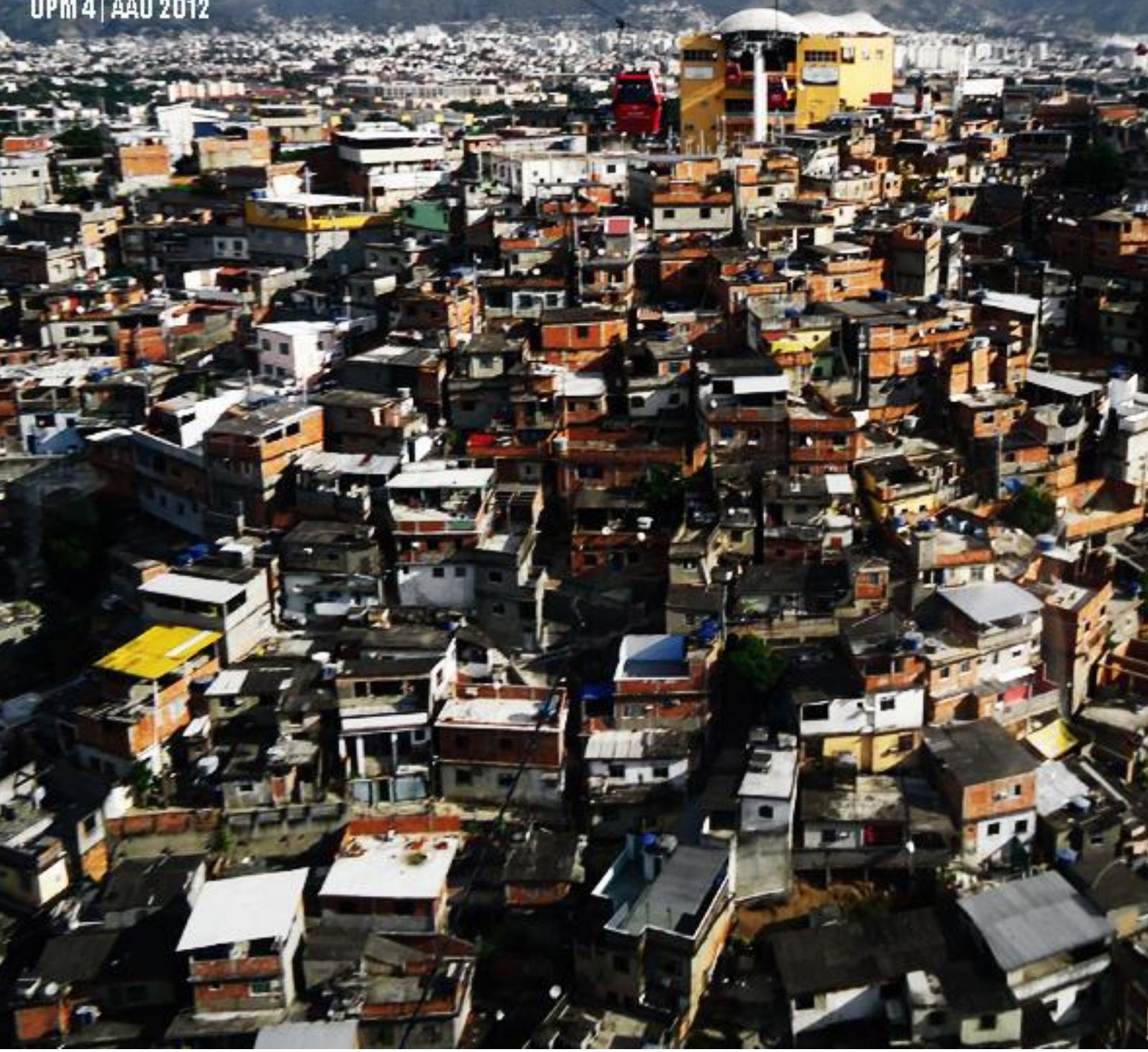


# FROM ABOVE

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING  
PROCESS OF THE AERIAL CABLE-CAR IN  
COMPLEXO DO ALEMÃO - RIO DE JANEIRO

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## Abstract

This project is about participation in the planning process of the aerial cable-car in Complexo do Alemão, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

It grounds its theoretical basis on some of the writings of John Friedmann about alternative development and empowerment, and pulls it up to debate with other theoretical perspectives related both with *what is participation*, *what can block participation from reaching empowerment*, and on the specific case of *what can block participation from reaching empowerment in the favelas*.

In order to build the a crytical analysis and interpretation of the case-study, the theoretical basis support the analytical framework of the context, and build the empirical assessment of the findings.

The open planning model of Bent Flyvbjerg and his conceptualization of *misrepresentation* and *misinformation* are key points for the construction of a debate around *what is participation* on the specific case study, and on the contribution for the understanding of how participatory processes may find implementation constraints, limits, but also strategies and challenges.

May *Participation* within the implementation of top-down programmes on specific societal development, be considered a *disempowering* process?



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## Preface

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As different authors support, citizen participation *is* citizen power. This can be theoretical argued with a strong argumentation for active democratic processes for an efficient planning answer for the popular demands and priorities. The inclusion in planning processes is then fundamental for achieving results that may empower the disempowered citizens through inclusion and shared management. If in theory, this is a clear principle, there are some practical constraints for the successful implementation of active participation in planning. Flyvbjerg's open planning position tells us that for effective opening in planning processes, there should be openness to the actors involved, to other types of planning and to the societal development of the context of planning. Later, he will present the concepts of strategic misrepresentation and misinformation in planning as causes for problems in large infrastructure plans.

In Brazil, democracy is a quite new reality. It is a country in transition, and with a strong economic growth in the late years. It has historic of social inequalities and exclusion that is reflected in the urban reality of *favelas* and other settlements. When a programme for Acceleration of Growth (PAC), proposed by a democratic government, reaches the Complexo do Alemão, the area with the lowest Human Development Index of Rio de Janeiro, it is a chance to understand what the proposal of participation in the planning process is. The legislation, the creation of the Ministry of Cities, support the existence of participatory processes on the implementation of urban public policies, and the budget for the PAC in Alemão depends on the existence of a construction and a social plan for the territory. This is an opportunity to understand, from an empirical case, *how participation is done*, so that one may critically assess *what participation can be*, when it faces the challenge of a new democracy, private interests, and the implementation on a community with great majority of poor, socially and politically historically disempowered. The planning process of the cable-car in Complexo do Alemão is the focus of the analysis; participation – its limits, objectives, challenges – is the target of this research.

# 1. Introduction

*“Informal settlements sit at this intersection. Their existence is caused by exclusion from the formal land market and they are continuously threatened by the expansion of the formal land market. Improving or redeveloping informal settlements usually implies commodification – the issuing of tradable freehold titles. Inevitably, unless the original households' incomes improve, the original residents are immediately or eventually priced out of the emerging market, often only at marginal gains.”* (Huchzermeyer, 2008)

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Brazil is historically a country with developing problems, related with governance regimes that left the country with one of the world's highest levels of social inequities.<sup>1</sup> In recent years the picture seems to be changing. A left-wing government is in power, democratically elected, and the country's economy is growing. Brazil is passing through a different phase in the way governance is being structured, and the public investments that are being made are intended to reflect this change. The country's history is written together with the history of exploitation and the lack of democratic regimes.<sup>2</sup> The democratic regime is still being structured: in Brazil is quite clear that democracy is not a given status, but something to be developed and learned.

In 2007, the programme for Acceleration of Growth (PAC) was launched and included the improvement of urban infrastructure and living conditions of favelas. In the Alemão complex of favelas (a complex of 14 different favelas, having in total, according to the PAC census, 89 912 inhabitants), there was a great investment in urban projects. A cable-car with stations in 5 favelas was built, and represented the most mediatised and extra-ordinary project within the PAC programme for Alemão. When it was inaugurated, President Lula da Silva, together with the governor of Rio and Dilma Rousseff (the current president) were present. Inspired by a similar project in Medellín, Colombia, this project had great visibility and impact on the area, and is the first aerial cable-car built in *favelas* in Brazil.

*“...in Medellín's case its success has more to do with the political and institutional context in which it was implemented, not least a comprehensive programme to address deep-seated urban, social and political problems where a vocal local community was able to express its wishes and become actively involved in municipal upgrading efforts.”* (Dávila & Daste, 2011 p.1)

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<sup>1</sup> According to the GINI coefficient index, Brazil had in 2009 an index of 54,7 (being 0 index= no inequities and 100=total inequity).  
Source: data.worldbank.org.

<sup>2</sup> As a Portuguese colony, Brazil was for many years controlled by the governance structure of the kingdom, the Brazilian resources and the population served the interests of the nobility. After independence from the kingdom of Portugal in 1822, Brazil was still a monarchy up to 1889. The first republic government was close to a military dictatorship and ended in 1894 with direct elections for the second republic government. In 1930 Getúlio Vargas managed a coup d'état and promised to implement a more democratic government. However, in 1937, threatened by the communist movements, Vargas did other coupe d'état and began the Estado Novo period (the *New State*), that was a dictatorship. In 1946 democracy returns with the presidency of Dutra, but in 1950 Vargas returns and is democratic elected. In 1954, after his suicide, Kubitscheck was president (during his presidency Brasília was built and turned the main city of the country, replacing Rio de Janeiro), and in 1964, after João Quadros and João Goulart presidencies, the military dictatorship was implemented and governed the country until 1985.

If, on the one hand, the government finds it a successful investment and is planning to invest in similar infrastructure in other slums of the city, on the other hand, some inhabitants of other favelas and local NGOs are against the implementation of similar projects on other areas. The main critiques to the project focus on the lack of participation and the fact that the cable car is not an investment priority on any *favela*, and that it is not improving the life of the inhabitants. This research was conducted in order to understand how, in the planning process of the Alemão cable-car, public participation took place. The explanation of the participatory processes is important to understand the limits and challenges of participation in informal settlements with low income population and a model of governance that is still to achieve active democratic processes.

