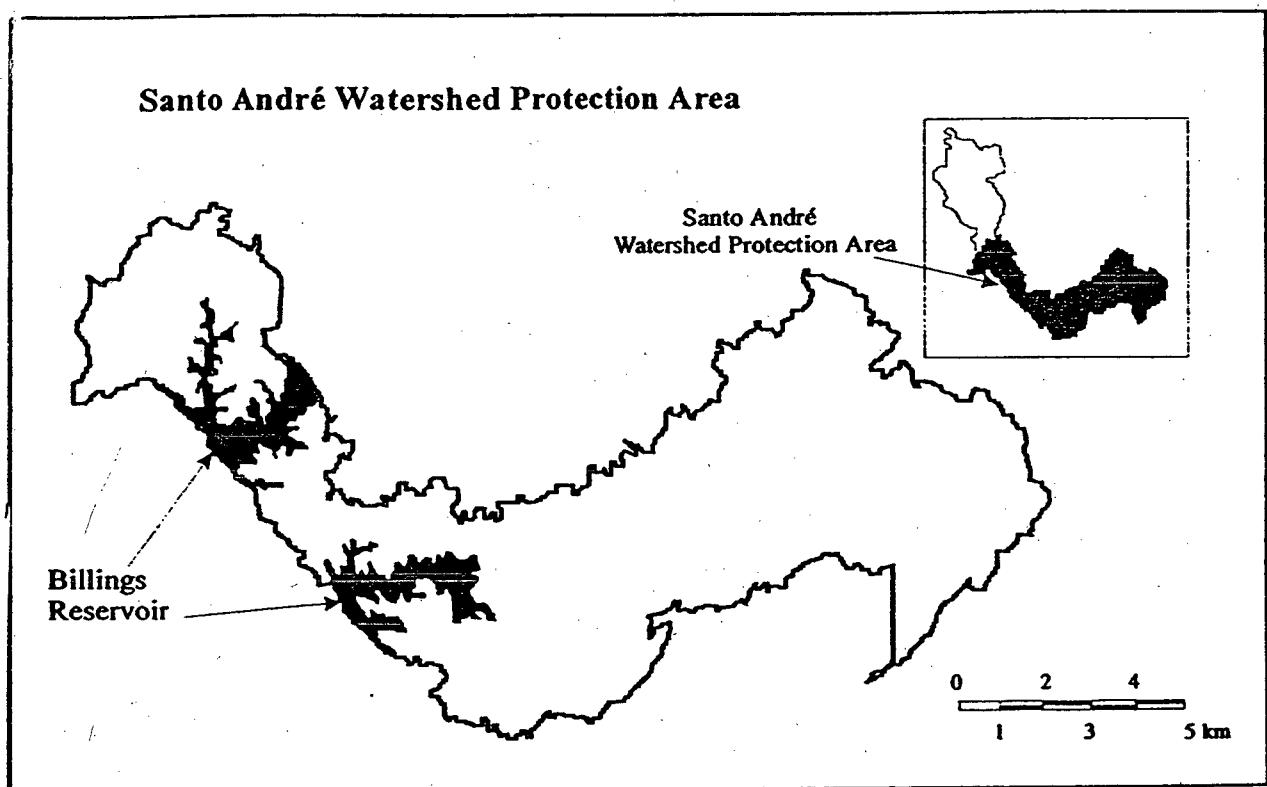
The resulting rise in unemployment coupled with the lack of diversified skills constraining alternate occupational options, has led to idleness and consequent deepened levels of material and psychological poverty whose effects have permeated individual, household, and community levels. These conditions are accentuated and magnified in

favela areas where poverty and social strife already existed prior to increased unemployment rates. In order to address this issue the seven political leaders that represent the cities of the ABC Region have formed an informal consortium, where Santo Andre plays a central role, to discuss issues of economic restructuring and to develop strategies to maintain the economic prevalence of the area (CHS, 1998).

Santo Andre is geographically located in a region rich in fresh water. The municipality's borders incorporate parts of the *Rio Grande e Pequeno* (River Big and Small), as well as *Rio Tamanduatei* and falls within the larger *Alto-Tiete* basin and the Billings-Tamanduatei sub-basin. (SEMASA, 2000). Unfortunately the many rivers that make this region so rich in water are actually themselves drowning in pollution, rendering many of them unfit for human consumption. Uncontrolled development, industrial growth and severe disregard for environmental protection and water quality has led to the dramatic degradation of fresh waterways causing many streams, rivers and tributaries to resemble open toxic waste sewers.

Despite these problems, the Municipality of Santo Andre still embraces watershed areas that are home to fresh water reservoirs and some of the last remaining pieces of the rich and biologically diverse *Mata Atlantica* (the Atlantic Rainforest) that once covered the entire state of São Paulo. Sixty-one percent of Santo Andre's 179 square kilometres has been designated a Watershed Protection Area (WPA) where this forest exists as do remnants of fresh water. The Billings Reservoir, which was built in 1927 by a British engineer, is located in the Santo Andre WPA and formed by a dam across the Rio Pinheiros. This reservoir was originally built to provide hydroelectric power to fuel industrial growth in the area, and is now partially used for domestic water supply. The health of this reservoir and the surrounding delicate ecosystem are threatened on a daily basis by untreated solid and industrial wastes. Although SEMASA, the Municipal Service of Environmental Sanitation of Santo Andre (*Servico Municipal de Saneamento Ambiental de Santo Andre*), treats a percentage of the raw sewage generated in the urban area before discharging it into local waterways, most continues to be released untreated. Conditions are exacerbated by the numerous *favelas* located within Santo Andre in general and more specifically in these watershed areas. With no basic infrastructure the wastes of the settlements goes directly into the waterways and surrounding lands and are therefore threatening the integrity of this ecosystem.

The following map of Santo Andre illustrates the watershed areas (dark area) located in the south-eastern part of the municipality and the northern urbanised area (light part).



Map 1: Santo Andre Watershed Protection Area

Despite the image of an organised industrial city, Santo Andre like many other Brazilian cities, suffers the consequences of disjointed, poorly managed growth and unstructured development. The shortage of housing in particular has led to the haphazard establishment of *favelas* on municipal vacant lands. The northern section of the municipality is heavily urbanised, holding 90% of its approximated 665,000 residents. A relatively small percentage (about 10% or 67,000 people) live in the 123 informal settlements/*favelas* located on the outskirts of the city. It is estimated that of these, roughly 25,000 settlers live within the boundaries of the Watershed Protection Area.

Development in these areas violate municipal and state environmental legislation and housing policies, but with scant housing alternatives, newcomers have gone ahead and built homes for themselves. Although the 1960s and 1970s saw a rapid increase in migration and population, the growth rate decreased to 0.97 percent growth rate per annum between 1980 and 1990. It is mainly the 15-20 new families that come monthly to settle in the *favelas* of the watershed protection area which account for this increase (CHS, 1998).

The 1970s defined a highly centralised period in Brazilian politics in which federal laws on environment and watersheds (among others) were dictated from above. With the aim of protecting water quality and quantity, the 1975 Watershed Protection Law allocated certain portions of municipalities as “Watershed Protection Areas”, and lay out stringent regulations on land use within these boundaries. Although the intentions were good, the highly centralised nature of the legislation impeded state and municipal implementation and enforcement of land use guidelines, and therefore was incompetent in restricting informal settlements in prohibited areas. The new Brazilian constitution formulated in 1988 pointed to new direction for political reform with an emphasis on decentralisation and increased power for municipalities. After a long history of authoritarian regimes, this turning point in Brazilian politics fuelled discourse on participatory public administration. The redemocratisation of governing structures allowed far more flexibility at the local level for the implementation of more innovative, progressive and inclusive forms of municipal management. The new constitution also gave way to the National Water Resources Management Act that outlines water as an economically valuable finite public good that must be managed on a watershed basis in a participatory manner (Porto, 1988). This has affected jurisdictions and management of local waterways, especially with the introduction of the “State Law of Recovery and Protection of Watersheds”, that officially recognises the presence of informal settlements in protection areas. This law requires the creation of an “emergency plan” to provide *favela*/informal settlements residents with basic services, and authorises the municipality to ratify regulations regarding municipal watersheds (CHS, 1988).

Social Context

Contextual information is very important when discussing the opportunities and constraints to involving marginalised citizens through innovative forms of participation.

In order to understand what public policies and/or channels of participation will be effective in reaching low-income citizens and stimulating citizenship roles amongst them, it is critical to comprehend the overarching structural/social forces that shape their reality.

Throughout history Brazil's political scene has been largely dominated by authoritarian regimes unconditionally supported by local elites who have "remarkably" conserved their positions of power within the system at the cost of extreme subordination of the masses (Keck, 1995). This often clientelist and extremely corrupt governing paradigm has left a deep legacy on Brazilian political relations and has to a certain extent conditioned subaltern classes to reluctantly "accept" the rightlessness to rights imposed upon them. It was not until 1989 that Brazil had its first direct presidential elections since the 1964 military coup making current president Fernando Enrique Cardoso, elected in 1995, only the second president to be elected by popular vote in 32 years (Draffen et. al, 1998).

In Brazil, as in Latin America in general, unequal distribution of wealth and extreme poverty are merely the visible aspects of the unequal and hierarchical organisation of social relations. Social authoritarianism, as Dagnino (1998) labels it, categorises people based on class, race and gender placing them in stigmatised and underprivileged social groups. In Brazil being poor does not solely translate into material and economic deprivation, rather belonging to a class living at or below the poverty line is almost synonymous with not existing at all. Poor people are not recognised as subjects of society that have rights. In Brazil's hierarchical society, poverty is a sign of inferiority in which people lack the ability and are denied the access and right to exercise their rights, a situation that ultimately crushes human dignity (Dagnino, 1998). In Brazil today, "the worsening of economic inequalities, hunger, and extreme poverty has transformed social authoritarianism into social apartheid, violence and genocide" (ibid.). It is within this context that progressive planners and social workers are seeking the participation of traditionally marginalised members of society whose desire and stamina to fight for equality has been numbed by a system that does not let them see the light of day.

The political climate in Santo Andre over the past four years has been very favourable in terms of participatory urban management due primarily to the governance of the *Partido dos Tabalhadores* (Workers Party) who won the 1996 municipal elections and were re-elected with Mayor Celso Daniel for another four year term in the year 2000. The

importance of a high profile, influential and visionary municipal leader like Celso Daniel is critical to the adoption of participatory practices and inclusive public policies.

Committed mayors fuel projects, facilitate action and provide continuous motivation to enable participatory process to occur (Plummer, 2000). Unfortunately Celso Daniel was assassinated in early February 2002 leaving behind a dynamic municipality and a legacy of innovative projects aiming to alleviate poverty and increase active citizenship in Santo Andre. This cowardly act of violence symbolises the “revolutionary” nature of fostering inclusivity and democracy in a country dominated by clientelistic and elitist interests.

The gap left in this management position is having a detrimental impact on the advance of participatory projects and is exacerbated by the lack of competent and qualified political leaders to articulate and bring these ideas to the forefront of municipal planning.

The *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT) is a growing political party that has marked the history of Brazilian politics bringing to the forefront, on a regional basis, the most democratic form of governance the country has ever seen. In order to understand their political platform it is helpful to briefly discuss their emergence as a political party.

The Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT)

During the late 70s (1978-1979) Brazil experienced an important political period in which for the first time since the 1964 military coup, the military regime allowed political parties to form (Abers, 1996). This political fissure coupled with intensifying social inequalities and a growing working class that contested tight labour regulations imposed by the military regime, led to mass scale demonstrations instigated by the automobile workers of the country’s industrialised ABC region. Workers had a deep-rooted desire to increase and enhance their opportunity for participation and move to the centre of politics. The demand for a greater and more instrumental role in politics coupled with other pressing issues led to a series of labour strikes, culminating in 1978 when the Sao Bernardo Metalworkers Union called for a general workers strike that involved half a million workers in six states. Historical skepticism of elitist political parties (including Leftist tendencies) clarified the notion that workers were no longer seeking to be represented, but rather to represent themselves (Keck, 1995). By 1979 militancy and strikes among workers unions increased and spread to fifteen states mobilising more than three million workers from various sectors.

Stemming from the demands and platform of these strikes and catalysed by this overwhelming social movement the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), or Workers' Party now one of the most important parties in Brazil was officially proclaimed in 1980 (Paoli & Telles; Abers, 1996; Keck, 1995). With the objective of "adapting social democracy" to Brazil the PT was established as a distinct socialist party based in the grassroots movement (Alves, 1991). The creation of the PT pulled together and embraced under one umbrella members and organisations involved in several social movements. Although the PT is not the only political party in Brazil that supports the struggles of working and ethnic people in attaining a better life, it is the one with the broadest base and most widespread across the realm of social movements in the rural/urban context. The PT became a type of social movement that identified class struggle with the struggle for citizenship (Keck, 1995; Dagnino 1998). Emphasis has always been placed on maintaining and strengthening the autonomy of social movements in society, therefore encouraging continued activism and citizenship at the community level and fostering a rupture with the status quo (Alves, 1991; Keck, 1995). Through the construction of the party thousands of "militants" involved at the grassroots level learned essential political skills, like how to make collective decisions, organise political action, form decentralised structures, and elaborate their internal differences through "democratically constructed rules" (Alves, 1991; Baierle, 1998).

The accommodation of various social movements and small-scale parties created several *tendencias* (tendencies) within the Party that inherently have some divergent political ideologies. As a new Party that has gained significant impetus over recent years the PT has certainly attracted tendencies that may not believe in the essence of its political mandate but take advantage of the umbrella it provides in order to penetrate the order of power in government (Keck, 1995). As a result there continuously exists internal power struggles within the Party and within the same municipality, as is the case of Santo Andre. "Positions of trust" are given to people who have worked on a particular person's campaign, usually when they run for city councillor. While on occasion the appointments are appropriate and healthy for the municipal machine this practice of appointing party stalwarts is for the most part extremely detrimental to any advancement in terms of participatory planning and the inclusion of marginalised groups such as youth and women. Not only does this practice account for the numerous unqualified staff that exists within the various municipal bureaus and departments as part of the team, but these

positions are even allocated for managerial positions. Therefore people who have no inkling regarding strategic methodologies for incorporating social/economic development and culture into community development and have meagre familiarity with public policies for youth, women, and other marginalised groups are placed in positions that require the formulation of actions that target and relate to all these areas.

To exist as a legal party in Brazil, the PT had to abandon their revolutionary armed struggle theories and comply with restrictive laws on political party organisation that have been set by previous military governments. In order to face the difficult challenge of existing “within a mainstream Brazilian political system that it is actually opposed to”, the PT developed two forms of organisation (Alves, 1991). One form serves to abide by national laws and the second parallel structure allows the party to establish institutional mechanisms for popular political participation in municipal management and decision making (Alves, 1991).

As a party born out of a movement strongly opposed to corporatism and clientelist political behaviour, avoiding these pitfalls is one of the PT's priorities. The Workers Party is unique in Brazil due to its demonstrated level of internal democracy, the transparency of its operations, and the active public participation it encourages. Formalising mechanisms of popular participation, particularly as they relate to decision-making and the drafting and implementation of public policy, has been one of the parties' main concerns. As such management and planning under PT governance is relatively progressive and dedicated to participatory public administration, and is rooted in their concept of active citizenship and municipal co-management. Embedded in these ideas, the PT institutionalised the *Orcamento Participativo* (OP), or participatory budgeting program, found in all PT governed cities, and the visionary City of the Future (CF) strategic planning process, found in Santo Andre and with some exceptions and variations in other PT governed cities. Both of these programs will be briefly discussed in the following chapter.

Given the authoritarian tradition of Brazilian politics and the ongoing radical oppression and abuse with which marginalised poor people are treated, the PT presents a truly incipient political project in Brazil and elsewhere. Central to the policy of PT rhetoric is the construction of identities and citizenship amongst civil society so as to establish a

public power/civil society partnership for urban management. For very poor and marginalised people in Brazil often the first step of the struggle is to show that they are people with rights and proving this allows them “to recover their dignity and status as citizens and even as human beings” (Alvarez et. al, 1998). For these sectors of society the “construction of new and resistant identities is a key dimension of a wider political struggle to transform society” (Jordan & Weedon as quoted in Alvarez et. al, 1998). The theoretical and practical stance taken by the PT is proving to be critical to the unfolding of participatory planning processes now and will most definitely carry a legacy into the future. The next chapter elaborates more on the PT concept of active citizenship and presents a discussion of the OP and CF programs as examples of viable mechanisms for effective participation in municipal planning, the theoretical cornerstone of PT governance.

Chapter Four:

Citizenship, Participation and Planning: The Participatory Budgeting Experience of Santo Andre

The concept of popular participation is a common thread that runs through the Workers' Party governing framework. As such, the Municipality of Santo André, as well as other PT governed municipalities has a well established Secretariat of Participation and Citizenship where a significant amount of expertise regarding participatory planning is concentrated. The Secretariat consists of two departments: the Department of Participation and Citizenship that is responsible for the participatory budgeting program and the Department for the Defence of Citizens Rights. The latter is further divided into five bureaus: the Youth Bureau; Gender and Women's Rights Bureau; Bureau for the Disabled; Senior Citizens Bureau; and Bureau for the Black Community. Each of these Bureaus has a reference centre in the city as well as its own decentralised projects. Their function is to actively stimulate the participation of their respective target group and subsequently ensure that the various policies of the municipality embrace and integrate participatory planning perspectives into their various projects and plans.

Pedro Pontual is currently the Secretary of the Secretariat of Participation and Citizenship in the municipality of Santo Andre and is a well known and respected Brazilian sociologists with a wealth of theoretical knowledge on the politics of popular participation. In an interview he stated that under the umbrella of PT governance in general and in the view of the Secretariat of Participation and Citizenship in particular, the objective of participation is to share and divide decisive power between civil society and public power and to jointly engage in co-municipal management addressing the needs of the various layers of society (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). This form of participation goes beyond conventional and more mainstream forms of participation described in Chapter Two that either take on a manipulative, informative and/or consultative nature.

The participation that is sought by the municipal planners in Santo Andre incorporates the idea that government must always consider and contemplate urban development issues from distinct points of view, and ultimately make and/or encourage a decision that acknowledges and addresses the different consequences that this decision will have. Both

Pedro Pontual and Teresa Santos, the director of Santo Andre's City of the Future participatory strategic planning process agree that in order to do this, the municipality needs to establish a dialogue with various sectors of society to obtain a more holistic view of the issue in question therefore rendering the potential decision more accountable and effective (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001; Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). Although Santo Andre integrates this element, its framework is not limited to mere consultation. Rather, it takes another step forward into a participatory forum of co-operation between public power and civil society, in which decision making is shared with the community thus having a far more deep-rooted transformative effect for citizens in general. In this sense, participation is meant to be a source of empowerment in which the experience and opportunity to constructively engage in dialogue with public power, and the exercise of articulating, organising and drawing on personal knowledge allow community members to identify their needs, the forces that shape them and actively take part in the decisions that will affect their lives. The process of participation and the sharing of information and knowledge between municipal planners and local citizens creates a pedagogic atmosphere in which both parties listen, learn and actively engage in the construction of public policies that are extrapolated from an integrated knowledge base and that point to a more inclusive and improved urban environment.