Participation *in* planning can have different designs. Learning from some of the theoretical assumptions of John Friedmann, one may understand the objectives of participation within the challenge for alternative development. However, if participation is always desirable, it is necessary to place the concept and question its conceptualization and objectives within the context of a favela, as an example of an informal settlement from developing countries.<sup>3</sup> The fact that this plan targeted a community with the lowest human development index of Rio and had a pre-determined participatory process is an opportunity to check and critically assess the interests, limits and format of participation. This research challenges the concept of *participation as empowerment*, considering that when participatory actions exist within closed planning processes, in a neo liberal societal development, on a *new democracy*, they can support *disempowerment through misrepresentation, misinformation* and the design of a strong top down governance.

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<sup>3</sup> As Licia do Prado Valladares said, on a lecture in the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), “favelas don’t differ from any other poor urban area. They may differ geographically, topographically, but socially they are the same as any other poor urban area in the periphery. (...) Favelas doesn’t exist only in Rio, and not only in Brazil.” UERJ, 19.06.2012.

## 2. Problem formulation

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Public participation in planning processes is taken for granted as a positive purpose to be considered in a democratic perspective of planning. However, although institutional arrangements in democratic systems allow participatory processes to happen, it does not occur. This report looks for *what is participation* from the acknowledgement of the limits of the theoretical positions of *participation as empowerment* within the empirical context of informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro. To understand these limits, the research will problematize

*How is carried out the participative process in the planning of the cable-car in Complexo do Alemão, in Rio de Janeiro, and how is it blocked from achieving an active democratic participation in a context of a project included in a national programme for acceleration of Growth, implemented in the group of favelas with the lowest HDI of Rio de Janeiro, in a city and a country that are in a current fast economic growth? How is participation understood and implemented in the different phases of the empirical case, and from this, what can participation be when it is not an empowering tool?*

Looking for emergent countries, for new democracies, and for the disempowerment of large urban groups is a challenge to understand how in practice participation is taking part of the conceptualization of developing processes. If the theoretical framework for participation is well filled with different perspectives, it is important to understand the practical limits of its implementation, so that planners, policy makers and the communities as a whole may work with these challenges and overcome the limits for active democratic planning processes – this report tries to contribute with some knowledge on this specific experience in Brazil.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

Participation is empowerment. But on the specific case of the favela, participation has not passed yet the level of passive participation. John Friedmann, Sherry Arnstein, Bent Flyvbjerg, Tore Sager, Karel Maier and Janice Perlman, presented different ways of addressing the issues around participation, and can be understood on different levels of questioning. If participation is empowerment, what can block it to happen, on the specific case of the favelas? These are the questions that this chapter proposes to address.

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#### Theoretical framework structure

The theoretical structure includes different theoretical backgrounds that support the logics of the research interest and questions. First, the aim is to answer *what is participation*, theoretically grounded, so that the definition sticks to the whole research. The conceptualization is taken from some writings of John Friedmann, supporting the model of *alternative development*, and Sherry Arnstein article from 1969 *Ladder of Citizen Participation*. Both authors support the conceptualization of *participation as empowerment*, and considering poverty as disempowerment, support the idea that it can be overpassed through active democratic governance and the enabling of full citizenship and social power.

This first part is the axis of the research and opens the second question: considering participation as empowerment, *what can stop a participatory process to reach this objective?*

This questioning is debated based on some writings of Bent Flyvbjerg that present the concepts of *misrepresentation* and *misinformation*, and his position relatively to participation within an *open planning* process. Flyvbjerg opens the debate around what is open planning, supporting that it need to have openness to other types of planning and to societal development, besides being open to the actors involved. Flyvbjerg tells us that *participation* is not a static concept, and within a neo-liberal context, it can be designed in a very different way than as the *empowerment of the disempowered*. It is in this sense that Tore Sager article from 2009 helps in understanding the implications and differences between addressing participation within new planning management or on a communicative planning theory.

To ground the readings and prepare the transition for the case study analysis, the third part of this chapter focuses on *what has been stopping/blocking an active participatory process to happen in favelas?* The work of Janice Perlman in favelas, together with an historical overview of these context specificities, grounds Flyvbjerg conceptualizations. Perlman will present different types of planning for social development, and together with other authors in favela studies, introduce to its societal development. Karel Maier completes this frame with his writing of 2001, where he re-reads Sherry Arnstein's article and bridges it with the context of *new democracies*. If Perlman helps in grounding Flyvbjerg on a favela context, Maier helps in understanding Sager on the specificities of new democratic governments.

#### a. Opening. What is participation?

In 1969, in *The Future of Urbanization in Latin America*, John Friedmann proposed a strategy to improve economic growth in peripheral regions in Latin America countries. In his analysis, based on empirical research, he asserted that core regions economic growth is neither the best nor the only way of achieving economic growth. Based on social development, rather than the arguments of transportation and localization,

Friedmann distinguishes between the core and peripheral areas: the peripheral regions are described as mainly dominated, while the core regions are the autonomous ones. Friedmann believes that through horizontal, democratic, participative governance it is possible to achieve alternative development and innovative change. He argues that development is inherently related to social improvements and higher capacity to bring investment and autonomy to peripheral areas.

Friedmann was building his theoretical conceptions on social mobilization, and was finding his empirical acknowledgments of what he would call later the necessary shift towards an alternative development, based on radical planning processes.

*“Planning for social transformation is no longer the planning that we know, or mainstream planning. I call it radical planning.”* Friedmann, interviewed by Bent Flyvbjerg in 1986. (Flyvbjerg, 1986 p.8)

Alternative development is not an end but a constant process, a struggle for the empowerment of the poor. It is justified by the consciousness that the capitalist model of development left aside more than half of the world population, increased unemployment, and inequities and continuously excluded some groups from the access to development. It is based on three pillars of argumentation: the human rights, the citizen rights and the human flourishing rights<sup>4</sup>, challenging the need to humanize a development system.

*“If social and economic development means anything at all it must mean a clear improvement in the conditions of life and livelihood of ordinary people.”* (Friedmann, 1992 p.9)

Friedmann built his theoretical perspective on the alternative development model supported by his experience in Latin America countries. It is a fundamental theoretical position for this work in the sense that it embraces the period when democratic governance entered the continent and the end of the dictatorship, it opens up a different look upon what development is about, focused on the importance of active democracy, inclusive participation and social mobilization in order to reach societal development and empowerment of the urban poor. According to the model, poverty is the condition of being disempowered, of not having access to the bases of social power.<sup>5</sup> The alternative development seeks an inclusive democracy, and views development not as an issue of economic growth, but of empowerment of individuals and households. Focusing on the special needs of different groups, alternative development aims for the optimization of the processes to reach societal development: the inclusion of the poor and disempowered on the planning decisions, resulting from a restructuration of the social relations and the political power of groups. So, societal development would be directly related with an active democratic system where the *poor* or the

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<sup>4</sup> *Human rights*, focused on the right to liberty, to civil, political, economic and social rights. Right of living with health and wellbeing, rights institutionalized on the universal declaration of human rights. The *citizen rights* are related with the understanding of citizenship as a membership on a political community, having equality of rights among all citizens – what one group has the right, all the others have it too. Lastly, *human flourishing rights* is the right to have “*social conditions, both general and specific, which make a human flourishing possible*”, or to be a *full human*. (Friedmann, 1992 p.10-12)

<sup>5</sup> The basic social power aims are related with having access to a life space, having surplus time for other activities rather than keeping the livelihoods and surviving, to have knowledge and skills, and having education and information on the best strategies to overcome poverty and lack of resources. It is also fundamental to be part of social organizations and build social networks to have access to social power. (Friedmann, Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development, 1992)

*disempowered* would reach an upper social and political condition by directly participating on the planning decisions.

The bottom-up planning, based on the household economy – the household as the unit of planning processes, not seen as a consumption unit but rather as a productive base for the whole system – is then the strategic principle for the achievement of planning humanization. It is not divorced from the government institutions but asks for a strong democratic purpose, which enables the transformation of the system, supporting planning actions from below. Interviewed by Flyvbjerg, Friedmann says that “*I call social mobilization a “tradition” in planning theory. (...) It has its own rationale for planning: planning for structural change – for the “system transformation” (...). Furthermore, it has emancipatory project at his core. (...) Since emancipation cannot be planned for you by someone else, it must be planned by you, by the people, and it is therefore what we call planning “from below. That makes a fundamental difference in terms of what kind of planning you are talking about.”* (Flyvbjerg, 1986 p.25)

The radicalization of the *alternative development* model, back in the 60’s, resulted in intellectual positions supporting the anarchist *us vs. them*, however, Friedmann supports that for an *humanization* on the system, focused on people rather than on profit, supported on bottom-up decisions, it is important to have a strong state that enables it to happen. The support of the state is fundamental for the implementation of large-scale projects (or *mainstream* projects) that need an institutional and financial support that local based institutions, working with small scale alternative projects wouldn’t be able to manage. The alternative development model doesn’t avoid economic development, but it rather supports that development shall be directly related with social and living conditions improvements. For that, the state should enable active democratic processes, include the positions of all citizens, acknowledge their needs and priorities and build the planning processes upon those specificities, and considering that the development purpose is also global.

In this model, grassroots organizations, NGO, and all social organizations are extremely important as external agents to help managing social movements and claim for their rights and needs since the understanding of the political and social own reality is the basis for a successful participatory process. The acknowledgment for both the governors and the population about their capacities of participation and the expectations of how this participation may affect the results, preventing that “*the behaviour of the citizens and the political-administrative system may be interrelated, i.e. citizens may not participate because they expect not to gain influence on decisions, or the political-administrative system may not take seriously the involvement of citizens because participants are expected to be non-representative.*” (Flyvbjerg, 1982)

On his writing of 1987, Friedmann presents the paradigm of planning as the “*linkage between knowledge and action*”, and argues that it can exist within a social mobilization perspective: planning, tied to a reform tradition and supporting the capitalist system, can be tied to a social reform, not starting with *goals and objectives* but rather with *social criticism*. In this paradigm, planning doesn’t need to be centrally located, but to be a process of social transformation through social guidance – *action through knowledge*. Friedmann calls it the *radical planning* approach. (Friedmann, 1987 p.297-298)

According to Sherry Arnstein, citizen participation *is* citizen power, passing through different 8 steps where participation can take extremely different characteristics (Arnstein, 1969). The *ladder of participation*

goes from manipulative processes up to citizen control. The 3 upper levels (*Partnership, delegated power and citizen control*) represent processes that enable citizen power, while the levels of *placation, consultation and informing* are tokenist steps where the population is heard but does not participate in the decisions. *Therapy and Manipulation* are nonparticipative processes. (Arnstein, 1969 p.2)

Participation is, both for Friedmann and for Arnstein, the process of empowerment. Friedmann builds the concept together with the project for an alternative development, considering that participation, in order to bring empowerment to the have-nots, must be based on active democratic governance. It means, on Arnstein's ladder, that for Friedmann participation can only achieve a positive social result towards alternative development if it is on a high ladder: citizen power. Participation would be crucial to build the link between knowledge and action, so one may say that in the alternative development model - *radical planning* - active participation is a mean and an end: through social guidance, reach social transformation, or the use of active democratic processes to achieve active democratic social systems – the alternative development model.

Together, they build the heart of this research, in the way that they define what will be considered as *participation*: the upper ladders of Arnstein scheme, where participation is supported within active democratic planning processes. Taking that conceptualization, it is considered in this research that citizen participation is *citizen power*, and participation is the process to reach active democratic planning results. This process shall result on a balanced sharing of power between government, private interest and the population, supporting the decisions on the *real* needs of the inhabitants. For this research, participation on an informal settlement, with the social and territorial characteristics of a favela, within a plan that aims to include and integrate the favela in the formal city, cannot be effective if doesn't empower the inhabitants and enhance their citizenship on a systematic process of social, territorial, political and economic improvement.

Considering this basis, the research question appears: *how does participation occur? And what can be identified as blocks to an active participation and empowerment of the population? Or learning from Arnstein, what can stop the participatory process to reach the level of citizen power?*

## **The alternative development: a challenge for the *favela*?**

Considering Brazilian democratic context and economic growth, together with recent investments in planning for favelas, planners and social organizations could have the chance to build a radical planning approach, acting as mediators between the population and the public power, facilitating access to information and giving the planning tools to the community<sup>6</sup> to decide what to be done<sup>7</sup>, asking for their active inclusion

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<sup>6</sup> In Rio is very usual to name the inhabitants of favela as a "community". Some has been written about the differences of being *favela* or *comunidade* (community), some support the idea that there might be political and social interest behind the definition of what is the "identity" of these places. For a deeper understanding, check (Birman, 2008), where instead of trying to *identify* what is a *favela* or a *comunidade*, Birman addresses the *politics of identification and their effects*. (pp.105). In this research, the term "community" does not aim to identify the favela inhabitants as an uniform group: its internal differences are part of the consciousness of this research, however, it is the clearest and most consensual term talk about the *favelados*. Both government

in the processes. But in the specific context of the Brazilian reality, one may find historic problems of social inequalities (clearly representing the reality of disempowerment) and, specifically on the case of *favelas*, an absence of active participatory processes. Other perspectives on participation in planning shall be included on the debate in order to place the further analysis of this research within a framework of potential limits for participation *as* empowerment, considering that “*citizen participation is sometimes used to justify decisions already made*” (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.12), that the capitalist model finds great place in developing countries and the linkage between knowledge and action – planning - may not be within a perspective of social transformation towards social empowerment but rather as a process of continuous representation of top-down traditional reform.

### **b. Debating. What *can* stop participation from reaching empowerment?**

On the debate that the case study opens up, it is not possible to end the theoretical framework with John Friedmann, as it was first thought. On the beginning of the research, there was a naïve perception that participation could, or could not exist, on a very clear distinctive approach. So, if it *existed*, and the population was mobilized to reach for their citizenship rights, then we would have social mobilization towards empowerment of the population. On the other hand, if participation did not exist, and the government would have a pure top-down approach, leading the decisions from an upper stage without listening to the population, leaving these communities back on the stage of being forgotten by the public interest, then we would have the opposition to Friedmann’s *utopia*: no social mobilization, no participation, no empowerment.

The fact is that, considering the specificities of the *favela* and its inhabitants, together with the historic overview of social and political instability, the research cannot consider only the perspective of *alternative development* supported by John Friedmann. It constitutes the centre of the conceptualization of participation in this research as it challenges social transformation towards positive societal development – fundamental for the empowerment of the favela poor ones -, but in Brazil inequities are still very high, and *favelas* have no historic of an active democratic presence of previous governments. These assumptions are the basis for the need to overlook other theorizations that may bring to contemporaneity potential limits for participatory

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representatives as well as the populations representatives assume the term – related to this “interest” in having the term “community” among the government and NGOs / Residents Associations discourse see (Valladares, 2005 pp.158-160).

<sup>7</sup> On an interview with Bent Flyvbjerg, Friedmann explains the role of the planner within the *radical planning* approach he supports. The radical planner shall:

1. Critically observe the situation;
2. *help mobilize communities and groups to search for practical solutions to problems as they perceive them;*
3. *provide intelligence or information relevant to the action and the decision process;*
4. *provide technical expertise;*
5. *participate in the formulation of ideology* (the iterative social learning model)
6. Generalize and communicate knowledge;
7. *learn how to manipulate technocracy by using technocrats’ own language”;*
8. *ensure that everyone participates always;*
9. build a *structure of meaning and ideology* for action;
10. be committed: *can never be far removed from the action.* (Flyvbjerg, 1986 p.39)

process that may block the empowerment process. It is in this sense that Flyvbjerg appears with conceptualizations of *open-planning, misinformation and misrepresentation*.

Flyvbjerg supports Arnstein's position that citizen participation *is* citizen power. (Flyvbjerg, 1982) He proposes the model of *open* planning, as the planning process of including citizen participation, openness to other types of planning and openness to societal development in order to achieve a more active democratic planning process. He distinguishes between three types of openness in the political-administrative system, and so, in the planning processes. If the openness towards *the public* is focused on the actors that are target population of the programme, openness towards *other kinds of planning* and towards *general societal development* are also to be considered (Flyvbjerg, 1982 p.5)

The implementation of participatory processes within an *open-planning* system shall consider the political reality and the power structures, the fact that "*today, a commitment to efficiency, hard-core economics, and budget cuts dominates development in many instances.*" (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.1). So, as Friedmann considers societal development as being the desirable result of an active participatory democracy, that empowers the disempowered, enabling the construction of an alternative development model where equity and better living conditions are a reality, based on social transformation, Flyvbjerg has a different perspective. The *societal* development, on the open planning model, is a pre-existence, the context in which participation can occur. Open planning shall be open to this development, so that openness can be effective. So, radical planning and open planning have this first difference: Flyvbjerg position in relation with democratic planning process is within the current power structures, in the way that it places the question within the economic and political interests that support the planning programmes – considering the societal development, open-planning must be open to this reality, linking this knowledge to participatory *action*. So, if in alternative development model, planning is *for* social transformation (transformation as the mean and the end), in Open planning planning exists *in the* transformation (openness as a mean to achieve open model of planning). If the first supports change of society *through planning*, the second supports changing in the *relation of planning with society*.

Historically as a developing economy, and today as an emergent economical potencial, the thematic of market interest and financial investments efficiency are on the main topic of the national programme in Brazil. In this context, citizen participation represents a strong value on the democratic system, but when implementating it becomes a passive planning tool. If "*planning and policy making actually become more democratic through this involvement is another question, dependent on the degree to which citizen power actually determines the product of the planning and policy process*" (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.7), then there is a long way to go in order to achieve an active democratic planning governance, guided by citizen participation and enabling empowerment.

## **The constraints for an effective participatory process**

### ***Openness to other types of planning***

When Flyvbjerg introduces the open planning model he considers that it shall be open to other kinds of planning. Different types of planning have different objectives and scales, and it may happen that they conflict among them. Also may happen that they may justify one another and by doing so, the lack of transparency or participation in one project being *replaced* by participation in other. The question is that different types of planning, from different governance institutions, at different levels may misunderstand the space for participation or the objectives of each process. The coexistence of various plans, can be an argument for the justification that the lack of participation has to deal with inefficiency of a conflictual plan or institution. As an example, the strategic plan of Rio de Janeiro says that 3,5% of the favelas should be removed until 2012. However, the PAC programme aims to urbanize the favelas and improve the living conditions. Both plans, different in objectives and structure, get in conflict relatively to the results. There can also be that two different institutions apply the same plan in different regions: the same type of plan may have different processes of implementation and, therefore, different spaces for participation. So, one may add that the openness to other types of planning need to consider a general management of processes and objectives so that this openness doesn't end in conflictual misunderstands that may weaken citizen participation.

### ***Societal development: Effectiveness and Growth***

*"...the very existence of citizen participation is dependent on which kind of power dominates societal development in a given era."* (Flyvbjerg, 1982 p.17)

Flyvbjerg argues, like Friedmann also does, for a democratization of the decision-making and the planning process. He explores the inclusive relation between citizen participation and power: participation can only exist up to the extent of citizen power. Democratic planning depends on the level of power that citizens possess that can make them an inclusive part of the process and the decision-making, for an inclusive determination of the final product.