Linked to the idea of municipal co-management is the Workers Party's concept of citizenship in which activism at the community level constructs and builds citizen rights in a social order where municipal services themselves are understood to be rights rather than services. Pontual believes that through lobbying government and attaining rights in one area, debate and negotiation regarding other issues are provoked thereby opening possibilities for further municipal rights to be gained in other areas (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). By being active and assuming responsibility, people cease being floating apolitical entities hoping to be represented by the official they elected. In fact active participation is encouraged precisely to amplify the concept of democracy, stimulating civil society to gain more leverage in the daily management of their locality. This is a concept of democracy that is not limited to or shaped by a simple yearly vote (i.e representative democracy), rather by the constant "protagonism" of city residents in bringing issues to the forefront and taking part in the decisions that will seek to address them (participatory democracy). People take politics into their hands, thus democratising democracy and the democratic process itself (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001),

and hence participation becomes part of the construction of a collective society (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). Within this view, healthy governance is developed and shaped by an active and constructive dialogue between public power and civil society where knowledge is shared, respected, combined and ultimately integrated into a participatory institutional framework.

Although sharing the responsibility for municipal management often encounters resistance on the part of both residents and planners who perceive urban administration to be mainly the responsibility of the elected government, governments cannot and should not decide what is best for its citizens. As sometimes criticised by proponents of more conservative and authoritarian forms of governance, participation is not just an ideological concept. Rather the improved quality and quantity of relevant information that is obtained through active consultation with various sectors of society, combined with institutionalised mechanisms for participatory decision making, lead to better decisions that subsequently result in improved quality of life for residents (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). Prioritising participation is not simply a question of ideology but rather of necessity. In addition, if participation is designed and conceptualised with the aforementioned objectives in mind, significant ripple effects can occur that will contribute to overall community development. Often the experience of being part of a valuable participatory process in which the community truly feels that they have been included in a constructive manner, where decisions reflect their expressed thoughts and peoples organisational capacity has been increased, serves as a catalyst that fuels and fosters activism and mobilisation around other relevant issues.

In striving towards implementing a new culture of political administration that emphasises participatory and transparent governance, the PT created and institutionalised the *Orcamento Participativo* (OP) (or participatory budgeting program) as a mechanism that opens channels for negotiation between civil society and government. The program was conceptualised with the aim of opening a space where people can exercise their citizenship in a de facto manner, and ultimately alter the traditional relationship between civil society and public power that is marked by a profoundly elitist and authoritarian history as well as by the systematic practice of clientelism (Pontual, 2000). Based on the PT concept of participation and active citizenship the participatory budgeting program was implemented as part of the PT agenda of participatory governance. In Santo Andre

the OP program has recently integrated and merged with the City of the Future strategic planning process, both providing viable examples of how participatory planning can yield the forum in which education and learning occurs and new knowledge is created through the integration of citizens localised knowledge and municipal technical knowledge.

Orcamento Participativo (OP) and Cidade Futuro (Future City)

The process of democratisation that Brazil experienced throughout the 1980s led to a significant devolution of power to the municipal level where municipalities could be more responsive to the needs of their local citizenry, particularly the poor. Yet on one level, this decentralisation boosted the power of local elites who reinforced clientilistic structures through the historical manipulation of city spending (Abers, 1996; 1998). Election of PT governments in several Brazilian cities during the 1988 mayoral elections brought a new agenda to the municipal forefront that entailed an *inversao de prioridades* (an inversion of priorities) and its accompanying emphasis on popular participation. Refusing to follow corrupt models of government spending, the PT created the participatory budgeting (OP) process in order to give excluded groups a decision making voice in the allocation of municipal resources. With a complex structural organisation this city wide participatory program has pushed public power to greater transparency, shifted conditioned mind frames, educated and lead to a cultural change in the political behaviour of civil society (Bretas, 1996). Although the OP has encountered several obstacles, it is continuously adjusting itself in order to remain effective in its redistribution of municipal financial resources.

Participatory budgeting was implemented in Santo Andre in 1989 under PT governance, interrupted from 1993-1996 due to the victory of a conservative municipal government and reinstituted with the victory of the PT in the 1996 elections (Ribeiro, 1999). The 1989-1992 political term articulated the intentions of the OP program to be the democratisation of municipal budgeting information, increased transparency of administrative activities, and to contribute to the consolidation of a new political culture in which popular participation forms part of citizens' common practice (Santo Andre, 1992).

In order to administer the program, the city is divided into nineteen districts, each consisting of several neighbourhoods of similar geographic proximity and socio-cultural

identity. Each of these districts has two plenaries a year to discuss the allocation of public funds for municipal projects. The first round of regional plenaries is informative and discusses the financial situation of the municipality, ongoing projects proposed during the previous year, criteria for popular participation, and the functioning and dynamic of the participatory budgeting program. After the first and before the second plenary there are intermediary community meetings in which residents organise and discuss their local priorities. During the second deliberative plenary, residents publicly articulate their priorities for public works in the presence of the mayor, municipal secretaries of popular participation, representatives from the relevant technical fields and regional residents over 16 years of age (Ribeiro, 1999). A minimum of 95 participants are required for the plenary to go ahead. Presence usually dramatically exceeds this number. Although the actual number varies by district often attendance reaches 350 participants.

The deliberative plenary usually commences with a *mamulengo* (a puppet show), that informally discusses the importance of OP and citizen participation. The show is culturally specific with puppets talking local slang, wearing local clothes and dancing to popular rhythms. The puppets interact with the audience and create hypothetical situations that are thought provoking and relevant to communities and the forces that shape them. The participants are welcomed and a short talk is given on how the plenary will unfold and what happened in the previous informative plenary.

Those who wish to voice a priority for their district and/or for the city in general come to the front and speak through a microphone. The priorities are recorded with power point on a large screen for all to see. Once all the priorities have been recorded, they are collectively reviewed to ensure that they are accurate and non-repetitive. The mayor then responds to the list of priorities placed by the community, explaining when necessary what falls under the jurisdiction of the municipality and what is a state responsibility. He discusses the limitations and obstacles that the municipality faces in terms of materialising certain projects. Subsequently people vote on four distinct priorities for their district and two for the city in general. The numbers are calculated immediately and recorded on the screen, making the winning priorities known to the public. It is explicitly stated that these voted priorities have yet to pass through the CMO, *Conselho Municipal de Orcamento* (Municipal Budget Council) where they will be analysed and discussed according to available funds and other criteria.

During this plenary, participants also vote for a “*conselhador*” (councillor) and “vice-*conselhador*” (vice-councillor) that will represent each particular district on the participatory budgeting council where the city-wide priorities are discussed and a decision made regarding which projects to undertake. Delegates for every neighbourhood within each district are elected to actively communicate their neighbourhoods demands and needs to the “*conselho*” so that they are appropriately represented before the council.

Although the OP has proven to be a successful mechanism for participation in the decision making process for the allocation of public funds, its pragmatic and short term nature limits the inclusion and linkage of these immediate needs to the larger picture of Santo Andre’s developmental direction. With the vision of integrating budgeting activities into the larger picture, the OP recently established a link with the *Cidade Futuro* (CF) strategic planning process. With the active participation of the various sectors of society, the City of the Future project aims to direct the future development (20 years) of Santo Andre along an integrated and socially, economically and environmentally sustainable path. Discussions are based on nine main themes. These are: (1) economic development, (2) urban development, (3) environmental quality, (4) education, (5) social inclusion, (6) cultural identity, (7) state reformation, (8) health and (9) urban violence (Santo Andre, 2000). The meshing together of the (OP) and *Cidade Futuro* projects is intended to provide a more holistic view of city development combining both immediate resident needs (OP) with long term strategic visions (CF). The CF program therefore complements the OP program and vice versa. The partnering of these two programs contains a pedagogic aspect in the sense that it stimulates participants of the CF program to discuss issues that involve the public municipal budget, and familiarises them with the immediate needs of low socioeconomic sectors of society, often the predominant participants of the OP plenaries. This in turn fosters a more insightful strategic planning process. Familiarising the OP participants with the CF program on the other hand, encourages a discussion of people’s immediate needs that is situated in and forms part of a more ample and long term project. In addition, contact with the strategic nature of the CF program stimulates familiarisation with planning concepts that subsequently increases OP participants capacity to make more effective decisions (Santo Andre, 2000).

Although both the OP and CF have their own program structure they also have an institutional interface.

As a result of this integration, nine thematic plenaries have been added to the 38 yearly OP plenaries (two plenaries in each of the nineteen districts), totalling 47 per year. Nine councillors and nine vice councillors are also elected to represent these priorities on the municipal participatory budgeting council. The council consists of 56 members from civil society (19 councillors, 19 vice-councillors from the OP plenaries and 9 councillors and 9 vice-councillors from the *Cidade Futuro* thematic plenaries) and 56 government representatives from diverse secretariats and technical fields. A crucial element of this council is the emphasis placed on learning and capacity building of civil councillors in terms of municipal budgeting. This is done through full day field trips/caravans (*Caravana das Prioridades*) where buses spend the day visiting different neighbourhoods of the city to familiarise civil/governmental OP councillors with the realities and needs of different areas. Also courses are offered to increase councillors' knowledge and capacity in relation to political, administrative and financial issues (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). The council debates each priority point by point integrating financial considerations, present conditions of neighbourhood services and other criteria. Council decisions are reached by consensus.

In order to decide on a final proposal for the year's budget that addresses and includes the many priorities that were raised in the deliberative plenaries, the CMO undergoes a decision making process that involves active dialogue between the 56 members from civil society and the 56 from the government. There are two crucial elements inherent in the methodology for reaching consensus which state that a) no decisions can be made without the presence of two thirds of the representatives from civil society and b) no decision can be approved without obtaining at least two thirds of the votes of all those present at the meeting. As a result, even if all the government representatives, for example, agree on a particular proposal, this can not be implemented or adopted without them negotiating and obtaining the support of a substantive portion of civil society members, and vice versa. This mechanism intends to trigger a process of negotiation and profound debate between civil society and government representatives in which the CMO members engage together in the progressive construction of a consensus. Pontual who coordinates the participatory budgeting process said that in 2001, the CMO was able to reach a 100% consensus and

therefore did not have to take a vote. In the case of an impasse during this process, the decision is referred to a task group that consists of eight elected representatives, four from the 56 civil society representatives and four from the 56 government representatives. This group must brainstorm, debate and come to a decision based on the same decision criteria established for the CMO process in the general assembly. So far, the OP process of Santo Andre has not been forced to make use of this mechanism (Interview with Pedro Pontual, October 5, 2001).

The construction of a consensus amongst the CMO members is facilitated by the mutual understanding and perhaps shared norms and values that are created as a result of the whole OP process. These shared values are not formalised or written anywhere. For example it is generally understood and accepted that there should not be any district in the city that is excluded from the final proposal, a norm that was constructed through the process. Another example, directly a result of the pedagogic effect of engaging in the OP process, involves the realisation, on behalf of civil society members, regarding governmental limitations in terms of finite resources and jurisdictional issues, both of which pressure the creation of priorities and the selection of options. Once a final budget proposal has been crafted and accepted the councillors then have to accompany the budgetary implementation, the development of proposals, and establish time frames (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). They are also responsible for informing their districts/neighbourhoods about which priorities were effectively integrated into the budget and elaborate on the time frame for implementation (Ribeiro, 1999).

It is important to state that society representatives have their own independent forum where they construct their negotiation strategies, discuss, resolve conflicts that arise and develop the final budget proposal to be introduced at the CMO meeting. This process of analysing the priorities raised by different districts in the city, articulating and formulating a feasible proposal for the year and finally defending it and negotiating with public power has a strong pedagogic affect for all those involved in the process, government and civil society representative alike. Engaging in the budgeting process gives participants a more comprehensive perspective on the issues that face Santo Andre as a city, and the challenges involved in managing it according to the various needs of its citizens.

The interactive component of the participatory budgeting process fosters mutual learning, where municipal planners learn more about the city they are managing and civil society learns more about the details of municipal governance and their role in management. As participants in general, not specifically those who are councillors on the CMO, people benefit from the thought process involved in articulating their ideas and concerns, defending them and subsequently voicing them aloud in a public forum. This is a powerful exercise in citizenship. Within the OP context, local knowledge increases sensitivity towards the issues of most relevance to communities, and in so doing reveals necessities that are often invisible to the eyes of municipal planners who do not live in the area. Previous experience indicates that this knowledge is not solely of a qualitative nature, rather it has often served to indicate technical details that are paramount from an engineering/architectural perspective. Expressing local knowledge also aids in producing alternatives to problems and providing insight into how community resources can be organised effectively. Being aware of what people think and how they perceive public interventions can have important practical implications that can help to redirect efforts and actions (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001).

The educational component that is made available by the participatory budgeting and CF program is invaluable to increased popular participation, community mobilisation and government accountability. Community leaders/representatives such as councillors disseminate information and encourage participation in plenaries. Research has indicated that 34% of the plenary participants hear about the plenaries directly from community leaders and another 26% from friends and neighbours (Ribeiro, 1999). This illustrates that "informal" word of mouth mechanisms for participation, accounting for 60% in this case, are far more effective than institutionalised methods. By learning the details and particularities of municipal budgeting, popular councillors have the capacity to inform and teach other community members, therefore assuming the role of informed agents that diffuse knowledge about municipal budgeting. In fact this methodology of informed "agents" is often used in various projects where the knowledge/capacity of a selected group of people is strengthened, with the objective that they will multiply this information by passing it on to others through their interactions and/or organised community initiatives. Integrating and emphasising the educational component of the participatory budgeting process has proven successful not only in Santo Andre, but also in other PT cities, particularly Porto Alegre which has 12 years of OP experience. There it has been

observed that as people learn more about the administration of the municipal budget they understand more and subsequently demand more. This demand in turn pressures government to become more accountable, aware, and better at planning the budget (Abers, 1996).

The practices of OP and CF present strong examples of innovative and creative forms of planning where participation allows the knowledge, necessities, suggestions and aspirations of various layers of society to be heard directly by the mayor, other elected government officials and municipal planners. Through this process the technical knowledge of planners is combined with and contextualised by the knowledge and needs of local residents in order to identify viable public works. The new decisive centre afforded by this process should foster the combination of distributing municipal funds as well as the socialisation of politics and policy, because OP is not just about capital distribution rather it involves a whole concept of how citizens interact with government. If the OP was restricted only to a discussion on fund allocation without integrating educational and socialising elements, it would run the risk of acquiring a paternalistic nature hindering the autonomy and assertion of individuals and grassroots organisation (Pontual, 2000).

The expertise, skills and attitude that is fostered and enhanced by taking part in this process is instrumental and invaluable to participatory municipal planning and can serve as a fertile ground from which other participatory projects and activities can stem. Santo Andre is presently moving into its fifth consecutive year of PT governance and as such has accumulated significant experience in participatory municipal planning. It is important to note that both the OP and CF programs are themselves processes that are consistently being modified and ameliorated based on past experiences in order to augment their participatory nature and effectiveness. Both form part of a larger effort to overcome the polarised vision of state and society in favour of a more dynamic relationship of interdependency while still recognising the particularities and autonomy of each program. The OP program promotes favourable institutional conditions for the emergence of an active citizenship (Pontual, 2000). By democratising decisions and information relating to public administration, participatory budgeting is capable of generating a new type of citizen who is more active, informed, aware and critical and who

subsequently has a much greater capacity to effectively participate in municipal management.

In 1998 this demonstrated political commitment to participatory planning coupled with pressing urban environmental issues relating to informal settlements locating in the municipalities environmentally sensitive watershed lands, led to the adoption of a Community Based Watershed Management (CBWM) project. This three year project, ongoing until 2001, stemmed from a partnership between the municipality of Santo Andre and the Centre for Human Settlements (CHS) at the University of British Columbia (UBC), Canada. The existing skills and attitude regarding participatory planning that the municipality of Santo Andre offered the CBWM project were instrumental in its adoption and are intrinsically linked to their participatory budgeting experience.

Community Based Watershed Management Project

The municipality of Santo Andre has for long struggled with participatory planning and watershed management in its attempt to avoid the various problems that arise from human settlements in environmentally sensitive areas. Since watershed management in Brazilian cities has traditionally been dominated by top-down master plans that rely heavily on restrictive laws, the adoption of a CBWM strategy needed to be accompanied by the introduction of new methods and operational tools that would form part of a distinct type of management. The Santo Andre/CHS-UBC partnership has therefore strongly emphasised the transfer of participatory technologies and methodologies in order to strengthen Santo Andre's capacity to embrace an integrated watershed management approach in their environmentally sensitive, and currently threatened lands.

Building municipal capacity to address and incorporate socioeconomic, biophysical and institutional elements into the planning process for watershed management, includes three main elements. These deal with (a) the collection and processing of data to form information, or the knowledge, that is useful in making informed decisions, (b) the way that various stakeholders participate in ongoing watershed management, and (c) revealing ways to manage conflict among stakeholders regarding their interest in and use of the watershed. Locally the focus is on "involving people in the development process as stewards of the environment" (CHS, 1998). By setting up and institutionalising a

participatory framework, the CBWM project aims to make watershed management in Santo Andre "more effective, participatory and responsive to the needs of informal settlements"(CHS, 1998). The project has three main areas of focus: (1) the identification and documentation of environmentally sensitive areas, (2) community socioeconomic development and (3) land regulation. In order to build the CBWM system, the project has selected three pilot areas for the duration of the project. Parque Andreense also known as Parque Represea Billings 3 is one of the most populated neighbourhoods located in the watershed area and is characterised by many of the classic problems associated with these areas, such as a general lack of basic infrastructure. Thus it was selected to serve as the first pilot study for the CBWM project with the long term intent that the insights and lessons learned here would serve to inform participatory watershed management in other Brazilian municipalities with similar settlement problems. There are therefore three levels that will be affected-- the micro pilot project level (Parque Andreense), the municipal (Santo Andre) and the regional (ABC Area) levels.

The CBWM project is expected to expand institutional linkages between Canada and Brazil, disseminate CBWM methods in Watershed Protection Areas from Santo Andre to other communities and municipalities in Brazil, and through a participatory approach to management, improve the quality and availability of information necessary for municipal decision making relating to watershed management (CHS,1998). In recognition of the valuable and distinct knowledge held by local communities in watershed areas, the CBWM process seeks to encourage participation from a wide range of stakeholder groups, particularly marginalised groups that are usually excluded from decision-making procedures.

The biophysical component, which involved identifying environmentally sensitive areas and recording them through the compilation of GIS (geographic information systems) maps and the creation of a database, was done with little participation from the local community. The social and economic development component on the other hand was developed and implemented through a process of community/municipal co-research that served to stimulate community involvement as well as reveal local difficulties, needs, life stories, and perspectives for the future (Santo Andre, 2000). Based on these information gathering components, many interventions have taken place, mostly in the form of provocative actions that apart from achieving a given objective, have sought to spark

thought about citizenship roles, attitudes and ultimately the deconstruction of social/institutional inertia (Santo Andre, 2000).