Open planning, as a non-counteracted positioning, can benefit from stable governments being part of governmental planning decisions. On his writing "Citizen Participation and Openness on Transportation Planning" Flyvbjerg integrates participation on the current neo-liberal democratic model of governance, presenting both *pros* and *cons* of participation within this societal and political reality. (Flyvbjerg, 1982)

It is fundamental to *know* power relations, the societal context and other types of planning in order to include these variables in the construction of a planning process. According to Flyvbjerg, participation can be seen as negative in the way that it can be *non-representative, manipulated*, can create *polarization, conflate or stalemate of programmes* and can be *more time and money consuming* rather than other types of planning processes. (Flyvbjerg, 1982)

*"Today, the commitment is often absent or weaker than previously, exposed to a commitment to efficiency, hard-core economics cuts, and more closed ways of decision-making and control. The trend laid down in the development of transportation planning and policy during the 1960's and 1970's – including citizen participation and openness – is being reversed in ways that to this author often appear as retrogression."* (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.23)

He has great contribution to the theme because, among other ideas presented, he puts in first place of the debate the questions of power. From his writings, one may acknowledge the importance of understanding and working *with* power structures, in order to find the proper ways of including participatory processes in planning. He shows, on his paper *Citizen Participation and Openness in Transportation Planning*, from 1982 how some arguments against open planning can be better confronted within stable governance, with understood power relations. When the debate on public participation in planning appeared on the 60's, "*a general commitment to social reform, environmental issues, and democratization of decision-making dominated societal development.*" (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.1). But things changed, and the open format in planning must consider these changes and work with them if aims to support effective participation. Within a political and social context that gives privilege to economic development and the "Growth Speed"<sup>8</sup> of the country, the potential conflict, polarization, stalemate of programmes, time and money consumption of a participatory process must be considered when analysing the decisions made. The capitalist model gives priority to effectiveness and it may turn the participatory process into a New Public Management process rather than based on Communicative Planning Theory. The main difference is that participants tend to be seen more as consumers rather than as citizens, and so, participation is limited to manipulation or tokenism. The priority is not the building of a communicative process to reach positive democratic results but a *convincement* of the population or the usage of participation as a source of market information. Since participation can be broadly interpreted, a societal development based on neo-liberal and market interests may take usage of manipulated participatory processes in order to justify decisions that were previously done. The inexistence of legal constraints for participation is not enough to guarantee that the societal development in itself doesn't represent a threat for participation within *participatory processes* built through market interests. In this case, the neo-liberal rules stay above the democratic conception of citizen right, but may easily get misunderstood on the (re)presentation of participatory processes or planning strategies. (Sager, 2009)

### ***Misrepresentation and Misinformation***

In 2005, Flyvbjerg wrote a paper for the World Bank making a synthesis of other past studies he did in exploring large infrastructure projects. On this paper, he touches the problematic of cost overruns and benefit shortfalls that are very common in large infrastructure projects. He presents the conceptualization of misinformation and *strategic misrepresentation* as main causes for problems in planning for large infrastructure projects. He considers *cost overruns and benefit* shortfalls as the main problems, but one may question whether misinformation and misrepresentation cannot be causes for problems in achieving citizen power through participation. Misrepresentation and misinformation are part of a strategic view inside a market oriented planning process. *Lying* can sometimes be the way to guarantee the winning of an outsourcing, taking advantage in market struggles. Considering that participation is something *always desirable* in a democratic system, the misinformation relatively how the process and its results will take place, together with misrepresentation of *what* participation is, may allow the construction of manipulative

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<sup>8</sup> The cable-car, which planning process is analyzed on this report, is a project from the national programme PAC - Plano de Aceleração do Crescimento (*Growth Speeding Plan*) that is one of some initiatives to improve economic growth and the development of Brazil.

processes. The disempowered may believe their participation is actively included in the planning process, when in fact is a strategic tool for the achievement of a faster, less conflictive and cheaper planning process with a democratic face. According to Flyvbjerg, misrepresentation and misinformation can be corrected through the building of *accountability* in the public sector. Accountability is directly related to transparency and democratic planning, considering public debates, share of information and inclusion of knowledge achieved into the decisions, considering that “*the planner’s primary obligation [is] to the public interest*”. (Flyvbjerg, 2005 p.23) the necessary change in power balances aiming to solve misinformation and misrepresentation and achieving accountability would be potential effective for the avoidance of manipulative processes (through transparency) and non-representative participation (as the participants could understand their role in planning). However, while the societal development that support misinformed and misrepresented planning procedures finds effectiveness in these strategies, hardly the system will implement a change *in the system*.

The fact that misinformation and strategic misrepresentation in planning processes put in risk the openness towards societal development and the opening to other types of planning also puts in risk the openness of the planning process. If the participants are not acknowledged of the fundamental interests of the plan and its strategies, and are not *all* included, then the democratic process is in risk as a result of a closed planning strategy that protects the specific interests of the power holders. In a process misrepresentation, transparency and public control can be achieved through information and citizen power. (Flyvbjerg, Policy and Planning for Large Infrastructure Projects: Problems, Causes, Cures., 2005)

In the case of Brazil, in the condition of a *new democracy*, supporting economic growth in a developing country, the importance of building a participative process is supported under the main priority of Growth. Participation is mandatory, fixed on a federal law in Brazil (estatuto das Cidades), and that turns participation into one variable of the plan, that can be misinformed and misrepresented in order to avoid time and money consuming or conflicts among different participants: in order to have financial support, participation *needs* to be effective, to present results.

### **c. Grounding. What *has been* stopping participation from reaching empowerment *in favelas*?**

*“Most Brazilian cities suffer from the same problem—an inability to sustain good local governance and citizen participation. This results in an increased dualism and the exclusion of democratic practices of participation from urban management.”* (Jacobi, 1999 p.6)

Janice Perlman studied the *favelas* in the 60’s and, 40 years later she returned to the same places she studied before. His work is fundamental to place the societal development that the *favela* faced both during a military dictatorship and today, with democratic governance. Her study focuses on social mobility during these years, which is directly related to social empowerment on the *favelas*. Once that citizen participation *is* citizen power, understanding these shifts will help in understanding potential blocks on the effective empowerment of the *have-nots*. Perlman shares the conceptualization that citizen power is directly related

with poverty since “*Democratic governance, inclusive citizenship and rights – human, civil and political rights – cannot be divorced from the issue of poverty*” (Perlman, 2010 p.200)

### **Other types of planning**

There are, according to Janice Perlman, in *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*, three main types of policies for life improvement of the poor: *place-based approaches* – territorially focused; *poor-based approaches* – focused on the poorest, independently from their location; *universal approaches* – focusing on all the citizens. (Perlman, 2010)

Today, in Brazil is possible to find programmes that adress one of these social types of planning:

In Rio, the *Favela Bairro* programme, which directed investment toward the infrastructural upgrading of more than 100 favelas, was a clear experience of a place-based approach in the sense that it focused on the physical improvement of some favelas. The project was territorially defined and didn't aim to address the social, political or economic origin of the *favela* problem. Years after the first projects finished and the working teams left the favelas, deterioration began to happen, and the social problems, the basis of the territorial condition of being *favelados* were not changed. The end of the programme opened the debate for a review of priorities and processes, in the challenge of seeing the favelas not as an infrastructural problem, but as a complex result of the specific social and political context that has its origins, and that can only be analysed from a broader planning perspective.

*Bolsa Familia* is currently the largest poor-based government policy: all the poor ones have access to a financial support, and its objective is to increase their income and allow the most disempowered to have better living conditions. It aims to achieve *zero hunger*, covering around 13 million Brazilians and intends to reduce national levels of inequity. It is mandatory that the ones getting the support have the social commitment of investing the money on the improvement of the household, called *condicionalidades*: e.g., if the children of the household don't go to school, the support is cancelled. In <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia> (official Website of the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger)

The PAC (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento – *Programme for Acceleration of Growth*) programme was created in 2007 in order to take advantage of the historical economic situation of the country and increase the pace of GDP growth, employment rates, social inclusion and better distribution of income in Brazil. It aims to be a *universal based* programme, in the sense that its main objective is to plan for infrastructural economic areas of the country, affecting the Brazilian economy and society as a whole. The PAC programme can have, however, a first immediate critic: it is a programme for *Acceleration of Growth*, and not announced as a programme of *Acceleration of Development*.

These types of planning can be identified in other programmes in Brazil, each with different focus. Flyvbjerg's open planning model argues for *openness towards other types of planning*. Considering Perlman positioning in *Favela* and the programmes in Brazil this openness is to be questioned as a potential trigger or block to active participation. Considering planning as the linkage knowledge / action, one may ask if each type of plan learns and acts together with the others. The fact is that programmes are launched separately and

*Bolsa Família* database is not a basis for the implementation of PAC investments, or in other perspective, the potential damages that the constructions of PAC may cause are not considered when distributing Bolsa Família support. The programmes are not opened to each other, which doesn't allow a holistic and systematic decision making based on a complex understanding of reality. All these programmes are top-down determined, and the idea is to empower economically the poorest so that they can have access to public services (health, education), and therefore, supporting growth. This process is managed and controlled by the power holders – government and private interests. Instead, Friedmann model of alternative development citizen empowerment would constitute the basis for societal development. If first, citizens were empowered, the planning decisions and programmes would have a higher potential of being complementary and inclusive. A plan could then be related with other types of planning, supported by citizen priorities and decisions: societal development would be controlled by the citizens. Households would be producers of social structure, instead of representing the consumption interest of the political policies.

### **Societal development: relocations and neo-liberal investments**

In favelas, history shows that social mobilization has usually been related with the threat of relocation of the favelas, reallocating its inhabitants. The politics for favelas have bonded between relocation and urbanization of favelas, in different political moments. The relocations were either linked to questions of hygiene or to issues of violence, but in essence, the public policies always defined a clear separation between the formal city and the favela, in a metaphor between the city and the country side, the rich and the poor, the clean and the unclean, the civilized and the uncivilized, the legal and the marginal, the peace and the violence. (Valladares, 2005) Since the drug traffickers took the territory leadership, during the 80's and reinforced on the 90's.<sup>9</sup> The relocation was not a threat anymore, and the individual fight for survival in difficult living conditions and with the continuous threat of the fights between different groups (and between the groups and the police), was the main concern of these populations. The focus had change, and one may say that survival took over resistance. (Perlmann, 2010) so, the threat of relocation was replaced by the fear of violence. It seems that the favela disempowered ones were politically, socially and territorially disempowered, vulnerable to the political decisions, living in an informality that turned them into the peripheric dominated area within the city. The neo-liberal political context and social organization empowered the drug market, which directly influenced the capacity of the inhabitants to enhance their citizenship rights and citizen power. For years they were *governed* by the traffickers, left aside by the state.

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<sup>9</sup> “The Red Command (Vermelho Comando - CV), the oldest and originally most powerful gang, was created as the Falange Vermelho, in 1979, in Candido Mendes prison on Ilha Grande where political and common prisoners were mixed. (...). Its power and arms increased with the arrival of cocaine in the early 1980s, when it became known as the CV. The CV is still the dominant gang inside Rio de Janeiro's prisons, but has lost territory in the *favelas* due to infighting among its members. The main rivals of the CV are the Third Command (Terceiro Comando - TC) and Friends of the Friends (Amigos dos Amigos - ADA). The TC appeared in the 1980s after disagreements within the CV. More internal fighting within the CV allowed the TC to dominate a larger area of territory in the 1990s. ADA was formed in 1998 by a former CV leader banished for conspiring in the murder of another. Following the ADA leader's death during a 2002 CV-led prison rebellion, the TC and ADA briefly joined forces. Opponents to this amalgamation formed the Pure Third Command (Terceiro Comando Puro - TCP). “ (Wright, 2005 p.2) available in [www.unodc.org/pdf/brazil/word\\_midia/favelas.doc](http://www.unodc.org/pdf/brazil/word_midia/favelas.doc)

The state was for many years represented by the police, and the *favela* was in tension and *in war* with the formal city.

The conceptualization of the favela as an extremely dangerous and violent place enabled the absence of government interventions and the social construction of the *favela* as a reality to be avoided.

After being the place of unhealth and unsafety, now favelas changed their social and political status. With the *pacification* strategies of the government, they are now territories occupied by the public power, and a great investment is being done in favelas. The fact that these investments are done on a top-down perspective, with great amounts of money located in private institutions that manage the implementation work, brings a new actor for the favela: the urban market. The favela becomes a product to be sold, and the market finds the opportunity of investing in areas with thousands of people that had no market competition beside micro-scale, familiar investments. The societal development of the favela paints a frame of different dominations, with very few opportunities for citizen empowerment on the social sphere. There are the ones profiting from each context inside the favela, but the have-nots keep on being dominated from both external and internal conflict interests. Being open to societal development means understanding this historical condition and acting in order to manage all different interests and contexts: clearly stating the investment priorities and the political process behind it in order to support an active democratic position in planning.

### **An arena of conflicting interests**

The residents associations had for a long time a very important role in mobilizing the population and communicating with the public power. In 1963, when FAFEG (Federation of Favelas Residents Associations of the State of Guanabara) was founded one of its main fights was against relocations, with the slogan “remoções não, urbanização sim” (Relocations no, urbanization yes) – it was a period with a large number of relocations, during the municipal presidency of Carlos Lacerda. (Santos, 2011 p.6) However, the associations passed through different periods, and became controlled by the government, and later, some had strong relations with the drug traffickers.<sup>10</sup>

Urban plans and projects, according to Luiz Machado, on his article from 1967 “A Política na favela” (*The politics in the favela*), were executed through loans, technical assistance and materials that were given to the residents association, so, the population asked for these plans in order to have access to these resources.<sup>11</sup> They mainly asked for urbanization when the choice was between urbanizing and demolishing, but there was no planning decisions based on participatory processes: it was an exchange of materials and assistance towards not having to be relocated. (Machado da Silva, 1967)

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<sup>10</sup> In an interview with Mrs. Ruth Jurberg (explain who this is) she explained that at the beginning of PAC work, while the drug traffickers were still leading the territories. The population representatives they first contacted in forums and meetings were the Presidents of the different Residents Associations. According to her, it was a difficult period, where the government knew that the representatives were selected by the traffickers and so, they “were not the representation we would like to have”.

<sup>11</sup> The favela population developed their own strategies of improving their urban condition. *Mutirões* are a very interesting approach to social mobilization and public participation in low income areas: the population shares their work and resources (human resources, materials) in order to build common services. It is a collective effort in order to have urban services, or, more often, the housing construction. The *mutirões* could be used, for example, to construct a residents’ association building, to construct a school, to install (irregular) electricity and water distribution, or the collection of garbage. The materials and assistance given to the favela might have been important for the *mutirões*.

These aspects point to the question of clientelism, that is present throughout the history of governance in Brazil. The fact is that *clientelism* began to be clearer, according to Licia Valladares, within the government of Getúlio Vargas<sup>12</sup>, a dictatorship that was based on populism. Vargas was named “the father of the poor”, supporting the importance of the working class and the need to give better conditions for the poor ones, and “his project was to transform Brazil on an enormous home” (Valladares, 2005 p.50). From 1931 to 1936, Pedro Ernesto<sup>13</sup> was nominated by Vargas to be the municipal leader in Rio de Janeiro. Ernesto had a clientelist model of governance, exchanging favours for votes: he built schools, hospitals, gave the favela residents new public services and infrastructures, on a progressive approach of helping the poor as a public responsibility but without the stigma of dependency. This was a very important period, of recognizing that the favela residents needed public intervention to have their living conditions improved, but based on a populist dictatorship regime, with clientelist approaches. Contrary to the alternative development model, through clientelist processes empowerment is not a consequence of a participatory process, but citizen power is somehow achieved through the exchange of favours. Through place-based initiatives (punctual urban improvements) the government opens space for the population to reclaim some needs. This is an example of how a planning process based on subversive political positions may be understood as a chance for the disempowered ones having access to life improvements. In a context of informality and historical exclusion, having something to exchange can be understood as empowerment. Planning becomes a currency of value, between the power holders and the have nots, and the management of this relation is based on negotiation of interests external to the planning objectives – votes for the politicians, social power for the popular representatives. This can be seen as a process open to societal development, in the way that it considers the basic interests of different stakeholders. However, it does not enhance participation, and is a process closed in it: when the clientelist interest ends, the *favela* may have punctual territorial improvements, but what empowered the population was external to it. The causes of disempowerment were not addressed; instead, disempowerment is the basis for the clientelist success. These interventions could be analysed, according to Perlman’s framework, as place-based, in the sense that they are not supposed to act on poverty or on a universal interest, but are specific on the territories of political interest.

## **The democratic challenge**

*“In my observations over the past five years, the plethora of NGO – and government-sponsored initiatives for training Rio’s poor in cidadanea (citizenship), “empowerment”, and “capacity-building”, which have met with varying degrees of success, cannot succeed in the absence of real opportunity to exercise these abilities. Giving the*

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<sup>12</sup> Getúlio Vargas was the president of Brazil from 1930 to 1945. When he took the government, in 1930, he was the leader of the liberal reformist revolution in Brazil, and in 1934, he was elected by indirect vote. It was in 1934 that was created the constitution of 1934 that gave the country democratic rights. However, this democratic experience ended on a coup d’état in 1937 that implemented the last phase of Vargas government: the “New State” (Estado Novo), an authoritarian dictatorship period.

<sup>13</sup> Vargas took Pedro Ernesto out of the municipality, afraid of his great popularity, but in 1942, when Ernesto died, a crowd of *cariocas* went to his funeral to honour him. From this story is important to take the lesson that in the 30’s, a very important decade for the favela residents, began a governance scheme that would last for many years<sup>13</sup> (Valladares, 2005 pp. 49-51): the clientelist model of exchanging public action for votes – that, as Perlman describes, during the great period of the traffickers territorial domain was also very clear (the traffickers obliging the inhabitants to vote on a specific candidate, that negotiated the votes with them beforehand).

*disenfranchised knowledge of the full extent of their citizen rights and how to demand them is necessary but not sufficient to give them power or opportunity”.* (Perlman, 2010 p.218)

Although being often located close to the city centre, favelas contrast with core regions and represent the periphery within the city. Epistemologically, the inhabitants of both *favela* and the *other city* distinguish the urban conditions in two concepts: the ones from the *asfalto* (the pavement) and the ones from the *morro* (the hill). The *asfalto* and the *morro* are separated but interdependent worlds. As Janice Perlman maintains in her book *Favela* (2010), the *favelados* are not marginal from urban dynamics, they are fundamental and deeply integrated into the urban sphere and its characteristics. (Perlman, 2010) The fact is that they are *dependent* on the economic and urban opportunities of the *asfalto*, but they are at the same time *autonomous* from the urban rights: an autonomy that results from an urban exclusion.

Janice Perlman wrote the *Myth of Marginality* in the late 60's, when she first studied the *favelas* of Rio. In this book she argues for the de-structuring of what is it about to be marginal, and supports the idea that favela residents are not marginal of the cultural, social and economic urban life, but they represent the disempowered face of it. During the period of her research, Brazil was under a military dictatorship (1964-1985). There was little space for popular participation in planning decision, and since the beginning of the democratic regime, issues related to corruption and clientelism have been common. The repressive authoritarian government ended and in 1988 a new constitution was adopted. In 1994, Brazil elected a social democratic government, with Fernando Henrique Cardoso as the President. In 2002, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was elected (and re-elected in 2006), representing the Workers Party (*Partido Trabalhista – PT*). After the two mandates of Lula, in 2010 Dilma Rousseff was elected. She represents the same party and is the first time in the modern political period that the Brazilian political stability is achieved. The current government faces the new context of Brazil as a BRIC country, lately recognized as the 6<sup>th</sup> biggest world economy.