Prior to the adoption of the CBWM project the Municipality of Santo Andre was slowly attempting to address the various issues stemming from the isolation and environmentally detrimental existence of watershed residents. After the 1997 endorsement of the "State Law of Recovery and Protection of Watersheds" that required the adoption of an "emergency plan" to deal with invasions and the general health of watersheds, SEMASA (Municipal Service of Environmental Sanitation of Santo Andre), began to work in the region addressing issues of basic infrastructure and environmental education. The CBWM project gave further amplitude and depth to SEMASA's work with watershed communities and consequently stimulated the Municipality to sharpen its focus on the area and acknowledge the importance of spearheading a more holistic and organised approach towards it. Thus in January 2001 the Municipality of Santo Andre created the *Sub-Prefeitura* (Sub-Municipality) of Paranapiacaba and Parque Andreense (SPPPA) with the objective of establishing a more effective municipal structure that would be increasingly responsive and accountable to the particular needs of watershed residents. The SPPPA is therefore a direct outcome of the CBWM project, which has been responsible for amplifying the municipality's view of the watershed regarding integrated environmental management and human settlements. The creation of the Sub-municipality was accompanied by a devolution of power to administer watershed programs and projects relating to education, health, culture, infrastructure, transportation, environment and the dissemination of information (Interview with Jao Ricardo, July 30, 2001). Given the mandate of the new SPPPA, responsibility for the CBWM project was also transferred to them. Internal political manoeuvring caused the SPPPA to fall under the control of the primary opposing tendency within Santo Andre's Workers' Party whose personnel are known to have a distinct political ideology that is far more authoritarian, pragmatic and product oriented. It is important to note that the following discussion regarding research and activities that have unfolding in Parque Andreense were all adopted prior to the creation of the SPPPA.

One of the main issues revealed through research and communication with Parque Andreense residents was a deep sense of isolation and "non-belonging" to the socio-political processes of the city of Santo Andre. Despite the diverse segments, realities and

opinions present within the Parque Andreense community, this feeling of non-identification was echoed by distinct groups of people in distinct meetings and conversations. Many youth “resent the absence of a secondary school and the non-existence of spaces for leisure and cultural expression” (Santo Andre, 2001, pg.7). This makes them feel marginalised from the social life of the city. Many women describe “*uma vida muito sofrida*” (a very suffered life) in relation to fulfilling their daily domestic role, a point directly associated to the lack of asphalt, piped water, urban services, etc. These conditions complicate many domestic chores such as child rearing. The perception expressed by many residents of Parque Andreense is that their community is a place “at the end of the world” in terms of distance to the “formal” city where commercial, industrial and other urban services are concentrated. As such they resent the precarious nature of existing infrastructure and services in their community and therefore project a future for the area that is integrated and assimilated into the urban centre (Santo Andre, 2000).

The geographical location of Parque Andreense exacerbates the situation particularly due to the high cost of transportation. The bus that brings people to the centre of Santo Andre is intermunicipal, which means it passes through two municipalities before arriving and as such is more expensive than other municipal buses. Residents who work in the centre spend approximately R\$ 6.80 (CA\$4) on public transport per day, a value that is high given the purchasing power of the majority of the population. For people who earn a minimum wage of R\$80 or CA\$47 transport becomes inaccessible. Transport therefore presents an economic obstacle that impedes the mobility of residents often hindering adolescents attendance in secondary school and citizens’ participation in relevant municipal meetings. Due to the proximity of Parque Andreense to other municipalities, many residents vote in Riberao Pires, Maua or São Bernardo, work in São Paulo or São Bernardo and come home mainly to sleep which obstructs the creation of a continued relationship with their place of residence.

The aforementioned conditions are what shape the feeling of alienation shared by many residents. It is important to note that although this sense seemed to prevail, it is combined with and nourished by a lack of citizen rights in terms of access to transport, education, health, infrastructure, employment etc. Combined these conditions have inevitably led to disenchantment with community life and a profound lack of self-esteem. These

inconveniences brought about by spatial and economic constraints form part of Parque Andreense residents' daily life in which there exists a "local social dynamic that has exclusion and a meagre guarantee of citizenship rights for the majority of residents at its base" (Santo Andre, 2001, pg. 7).

Based on the realities and ideas that were produced through this co-operative research, a number of social and economic development initiatives were adopted in Parque Andreense. Recognising the importance of addressing issues of social justice in environmental management, the CBWM project incorporated gender analysis as one of its main themes, stimulating women's participation in the various stages of the development process. Youth, another important group traditionally marginalised from participation and decision making has also been a focal point and target for involvement in the development planning process.

From 1998 through 2000, the social and economic development section of the CBWM project, co-ordinated by the Gender Planning Office, developed a number of activities in the pilot project area. The main objectives were to ensure community participation in all phases of the work directed in the area; to guarantee a gender perspective in the policies directed to the Parque Andreense region and to amplify and consolidate women's participation in their adoption; and to integrate a youth perspective in the policies for the Parque Andreense region, and to amplify and consolidate youth participation (Santo Andre, 2000). These activities included systematising socio-economic indicators, creating socio-educational materials, experiential exchanges, capacity building and education for citizenship, and stimulating activities for income generation and employment. In addition to reaching the aforementioned objectives, a significant amount of social learning was produced via the dialogue that participation allowed between municipal planners and local community residents. Many of these activities provided the forum in which residents' local knowledge was expressed and often documented, supplying the gathering of relevant information that nourished appropriate and informed decisions.

Given the complex reality faced by Parque Andreense residents, involving them effectively into the planning process and stimulating an increased environmental awareness/stewardship of the watershed, requires a special approach as well as an

institutional framework that is prepared to listen and accommodate distinct forms of participation. People's deep sense of non-belonging and eroded sense of self makes it challenging to attract and seek their effective participation. This is often the case when planning with marginalised communities and therefore the adoption of alternative forums for local expression and involvement becomes an important outreach mechanism. Culture has been used to attract people to engage in community development initiatives while first, and often simultaneously, providing a space for expression. The forum afforded by participation through cultural expression can serve as an incubator for the expression/formation of ideas and a critical consciousness regarding society and one's role in it. As such culture can be utilised to influence collective action through engaging people in processes that are transformative to them on a personal level.

The following two chapters focus on culture as an alternative method for participation and the role it plays in the overall planning process. Two examples are used. One is the use of the prevalent hip-hop culture as a mechanism to stimulate participation among youth in Parque Andreense, and the other refers to a project of oral history documentation done with community members. Both initiatives have been developed under the social/economic development axis of the CBWM project in an attempt to include these traditionally marginalised voices into the development of an integrated watershed plan.

Chapter Five

The Role of Culture in Participatory Planning: Hip hop and Youth

The following two chapters discuss how cultural expression can be a powerful tool for the inclusion of traditionally marginalised social groups providing a familiar and accessible forum for interactive communication between themselves and public power. In light of the previous chapter that discussed the PT concept of citizenship, these chapters look to culture as a mechanism to stimulate active citizenship and popular participation, thereby enriching the multiplicity and diversity of voices that form part of municipal planning. Two innovative forms of participation that were utilised in the first pilot project area of the CBWM project provide the examples. The first, which is covered in this chapter, involves the use of hip-hop culture amongst youth and the second, covered in the next chapter, looks at the documentation of watershed residents' oral histories. The importance of involving youth's distinct perspective in environmental protection initiatives and fostering their role in socio-economic development was recognised as a fundamental element of sustainable development in the 1992 Environmental Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

In Brazilian history there has been a lot of discussion on distinct models of participation that seek to effectively reach and integrate civil society. More recently the search for higher rates of inclusion has pressed planners to think creatively about different ways that people can participate. There are many of people who will never attend public meetings because they are long, boring, many times non-productive, scheduled at the wrong times, etc. So local, provincial and national governments need to find other ways to include the voices of diverse sectors of society via the channels that they themselves use. According to Teresa Santos, director of the *Cidade Futuro* program, public power needs the openness to listen to and understand the language and forms of expression that different sectors of society use to communicate their ideas, and ultimately aim to adopt distinct ways to incorporate community participation starting from designs that civil society create. Via the adoption of innovative mechanisms and channels for community involvement, public power can ensure that people who do not participate in a systemised way become part of the process rather than people who are marginalised by a process of institutionalised participation through public meetings. If consultative public meetings

are the only channels through which people can participate then the process of participation itself becomes an instrument of exclusion and will ultimately serve to legitimise dominant views (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). This is a dominance that is not found in numbers but rather in terms of articulating and being heard by public administration. So when the decisions are taken they are claimed to have been made through a participatory process, yet often this process does not truly represent the multiple perspectives and interests found in society.

Youth, Culture and Community Development

One of the cornerstones of participatory planning and development is the active involvement of diverse segments of society as they relate to specific issues that affect their communities. Experience has proven this to be a complex and often challenging objective and therefore much thought has been directed towards adopting creative methods of stimulating community participation. In areas that suffer from a strong legacy of exclusion and powerlessness, it is not enough to simply seek participation and/or provide a channel for it, rather attention must be given to the social and psychological elements that need to be addressed in order for the population to participate effectively in a given process.

According to Jefferson Sooma, Director of Santo Andre's Youth Bureau and an active youth whom partakes and organises large cultural events in the city, the use of art and culture to stimulate participation and social transformation is interesting because people identify themselves through these mediums. From this constructed identity, they see and recognise themselves and the environment they are a part of and subsequently begin to interact with and become active participants of this environment via their interest and attraction to art and culture (Interview with Jefferson Sooma, October 15, 2001).

Regionally culture is a significant politicising agent helping to construct a political consciousness in people. This is not a consciousness based in left, centre, or right wing political parties, but rather political in the sense that it awakens peoples desire to form ideas/opinions and defend them, thereby breaking a cycle of passivity. It is precisely these people who, given the opportunity, will be inclined to use their ideas to interact with public power via the channels of participation made available to them, and they may

possibly move on to create their own channels and encourage others to form ideas and do the same.

There are various segments in Santo Andre that organise themselves via culture. The majority of them discuss the environment in which they live in a politicised manner. Various periodic events are held throughout the year that integrate culture and active citizenship. The *Aulas Publicas de Ciudadania* (Public Lessons on Citizenship) for example include shows by local musicians, presentations by the municipal Secretary for Citizenship and Participation and the Director of the Department of Culture, followed by public discussion and debate on the role of culture in the construction of citizenship. *Revolucionarte*, an increasingly popular bimonthly event also integrates culture and citizenship and is held over a three day period in which local musicians, actors, dance groups, and a variety of artists perform while numerous workshops on social issues, activism, participation and citizenship are offered.

Culture captures people's attention. It's a magnet that attracts people to gather and engage. As such it also presents a socio-educational process that provides a space for expression and discussion on social issues and interventions. Through debates and discussions people are stimulated to think critically and politically about themselves and their role in society and consequently become increasingly proactive, and arguably having a much greater likelihood of playing active roles as citizens in their society. Armed with more information, citizens become more demanding of public power and subsequently seek to be active in other avenues of society therefore exercising their right to participation and citizenship. Artistic and cultural expression has widely been used in Latin America as a means to raise social awareness and mobilise communities. Examples include the *Feria Educativa* (Educational Fair), a group of young indigenous musicians from the Ecuadorian Andes who travel from village to village in Ecuador staging sociodramas and puppet shows that raise relevant issues and encourage locals to discuss how the situations performed reflect local problems subsequently searching for solutions to these (Kleymeyer & Moreno, 1994). Women's theatre in Jamaica depicts women's suffering in society, illustrating various forms of organisation amongst them (Sistren Theatre Collective, 1994).

For youth to take the initiative of becoming active participants in their community, the medium, channel and language of participation that links public power to them must be attractive, interesting and comfortable. In order for democratic participation to occur, youth must develop their own organisations and confidence and competence to participate. Therefore projects and their component actions should foster learning and aim to expand young people's capacity to go beyond previous knowledge and apply new knowledge in addressing issues that are of relevance to them and their communities (Checkaway, et. al, 1999). This often involves developing youth-oriented processes within the larger process that aim to foster the construction of identity and citizenship among participants, and subsequently strengthen their capacity and willingness to use available channels of participation. Therefore participation should itself be a process of learning, expression, empowerment and identity building that serves as a preparation and/or stepping stone for more concrete effective participation in community development. Often this process of identity construction is far more valuable and fruitful than the subsequent concrete participation that stems from it. The experience in Santo Andre has shown that culture is an undeniably valuable instrument for the construction of identity and citizenship amongst youth and holds the potential to catalyse the deeper process of social transformation.

In terms of participatory planning, culture is an effective mechanism through which participation of various segments of society can be integrated. People are drawn to and by culture because it is visceral as opposed to purely cerebral and therefore people feel and identify with it. Identity plays a critical role in social mobilisation where it reinforces and regenerates collective action while simultaneously emanating from it. Identity is often a requisite and/or point of departure for social action while it is also a consequence of it (Sevilla, 1994). Youth are very attracted to cultural expressions and therefore it presents a creative innovative link between this segment of society and public power, a connection often difficult to establish. Spaces of cultural expression can lend a forum for mutual learning where participants (both citizens and planners) share knowledge and raise concerns, issues and the specific realities that each is part of. But culture is not only a vehicle of participation in which it provides a channel of communication in the participatory process. More importantly, it is a powerful instrument of stimulation, engagement, learning and transformation where self esteem, pride and identity are built

and fortified. These are critical ingredients in the development of active citizenship and provide stepping stones for effective citizen participation.

Despite the cultural diversity in Brazil, cultural expressions receive meagre attention and support and therefore many Brazilians are alienated from their traditional culture. In the peripheral informal settlements where inaccessibility permeates all facets of daily life, residents do not identify with mainstream culture that is dominated by white middle class expressions and therefore seek their own forms of expression. For youth one such expression that has gained significant momentum throughout the past years is hip-hop, an artistic/musical trend rooted in Black/Latino American traditions that found its way into the Brazilian youth community.

Origins of Hip Hop Culture

Hip-hop is a relatively recent cultural expression that emerged during the 1970s and early 1980s in the urban ghettos of the United States. The South Bronx in New York City is known to be the hotbed from which the hip-hop movement rose. During the 1960s, the neighbourhood experienced radical changes triggered by poorly planned urban mega projects such as the expressway that dissected the heart of the Bronx and a series of huge apartment complexes that provided housing for mainly low income Afro-American and Latino families. As the quality of life in the area decreased Italian, German, Irish and Jewish middle class families moved away only to be replaced by more low income families. The Bronx soon became a cluster of poverty whose reality was determined by the whims of a hegemonic political system characterised by the social and economic exclusion of this population. The inherent effects of augmented poverty, social exclusion and a poorly designed visually unappealing urban infrastructure deficient in community services led to the sharp increase in street gangs, violent crime, drug use and trafficking. It was not long before street gangs began dominating public spaces with their inter-gang rivalries that claimed young lives and further severed the already meagre urban fabric of the neighbourhood. It is within this predominantly black/brown, poor, and continuously marginalised context that hip hop emerged as a direct result and response to the political, social and economic conditions of 1970s New York City (Remy, 2001) The negative effects that street life had on youth in urban ghettos inspired the socio-political component of hip-hop culture that proliferated as a method to mobilise youth in the ghettos who were increasingly becoming involved with drugs, violence and gangs.

At the end of the 1970s and early 80s, the musical trends of funk and “black music” permeated Brazilian waves of communication and began to be adopted and integrated into Brazilian society. As a nation with deep African roots, many Brazilians readily absorbed North American Afro musical manifestations and integrated them into their own everyday lives and cultural expressions (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). By the early 1980s, Brazilian hip-hop began to develop, originating mainly in peripheral urban areas where poor and often, although not exclusively, black youth predominated. Like their North American counterparts, these youth were and still are suffering from profound issues of marginalisation and inaccessibility to mainstream social, economic and cultural urban services. But this was not simply the transfer of a musical trend, but rather an adoption of a culture and way of life by people who identified with and shared a similar existence in another part of the world. Since hip-hop was born as an expression of discontentment, protest and rebellion against structural injustices, the literary content of the music has traditionally been characterised by a denouncement of these forces and a description of a life plagued by poverty, drug addiction, violence, unemployment, etc. In Brazil, hip-hop, which has informally become known and referred to as the “*voz da periferia*” (the voice of the periphery), has always denounced the realities of poor urban youth condemning the historical, social, cultural, and political structures that reproduce them. It is a voice striving to be heard and as such represents a channel of communication between them and mainstream society. Sueli Chan was the director of Santo Andre’s Youth Bureau during the active years of the CBWM project (1998-2000) and has extensive experience working with youth participation, culture and hip-hop. As she stated in an interview, hip-hop, as a collective culture (in its original form, not the commercial expressions that have recently dominated music charts) seeks to encourage social change bringing forth and articulating class/race inequities and working with marginalised youth stimulating creativity, artistic expression, identity construction and social consciousness (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). Hip-hop can be broken down into four core elements that are also known as “languages” of expression. These are: visual art expressed as style writing also known as graffitti; dance expressed as break dancing; music expressed as Djing/beatboxing; and poetry expressed as Mcing also known as Rap (Tate, 2001).

Exclusion

It is important to note the theme of exclusion as it relates to youth and hip-hop culture. As previously mentioned, hip-hop emerged as a response to the negative impacts created by an exclusionary system, helping to mobilise youth and channel their energy away from street violence and towards creative artistic expression. Exclusion on the basis of race and class is not only the seed from which hip-hop stemmed, but it is also a recurring theme that permeated its development in society. Youth is a segment of society that has traditionally been excluded from centralised planning processes and therefore their participation is rarely sought, encouraged and/or heard. Most of the youth into hip-hop culture are from urban periphery regions that are areas characterised by poverty, crime, violence and a lack of life perspective. These youth therefore are a doubly marginalised group who apart from being part of a rarely integrated segment of society (youth), they are also residents of the urban periphery who are mostly black and poor, living within a deeply classist and significantly racist society. The following quote is drawn from an interview done by the Youth Bureau with an active youth involved with hip-hop and reflects the current reality that is lived and felt by youth.

“The periphery is hell itself, everyone considers themselves survivors of hell. Nobody wants to have children” (Santo Andre, 1999). “We go to school, but school does not awaken an awareness for solidarity or for social change. We want change. The current situation is disadvantageous for us...hip-hop manifestations (rap, break dance, graffiti and Mcing) are not closed in themselves, rather they have a more ample objective of elevating levels of awareness among peripheral inhabitants. We make social denouncements, we fight violence, we struggle for rights and we push for public policy that favours education, health, leisure, culture, housing and security. We fight against prejudgement, we don't want youth to be overcome by criminality, trafficking of toxic substances and consumption.....the movement fosters self esteem. Rap and poetry is the music of the people, it has beat, rhythm, sway, cadence and imagination. It has magic, soul and speaks about our daily reality that's why it's easy to understand” (Santo Andre, 1999).

During the 1980s when hip-hop was emerging in Brazil, those involved were often excluded from social spaces because of their class background and class signifiers such as attire (i.e., oversized pants and shirts). This style associated with hip-hop, held and often still does hold a heavy social stigma. The exclusion from social spaces used by other forms of cultural expression, such as cultural centres and party halls, pushed “hip-hopers”

to the only physical space that was available to them, the street and open public spaces. Unfortunately, the use of this space only served to nourish and reinforce the negative social stigma that the culture and its members were characterised by, associating them not only with the urban periphery but with the street and the negative and often illegal activities that plague them. These levels of being a youth, from the periphery, excluded from social spaces and stigmatised due to their use of physical space which itself is a consequence of other forms of exclusion, symbolises a vicious circle of marginalisation that fosters antagonism among hip-hopers. From a cultural perspective, the lack of access to physical and social space is what defines the process of exclusion experienced by hip-hop (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). Misinterpretation and intolerance towards hip-hop culture and focussing on its negative aspects, pigeonholes involved youth portraying and stereotyping them as dangerous drug trafficking criminals. This is a destructive approach because unfortunately many youth from the periphery who live in conditions of poverty surrounded by violent crime and other urban ills are “at risk” of ratifying this inaccurate stereotype. (Objector, 2001).

Robson Silva is a talented Brazilian vocalist/musician who has been involved with hip-hop for many years. He works as an art educator at the *FEBEM* (a youth delinquency centre), using the exercise of composing music to integrate discussion on and provide and foster skills in self-expression, public speaking, ethics, morals, values, socio/cultural problem analysis and the meanings and roles of citizenship. In an interview he reflected the following insights:

“According to my experience, hip-hop is an assertion of an identity. Our country is very unequal, unjust, inhumane and offers extremely limited opportunity for youth to feel alive, like they have a future (they can influence) and that they are people just like everyone else. Diversity doesn’t reach the residents of informal settlements. Often it’s a choice between religion, gangs, drug trafficking and/or hip-hop. Their reality is so different that they can not even relate to or identify with other forms of musical expression. What they identify with is the realities of their life and that’s what they reflect in their music. So hip-hop is an identity builder, a language through which the “forgotten youth” express themselves and via the movement and it’s music build self-esteem, pride and an identity of their own regardless of whether they fit into mainstream culture” (Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001).

Despite the social stigmas held against hip-hop, it became a strong contemporary cultural manifestation that started to attract the attention of social workers and NGO's concerned with social development, poverty reduction, participation, and the construction of a healthy society in general. People began to open their ears to listen to the "voice of the periphery", to hear what these young minds were saying, details of their reality, their needs and/or desires, socio/political ideology, denouncements of Brazilian society, and visions for the future. This provided valuable insight for social workers/planners working with this segment of society who only had an "outsiders" perspective to guide their project actions. In 1992 the Ministry of Education of São Paulo spearheaded a project called "*Rap...ensando a Educacao*" (Re....thinking Education), with the aim of redesigning education in a way that integrates young hip-hopers point of view. It sought to discuss school curricula via rap, how it is developed within the community and how to insert hip-hop language and youth into the educational system. Teachers were involved in and opened debates on themes that came out of students' rap songs, thus inserting educational material into the music. According to Sueli Chan who was one of the co-ordinators of this project, the effects of *Rap...ensando a Educacao* were interesting because schools began to perceive that youth involved in hip-hop did not only denounce unjust realities, but they also proposed avenues and channels for activism within the process of social change illustrating how they can assume a central role in the construction of school curricula (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). The emerging concept of youth protagonism and participation through hip-hop culture became popularised and started to be adopted by several urban youth development projects illustrating how this idea could be applied to a variety of areas and/or discussions on public policy.

Hip Hop and Participatory Planning in Santo Andre

Santo Andre has recently embraced hip-hop culture, searching for various creative ways to use it as a mechanism for youth integration into municipal planning. Youth have increasingly become involved in the city-wide participatory budgeting process, bringing forth their demands and needs. Those attending meetings are predominantly linked to hip-hop through one of its four elements. Likewise, the *Cidade Futuro* strategic planning process sees a significant amount of hip-hop youth participating, particularly in the thematic meeting on cultural identity, where they voice the importance of creating spaces

where hip-hop can be practised and manifested. Probably the most advanced and organised linkage between hip-hop youth and the municipality is through the *Conselho de Graffiteros* (Council of Graffittists). This organ is responsible for liaison between local graffiti artists and the Department of Culture, Youth Bureau and other relevant sections of the municipality. Often the Council and the municipality co-organise graffiti events in which extensive walls are allocated to be painted. The objectives of such events include beautifying and revitalising the city, stimulating youth participation in the aesthetic quality of the city and opening space for youth to appropriate public spaces in a positive way. Usually these events include break dancing competitions and a variety of shows put on by local bands/musicians. These events are often attended by the Secretary of the Secretariat of Participation and Citizenship, the Director of the Youth Bureau and other municipal planners present at these events. In July 2002 Santo Andre will host the first worldwide exposition of graffiti art. Below is an example of graffiti art in Santo Andre.

Figure Eight: Graffiti Art



In March of 1999, Santo Andre's *Assesoria da Juventude* (Youth Office of Santo Andre), whose mandate is to elaborate and foster public policy directed towards youth, began to participate in the Community Based Watershed Management project. It was interested in involving Parque Andreense's youth as central figures of environmental stewardship and development within their community. According to the Youth Bureau, cultural expression is an extremely important manifestation of and catalyst for pedagogic processes, and as an art of human expression should be used as an instrument of intervention (Santo Andre, 1999). As such much of their contribution to CBWM was through socio-cultural activities that attempted to integrate environmental education and ultimately stimulate youth protagonism. One of the tools that was used to reach and stimulate youth to participate was the already prevalent hip hop culture.

Youth, Hip Hop and Participation in Community Based Watershed Management

A significant portion of Parque Andreense residents are youth and therefore their participation is essential to both the formation of an environmental consciousness that acknowledges the importance of the watershed area in which they live and to the fulfilment of the CBWM objectives. Given the complexity of issues at stake among this low income and somewhat isolated population, the first step taken by the Youth Office staff was of familiarisation, in which they sought to raise and acquaint themselves with the reality of youth in this area. It soon became evident that Parque Andreense youth did not see themselves as part of Santo Andre's youth. They had little consciousness of their link to the urban part of Santo Andre and therefore did not consider themselves to be citizens of that municipality. Due to the geographical layout of Santo Andre, the watershed area where Parque Andreense sits is much closer to neighbouring municipalities than to the urban part of Santo Andre. As an informal settlement Parque Andreense lacks various public services such as health, education, transport, and cultural centres and consequently residents seek these from the closest municipalities.

The lack of citizenship identity in Parque Andreense served to illuminate the first actions directed towards the area. The Youth Office spearheaded an identity construction and youth integration campaign in which Parque Andreense youth participated in educational field trips and cultural activities, travelling to the urban part of Santo Andre to meet with youth from various regions, states and countries (Santo Andre, 2001). These activities attempted to deconstruct youth's sense of isolation, acquaint them with the services

available to them and inform them of their rights as citizens of Santo Andre. Although the objective of the CBWM project is to involve watershed residents as stewards of the environment, it was necessary to first address the daily realities that people (youth) in the area face and then seek methods of bringing about relevant discussion that they are willing and able to engage in. CBWM and the Youth Bureau recognise that it is difficult for the youth to participate in a municipal process if they feel like they do not belong to that municipality, or if they have an eroded cultural identity, low self-esteem and extremely limited information/knowledge about their rights and the importance of and channels for participation. It is within this context that municipal planners made an insertion introducing theatre, video making and rap/break dancing workshops to reach, dialogue and stimulate young people's participation.

Katia Coelho, is a youth planner who worked with the Santo Andre Youth Bureau at the time and was actively involved with the CBWM related workshops offered in Parque Andreense. She expressed that the community had very high expectations of what the Municipality could offer Parque Andreense youth, but unfortunately financial/resource constraints impeded increased activity and action in the area. This created a gap between what was expected and what was being delivered causing many youth to turn to the neighbouring municipalities where more complete cultural services are offered. Those who remained attending the cultural activities offered by the Youth Office were the poorest youth whose economic conditions limited them from searching for alternatives outside of their locality. The expression that this group was most interested in was hip-hop (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001).

Given this interest, the Youth Office planners used culture as a seductive instrument in which hip-hop in general and the distinct languages of graffiti, rap and break dancing in particular were used as communication channels for environmental awareness, social consciousness and education (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001). Systematic visits were made to the community some that gave hip-hop workshops while others focussed on provoking social discussions that aimed to strengthen peoples identity and motivate the adoption of an active citizenship role. Discussion on stimulating community environmental stewardship, the main micro level objective of the CBWM project, is practically impossible without first addressing issues of low self-esteem, alienation, lack of life perspectives, and identity in general. It is through a strong sense of self and an

Figure Nine: Break Dancing in Santo Andre



acknowledgement of one's relationship and role within the larger system that people are able to adopt a new attitude towards their surrounding environment, in this case the watershed. So the hip-hop workshops that were offered sought to increase youth potential, via their cultural expression and point of view, to make a constructive intervention in the CBWM project.

Integrating themes on the environment and active citizenship into hip-hop workshops presented a challenge because in reality, hip-hop culture was being used as a magnet that would attract youth to participate. But once they were a captive audience, the forum was used to raise relevant issues and trigger discussion on life in the watershed. As expressed by a youth office planner, "integrating environment and dance is no easy task, there is no recipe to follow, rather you must simply learn as you go along" (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001). In order to do this, the people who were selected and/or volunteered to give workshops with Parque Andreense youth were first trained and sensitised to increase their capacity to give an artistic workshop with an environmental education focus. Therefore environmental issues were integrated into the workshops mainly through stimulating discussion on participants' role in society and how their

actions are linked to their quality of life in general. These discussions aimed to trigger critical thinking, build a sense of belonging, and ultimately, illuminate an identity for youth as protagonists in their community who exercise citizen rights and assume their role as participants of a collective society (ibid.).

In this dynamic, the workshop facilitator brings information, leads community discussions, observes and receives information brought up by the workshop participants. S/he is in a sense a link between the informal settlement and the larger community who facilitates access to information and knowledge for both the local residents and the municipality for whom they work. The information gathered throughout the workshops is presented to the municipal youth planners orally and often informally (ibid.). The process of mutual learning provided by this forum triggers the construction of social meaning/knowledge that can be used to guide future initiatives for youth in the community.

Although the argument put forth here supports a methodology of first addressing issues of building confidence, self-esteem and identity through creative expression and subsequently and/or simultaneously raising discussion regarding environmental issues, a reverse methodology is also conceivable. This would involve increasing awareness regarding the importance and sensitivity of the watershed and through the articulation of localised knowledge and the appropriation of new knowledge people's confidence, identity and esteem could be strengthened which in turn would affect social and environmental attitudes/behaviour.

As hip-hop is a language used by certain youth to express their realities as an excluded segment of society, it can simultaneously represent a channel of communication and a vehicle for youth inclusion into discussions on watershed management and public policy in general. The hip-hop workshops given in Parque Andreense served as the forum in which information was shared, transferred and created amongst youth and between youth and the workshop facilitator who in this case represented public power. Hip-hop presents an important channel for participation in which youth have the opportunity to organise around a language that is familiar to them. According to Matilde Ribeiro who was Director of the Women's Rights Bureau and co-ordinator of the CBWM social/economic development axis until January 2000, conventional channels of participation are not

attractive to youth and they should not even be expected to use these channels as a space for expression. This does not mean however that their participation and input is not valuable (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). The Santo Andre "Municipal Agenda" recognises the importance of encompassing and institutionalising creative channels of participation that allow the voices of several segments of society to be heard and integrated into the development of that locale. "The ideal is to create opportunities with young people as partners in the planning and design that maximise their ability to speak about the issues that concern them in ways that are most comfortable and supportive for them" (Checkoway, et al, 1999).

Hip Hop as Used for Social Transformation and Participatory Planning

The following narrative by Robson Silva provides an example of how hip-hop can offer an opportunity for social transformation and serve as a bridge for the inclusion of young people.

It's inspiring for young hip-hopers to see other youth from their same neighbourhood who are also engaged in hip hop, gain attention through expressions that they themselves have created. This triggers thought on how they can also be constructive and in the search for being constructive often their priorities in life change and/or new priorities are created. It's powerful for a kid to think: I can get up on stage and say... my name is so and so and I am important, I am somebody too, I am a fourteen year old boy and I can. I can sing and I can break dance. Stimulating this feeling of pride is important in hip-hop culture. Hip-hop provides an opportunity for youth to speak out, acknowledge their importance as people in society and comment on the process of injustice that they are subjected too.

For me hip-hop was a passport, an invitation. People interested in social transformation and who suffer various effects of marginalisation, look to hip-hop as an alternative. I do (did) rap/hip-hop and as a result I've had the opportunity to get to know and share stages with people who perform other types of music and therefore I have become familiar with other forms of musical expression. I'm a normal guy from the periphery. If I would've stayed there I never would have gotten to know anything but through hip-hop I obtained a passport to become acquainted with other musical worlds. Interacting with other youth involved in music and culture expands your horizon and your access to culture opens as does your mind and your perspective of life. Today I no longer do pure hip-hop rather it's an integration of sounds but always with a social message. I call it MRB, *Musica Revolucionaria Brasileira* (Brazilian Revolutionary Music). Our songs are political/historical speeches.

I want other people to take advantage of this opportunity like I did. So through my work I try to give, open and create this opportunity for other youth to learn, construct and explore hip-hop and other musical expressions. When youth feel

valuable they experience an attitude change, it's like a maturity that leads them to act in different ways towards their fellow citizens and their community in general. Politically hip-hop organises itself in this way and it can be very powerful” (Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001).

Examples of rap words illustrate in greater detail the critical and political content of Brazilian rap music. The following examples are excerpts from the book *Rap...Ensando A Educacao*, produced after the Rethinking Education project that integrated hip-hop and formal education.

“Menores carentes se tornam delinquentes e ninguem nada faz pelo futuro desta gente/ e a saida e esta vida bandida que levam roubando, matando, morrendo, entre si se acabando/ enquanto homens de poder, fingem nao ver, nao querem saber..... destruiram a natureza e com certeza o que fizeram em seu lugar jamais tera igual beleza/ poluiram o ar e o tronaram impuro/ e o futuro eu pergunto confuso como sera? Agora em quatro segundos irei dizer um ditado: tudo o que se faz de errado aqui mesmo sera pago meu nome e Edi Rock um rapper nao um otario, se algo nao fizermos estaremos acabados”(Municipality of Sao Paulo, 1992).

“Needy youth become delinquents and nobody does anything for the future of these people/ and the escape is this bandit life they lead, stealing, killing, dying, mutually finishing themselves off/ while powerful men, pretend not to see, they don't want to know....they destroy nature and for sure what they replace it with will never have equal beauty/ they pollute the air making it impure/ and the future I ask confused, what will it be like? Now in four seconds I will say a quote: everything that is done wrong will be paid for here, my name is Edi Rock a rapper not a “otario” if we don't do something we're finished”

“Ai a velha historia outra vez se repete/ por um sistema falido, como marionetes nos somos movidos/e a muito tempo tem sido assim nos empurram a incerteza, e ao crime enfim com viaturas e armas nos esperando/ E os poderosos bem seguros observando um rotineiro holocausto urbano....os poderosos sao covardes, desleais espancam negros nas ruas por motivos banais. E nossos ancestrais por igualdade lutaram, se rebelaram, morreram/ E hoje o que fazemos? Assistimos a tudo de bracos cruzados. Ate parece que nem somos nos os prejudicados/ enquanto voce sossegado foge da questao....Eles circulam nas ruas, com uma descricao que e parcida com a sua. Cabelo, cor, feicao/ Sera que eles veem em nos um marginal padrao? Cinquenta anos se completam de lei anti racismo na constituicao/ infalivel na teoria/ inutil no dia a dia/ Entao que fodam-se eles com sua demagogia/ Ah! Ah! No meu pais o preconceito e eficaz, te cumprimentam na frente, te dao um tiro por traz” (Municipality of Sao Paulo, 1992).

“The same old story repeats itself again/ because of a failed system, like marionettes we are moved/ and its been like this for a long time, they push us to uncertainty and to crime/ at the end with arms waiting for us/ And the powerful very safely observe a routine urban holocaust... the powerful are unfaithful,

cowards, they beat blacks in the street for banal reasons. And our ancestors fought for equality, they rebelled, they died/ And today what do we do? We watch everything with arms crossed. It even seems like we're not the affected/ while you calmly flee the issue they circulate the street, with a description quite similar to yours. Hair, colour, features/ Could they see in us a marginal paradigm? Fifty years of anti racism law have been completed in the constitution/ unspeakable in theory/ useless in our day to day/ so to hell with you demagogues/ Ah! Ah! In my country prejudgements are effective, they salute you in front and they give you a bullet from the back" (ibid.).

The use of culture, in this case hip- hop, is not an isolated action used in enhancing participation but rather forms part of a larger strategy in which a space is opened for youth expression where identity and self-esteem are fostered and a process of information sharing is harnessed. Within the context of CBWM, this nourished the construction of an identity for youth as participants in the larger project and ultimately in the development of their community. As other Brazilian studies have shown, creative expression through music and/or dance are "essential first steps in empowering children with low self-esteem and a poor sense of cultural identity" (Hart, 1997). Beyond illustrating the importance of music and dance for Brazilian culture, the use of these expressions forms part of "a conscious policy programme of preparing children to contribute to the development of their community by first strengthening their sense of themselves and their sense of membership in a larger group and community" (ibid.).

Despite the various potentialities of hip-hop, people must be careful not to romanticise it at the risk of overlooking its constraints. For hip-hop culture to be a useful tool for youth organising and community development it needs to be worked in a constructive manner while recognising its inherent flaws. Class and gender distinctions and signifiers also play out within hip-hop culture. Some clusters of youth involved with hip-hop culture are children of a deeply exclusionary classist, racist and capitalist system and to a certain extent reproduce this by excluding and being unreceptive to others that are not into hip-hop. They are a clique that is often intimidating for other youth, particularly women, given the mainly male composition of the movement. Brazil is a relatively chauvinistic society where young women are mostly referred to as "the girlfriends" and associated with being sexy and dancing *samba*, (one of Brazils national dances) or other traditional dances. Significant attention must be placed in seeking ways that hip-hop can offer an equally accessible opportunity for female as well as male youth expression otherwise the

culture runs the risk of excluding a weighty portion of young people. Although women did/do participate in hip-hop workshops often those who pursue it are male.

Many youth involved with hip-hop are resentful and oblivious to the social transformation roots from which hip-hop culture stemmed and therefore do not see it as a tool capable of triggering thought and change amongst youth and in youth's relation with public power. "It's really challenging to work with people who live in misery and confront, on a daily basis, issues of basic survival. Often they don't listen to you, they feel that you can't relate to them and therefore what you are saying is not so important because it won't change their immediate situation. Probably one of the greatest challenges that faces peripheral youth today is to manage to have dreams, perspectives and aspirations for the future. Not just about survival, but about life. It is really difficult to interest them in social activism or even to think about the idea of collective society. In a sense extreme poverty makes people more individualistic. This is the work of capitalism; it creates exclusion and then individualism" (Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001). Like many members of society the minds of hip-hop youth have been conditioned to think in a paternalistic manner expecting government to consistently provide them with what they need. This "receiving" versus "giving" attitude often reflects a reluctance to take the initiative to address issues of exclusion and obscures potentials for internal mobilisation and organisation.