More than 20 years later the end of the military dictatorship, the challenge of an active democratic process supporting citizen power is still to be achieved. The democratic government came in the mid 80's, when neo-liberalism was becoming the dominant political ideology all over the world. In 1982 Brazil had the biggest international debt (Friedmann, 1992 p.4), and the new constitution in 1988 was embedded within the neo-liberal international context. The 80's was a decade of economic crisis, political instability, and was the period where drug trafficking entered the favelas. If it is true that democracy was a social struggle for Brazil, the fact is that favela residents didn't take part of demonstrations for the governance shift: they were too busy fighting to feed their families, and having better life conditions than in the remote rural areas from where they were coming. (Perlman, 2010)

Brazil is a *new* democracy: from the more than 500 years since the Portuguese reached the country, only the last 27 years were governed by a democratic system. This *new democracy* condition has its own particularities, and may help in understanding why the inexistence of legislative constraints to participation doesn't result in citizen power and active participatory processes. According to Karel Maier study on the Czech new democratic planning reality, and similar to the Brazilian context, “*Planning was felt to have little importance among people who were accustomed to living under the whims of a totalitarian regime. The real*

*influence of ordinary citizens' wills upon their own lives, rights, and status was so insecure, very low value was placed on anything which was beyond the realm of the immediate future. Day-to-day gains became a dominant objective for most people, considering the high risk of any long-term effort or investment.*" (Maier, 2001 pp.708)

Janice Perlman returned to the favelas she studied in the 60's after 40 years, and tried to understand how things changed for the people she interviewed in that time. She found out that the majority of people she spoke with felt more unsafe and excluded after the dictatorship ended, and many residents even said that they preferred life as it was before democracy began.<sup>14</sup> Pearlman study illustrates a strong "*disappointment with democracy: The redemocratization after the end of the dictatorship did not empower the poor as hope, or bring benefits to their communities as expected.*" (Perlman, 2010 p.202)

To contextualize this positioning, one must consider that if the 80's was the decade of the democratic beginning, in the favelas it represented the decade when the drug dealers controlled the favelas according to their own laws. Traffickers had agreements with politicians; the politicians would take privilege of this traffic control to have the guarantee of many thousands of votes from the residents of favelas.<sup>15</sup> The vote system, that is in essence the most simple and clear expression of a democratic regime and the first political participatory method, didn't exist for them as an expression of active democracy, and the most frequent contact they had with power structures was through the police.

If before democracy, and according to Perlman, the inhabitants didn't understand the difference between their *rights* and their *duties*, and the concept of what was *citizenship* just appeared after the end of dictatorship, democracy clarified these concepts. However, "*whether or not favela residents are aware of their rights as citizens, they remain at the bottom of the totem pole in the political as well as the social and economic arenas.*" (Perlman, 2010 p.208). The favela population came to increasingly believe that participation was a right, and that it could have the potential to change government decisions, but their active participation didn't happen.

The democratic challenge is part of the societal current development, an incomplete process that lacks the social empowerment and achievement of active participation. When Perlman asked in 2003 the same people she met in 1969 how they saw the influence of government decisions in their lives, she understood that "*In 1969, 61% of our sample thought "government tries to understand and solve the problems of people like ourselves", while in 2001 and 2003 only 38% thought so.*" (Perlman, 2010 p.203)

These results open a question that is fundamental in this research: although democratic governments theoretically enhance participation in planning decisions, contrary to dictatorship systems, the fact is that an institutional shift is not enough for an integrated societal development based on active participation and

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<sup>14</sup> "we asked all of the respondents, "How would you compare your life during the military dictatorship with your life since the dictatorship ended? What got better, stayed the same, or got worse?" (...) Sixty-eight percent said that personal and family safety had gone worse. (...) We did find a much greater awareness of citizens' rights than we found in the 1960s, but when it came to exercising those rights, 69 percent reported feeling more excluded than they had been during the dictatorship." (Perlman, 2010 p.204)

<sup>15</sup> In Brazil, vote is mandatory.

empowerment. On her study, Perlman noted that although the interviewees supported that Brazilians *should* participate in government decisions, they didn't believe they *would* participate. It is as if citizenship was a luxury, more than a right for those who never had the chance to be part of the government decisions. The lack of confidence on the implementation of participatory processes comes together with a strong lack of accountability that the interviewees had on the government structures: they distrusted that government would have good intentions in relation to them. This resulted that, according to Perlman study, participation decreased<sup>16</sup> from the dictatorship time up to the present: “*The high level of community participation I had observed in the favelas in the 1960s seemed to have disappeared by the time I was doing the interviews there in 2001. (...) Every type of community association membership dropped to single digits except for religious affiliation, which dropped by only 6 per cent.*” (Perlman, 2010 p.213).

Also, the historic condition of the poor results in lack of mobilization, because “*if the poor had ever experienced equality or even respect, they would be more likely to protest if it were taken away*”. (Perlman, 2010 p.209). One may say that democratic processes are, like planning, a linkage between knowledge and action: it is necessary to learn *what is* participation and *how can it* be implemented as a first step to achieve citizen power.

There is one important theoretical position that can be taken from this societal reality. According to Flyvbjerg, an open planning model shall be open to the societal development, as well as to other types of planning, and to all the ones related to the process. The fact that democracy is still being built cannot be divorced from the fact that the perception of democracy in communities with high level of inequalities and absence of democratic reality is very threatened. The empowerment of the favelas disempowered ones gets in conflict with the characteristics of a *new democracy*, without democratic large experience, and the with the whole societal development within these territories: poverty, violence, exclusion. Karel Maier writes, in 2001, about public participation in planning in Czech that the specific characteristic of a new democracy turns out that “*the gap between expectations and results is probably wider in the East [the new democracies, coming from communist regimes]*”. (Maier, 2001 p.708)

So, if legal constraints to participation are removed, it doesn't mean that the political and social structure is ready for the implementation of a democratic planning process with active participation. There might be some democratic governments that may see citizens as “*enemies of steamlined and orderly processes*” (Maier, 2001 p.709), and also, by opening the question of public participation in new democracies, it opens up the challenge of linking the contrast between the *have-nots* and the ones with greater civic rights. The *have-nots* become the main concern of citizen participation within democracies that aim to improve the consequences of the totalitarian regime – the oppression that disempowered a great number of the population. However, to achieve the democratic challenge first is fundamental to review the limits in the

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<sup>16</sup> According to Perlman, “Participation in every type of community organization and activity had dropped off- for some more dramatically than others. Membership in the Residents' Associations dropped from nearly 30 percent to a mere 3 percent. Participation in labor unions, sports groups, and samba schools – never high to begin with – dropped by half.(...) as for other forms of participation, there was a surge of community-based mobilization just after the return of democracy in 1984-85, but by the early 1990s all popular movements had gone downhill – from Residents' Associations to federations (of Residents' Associations) to unions to base communities to the incipient Movimento dos Sem Teto (Homeless Movement). The entrance of the traffic killed everything.” (Perlmann, 2010 p.195)

active understanding of *what* is democracy for the disempowered, and *what* means empowerment for the democratic government: *“this sense of impotence means that while favela residents have embraced the theory of democracy, in practice, democracy has not embrace them.”* (Perlman, 2010 p.210)

### **Accountability, misrepresentation, misinformation**

The lack of participation is also related to the current position of Brazilians: they believe they don't know how to choose the best government. This lack of confidence on the political results may come, says Perlman, from both the lack of accountability of the governments, but also from the absence of civil movements that possess enough force to shift policies and change state decisions. Perlman does not believe, from her study, in a *“quick fix” for strengthening citizenship or building participatory democracy without deep-seated structural reforms and a movement toward a meaningful sharing of power.*” (Perlman, 2010 p.218)

After years of repression, democracy came at the time of explosion of a capitalist neo-liberal doctrine. This governance model has proven to be full of contradictions and, to a certain extent, opposite to ideals of democracy, violating some human and citizen rights, and the “human flourishing”<sup>17</sup>. This model of development is not a model of development for all, and leaves aside exactly the most vulnerable: the poor. The lack of accountability is directly related to the questions of clientelism and corruption. Both processes are opposite to transparency and supported by strong misinformation and misrepresentation. Recording Flyvbjerg, these are main causes for problems in policy and planning, reflecting on great issues in the process. If the disempowered see the government as a liar, with power concentrated on economic interests, than it is easy to distrust any participatory process – the product will not be affected by the powerless.

Friedmann's alternative development model should, according to his writing in 1992, be implemented with the support of a democratic government that enables active participatory processes and supports bottom up decisions. The structural reforms that Perlman talks about would constitute, for Friedmann the necessary shift towards societal development. If we consider Flyvbjerg writing from 1982, it is possible to frame that the political, social and economic context of the favela as the societal context of this place, represents in itself a block to the process of empowerment – a closeness to societal development. Participatory processes are weakly supported and tend to be passive within a new democracy; the ones participating conflict in interests among them (e.g. inhabitants can be both drug dealers, children, elderly, social representatives, with conflict interests); and the lack of accountability that the government has in the eyes of the population disables their trust that they may influence on the planning decisions.

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<sup>17</sup> Friedmann states the 3 pillars that ground the preference for an alternative development model. Here they are presented as the main rights taken away from the governance model presented. Human rights as the “civil and political rights, or the right to liberty” together with “Economic and social rights” identified on the human rights declaration, where is stated that ““Everyone has the right to a standard of living for the health and well being of himself and his family(...)”. Citizen rights as the “formal recognition of citizen status – that is, of citizens’ relative autonomy vis-à-vis the state. They presume, therefore, a modern, democratic state where the holders of authority are ultimately accountable to the people organized as a political community. In such a state, the rights enjoyed by one group must be equally granted to all.”, the “membership in a political community”. Human flourishing as “the right to those social conditions, both general and specific, which make a human flourishing possible”, or the necessary conditions that make it possible to be “a full human”, living on the full capacity. (Friedmann, 1992 pp.10-11)