Hip-hop is good bait to get youth involved, however public power often does not know how to relate to them and/or their culture because planners have not utilised and incorporated hip-hop language in their work. Although constant efforts must be made to establish and strengthen links with this youth sub-culture, it is critical to acknowledge that although a significant portion of youth are into hip-hop, it is only one of the many youth sub-cultures that exist. Therefore hip-hop as it relates to participatory planning only represents one avenue of a larger and more diverse policy approach for youth involvement.

According to Robson Silva "inclusion does not come from a third or fourth person, rather it starts with and comes from the person who is being excluded. As much as you want to give and open space for inclusion, if youth don't want this kind of space then the space will not really exist because it is not being used. If the space was not thought of and/or

created by them then it is not necessarily going to be legitimate for them and then the purpose of it will not be fulfilled. The municipality creates space for youth but they don't legitimise it because it was not created with the input of hip-hop youth. For excluded youth it's hard to get used to the whole discourse on inclusion, it was never really explained to us how the process of inclusion/exclusion works and why. There seems to be a missing link" (Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001).

Within the larger context of CBWM, the use of culture, in this case hip-hop, as a mechanism for community involvement presents a process-oriented initiative that involves opening a space for youth to express themselves in a way that is familiar and comfortable to them. Through a process of creative expression and social discussion, youth build confidence, self-esteem and ultimately an identity of themselves as they relate to other youth, their community and society in general. Identity is linked to citizenship and citizenship made active leads to participation. This process, which itself is classified as participation, has varying degrees of educational/pedagogic/formative potential depending on how the workshops are designed and implemented. Although using hip-hop culture to stimulate active citizenship is mainly process-oriented it is not void of product, but this product (learning and increased activism and participation in community) is far more subjective and therefore difficult to assess.

Hip hop symbolises one of the several creative community development instruments that culture provides and is increasingly being accepted and integrated into institutional attempts to attract youth participation around issues of importance to municipal management. Although the Santo Andre hip-hop movement is quite active it is increasingly looking to partnership with public administration in the creation of an encompassing strategy that unites the movements' efforts to combat poverty, violence and social exclusion thereby making the de facto exercise of citizenship viable (Santo Andre, 1999).

This chapter on youth participation through hip-hop culture presents only one of the several socio-cultural initiatives that formed part of the larger strategy of intervention in the first pilot project of CBWM. The following chapter does not focus on an age group per se, yet it discusses oral history documentation as cultural expression and as a mechanism for community participation.

Chapter Six

Spoken Perspectives: Oral Histories and Informal Settlements

People's knowledge and perspectives are significantly shaped by the complexity of factors that comprise lived experience, a fascinating and rich web of which could be the legitimate focus of sociological research (Smith, 1986). The oral expression of individual and collective experience/knowledge is a valuable form of preserving cultures from assimilation, passing on traditional practices, creating and fortifying identities and self-esteem, teaching and raising awareness and excavating memories that provide stimulus for future action in community development. Projects of oral history documentation are often conducted with groups of excluded, forgotten and/or marginalised sectors of society. Due to their alienated status these people's histories, perspectives and insights are rarely known, heard or appreciated as an integral part of the larger picture. Cultural expression through oral history and storytelling provides a rich account of people's lives and is indispensable to a deeper understanding of the social, psychological, emotional and constructed realities to which they belong.

In the context of participatory planning with disadvantaged groups, context-specific realities are critical to the success or failure of planned interventions in the community and can form part of the essential base line information with which planners often work. While the previous chapter focussed on the cultural expression of hip-hop subculture and its role in stimulating participation and the construction of active citizenship amongst youth, this chapter focuses on the documentation of informal settlement residents' oral histories as a mechanism of revealing local knowledge and raising awareness, ultimately aiming towards increasing local participation and the exercise of citizenship rights and responsibilities in the management of the watershed. Residents of informal settlements form part of a more generalised subculture whose point of similarity is their social exclusion and housing/living conditions.

Oral History Documentation in Parque Andreense

In February 2000 the *Assesoria dos Direitos da Mulher* (Women's Rights Bureau) and the *Departamento de Desenvolvimento Urbano* (Urban Development Department) initiated a project of oral history documentation that formed part of the CBWM project.

The idea behind this initiative was to reconstitute the oral expression, visions and perceptions of Parque Andreense residents regarding their daily experiences dealing with the limits and potentialities of living in a watershed protection area and exploring the link to their locale and its relationship with the city of Santo Andre.

The main objectives of this research initiative were to:

- identify the distinct visions, feelings, emotions and perceptions of Parque Andreense residents;
- identify and systematise what it means to be a resident of a watershed protection area;
- value community history based on past experiences while incorporating present living conditions and perspectives for the future;
- generate sources of documentation and research publicising the obtained results at the local and municipal level;
- develop an accessible methodology for the residents that is replicable in other interest areas; and
- support the implementation of the CBWM project using issues raised and gathered from residents' narratives (Santo Andre, 2000).

The oral history project sought to value the residents in their individuality as subjects of history, giving residents who are generally excluded from "official history", the possibility to be heard and document their own visions of the world as well as the visions of the social group to which they belong. This project presents an innovative way of approaching history. History is not dead but alive and, as this project seeks to illustrate, can be formed through individual memories focusing on people as social subjects of history (Santo Andre, 2000).

Methodology of Oral Documentation Project

The project co-ordinators conducted a total of sixteen interviews in order to obtain the residents' stories. Fourteen were individual interviews (seven women and seven men) and two were done as collective interviews with a group of women and a group of men. The interview questions were open-ended and without any specifically defined agenda. In order to obtain a representative group the project coordinators created a set of criteria for involvement that considered gender, religion, age, economic level, ethnicity, location

of residence, diversity of productive activities and period of time living in Parque Andreense.

To select those who would be interviewed the project coordinators formed a core group with the main community leaders who have lived in Parque Andreense for over ten years and are well acquainted with local residents. They indicated approximately one hundred names of Parque Andreense "old timers". The aforementioned criterion was then applied resulting in a shorter list used to contact the people soliciting their participation in the project. The structuring elements that guided the interviews were a) to learn about how Parque Andreense *was* when these people first arrived; b) how they *presently* perceive their community and c) how they envision or would like it to be in the *future*. The stories therefore reflect aspects of Parque Andreense's past, present and possible future.

At the time of writing, this project has not yet been finalised and is currently at the stage of "transcreation" in which a final text will be created. This is the fourth step in a five-step process in which the interviews were first taped with the consent of the interviewee. These interviews were then transcribed, followed by a process of "textualisation" in which the interviews were reorganised chronologically joining elements of Parque Andreense's past, present and future eliminating the interviewers questions and highlighting key words. The current step of "transcreation" will result in a final text which will then be taken back to the participants to verify its accuracy and to seek authorisation for its publication.

As an initiative adopted under the CBWM framework, the oral history micro project sought to meet the larger objective of involving community residents in watershed management. The stories reveal valuable insights regarding the social, economic and environmental factors that trigger migration and the subsequent formation of informal settlements, the diversity of these communities, the process of change that Parque Andreense has experienced over time (why, what and how), the challenges and daily realities of living in the watershed and the knowledge and skills present among residents. This project provides an interesting example of an innovative form of community participation that could serve as a forum for mutual learning and potentially support the municipal project of constructing active citizenship. Of course the full potential of oral history documentation as an interactive participatory planning tool is contingent on the

way it is designed, applied and analysed. If its objectives dovetail with those of fostering citizenship, then the project could for example elaborate on the rich content of the stories to raise discussion concerning social, economic and environmental conditions locating possible avenues for activism and community organising.

Oral Histories and Participatory Planning

The documentation of residents' oral histories presents various interesting elements that are of importance to participatory planning and which can be interpreted in varying ways. On one level (and of course depending on how stories are used) the participation of residents via the expression and documentation of their histories presents a creative form of consultative participation. From this more extractive and rather pragmatic perspective, the oral histories provide a significant amount of information and insight into how Parque Andreense was, is and potentially could be physically, socially and environmentally. The content provides valuable social/cultural, economic and environmental baseline information that serves to guide future actions within the planning process. This information fosters an understanding of community diversity, local knowledge and personal skills and the processes of change that the community has experienced over the years.

Diversity

Although participants of the oral history project represent a small portion of Parque Andreense residents, they reflected the incredibly non-homogeneous nature of the community. Informal settlements are diverse by nature since they are formed by people who have migrated from other regions of the country far and close in search of a better life and an affordable place to live. Diversity can often pose an obstacle to collective participation and community action and therefore it is essential to be aware of it in order to devise participatory strategies that cater to as many residents as possible. The following quotes emerge from the documented stories and illustrate the variety of origins, beliefs and practices existing in Parque Andreense, and also capture the existence of distinct and diverse ethnic races as well.

“My name is Maria de Lourdes Barbosa. I am naturally from Pernambuco”, a northeastern state of Brazil. “My name is Terumi Fuzita Kikuri” of Japanese origin but “natural from the city of Ituverava in the interior of Sao Paulo”. “I was born in Parana”, a state south of Sao Paulo. “I came from the interior but lived

many years in a nun school in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais". "Here we have a mixture of everything! We have a diversity of interesting religions. There are the Pentecostals, evangelical, the '*batuques*' and *candomble*. I am Adventist, next to my house the woman is catholic. In front of my house there is an '*umbanda*' centre and this other woman is a Jehovah witness" (collective interview pg.11).

In participatory planning processes it is crucial to know the distinct groups that form a community. Due to the religious diversity in Brazil these different groups are often based on varying churches and areas of congregation. Information on community composition and cultural heterogeneity has implications for the design and possible effectiveness of participatory activities in the area.

Local Skills and Knowledge

One of the most valuable parts of the documented stories is the richness of skills and local knowledge existent in the community that can serve as potential sources of intra-community organisation and informal linkages. Using oral histories as a participatory process provides a method of identifying talents existing in the community that may not be "discovered" (Forrester, 1999). Being aware of who has what skills/knowledge that is useful to the community can trigger ideas for various community projects and opens the possibility for the implementation of partnerships between the community and the municipality.

Lourdes for example is an experienced and quite talented writer having created more than three theatre pieces. Originally from Pernambuco, she knows the Northern *literatura de cordel*, a "form of storytelling using simple text, verses and simple drawings on cheap paper, that is hung in public areas such as market places" (CHS, 1988). The use of this culture to informally discuss social issues and political struggles is slowly disappearing and finding people with this knowledge is not so common anymore. Lourdes dreams of organising youth to perform her plays, particularly one piece called "*Coracao de Mae nao se Engana*" (A Mother's Heart Can't be Fooled) that depicts the life of youth today and the struggles they face with drugs. At the time of the interview she mentioned that she wants to organise a theatre group in Parque Andreense to make performances with acting, singing and dancing.

“Opportunities for youth here are few and difficult....there are no activities for them. They are seventeen and eighteen year old kids that just sit around because they have nothing to do. Life for them here is really difficult. I believe that through theatre and poetry I can work with youth and insert them in cultural activities” (Interview with Lourdes, pg. 5, 6).

“They say that remedies are all planted. Thank God we don’t need them, but if anyone does they come to my house looking for herbs. I know that I feel very useful when people look for me to get herbs...It’s the best to mess around with earth, we nourish ourselves and we sleep better...Having vegetables we don’t think of money. Those fresh vegetables, healthy...its economic for us, we don’t have to go out and buy and we know where it comes from” (Julias Interview, pg 2,3, 1999).

Julia’s family always worked on the farm and so she knows a lot about gardening and herbs. The introduction of an agriculture garden in Parque Andreense has given Julia the opportunity to use some of her skills. When they have problems with plagues that destroy the vegetables, Tarciso (a community resident) makes “a home-made poison that does not harm” to put on the garden. He is also creating a drip irrigation system in order to save water and the time of those taking care of the plants.

The women’s collective interview reflected their specific knowledge shaped by gendered division of roles within the community. As collectors of water, women are familiar with the several issues regarding water supply, the location of supplies and inherent difficulties in obtaining it. It was stated for example that the wells located on high streets can not hold very much water and so people who live higher up run out, whereas the wells on the lower streets can hold much more water. This information may be useful in determining where to locate municipal water outlets. The women said that there used to be a little dam and a lake where the “unofficial” garbage deposit is presently located. The men would fish there and the women would wash clothes. Then people started to build, cut the trees and cover it with grass and “*lodo*” (mud). Today when it rains, this is an area that always floods, inundating the surrounding homes with up to one metre of water. Information on the existence, location and previous use of this little lake was incorporated into the urban upgrading portion of the CBWM project in Parque Andreense and the municipal planners proposed to rehabilitate and restore the site. This exemplifies the direct use of local knowledge in the design of public works in the area and is a piece of information that planners probably wouldn’t have known had it not been expressed during the interview.

Women are also aware of the living conditions of other women, thus providing some insights into obstacles to women's participation in the development of their community.

"I know women who are abused, their husbands lock them in the house and do not let her talk to us...so sometimes we try to give out pamphlets and/or talk about something that is going on and 'No!' the husband screams from inside the house, that she can't...the woman becomes pale white like the colour of sulfate because she is locked in the house. He does not let her go anywhere" (Collective women's interview, pg. 14).

Environmental Awareness

Often there exists a prejudgement that the people who live in informal settlements in the watershed area have a meagre understanding and appreciation of environmental issues, but statements spoken in the interviews reflect another reality.

"We know we live in a watershed area and we can't expect much in terms of urban infrastructure" (pg.6). "Its important that everyone who lives here struggle to preserve and try to avoid deforestation and littering so that at least it remains as it is now. When I came here, I would look out the back of my house and I would only see green. It was beautiful at that time, primarily because it was all flowers. Now you look out at night and all you see are lights. That means that the area has already been very deforested and built. It would be great if the greenery and the reservoir could be conserved more, because that's all we have" (Collective Interview, 1999).

"I see nature all around me, so much beauty that God is offering us, so much goodness. Because the poet is like this: the most simple and ugly things s/he transforms into beautiful real things. Ugly bug that the toad is and a poet has the power to transform it into a prince, isn't that right?" (Lourdes, pg 7, 1999)

"I would like for people to become more conscious, because the environmental problem is not just a problem of Parque Andreense. It's the whole world's problem. If people do not address environmental issues our Billings Reservoir will finish. With the way that people are invading lands and agglomerating houses it becomes more difficult to remove people, particularly without the conscientisation of public power. We have both sides. On one side we have people who do not have where to live. But the fish also need clean water to live. So, when we see on television tonnes of food that the population is killing, (because of contamination) we perceive that we really need to raise people consciousness regarding preservation" (Collective Interview, pg. 16).

"The majority of the contamination that the reservoir has today is not so much from household sewage, but from industries. So I think that they are fighting too much with little people and they let the big ones do as they please. I think consciousness should come from the big ones so that they realise the

contamination that they are releasing. The little ones are contaminating out of necessity and the big ones are doing it simply for profit" (ibid. 1999).

Change

"When I came here even a car was hard to find. Once the neighbour got sick and needed help. I ran all over this place looking for someone who had a car to take her to the hospital and I couldn't find...that was six years ago" (Lourdes, pg. 2).

"Today it's much better, before nobody had a car now the only person here without a car is me" (ibid., pg.3).

"The Parque has changed a lot. There was no streets, no water, no light, nothing, nothing. It was only forest, forest, forest and today its all devastated, they cut everything. If it doesn't stop it'll finish off with nature....today it's like we live in the capital (joking)" (Lourdes pg.7-8).

The women's collective interview was interactive and included an activity in which they made a model of what Parque Andreense was like when they first arrived. Using building blocks and construction paper, they lay out the narrow roads, the predominant forest, the highway, and other characteristics. Their conversation was taped and transcribed by the municipal project co-ordinators. The planners then asked the women to change the model to reflect what Parque Andreense currently looks like. Once again using the materials they removed forest, placed more houses, removed bugs and animals, widened the streets, put in the highway police station, enlarged the school, etc. They discussed how there were so many different animals and now much less.

"When I moved here there was lots of forest pheasants. Today we don't see them anymore. There is no more 'cervo', no more monkeys, no more cobras"
(Collective Interview, pg. 6).

"Its not so good now due to the arrival of many people. All sorts, good and bad. Me and my neighbour are the only ones with septic disposal and so people try to use ours and others just throw everything in front of their houses and this jeopardises the life of those who live further down the hill. "I think this area grows too much and it worries me (ibid. 1999)".

"My dream is that things get better for the youth (ibid, 1999)"

"When I think of Parque Andreense twenty years from now I see it with less people, more green, wide sidewalks and narrow streets so there is no room for cars" (Collective Interview, pg. 13).

The future publication of Parque Andreense residents' oral histories will be very valuable, particularly in terms of breaking down the prevailing negative stereotype that residents of informal settlements often suffer from. Stereotypes are eroded when people realise that those who live in informal settlements are people with hopes and dreams of having a decent home just like everyone else. They are not breaking the law and contaminating out of mere pleasure but primarily due to a lack of choice and opportunity.

These stories give a sounding board to the isolated voices of watershed residents opening a space for them to speak their minds regarding their diversity, knowledge, beliefs, mentalities, concerns and visions for the future of their community and the watershed. Although this initiative was undeniably valuable in providing municipal planners with rich information and a deep look at the community, it could have been taken a step further dovetailing its objectives with the overarching goals of social transformation and active citizenship.

Potential Use of Oral Histories

In an informal settlement where people have such similar yet intriguingly distinct stories, the process of sharing stories with other community members, learning about other people's stories and getting to know other people is extremely powerful in building community identity and cohesion. According to Forrester (1999), "participatory rituals of telling and listening to stories can work transformatively in at least three ways: to transform identities, agendas and perceptions of value in the world". If the people who participated in this project would have had the opportunity to share their stories amongst themselves as well as with the larger community, the interactions that would have taken place could have fostered the creation and/or strengthening of community identities and relationships. As a result, the likelihood of future community organising and development initiatives are greatly enhanced. Those who participated in the individual interviews (14 out of 16) only had a brief opportunity to hear or become acquainted with each other's stories. Mounted panels with pictures and the names of those who participated were put up at the 1st Parque Andreense party, but being on display at a party does not give them very much importance. It may have been more fruitful to organise an event where participants could share their stories and this way people would have had the opportunity to meet each other, reflect on and possibly identify with the stories being told.

This project of history documentation could have creatively used the topics that emerged from the stories as topics for discussion. The significance of acknowledging and analysing the evolution that Parque Andreense has undergone over the years offers a ripe opportunity to explore and work with issues of change. Identifying the forces that lead to and shape change, examining which the community does and/or does not have control over, and ultimately identifying possible avenues to direct and influence this change, are all important steps in the larger effort to stimulate active citizenship amongst residents.

Several community meetings, focus group discussions and/or debates could have been organised around the idea of change and the distinct perceptions of change that people have, while incorporating facts about the environmentally sensitive nature of the watershed. These discussions could be an extremely valuable forum for the provision and exchange of information between community and public power, particularly in light of the Land Use Law that is currently being drafted under the participatory planning umbrella. Talks on change in Parque Andreense and how increased occupation has affected the watershed, could integrate municipal information on the parameters within which the area is legally allowed to change, why there exists restriction, and the importance of this environmentally sensitive area to the city as a whole. Making this relevant information available and accessible to residents and encouraging them to become familiar with planning ideas and terms has a deeply educational effect and creates an atmosphere of mutual learning. Sharing information and knowledge contributes to the larger goal of raising awareness regarding individual and collective roles in the process of change. In addition, the coming together of the community in these forums would probably have beneficial spin-off effects particularly in the formation of community linkages.

The design of the oral history project could include a series of dialogue and debate sessions on issues that this community and others like it face, serving the larger goal of stimulating and co-operatively constructing active citizens who take interest and participate in the management of their locale. In this way the perceptions and knowledge expressed through the interviews would be shared with more planners and citizens. Ideas are triggered through this interaction and people begin to be motivated to defend and organise around what they believe in. When conducting community-based projects like this one, municipal planners should be participatory from the beginning until the final

stages that involve the interviewees in the compilation and design of the forthcoming book of their lives. These are all elements of consistently trying to increase the capacity of civil society to mobilise and challenge structures of inequality that are embedded in the macro level status quo.

As opposed to the process-oriented initiative of using hip-hop culture to stimulate youth involvement, the oral history project had its objectives embedded in a far more product-oriented framework. Perhaps because of this, the rich potential for community transformation and empowerment that the process itself had or could have had on the participants was not underlined. This project placed little emphasis on strengthening identity, self-esteem and the adoption of active citizenship. However it was still able to meet its objectives because these elements of process were not incorporated into the design of the initiative. In the interest of moving beyond a consultative type of participation to one that is more engaging, pedagogic and potentially transforming, this project could have incorporated other elements that would have tied it more deeply to the participatory objectives of the municipality and CBWM.

Paula Palmer (1994) speaks of her experience with the oral history documentation project conducted to rescue the culturally rich tradition of Costa Rica's Talamanca Coast:

“The speakers, aware that their personal experiences would be published, began to reappraise the importance of their experiences. They began tying events together and drawing new conclusions...A bond was formed between the speakers and myself, and with it came a mutual sense of power and responsibility” (Palmer, 1994).

Whether or not this occurred in Parque Andreense was not fully researched and would require a deep social introspective. However, the four individuals I spoke to did not make reference to these feelings. The interview process itself, where personal reflections, knowledge and histories were articulated and subsequently legitimised (through documentation and future publication) by an official institution, is very valuable for residents of informal settlements whose insights are usually ignored. Despite this inherent value, Olga Mendes and Senhora Lourdes, two of the participants were curious about the lack of follow up on the part of the municipal representatives who co-ordinated this project. They questioned what happened to the stories and what direction the project took since they have not heard back from the planners for approximately 18 months

(Interview with Olga Mendes, October 31, 2001; Interview with Sehnora Lourdes, November, 3, 2001).

While chapter five illustrates the power of a process-oriented approach to encouraging participation and constructing active citizenship, this chapter brings forth a more product-oriented approach. However it is important to state that regardless of their fundamental approach both have elements of each other and therefore are not exclusively one or the other. While the hip-hop youth expression emphasises participation as a formative process in which self-esteem, identity and awareness is raised, the augmentation of these and increased participation in other municipal and community affairs are direct products of this process. The oral history project in contrast yielded a concrete product (the forthcoming publication of an oral histories book and baseline information necessary for substantive planning) while still incorporating elements of process that are (and if further emphasised could be) constructive and inspiring for the larger project of active participation and citizenship.

The two examples of participation presented in these chapters illustrate innovative forms of community involvement that are brought forth in order to expand citizen input and integrate distinct voices that are traditionally excluded from the municipal planning process. Even though citizen capacity is a critical element of participatory planning, for participatory experiments to be successful an appropriate institutional framework that accommodates its integration into municipal affairs must also accompany them.

As illustrated in these chapters (on hip-hop and oral histories), the municipality of Santo Andre has demonstrated significant innovation in its attempt to harness unconventional methods of community involvement. To a certain extent they have acknowledged the importance and value of culture in the process participation (from preparing to participate to actually participating), and in the stimulation of adopting active citizenship roles. However the adoption of alternative forms of participation that incorporate culture and pedagogic processes confront several challenges. It is the focus of the following chapter to provide insight regarding what Brazilian planners find are the various opportunities and constraints involved in embracing innovative forms of participatory planning.

Chapter Seven

Creative Forms of Participatory Planning: Opportunities and Constraints

For many organisations and governments in different parts of the world, participatory planning is a relatively new practice. Recently progressive governments and NGO's have been pushing the boundaries on participatory methods in search of increasingly far reaching and encompassing techniques that open planning to the various groups of society who for various reasons are excluded from traditional channels of participation. Culture, as discussed in the previous two chapters, comprises one of the various creative methods for the process of strengthening and preparing civil society to participate and to also merely to participate. Yet these initiatives go challenged by several factors. This chapter sheds light on what planners from the municipality of Santo Andre find to be some of the opportunities and constraints to adopting innovative participatory practices.

Identifying the various opportunities involved in adopting innovative forms of participation sheds light on the existing constraints that impede these opportunities to be carried out. Opportunities therefore can reveal constraints and consequently provoke the generation of ideas on how to overcome these. In this context opportunities can be discussed in terms of the favourable circumstances, be they political or other factors that facilitate the adoption, implementation and integration of innovative forms of participation. In the municipality of Santo Andre, this opportunity is made available as a result of a political commitment to and planners' experience with participatory planning, coupled with a deep interest in sustainable development principles. This is an opportunity that sets the stage for creative participatory initiatives but it also remains critical throughout the entire process of participation due to the importance of maintaining an institutional framework that community involvement can effectively be integrated into.

Opportunities can also be thought of in terms of positive spin-offs that stem from citizen participation both throughout and after the participatory process is over. These are opportunities afforded by the adoption of participatory methods and may reflect a project's overarching goals of increasing environmental awareness, community cohesion and active citizenship. The way in which interactive participatory forums are designed will affect the quantity and quality of spin-offs that will be felt by participants at community and municipal levels. When the participation process incorporates

educational elements and harnesses a dynamic of mutual learning, participants knowledge is enriched by their experience and at some point this newly constructed knowledge which has affected them on any given level, will be expressed either as a new attitude and/or particular action.

Although the CBWM project is still in progress, residents of Parque Andreense have already articulated certain interim changes that have surfaced in their community since the onset of the project. These are a direct result of having participated in initiatives that were adopted under the CBWM project. As some community "*liderancas*" (leaders) who have been actively involved in both CBWM project initiatives and community issues in general expressed:

"People are more sensitive to the environment and orally express an increased awareness regarding the importance of the environment. People now have more information about the area that they live in and the importance of it as an ecosystem upon which we all depend. Since people have been given more information they now fight and actively seek to obtain more information. They are no longer satisfied with poor information" (Interview with Olga Ferreira, October 31, 2001).

"There is so much talk about the watershed being a special place that people are curious to have more information on what it is that makes it so special" (Interview with Sehnora Lourdes, November 3, 2001).

"People are far more interested in participating in community issues. Before when you would call a meeting hardly anybody would show up and now there is a far higher number of people participating. It's not wonderful but in relation to before there is a marked difference. This is particularly noticeable with women. Before it was hard to get women out of the house and into meetings where they could participate and voice their concerns and opinions. Today women are far more involved in community organising. Also people are slightly less individualistic than before and today through their participation illustrate more of a collective vision and concern for the community as a whole" (Interview with Olga Ferreira, October 31, 2001).

"Youth feel more like they are a part of Santo Andre, even though we still have issues of isolation. They are more active and exercise their citizenship through the participatory budgeting process" (Interview with Bruno, November 6, 2001).

They believe, in varying degrees, that the quantity and quality of participation has increased in Parque Andreense ever since the beginning of the CBWM project. The increased number of residents convening under one roof to discuss relevant community

issues reflects residents' heightened awareness and interest in their community. Their engagement in meetings is a forum of familiarisation among them, a powerful element in the construction of community cohesion and will prove to be critical to future attempts at community organising. Matilde Ribeiro, who made systematic visits to Parque Andreense to participate in and conduct meetings, said that now people in Parque Andreense show much more interest and availability to participate in the organising and development of their community. They co-operatively search for ideas for income generation, youth involvement and the formulation of demands that can be expressed in the participatory budgeting process. She states that "people acknowledged that changes in their community can not be left up to the government to do. These are significant pieces of change. Deeper change involves a change in attitude and takes many years to accomplish" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

These community improvements are not solely a consequence of CBWM, but rather of a larger strategy adopted by the Santo Andre municipality that combines projects/actions, (of which CBWM is a fundamental and integral part) that seek to ameliorate the social condition of informal settlements. The changes resulting from participation are primarily qualitative and subjective and therefore difficult to measure in a concrete manner. One example described in an interview with Katia Coelho, a youth planner who at the time was working in Parque Andreense on behalf of Santo Andre's Youth Bureau, involves a young boy who was always extremely rude, disruptive and disrespectful both in the hip-hop workshops and at home with his family. Through the several debates, discussions and dialogue sessions held with municipal planners and local youth, his attitude began to change. He became more tolerant of others, less aggressive and more open. His mother reconfirmed this as well. When the year-end community party was organised, the local youth held a break dancing competition. This young boy won the competition and received the corresponding prize. Full of pride, with shiny eyes and a huge smile, he told the youth planners that never in his life had he won something and never brought a prize or trophy home for his mother (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001).

Something truly significant happened here and in order to truly appreciate it one must recall the social conditions (as discussed in Chapter Three) that shape the reality of many peripheral residents. Far deeper social research would need to be done to assess these valuable types of attitudinal change among community participants.

Municipal planners, who are continuously working with underprivileged communities and engaging in participatory processes with citizens, say that this work has productive spin-offs for them as well. This is reflected in terms of gaining experience and learning from the difficulties, successes and community responses to their interventions. The participation forum provides an opportunity to cross knowledge and explore distinct ways of seeing/knowing between planners and civil society. The planners involved with Santo Andre's Youth and Women's Rights Bureaus say that these experiences are enlightening and encourage planners to consistently revise current strategies and seek other more effective methods for community involvement. Ultimately this contributes to the construction of a paradigm for participation and relationships at the planner/civil society interface (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001; Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001; Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

The constructive spin-offs that can stem from engaging in the participatory process are of paramount importance since these are often the long lasting effects that remain in a community once the project is over. Since culture is integral to societal fabric, encouraging participation and citizenship through it greatly increases the chance of lasting effects within the community. The construction of a strong civil society, aware, interested and active in seeking and exercising their rights and roles as citizens is one of the pillars upon which change rests and as such in the strive to foster and sustain this change, participation must be designed as a pedagogic process that aims to inform, form and activate citizenship. Yet despite the exciting opportunities that are made available by the adoption of innovative forms of participation, there exist several constraints that inhibit their realisation. These can be found within the community, at the community/municipal interface, within the municipal institutional as well as on a larger and more encompassing structural level. In a country where government affairs have always played a significant role in societal development, politics has proven to be both an opportunity and a constraint that permeates all of these levels.

The following figure provides a framework, adapted from Plummer (2000), that attempts to capture and summarise the main points raised in this chapter. The framework is divided into four main components that are influenced by an external operating context consisting of regional and national politics, legislation/policy and administration that limit the municipalities control/jurisdiction over legislation and areas of action. The box

entitled elements of participation consists of *what* participation actually is and the obstacles to its adoption. Vehicles to participation are understood as the tools and mechanisms that provide opportunities and/or obstacles to the development of participatory approaches. The internal municipal capacity refers to the constraints found within the institution; and management capacity emphasises the need and presence of committed and skilled leadership (Plummer, 2000). Bringing these parts together under one framework illustrates the deep connectivity between and interdependence among the opportunities and constraints for adopting a paradigm for participatory management that moves beyond rhetoric to actual practice.

Community Level

Civil societies' attitude towards political participation and community activism has been shaped by the negative perceptions imposed upon it by crooked authoritarian governments. Even though citizens were denied the right to vote for president during the Brazilian dictatorship, municipal elections continued, serving to somehow disguise deep governmental tyranny and lead people to believe that they had some political rights. In this sense although the Brazilian dictatorship was not as brutal as some of its Latin American counterparts, it was deeply controlling on a psychological level. The effects of years of extreme intolerance to political activism and participation are felt today particularly when attempting to stimulate community involvement and responsibility in processes that are perceived to be the responsibility of government.

Authoritarian politics have caused communities to be deeply skeptical and distrustful towards initiatives adopted by public power. Although Brazilians society is generally more active than North Americans they have constructed defence mechanisms that cause them to attribute little importance to political initiatives. During the period of initial contact in Parque Andreense, residents showed a significant level of mistrust towards municipal planners. The planners had to convince residents that they did not have ulterior motives other than introducing a project that could provide positive results for the community. This involves building trust, a time consuming process that is contingent on the approach that planners embrace upon arrival in the community. They cannot be imposing, but rather both firm and sensitive while illustrating a genuine interest in

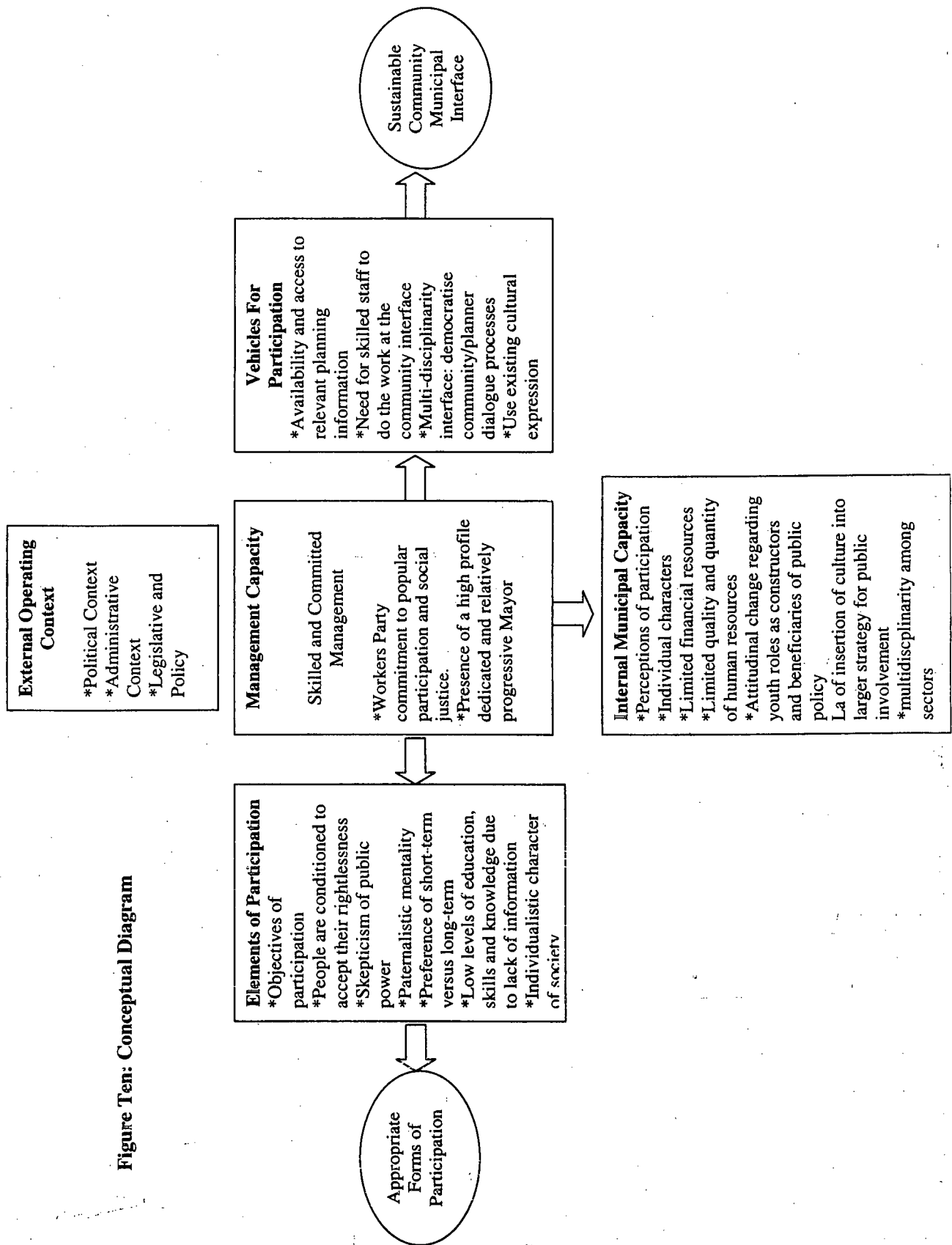


Figure Ten: Conceptual Diagram

listening to what people have to say and becoming familiar with their reality. This attitude must be reflected in the planner's actions and behaviour in the community, it cannot only be expressed orally. "You can not simply say that you mean well and expect residents to believe you" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

Since the 1999 adoption of the CBWM project in Parque Andreense community skepticism became diluted and people began to feel more at ease to participate and become partners in the implementation of specific actions. However "the resistance is never, and should never be completely diluted because it forms part of the civil society/public power dynamic. One cannot and should not dilute itself in the other" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). In a sense community distrust is rather healthy because in the history of Brazilian politics, communities have repeatedly been abused and ignored and they must defend themselves from continued mistreatment. While community distrust initially presents a constraint to participatory planning, it can also be quite constructive for the process in that it forces planners to revise their community intervention strategies and be more creative, sensitive and ultimately more effective.

Another community level constraint influenced by negative governmental legacies is the difficulty involved in encouraging the adoption of a collective mentality of co-responsibility between civil society and public power regarding the construction and implementation of actions in the city. Several planners regardless of their position in the municipal hierarchy said that the prevailing mentality stipulates that it is the government's responsibility to manage the city (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001; Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). Citizen's mentality regarding the relationship between public power and society is deeply conditioned and guilty of perpetuating paternalistic and passive political modalities. The social perception that it is solely the role of the government to manage cities and the various services that those who live in them need, is a significant obstacle to community involvement. "Brazil does not have a tradition of fighting for their rights. They are used to letting public power solve their problems while they stay home and watch soap operas" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). This in fact is a common problem in representative democracies where government officials are elected through popular vote and thereafter people cease to

participate in the day to day issues that rise regarding municipal or state management. People may be willing to engage in a certain level of discussion with public power but they believe that ultimately it is government that should implement actions (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). As discussed in Chapter Four it is precisely this mentality that the Worker's Party seeks to change through advocating and stimulating a distinct form of citizenship that is based on active participation. The Santo Andre municipality feels that it is important to emphasise that the city and its future are shaped by inputs from diverse sectors of society, where government represents one of these sectors. Everyone with their particular potentials, characteristics and limitations is partially responsible for what the city is and therefore must assume their responsibility as citizens. This is an incipient idea in Brazil and although it is a challenge that is often faced with resistance by citizens, it has become a necessity for democratic urban management (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001).