**d. Summarizing. Open planning as active democratic governance.**

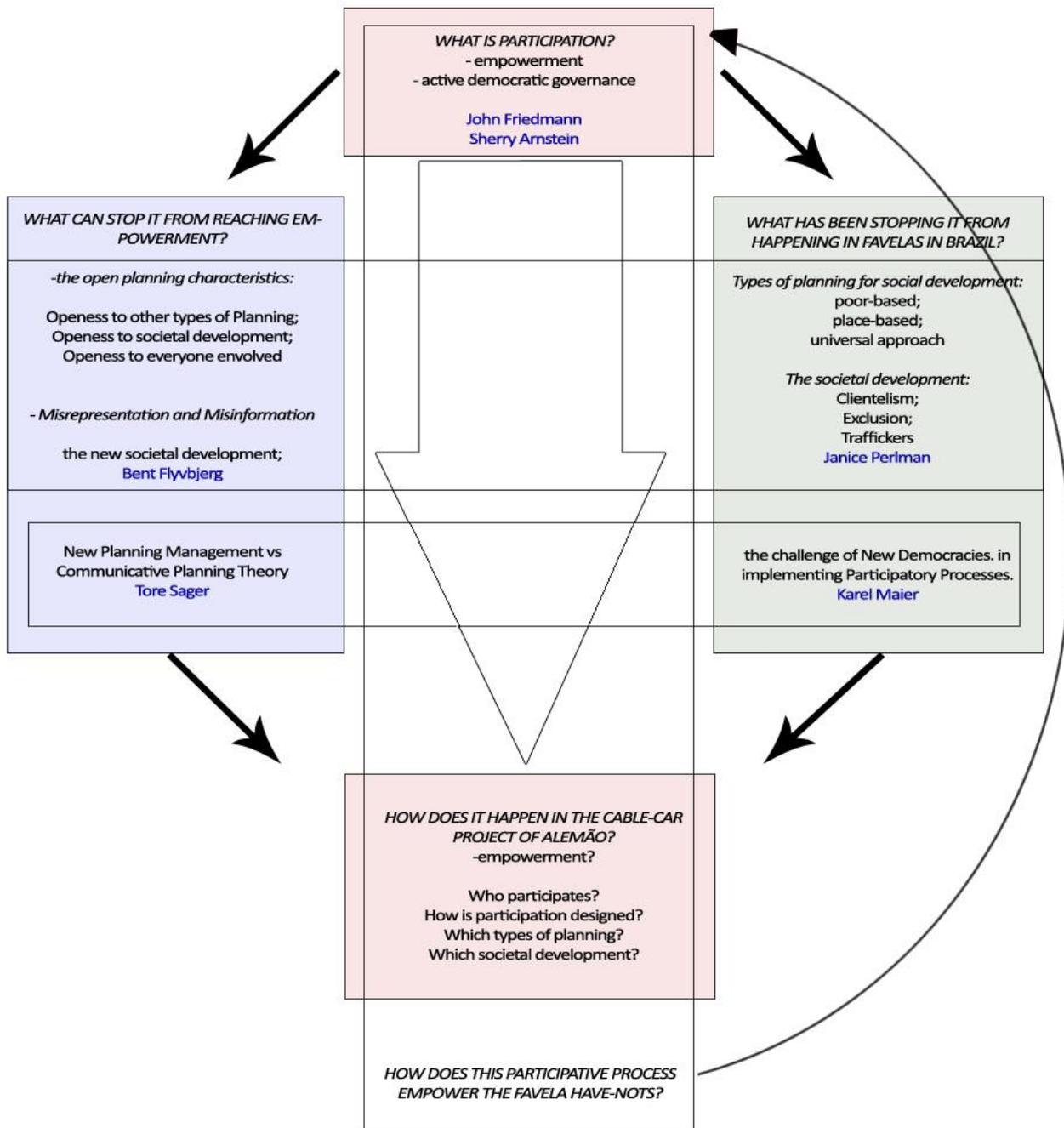


Image XX: Theoretical architecture and the logics of the analytical and interpretative approach. First question (*What is participation*) grounding the research questions, and the cable-car case study as the analytical basis for an abductive interpretation of *participation and empowerment*.

**The theoretical structure towards a critical analysis**

Historically, political dynamics and relations of the favela were much related with housing and urban questions, which lead its policies to more geographical and punctual approaches (place-based) rather than universal based planning solutions aiming to solve the social problems.

After understanding the specific context of the *favela*, it is possible to understand that the lack of participatory processes and inclusive democracy is related to the disempowerment of its inhabitants. The alternative development proposed by Friedmann is a theoretical challenge to rethink the social and political weaknesses of the poor. However, different constraints block the achievement of active democratic processes: it would be necessary a structural reform on the power structures and on the governance model in order to overpass the historic condition of the favela poor and the lack of accountability of the government. Considering different types of planning and the societal development of the favela, one may identify a lack of management between different plans, different government scales and different interest of the social actors involved in planning processes. This can be related to the fact that Brazil is a new democracy, but also that it is a democracy based on neo-liberal principles and market competition for the achievement of economic growth.

It means that it can be not enough to open the planning process to the societal development, or to other types of planning, or to all the actors, since each of these aspects may have deep internal conflicts. What arises from this theoretical base is that the fundamental question may be on the understanding of both the power holders and the powerless of *what participation is* and *how it is* seen from the perspective of the societal structure. The acknowledgment of mutual interests shall be equal, so that manipulation cannot take place getting advantage of an unbalanced understanding of planning objectives and procedural pathways. In the context of the favela – and proved by the clientelist episodes – there is an historic and social vulnerability to understand the potential of active participation. The planning interests may support a misrepresentation of participation in order to justify the process and argument the result as something *democratically achieved*.

From all the theoretical support got from these different authors, the research follows with the analysis of the specific context of participatory process in the project of the cable-car for the Complexo do Alemão (complex of 14 favelas in Rio de Janeiro). Trying to understand the specificities of the case-study, it will be analysed *how participatory process took place* in the plan. This understanding will help in understanding the questions above: *what is* participation in the cable-car process and *how is it* related with the societal structure of its context.

The analysis is supported on **individual variables** – the ones that exist independently from the research, the social and political role of the interviewees, their context (or *who to ask*)-, **analytical variables** – the knowledge that the research wants to have from the analysis (or *what to ask*) -, and finally, **interpretative variables**, or the knowledge that is to be achieved on the research, push on at the interpretation chapter. Considering the specificities of the *favela*, the analytical frame of Arnstein will not be all considered in the analysis: Arnstein's study and the acknowledged unequal condition of Brazilian society turns it clear that participatory processes are not yet prepared to overpass *tokenism* levels.

Individual Variables (interviewees profile)	Analytical Variables (output questions)	Interpretative Variables (outcome questions)
<p><b>Social Role</b></p> <p>Inhabitant; leader (NGO); government representative; cable car representative.</p>	<p><b>Ladder of participation in planning</b> (Arnstein, 1969) Manipulation; Therapy; Informing; Consultation;</p> <p><b>Social improvement planning</b> Universal approach; Place-based; Poor-based; (Perlman, 2010)</p> <p><b>Planning phases</b> Before the plan (the Diagnosis); During the plan (the implementation); After the plan (the monitoring and results).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowerment / Disempowerment</li> <li>• Alternative Development / Neo-liberal planning</li> <li>• Misrepresentation / misinformation (Flyvbjerg)</li> </ul>
<b>Who to ask.</b>	<b>What to ask.</b>	<b>Why it is a question.</b>

Table 1: Analytical Framework for data analysis and interpretation.

## 4. Research methodology and design

This chapter explains the path between the first research insights, and the final report outline: how resources were managed, how the methodology was designed and how the data was presented on the report. The report structure is organized beginning with the theoretical structure (participation from different perspectives in debate), then with the presentation of the case-study specificities, followed by the analysis of the participatory process. After, the findings are interpreted and some recommendations are done. The interpretations and recommendations link back to the theoretical structure and question it.

The research methodology and design are here presented in order to clarify the working process and the validity of the decisions made along these 5 months of research.

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### Research question

- **How** did participation take place on the planning process that supported the plan of an aerial cable-car in Alemão complex of favelas, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil?
- **How** does participation not empower the favela disempowered ones?

### Sub-research questions

- How is the historic societal development of the *Favelas* and particularly Alemão?
- How was design of the participatory process?
- Which are the limits for the *empowerment* of the favela inhabitants through the participatory process?

### The research choice

This report employs a critical case study methodological approach in Rio de Janeiro, Complexo do Alemão (a complex of various slums), where a cable-car, resulting from a government plan, was inaugurated in 2011. It is a critical case in the sense that the analysis and interpretation will question the theoretical assumption that *participation is empowerment*: the specificity of the case-study will help to understand if *favela*, or informal settlements with disempowered contexts, may find other definitions for participation, learning from the participatory processes developed. It is the attempt to find, according to Karl Popper the *black swan* among the *white swans*. The theme of planning processes and participation on a built transport infrastructure is developed on a case-study research methodology approach: understanding *how* the process was supported in this specific case in order to critically present some limits and potentials of participation within the specificities of the project.

### The Case Study Research methodology

Once the research is on a contemporary phenomenon, covers contextual conditions and its variables, based on dynamic contexts, aiming analytical generalization and supported by an abductive process (making

new theories from the test and critical approach of existent theoretical models), it was decided to conduct a **case-study as a methodological approach**. This research is intended to analyse and build a comprehensive approach to participation in planning processes within an informal settlement context. This objective is achieved with empirical data collection, (with contribution for different stakeholders involved in the process), and a theoretical basis on participation in planning. The research question and sub-questions are on a *how* basis: *how* participation happened, *how* it was designed, *how* does it empower the population of the favelas, *how* participation is included on the decisions, including a critical perspective on how the participatory process supported, or not, an inclusive plan.

These questions are supported by a descriptive and explanatory analysis of the case-study context and the planning process, and then by a critical interpretation of the case within the perspective of *participation as empowerment*.

## Research design

*“A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusions to be drawn) to the initial questions of study. Every empirical study has an implicit, if not explicit, research design. Articulating “theory” about what is being studied helps to operationalize case study designs and make them more explicit”* (Yin, 2003, p.19)

### Primary vs. secondary data. Data generation and analysis

The research question is the filter of the whole research methodology. The selection of data and analysis of findings reflects upon the prepositions: Participative theories in planning processes tested on its application to a specific case study.

Primary and secondary data sources are used. Secondary sources come from all the documentation that was part of participatory measures (reports, media, publications, etc.). These secondary data is fundamental to understand the historic of communication between government and the inhabitants as well to present the main characteristics of Alemão complex. Primary data sources come mainly from the official documents (the data on the plan), literature on participation and on the case study context, and also from direct contact with stakeholders through interviews, field visits, and discussions with researchers on urban issues in Rio. The direct contact was very important both for the design of the literature review on the case-study and the constant debate on the validity of the findings (mainly the contact with different researchers with no relation with the planning process), as well as for the access to data on the planning process (e.g. in the interview with Mrs Ruth Jurberg, from the state government, was agreed to have a visit to the state government office in order to have access to internal reports on the plan that were not published). All the data collected (theoretical, empirical, on the plan) was constantly confronted during the research, on the attempt to build a comprehensive and coherent reflection on the research findings.