In the participatory budgeting and City of the Future programs the concept of planning as a process is encountered by strong pragmatic mentalities that prioritise short term over long term results while overlooking the importance of constructing a process through which participation will be fostered and encouraged. Citizens are more attracted to participatory budgeting for example because it discusses concrete short term needs and will (ideally) give visible results in the form of public works. People are far less attracted to City of the Future on the other hand because it is a long term planning process that precisely due to its nature does not give immediate results. This short term view often discredits process-oriented attempts to involve the community because they do not have concrete quantifiable and visible results (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). In order to increase the acceptance and use of these methods, an understanding of how these processes are linked to and fit into the overall improvement and well being of the community need to be emphasised.

A large majority of informal settlement residents have very low levels of education and are often not aware of the linkages between their involvement/participation and community quality of life. People may have open sewers at their door but often they do not know the several implications this has on them and their surroundings (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). Residents are always worried about their own well being and therefore planners must stimulate participation starting from their basic

necessities. Unfortunately the deeply aggressive process of capitalism that Brazilian society has been subjected to left the masses impoverished and created an extremely individualistic mentality among its citizens (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001; Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). The consequent lack of collective vision and/or preoccupation with one's community as a whole is also an impediment to integrated planning and participation.

But it is not simply participation that should be sought, rather it must be one that is effective, valuable and representative. Effective community participation is often hindered by the relatively weak involvement of women as opposed to men. Due to gendered division of roles and responsibilities, women face far more obstacles to participation than men. As Matilde Ribeiro expressed in an interview, women are usually busy engaging in household tasks and childcare while meetings are occurring. They do not feel that their political participation is valued because the last word always belongs to men. In fact they feel like objects of political action. So beyond building trust in the community, planners should also assist the deconstruction of these social identities and forms of discriminations and prejudgements against women's participation, which are so adverse to the practice of citizenship. It is particularly important to support women as political agents since they are often aware of local issues because they spend more time in their community (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). As the example of water related knowledge in Chapter Six illustrates, women have constructed a rich and detailed knowledge of daily life in their community. Unfortunately this is not valued as relevant knowledge since it is not considered political and evidently not remunerated. The CBWM project stimulated women to participate and as previously mentioned was quite successful in this regard.

So if urban co-management is the goal towards which the Worker's Party is heading, in order to get there significant preparatory work must be done with citizens. According to Matilde Ribeiro "people will only feel responsible when they have access to information and when they are invited to participate knowing that their participation is important. If not, people will remain thinking that because they pay taxes they do not need to make the effort to participate in municipal management" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). With qualified information and timely invitation, people will feel stimulated to participate. Although it is the role of citizens to contribute to the

preservation of the environment for example, this involves a process of elevating consciousness via increased accessibility and availability of relevant information. In Parque Andreense the idea was that through the process people would begin to understand and internalise the vision of how to work co-operatively with public power.

Within a municipal system that conceptualises citizenship as the responsibility of each member of society, the onus falls on government planners to provide citizens with information and communicate to them their rights, inviting them to participate using the institutional channels that are made available to them. Various social entities such as NGOs, schools, churches, amongst others also have this responsibility. The outreach involved in making this connection is one of the challenges that exists at the community/municipal interface.

Community/Municipal Interface

Public power has some definite roles that it needs to play in the process of building and strengthening citizenship for municipal co-management. For effective participation to take place on several levels there must be a process that constructs citizens' ability to participate effectively. Given the profound legacy of governmental mismanagement and corruption, people are not used to the idea of participating and perhaps do not understand why government suddenly wants to include them. Therefore government needs to engage in a process of educational outreach that informs citizens of their rights and the availability of participation channels, providing relevant municipal management information in an accessible form to the various sectors of society. The various planners interviewed for this research agree that members of civil society who enter the participatory process are at an informational disadvantage and face an unequal situation and discomfort with concepts and criteria that are specifically relevant to municipal administration. Information is paramount and vital to the process of participation and change and in order to make effective interventions and appropriate decisions, civil society needs to be well-informed (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001; Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001; Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001).

The adequate production, socialisation and dissemination of information necessary for participation to occur on an equal level represent a challenge for public power. A lot of

time and skill is required to democratise relevant information for it to be accessible to and readily absorbed by people who have varying levels of education. It is also a challenge to communicate and inform civil society of the existence of participatory planning processes and the availability of institutional channels for their participation. This is an important part of legitimising public power and amplifying the space in which the existence and use of participatory processes are known to people (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). Yet “public power does not place enough emphasis on informing people of their rights because once people know their rights they become more exigent and pressure government so that these rights are fulfilled. This pressures government and compromises private interests that prioritise profit rather than people’s well-being” (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). This is a sensitive area that brings into question the extent to which government is genuinely seeking to strengthen civil society. If this extent is being restrained then current attempts to harness participation run the risk of taking on somewhat of a paternalistic tone.

Once citizens decide to partake in the development of their communities and use various channels of participation, a significant challenge that often arises is the dialogue between municipal planners/technicians and civil society. These two groups evidently have different sets of knowledge and often technicians feel like they know more and should not be questioned on certain topics, whereas citizens sometimes feel that it’s their knowledge that really counts because they live in the community and know it better than the technician (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). The challenge therefore is to mesh these two. Yet this challenge is often accompanied by attitudes and beliefs on the part of technicians who feel that scientific technical knowledge is superior and more valuable than other types of knowledge, and they therefore attribute little value or attention to these. Often the discussion at meetings becomes dominated by technical jargon that immediately marginalises those who do not have this specific knowledge and form of expression. This results in the exclusion of other valuable forms of knowledge because those who hold them and represent non-technical interests no longer attend because they are unable to dialogue on the same level (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). This relates back to the point of democratising information and planning concepts in order to prepare people to participate in the process on a somewhat equal level. It is not just about not using jargon, but rather about democratising terms so that they are no longer planner

jargon. There needs to be an institutional mechanism that bridges the gap between various forms and levels of knowledge. "Every time that we manage to promote the dialogue, in which both types of knowledge are valued and expressed, the results of the process are better" (Interview with Pedro Pontual, October 5, 2001).

Within the context of urban management and participatory planning, the role of government has seen a significant change over time. "It is no longer solely a provider rather it is one of the participants that takes on the role of regulator" (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). In Santo Andre where the Worker's Party is trying to instil a distinct form of governance, many exciting opportunities as well as dragging constraints have accompanied their attempts at adopting integrated projects that include innovative forms of participation.

Municipal (Institutional) Level

The implementation of CBWM requires collaboration amongst various municipal departments and an integration of work and actions that are directed towards the watershed area. It is the addition of the various contents, objectives and functions of each area (social, economic and environmental) that creates an interdisciplinary approach and provides a more holistic response, in terms of project actions and city management, to the critical issues the municipality faces in its watershed areas. Although through the adoption of CBWM Santo Andre has made a genuine attempt to integrate actions, various planners in Santo Andre said the culture of interdisciplinary work still remains far more text-based than reality-based (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001; Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). This presents a considerable internal challenge for the municipality.

"The construction of the municipal machine leads to the compartmentalisation and fragmentation of departments, each one with its technicians and planners and particular knowledge" (Interview with Pedro Pontual, July 3, 2001). Municipal planners have not internalised the idea of multisectoral work rather they are accustomed to partitioning actions and remaining within their own niche.

"So what happens is the vision of working co-operatively does not occur in reality. Certain sectors feel that what they do is more important. For example

taking care of sewage and water supply is far more important than having meetings on gender equality. Based on this premise actions are developed and structured in a way that gives more visibility to traditional areas leaving other areas (usually relating to the social sphere) more submerged. Therefore a great impediment for interdisciplinary work lies in the position, attitude and will of municipal planners and their political mandates regarding how work should be done. This is a serious impediment because citizenship, youth participation, gender relations and popular participation are all regarded as secondary to infrastructure works that are considered more important to people's lives" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

The interdisciplinary nature of CBWM relies on valuing and recognising the necessity of various types of knowledge as they relate to the complexity of actions, and therefore intercommunication amongst municipal sectors must be further explored within the institutional framework (Santo Andre, 2001).

Related to this point is the difficulty of amalgamating the knowledge held within the various municipal departments with community local knowledge. If municipal departments have a hard time integrating their distinct knowledge, doing so with the community presents an even more laborious task. Community residents have valuable knowledge regarding the area in which they live, but this information is rarely systematised and therefore documenting it and subsequently integrating it with other municipal information creates a challenge for planners (Santo Andre, 2001).

The CBWM project provided the opportunity to explore distinct and innovative forms of community participation. Much of this innovation in terms of participatory mechanisms stemmed from the existent progressive municipal staff as well as the Workers Party's political mandate. As discussed in the previous two chapters, culture in the form of oral histories and hip-hop, was utilised as one such method through which citizen involvement was pursued. The use of culture as a form of participation and a mechanism of bolstering and exercising citizenship is a novel idea particularly in terms of the dynamics between public power and civil society. In fact the conception of using culture as a vehicle of inclusion for youth and informal settlement residents, sectors of society who are traditionally excluded from municipal management, is itself incipient.

Although Santo Andre's experience with well-established programs such as participatory budgeting has been positive, expanding concepts of effective participation into other areas

beyond budgeting has proven to be challenging. In fact municipal planners' knowledge of participation seems to be quite locked into the budgeting experience. Planners always seem to prefer sticking with what they know rather than diving into an area they are not familiar with and this hinders creativity and innovation (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

According to Jefferson Sooma, current director of Santo Andre's Youth Bureau, the concept and understanding of municipal planners about of the purpose and meaning of culture is itself a challenge to its use as an instrument of mobilisation and transformation. There is an extremely limited understanding and tolerance for distinct forms of expression that may not sound or look pleasing and this reflects public power's limited understanding that art and culture is not only about an end product but is also a formative process with phases, stages and growth. This process may not lead to a substantive product but often and perhaps more importantly leads to positive psycho/social results for the person involved in the creation (Interview with Jefferson Sooma, October 15, 2001). These should also be considered as products. Government and civil society tend to value mainstream, conventional and globalised forms of cultural expression and therefore there is little stimulus to adopt innovative forms of participation. For example they value ballet because it is global whereas *capoeira* (Brazilian martial art/dance) is not. So they will encourage the former over the latter. Planners who work for public power and are directly involved with youth at the grassroots level believe that there is a stigmatised and prejudgemental perception that youth involved in hip-hop or any other unconventional form of expression are simply passing through a phase in life. Consequently what they think at that moment may not be of real long term value to municipal management (Interview with Kaita Coelho; August 2, 2001, Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001).

Another significant constraint on the various initiatives that are spearheaded by progressive municipalities is the deep discrepancy between what the municipality can do with its limited resources and what needs to be done to ameliorate the quality of life of residents. Local government is the governmental institution that is closest to the people but it is also the level of public power that has the least resources under its control. Administering a city with such sparse resources seriously hampers the implementation of actions and planners simply have to be creative under the given circumstances (Interview

with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001; Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20 2001).

However it is not only financial resources that are limited, but also the quantity and quality of human resources. Some municipal bureaus consist of three people who are physically and mentally incapable of keeping up with the demands placed on them and consequently work extremely long hours in order to keep up with their projects. Others have an appropriate quantity of employees yet they are not qualified to do participatory work consequently the productivity of such sectors is meagre.

Probably one of the largest constraints to the adoption of innovative forms of participation involves political tendencies (in terms of beliefs and ideologies not parties), and distinct concepts and interpretations of what participation entails. Everyone looks at participation through their own glasses in which their mentality and biases provide the lenses which in turn shape the vision of what participation should and/or should not be. Since participation is the cornerstone of PT governance, it is taken for granted that everyone agrees with and knows what it involves and consequently the objectives that underlie specific actions are rarely discussed. What can definitely be said is that everyone in the PT is willing to elaborate a strategy of participation, yet what kind of participation will this be?

While in theory the establishment of the SPPPA zonal office (mentioned in Chapter Four) promised more direct, accountable and ultimately efficient management, the viability of this action is linked to numerous other factors that complicate its existence in terms of CBWM and participatory municipal planning in general. The transfer of responsibility for the CBWM project did not involve an articulated preplanned transition and has therefore been accompanied by some unforeseen consequences that have caused a certain level of rupture in the continuity of the project's participatory activities. This rupture was not merely caused by the devolution of CBWM responsibility, rather its main source lay in a different political understanding of and disposition to engage in popular participation. The way that people think about, understand, interpret and subsequently carry out participation can be a favourable opportunity for planning while it can present an overarching constraint. The effects that occurred as a result of the CBWM transfer could have been mitigated or appeased if the transfer of responsibility had been preplanned in a cooperative manner between old and new planners.

The internal power struggles, discordance and competitiveness present in Santo Andre has many facets, but is particularly relevant to the administration of CBWM in terms of the concept and understanding of the objectives of community participation. The authority of a more pragmatic product-oriented sub-mayor whose more exclusionary concept of participation hampers deeper potential for social transformation, caused community participation to fall down the "ladder" from transformative to consultative. This situation is aggravated by "positions of trust" that have placed unqualified people who lack expertise in the structural elements of CBWM and participatory management (e.g. gender sensitivity and youth participation) in charge of socio/cultural development in the area. Unfortunately this knowledge void has not sparked the interest to learn and acquire relevant skills. Such expertise exist amongst the municipal staff however the establishment of a formal institutional link between the SPPPA and the PMSA that serves to share knowledge and experience between the new and old staff who were responsible for project initiatives has yet to be established.

It is important to point out that the SPPPA has been very active in providing various workshops, courses and different activities that relate to social development. The issue does not lie in the availability of these services rather in the absence of a larger strategy into which these initiatives are embedded. A lot of activities are being offered but they are fragmented in the sense that they are not sufficiently rooted in an articulated policy for social transformation and active citizenship as those that had preceded them. Therefore they resemble a mounted screen play, a stage where initiatives are publicised with pride, but if one looks behind the curtains there exists a dark hole lacking substance, purpose and intentions. Although the provision of these services is undeniably an important action that should by no means be disregarded, their transformative and empowering effects are questionable. In this context cultural activities have more of a recreational or leisure focus while the construction of identity and active citizenship through pedagogic processes are somewhat disregarded. Here art and culture are utilised in their conventional form. Actions therefore become isolated fragmented initiatives that lack a common thread tying them together to meet the larger objectives of the CBWM project and stated municipal mandate.

Olga Ferriera, a resident of Parque Andreense who has been deeply involved with the CBWM project, expressed in an interview that a significant amount of work was done in

Parque Andreense with the CBWM project. This resulted in people's elevated trust in public power and greater interest in public participation. Once the planning team that worked with the community was changed, residents felt a serious difference in their participatory relationship with public power. An active community resident stated that the SPPPA is more interested in a manipulative and/or a consultative form of participation rather than one that seeks social transformation and the appropriation of processes that affect residents. To illustrate the deterioration of rapport between residents and public power, one resident stated her feelings on accessibility and participation under the new system. "It's like you can have as much coffee as you want. But you don't know where it is. Then they tell you it's in the kitchen but to get to the kitchen you have to cross the patio and there is a big dog that might bite" (Interview with Olga Ferreira, October 31, 2001).

Within the context of CBWM, the different methods of communication between citizens and public power used by the SPPPA has to a certain extent been disempowering for residents. For example, the proposals and decisions that were made during 1998-2000 regarding public works in the first pilot project were thoroughly discussed with the community. This represented a significant conquest for community leaders in terms of structuring decisions and influencing the changes that were to take place in their community. The decisions and discussions culminated before January 2001, yet the public works only commenced recently under the new mandate of the SPPPA. Residents already notice that the decisions that were co-operatively made by them and representatives of public power are not being implemented or followed and new elements have been added without explanation or consultation with residents. When they approach the workers to ask them what is going on they respond that they are simply following the orders of their superiors (Interview with Olga Ferreira, October 31, 2001). Although from the perspective of public power the reasons for this situation may be legitimate, the point being made here relates to the detrimental lack of transparent communication between civil society and public power as it relates to this issue.

Another example includes the *Lei de Uso de Solos* (Land Use Law) that the SPPPA is currently drafting in a "participatory" way. Some residents feel that technical information is not being made available to them and they are therefore at an informational disadvantage. Parque Andreense has some well-established and respected community

leaders that have participated in the various CBWM initiatives since their inception and even they are sometimes excluded from meetings on this topic while other less active residents are invited to participate. Residents approach the community leaders and ask them why they did not inform anyone about the Land Use meeting. But the leaders themselves were not informed by the SPPPA. This sort of foul play on the part of public power can be very detrimental to community cohesion eroding peoples trust in local representatives.

These are mere examples that reflect an attitude that is definitely not conducive to the implementation and/or adoption of innovative participatory methods. The planners who worked on the CBWM project from 1998-2000 “planted the seeds but it is the responsibility of those that remained to water and irrigate these so that they grow into big beautiful trees which are the CBWM project implemented” (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001).

Unfortunately political ideology and more importantly, defiant and closed-minded individual characters in positions of power impede the continuity and adoption of innovative and effective forms of participation that aim to stimulate active citizenship and neighbourhood level organisation. However one can not simply reduce the issue to individual characters, rather it is also the political structure that allows individuals to emerge and occupy powerful positions where it is left up to their discretion whether this will be fruitful or detrimental to ongoing participatory initiatives. This points to the importance of having an institutional framework that is capable of incorporating effective public participation into its structure, by ensuring that its internal workings are conducive and committed to a similar agenda that is rooted in the same objectives. In the absence of such a framework, participatory planning risks to remain at lip service, and will only be included at a superficial level for the sake of fulfilling the Worker’s Party governance agenda and the parameters of the international projects it is hosting (Interview with Olga Ferreira, October 31, 2001).

Although the aforementioned constraints to participatory planning are concentrated at the community, community/municipal interface and municipal level, there exist larger structural issues that influence the adoption, implementation and success of progressive strategies. It is important to understand the macro level social forces that shape the reality

of informal settlement residents. To a certain extent these are responsible for creating the need for innovative forms of community participation and at times are the factors that impede their acceptance by the target group. Examples of these include the lack of a national housing policy causing low-income families to invade watershed lands because they cannot find anywhere to live in the city. This perpetuates the scenario of land invasions and therefore while municipalities are attempting to address one problem area another is mushrooming behind their back creating a sea of "socio-ecological bombs" (statement made by Erminia Maricato at a housing conference in Sao Paulo, Brazil). Another example is the extremely low quality of education in public schools that serves to eternalise misery by perpetuating the inferiority of low socioeconomic classes fostering low self-esteem, resentment and often violence (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001). This contextual information is very important when thinking about the obstacles and difficulties of integrating informal residents' through their own mediums/language and how to stimulate effective participation.

Despite the many constraints faced by planners in Santo Andre, to date the several projects and creative participatory methods they have devised have caused Santo Andre to become one of Brazil's exemplar cities in relation to progressive municipal planning. It is the only municipality in the country that has a Secretariat that focuses on locating International and National Resources (both financial and human). This Secretariat is responsible for the several international projects (such as CBWM) that the municipality is engaged in and whose projects consistently nourish local planners with information and expertise that is used in the field of participatory planning in various parts of the world. The municipality is also the first in the country to have a Youth Resource Centre that was constructed based on the demands put forth by local youth in the participatory budgeting process. Young people use this space as a point of encounter where they hold various cultural events, have free internet access, engage in debates and meetings, and obtain information on various opportunities, projects and or events taking place in the city. Beyond these two examples Santo Andre also has relatively lower rates of violent crime, is experiencing a consistent amelioration of conditions in the *favelas*, has several innovative children and youth citizenship programs, demonstrates political commitment and governmental transparency to name but a few.

Although the PT in Santo Andre is often the target of criticism from the right for being too progressive and from the left for not being radical enough, these criticisms must not blur the significant advances that have been made thus far. The latter should always be contextualised in national politics where being innovative and instigating change is comparable to walking on eggshells. One never knows when they might crack under ones feet as it occurred with the tragic and cowardly murder to Celso Daniel, PT mayor of Santo Andre.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Acknowledging the various opportunities and constraints involved in adopting and implementing innovative forms of participation is paramount to the further success of these strategies. Opportunities can provide insight on constraints and awareness of constraints facilitates the development of strategies to address them possibly transforming them into opportunities as well. As illustrated throughout this thesis, within progressive governments committed to popular participation, sustainable development and social justice, internal municipal capacity seems to be a significant locus of both opportunities and constraints that foster and hamper the advancement of participatory innovations. While it is critical to have management capacity (i.e progressive mayor), many members of the municipal machine either exceed the mayor's dedication, integrity and stated mandate while others unfortunately fall seriously short causing attitudinal hurdles to emerge.

The social democratic priorities that are spearheaded in the public sphere are not reflected in the municipality's internal workings. Internal political struggles create a climate that weighs heavily on municipal planners and are often instigated by personal struggles to obtain higher positions, move ahead and leave others behind regardless of their qualifications. In fact to the dismay of many, the municipality has literally pushed out competent valuable people who quit what they love to do as a result of the abrasive nature of internal affairs. It eventually becomes humiliating to continue working in a place where your voice is consistently being indirectly silenced through limiting the space and autonomy with which you can work. The Bureaus that form part of the Department for the Defence of Citizen Rights for example are integral to the municipal structure but if these are not given adequate personnel, social space and political autonomy to act and effectively participate within the larger structure, their capacity to affect policy in their respective area will evidently be limited and obstructed.

Under the direction of the SPPPA, the relevant Bureaus were literally given the cold shoulder and therefore excluded from participating effectively and constructively in CBWM related planning. How can the project seek to involve the diverse sectors of the community in a process if they are institutionally incapable of including relevant departments? This is one issue that is important to acknowledge and be aware of in order

to plan appropriate actions. Regardless of current internal political struggles, the objectives of the CBWM project continue to be the involvement of watershed residents as stewards of their environment and strategies must be continued to be implemented that point in this direction. It is critical not to allow personalities to obstruct positive work and threaten to destroy what others have spent time, money, effort and dedication implementing. As such the political/municipal structure must be revised and shifted, so as to avoid arrangements that permit the emergence and occupation of particular positions that concede and concentrate power in the hands of one person who may or may not provide continuity to project activities. There needs to be an institutional mechanism that impedes this scenario and the subsequent risk of allowing dominating characters to hijack a project by diverging and discontinuing its various components once they are in charge. Since it is practically impossible to create mechanisms that directly target friction caused by personal struggles for power, attention needs to be directed towards the hierarchical management structures that foster them.

These issues emphasise the importance of settling internal conflicts and constructing an appropriate framework that will accommodate popular participation. Once the institutional channels and mechanisms of participation are in place and civil society is being encouraged to participate, there needs to be an institutional framework that will carry this participation into the municipal machine in a constructive way so it is not lost, rendering the entire process fruitless. This requires multidisciplinary work and co-operation between distinct departments. The CBWM project has many strategic linkages and the size of the project makes it difficult and complex to manage while keeping the objectives in sight and in a monitored way, actively working towards them. In a sense the limitations to the oral history project are reflective of the difficulty of coordinating the initiatives of CBWM and making them all part of a larger strategy with similar goals and objectives. In addition, planners working at the community/municipal interface need to be sensitive to how their actions will affect local people. For planners who are working in a hectic and extremely busy municipal context, months may go by relatively unnoticed. Yet when one is engaged in a grassroots project with local residents it is important to remain accountable to these people keeping in mind that six months or a year for them may not be quite the same thing.

Much of the action needed to mitigate institutional constraints to creative forms of participation relates to attitudinal change and education of municipal planners who, like their counterparts in civil society are often conditioned to functioning within a conventional framework. It is difficult to let go of these for they are deeply and perhaps subconsciously ingrained in people's minds. The Municipality of Santo Andre is active in this regard and offers classes on citizenship and participatory planning for municipal staff. The *Escola de Governo* (Government School) as it is called is a valuable attempt to increase the capacity of municipal planners and technicians to adopt participatory and non-paternalistic approaches to their work whether it relates to housing, transportation, environment or other. Often high-ranking municipal officials do not attend these therefore limiting its impact on the vertical structure of the institution.

For the planning process to be fully democratised citizens must have access (both physical and psychological/mental) to relevant information. Planners have to find ways to address the elements of participation that create hurdles for community level participatory planning. And since marginalised groups often have low levels of education, strategies need to take this into account not by hogging information but by democratising it. The point therefore is not only to open various channels of participation because channels of participation do not deconstruct or eliminate the social division of labour or the unequal appropriation of strategic planning information (Baierle, 1998). The channels themselves must be democratised spaces of expression, learning and transformation where people construct identities, build self-esteem, participate, learn about their rights, identify areas for activism and make decisions regarding the future of their communities.

For participatory management to occur public power needs to assume a more democratic posture in which they willingly share their information and knowledge with civil society seeking ways for the community to have a more effective presence in planning processes (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001). Public power needs creativity and openness to adopt different ways of incorporating community participation starting from designs that civil society itself creates (Interview with Teresa Santos, July 20, 2001). Municipal planners must acknowledge the importance of inserting these creative forms of participation into larger policy programmes that seek to stimulate the construction of identity and citizenship, while consistently revisiting and reflecting on the objectives of participation. Working in a participatory manner involves a mindset or a real change in

attitude not only the adoption of isolated actions elaborated on a case by case basis (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

Yet regardless of the various hurdles, there has been a significant advance over the past years in Brazil particularly regarding the work done with youth in the hip-hop movement. There are far more cases reflecting a sincere attempt at inserting youth into municipal management in general and encouraging them to use channels of participation via their own language of expression. However the focus of these attempts remains quite narrow and initiatives are fragmented from the larger strategy of public involvement reflecting its marginalisation from the conventional vision of participation. To encourage youth participation their language has to be valued and affirmed. Although public power has the intention of becoming familiar with hip-hop language they are stuck in traditional ways of doing and stimulating culture. "There is always a cost benefit analysis imbedded in the conventional way. With culture they often want to invest in what is "universal". So *pagode* (a contemporary form of samba that is currently popular) is for the poor black people living on the outskirts or in little enclaves of poverty in the city and classical music is for everyone so its better to invest in the latter. But the poor black do not relate to ballet or classical because it is not their culture so it is not for them no matter how globalised it is" (Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001).

There should be exceptional support for culture amongst youth, but not simply for recreational purposes but rather culture from a social perspective that aims to fortify constructive relations in which young people can become protagonists of cultural and social movements and projects that ultimately lead to more vibrant and healthy societies (Interview with Jefferson Sooma, October 15, 2001). The current capacity of municipal planners to comprehend and internalise the idea of stimulating youth protagonism through culture poses a constraint to its advancement. Planners need to be "recycled" and sensitised to the importance and need of listening to various sections of society that are traditionally marginalised, and "enlightened" regarding the opportunities available through the adoption of distinct forms of community involvement (Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001). The boundaries of what encompasses participation need to be expanded in order to embrace methods that are more creative, inclusive and effective in reaching people. Planners who are often hired to work with municipalities on specific

projects are only filling temporary positions. Thus it is critical to the continuity of actions for those who remain to expand their perspectives.

Discussion on public policy that is directed towards youth in general is at an embryonic stage in Brazil and if government wants to insert this perspective, municipal planners must understand what public policy that focuses on youth protagonism entails. Regardless of ages and position in the municipal hierarchy the planners that were interviewed agree that there is still a lack of a holistic and effective comprehension of what public policies for youth are and how they fit into the larger picture of active citizenship and urban management. People confuse being young with adolescence, with a stage in life that will pass (Interview with Jefferson Sooma, October 15, 2001; Interview with Katia Coelho, August 2, 2001; Interview with Matilde Ribeiro, November 3, 2001; Interview with Robson Silva, November 10, 2001; Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001). But even if the current youth grow up and leave this "stage" behind, other kids will enter it and therefore there will always be a sector of society that is in this so called "stage". Consequently from the planning perspective this is not a "stage" rather it is a constant sector of society that needs to be considered and integrated. Confusing youth with a passing phase evidently limits the effectiveness of actions targeting the youth social group. The absence of physical/social conditions that are conducive for youth to develop protagonist action in their communities also obstructs attempts to strengthen citizen responsibility (Interview with Sueli Chan, August 12, 2001).

Although Santo Andre has used various methods of civic engagement, culture is currently being emphasised pushing it to assume its due place within the popular participation strategy. Culture is a powerful and creative instrument for the inclusion of traditionally excluded social groups, often providing a familiar and accessible space of expression, interaction and communication for civil society in their relation with public power. Given the increasingly diverse and multiple nature of urban centres, it has become critical to reinvent channels of participation so as to embrace, integrate and hear the distinct voices that comprise society. Yet the point is not only to integrate these voices into an order shaped by elitist interests but also to allow these voices themselves to participate in the shaping of the society they are a part of. Although in the discourse of participatory planning, the participation emphasis is on community inclusion, often this is done without acknowledging citizens' capacity, or lack of it, to be integrated into municipal planning

processes. When engaging sectors of society that have always been excluded and who, as in the case of Brazil, live in a social order that portrays them as inferior classes void of the right to have rights, a significant amount of attention must be directed to preparing people to participate.

Often the construction and/or strengthening of identity and self-esteem are critical first steps to participation and cultural expression has proven to be a valuable mechanism through which these can emerge. From an increased self-esteem and sense of self, people begin to look critically at the social situation they find themselves in and are more inclined to adopt an active role in transforming the system that has always excluded them. Therefore culture, be it through hip-hop and oral histories or other means, provides both a channel of communication for de facto participation as well as a process through which to prepare and stimulate people to engage in the exercise of active citizenship. It is important to note as a cautionary warning that the increased realisation of culture's strength for mobilisation has led it to be adopted by neo-liberal and conservative agendas. Consequently, although culture provides a powerful tool for stimulating participation, it can be co-opted by planners and/or projects with weaker conceptions of participation as a manipulative tool that ensures community buy in to their already defined plans. This strategy involves a certain level of coercion and obviously limits the empowering and transformative elements of the cultural approach.

Although the several constraints to participatory planning will never be fully resolved, it is often useful to focus on the several opportunities afforded by creative forms of participation. These can serve as a source of inspiration to design strategies that will seek to accomplish and materialise them. Since participation has become somewhat of a generic term, it is necessary to explicitly state what is meant and intended by participation. If we view participation as a process that itself is part of a larger planning process, then it must be carefully planned in order to be a constructive and fruitful endeavour that will have substantial results for those involved. The participatory component of projects requires a significant amount of time and effort and therefore making them qualitatively and quantitatively effective is essential. In moving away from mainstream planning and the various theoretical realms that encompass it and moving into a more (relatively) "radical" form of planning, the process of citizen participation seeks to influence collective action and social transformation, ultimately reducing the

structural injustices that dominate society. However in order to stimulate and ignite a sense of activism amongst marginalised sectors of society who are subjected to an imposed elitist system that has forced them into believing and accepting their “inferior” status, requires a strategy that includes the opportunity to express, be heard, share stories, construct identities, learn, become aware and decide.

Participation therefore becomes a multifaceted process that includes consultation, informing, delegation of power, decision making and partnership, but is not confined to one of these exclusive categories. Rather it should seek to integrate them into one strategy which itself is then inserted into a larger paradigm of “radical” planning that seeks, through these mechanisms, to strengthen civil society stimulating the adoption of active citizenship and participation in urban issues. As such, participation creates on the one hand a forum for the construction of knowledge that results from the social learning afforded by citizen/planner dialogue/interaction where local and planner knowledge is respected and shared. On the other hand, this combined knowledge integrates diverse perspectives and is based in the local context therefore it provides the most relevant information base with which to make substantive plans. Of course in order to mesh these two types of knowledge without allowing planner’s pragmatic and often technical knowledge to supersede the other, institutions must be capable of decoding, systematising and processing different ways of knowing. In order to embed this process in the picture of social transformation, planners must assume a politicised position that uses the participatory forum for the aforementioned purposes but also as a space to identify structural inequalities and facilitate a process that seeks to address these through collective action and community building. What is really being emphasised here is that when designed appropriately, participation becomes a pedagogic process of mutual learning and an incubator for citizenship and activism. In this sense the pedagogic process itself is highly political. Participation therefore is a *process* both in and of itself and as part of the larger planning process and a *product* arising from increased quality and quantity of participation on behalf of active citizens.

In a world order where it is increasingly difficult to subvert and change authoritarian governments, the emphasis must be placed on strengthening civil society to the point where it will stand up for itself. Culture is a promising vehicle to reach this end. A cultural revolution will see people feeling proud of who they are, standing up to cultural

imperialism and detrimental globalisation, creating and strengthening their identities, partaking in the development of their locales, mobilising collective action and building more healthy inclusive communities. Although this approach depends highly on the context and may not be applicable everywhere, the integration of cultural expression, participation and citizenship in diverse evolving and constructive ways will prove to be a rewarding strategy.

Suggestions for Further Research

For us to advance in a more informed manner, further research must be done in the area of qualitative inquiry regarding the impacts that participating in participatory planning processes has on communities in terms of attitudinal change, alteration of gender roles, community cohesion and future organising. More specifically it is critical to be aware of the impacts that innovative participatory forums have on both planners and civil society so as to further refine their design to be more conducive to given objectives. Projects repeatedly fail to document the lessons learned during and after their participatory initiatives take place. This compromises both planners' ability to learn from the successes and failures of the projects as well as their successful replication to other similar areas. Therefore documenting cases where innovative pedagogic forms of participation have been used elsewhere and elaborating on the lessons learned would be valuable in providing insight into possible methodologies and strategies for inclusion.

Further inquiry would also be useful in relation to the short and long term impacts that cultural forms of development have on civil society. This approach would be further strengthened by a gender analysis of how cultural expression as a means of participation and identity construction affects, attracts and facilitates the inclusion for women and men in different ways discussing the opportunities that it provides for alleviating traditional barriers to women's participation.

In terms of the institutional insights that have been raised in this thesis, further research could also be directed towards exploring institutional structures that facilitate and/or hamper the adoption of an interactive and socially transforming type of participatory planning. Perhaps this could take the form of an institutional ethnography. Other areas include identifying methods of integrating, systematising and decoding local knowledge so that it can be integrated into the planning process and searching for non-paternalistic

methods of democratising information and making it more accessible to the wider population.

Implications for Planning Practice

The challenges that planners face have increased as the complexity of our urban centres with their superimposed, intertwined and varying social, cultural, economic, environmental and political layers have intensified. Being aware of the opportunities and constraints involved in bringing forth more inclusive and innovative forms of participatory planning that foster social learning, awareness and activism, is important for planning practice since it provides insight into how the participation component in planning processes can be designed to facilitate the achievement of these ends.

The thoughts and perspectives adopted throughout this thesis are applicable to all planners who need to acknowledge the political nature of their career. Whether planners are merely reproducing the status quo or interested in social mobilisation and change, the actions, initiatives and participatory forums they plan will serve to advance the particular agendas that underlie their work. Planners must acknowledge the pedagogic power of the processes that they engage in and think about how they can provide a mechanism for informal education and an opportunity for mutual learning. Structuring participation as process of mutual social learning is itself a political position. In seeking to integrate distinct ways of knowing, planners must be willing to “translate” and/or decode the various languages (where languages include forms of expression) of participant groups so that they can be included in and at par with planning knowledge that is used for substantive plans.

When working with traditionally excluded and low socioeconomic sectors of society, planners have to be conscious that the people may not be prepared to participate in a given process. If this is the case, their participation will not be effective on the basis that their input is not informed and perhaps not representative. For people living in urban slums where social conditions are humiliating and often inhumane, self-esteem and strong identities are scarce. These are issues that must be addressed by planners who are seeking to include these people and therefore methods of raising esteem and constructing identities should form part of the larger strategy for inclusion. As this thesis suggests culture is one method pointing in this direction. It is essential for planners to understand

their role in societal development in a more politicised manner viewing participation as a strategic intervention that may lead to the formation of active citizens and subsequent change in a given community. Planners should move away from instrumental “planocentric” methods of participation where community involvement is undertaken to include citizens in planners’ predesigned processes that often have predetermined ends. Although basic level citizen input as it relates to specific projects/developments is important, planners should deepen this and seek to stimulate active citizenship through participation, but not only so that people will participate in their processes. But so that as citizens people will become more caring and socially responsible beings who are active, conscious and aware in their own individual and collective lives. This could be reflected in the adoption of new attitudes and behaviours such as recycling habits, alternative transportation, deconstruction of racism and negative stereotypes, etc.

Since people are attracted to and identify with culture, it provides a powerful mechanism for participation and fosters a space in which dialogue, mutual learning and transformation can occur. Within, and as a result of this dynamic, people’s perceptions change as do their subsequent behaviours. Often we are hooked on searching for the large, visible, quantifiable and impressive results of projects causing less visible yet significant changes to be overlooked. But it is the little things in life that make a big difference to people because our complex emotional and deeply psychological nature influences our perceptions and these in turn affect our attitudes and behaviours. Although change is a lengthy occurrence it is through the cultivation of individuals as people and as integral elements of the larger society, that the process of active citizenship and collective social responsibility can flourish. As it is the case with most progressive and incipient projects, planners learn by doing and what is important is to keep doing.

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Appendix One: Interviews

Bruno, Interviewed on November 6, 2001 at the local school in Parque Andreense

Jao Ricardo, Interviewed July 30, 2001 at the Municipality of Santo Andre

Jefferson Sooma, Interviewed October 15, 2001 at his home in Santo Andre

Katia Coelho, Interviewed August 2, 2001 in the Municipality of Embu das Artes

Matilde Ribeiro, Interviewed November 3, 2001 in her home in Santo Andre

Olga Ferreira Mendes, Interviewed October 31, 2001 at her home in Parque Andreense

Pedro de Carvalho Pontual, Interviewed on July 3 and October 5, 2001 in the Municipality of Santo Andre.

Robson Silva, Interviewed November 10, 2001 at my home in Santo Andre

Sehnora Lourdes, Interviewed November 3, 2001 at her house in Parque Andreense

Sueli Chan Ferriera, Interviewed August 12, 2001 at her home in Sao Paulo

Tarciso Farias, Interviewed November 3, 2001 at his house in Parque Andreense

Teresinha de Jesus Fari, Interviewed November 3, 2001 at her house in Parque Andreense

Teresa Santos, Interviewed on July 20, 2001 in the Municipality of Santo Andre