The analysis begins with description of the contextual information. The situational context in which the plan was done is analysed from the data available on the CENSUS done in 2010 by the state government and the literature review on political and social context of favelas in Rio, while the planning process is analysed

from the reports on the social work of the plan, the interviews done and some public presentations of the plan.

*“The objective of the census residential was to know the detailed profile of the inhabitants of these communities and to know the main problems of the communities from the perspective of the inhabitants for future implementation of government public policies.”* In [www.egprio.rj.gov.br](http://www.egprio.rj.gov.br) (official website of the office for projects management of the state of Rio de Janeiro).

After the case-study is presented, the specificities of the context and the planning process are analysed. The theoretical background was the basis to build the analytical framework that was used to examine the empirical findings, and the empirical data is interpreted in order to contribute new perspectives and theories of public participation in contexts of excluded communities in developing countries.

This analytical framework is the guideline for the selection of data to be analysed and the outputs taken from this analysis. The interpretation of the findings critically related both analysis with case-study context and the theoretical basis of the research. It tries to answer the *interpretative variables* existent on the analytical framework proposed and to prepare for the final recommendations. On the interpretation and recommendation chapters, research links back to the first theoretical question *what is participation*, and through an abductive basis, it contributes for the understanding of limits and challenges for the understanding and the definition of participation in planning in specific contexts.

So, as a summary, the data is collected both from primary and secondary data, then described and interpreted, and categorized in order to be connected with other data sources and with the theoretical background of this research. These relations are pointed out on Fig. 1.3, where the relation among research questions, information needed, and data sources are presented.

## Research design structure

Linking data to prepositions / the criteria for interpreting a study's findings

Research question	Theoretical / empirical knowledge needed	Data type	Data sources
<i>How did participation take place on the planning process that supported the plan of an aerial cable-car in Alemão complex of slums, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil?</i>	<p>How is participation understood in the context of the <i>favela</i>?</p> <p>How is strategically founded the PAC programme?</p> <p>Which participatory measures were taken?</p> <p>How is being evaluated the outcomes?</p>	<p>Data on planning theories and urban governance (power in planning) related to participatory planning challenges. Data on participation related to transport infrastructure and investments in marginalized areas. Pragmatic approach.</p> <p>Meetings minutes of any occurred meeting. Data on communication papers / media information.</p> <p>Analysis of the project and</p>	<p>Arnstein, Sherry (1969). <b>A ladder of Citizen Participation</b></p> <p>Friedmann, J. (1992). <b>Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development.</b></p> <p>Friedmann, J. (1987). <b>Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action</b></p> <p>Perlman, J. (2010). <b>Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio</b></p>

		<p>assessment of the programme priorities</p> <p>Urban challenges in the urban programmes to support inclusive and democratic processes.</p>	<p><b>de Janeiro.</b></p> <p>Friedmann, J. (1969). <b>The future of urbanization in Latin America.</b></p> <p>Flyvbjerg, Bent (1982) <b>Citizen Participation and Openness in Transportation Planning</b></p> <p>Data on the planning process</p> <p>Interview with Ruth; <i>interview with the planner</i> (The cable car project – Mario Jauregui arch. This interview was appointed, but in the day, no one was at the office to do it and it was cancelled.)</p> <p>Super Via (the company that is managing the cable car): Interview with Gustavo Bragança, coordinator of communication team.</p>
<p><b>How</b> was the population included in the process?</p>	<p>How is the urban condition of the population resident in the <i>favela</i>?</p> <p>Active or passive participation?</p> <p>Was the population consulted before the plan?</p>	<p>Meetings minutes of any occurred meeting. Data on communication Types of participation: public participation theoretical framework.</p> <p>Analysis and interpretation on how things happened.</p>	<p>Perlman, J. (2010). <b>Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro.</b></p> <p>Open-ended interview with Ruth Jurberg, the coordinator of PAC. Interview with population representatives; Workshop with population.</p>
<p><b>What</b> were the determined priorities of the plan?</p>	<p>What is described as the main planning strategies?</p> <p>How is strategically founded the PAC programme?</p>	<p>Analysis of the plan priorities.</p>	<p>PAC presentations; interviews; the 2003 Municipality plan that lead to the execution of PAC Alemão.</p>
<p><b>How</b> was the information shared along the process?</p>	<p>Did communication reach all the inhabitants? All the affected population was informed? Was there any communication block?</p>	<p>Data on tools for information sharing and communication.</p>	<p>Focused interviews with local representatives. Flyers, news on the media. Planning process reports.</p>

	Which methods were used? – In a place where full literacy is not a reality, which methods did the government (municipal and state) use to communicate with residents?		
<i>Which different perspectives on the extent of popular participation on the planning process have both the local population and the government?</i>	<p>How do population recognize its participation in the process?</p> <p>How does the government classify the way participation was done?</p> <p>How do local representatives and NGO leaders evaluate participation?</p> <p>How is the population familiar with participatory processes?</p>	<p>Tacit knowledge through the contact with different perspectives.</p> <p>Participation and representation (institutional organization, strategic (mis)representation.</p> <p>Empowerment and participation in the urban poor.</p>	<p>Interviews with local representatives; Open-ended interview with Mrs Ruth Jurberg; workshop with population with inclusion of exercises on perception on participation.</p> <p>Friedmann, J. (1992). <b>Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development.</b> Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.</p> <p>Sager, Tore (2009) <b>Planner's role: Torn Between Dialogical Ideas and Neo-liberal Realities.</b></p> <p>Maier, Karel (2001) <b>Citizen Participation in Planning: Climbing a Ladder?</b></p>

Table 2: Research design structure.

### Sequence of research design: from research question to report writings

In 2011, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> semester of AAU master in UPM, I was an intern at UN HABITAT Regional Office for Latin America and Caribbean. At the time, the focus of the work was in Disaster Management and Climate Change UN programmes, trying to learn lessons on programme implementation in Cuba. During these 5 months of internship, living in Rio opened a strong interest in understanding different urban realities that I hadn't study or faced before. During that time, I had the chance to visit Rocinha (the biggest favela in Brazil) before and after the police controlled the area, I went to favela Dona Marta and attended a PAC presentation, I went to the first "Câmara Comunitária" (*Communitarian Meeting* to discuss the future of the favela) in Rocinha and was included on the focus group of urban and environmental planning. During this time I had the chance to meet different actors of the *favelas* of Rio and some of their concerns. At the time, there was a big debate in Rocinha about the possibility of having a cable-car implemented, similar to the Alemão complex that had been launched one month before the communitarian meeting. There was great scepticism from the population, being the majority present at the meeting against it. Mrs Ruth Jurberg was

present there and supported the advantages of the cable-car and announced other actions of the PAC for Rocinha. The debate turned out to be a continuous *us vs. them* discussion between Mrs Ruth and the local representative.

I got interested on the *favela* question, not on its definition but on the understanding of the current planning policies and its objectives. Rio is living a very important moment: on the eminence of 2 great events, in a country with economic growth, with a democratic stable government, but still with great issues on poverty, disempowerment and exclusion that are reflected on the urban reality of the *favela*. To understand this complex reality, I got interested by the cable-car theme, as an urban project that was part of a national plan for growth, and had the opposition of many in Rocinha. The interest was not around the cable-car as an infrastructure, but around *what it* means within the process that proposes it, what do the process and the policy mean for the *empowerment* of the inhabitants of the *favela*. From being present at the meeting, talking with different actors, reading some news on the cable-car, appointed for the lack of empowerment achieved. The cable car in Rocinha is yet to be planned or implemented, so it would be impossible to analyse its process, but the cable-car in Alemão was already launched. On the PAC presentation in Dona Marta was presented the social work as supporting a great participatory process. The question and interest was defined: from the visits done to Rocinha, the conversations, the communitarian meeting, and the PAC presentation, It was my interest to understand *how*, within a participatory planning process (according to the PAC social team), the cable car was built without representing empowerment of the disempowered ones.

The first step of data collection was the construction of a theoretical framework with significant references on the theme of participation in planning. Then, this theoretical collection of data turns into more specific reading on participatory planning processes in informal areas in Rio. So, to bring the necessary theoretical sources to the research, both theories on participation and the plan analysis were in constant check: which theories can support the research considering the specific planning process and how can we analyse the specificities of the process from the theoretical background achieved?

The research was done on a constant balance and search for coherence between empirical and theoretical data and all the data collected converges to the same research interest: identify the participatory processes within the plan. All the complexities that surely arise from such a sensitive theme (slum investment, transportation solutions in slums, consequences of implementation of great infrastructures, etc.) were set aside, not to miss the focus of the research: the methodological decisions were guided by the main research question, and all the research choices were done considering participative processes as the selection filter.

Multiple sources of evidence were used in order to establish stronger validity of the research since each of the sources presents specific strengths and weaknesses. For example, the control of bias on the interviews conducted there was a recognized problem, that was counteracted – the selection of focused and specific questions in order to avoid individual perspectives but an expression of group they represent. This bias was better controlled in other data sources options: the analysis of the plan, the analysis of the documentation existent on public participation and the theoretical background that supports all the empirical research.

## Steps for practical and theoretical validity

Each research step was done in order to achieve a coherent result and validate different perspectives of research evaluation. In this perspective, the evidence related to the research is built on a logical sequence: first, the literature review on John Friedmann, Sherry Arnstein, Bent Flyvbjerg and Janice Perlman. These authors were fundamental for the definition of the study field on participation and the specificities of *Favela*. These authors opened different approaches to participation in planning that built the research question and the structure of the analytical framework. The data analysis began with consultation of official online documents and websites of the PAC programme, the state government and the municipality of Rio. In these websites there was an absence of official reports on the planning process, and in the project of the cable-car as a whole. The presence on a PAC social presentation in favela Dona Marta in January – before the research started – helped in having the basic knowledge about its processes and the contact of the state government representative. In April, there was a public meeting between the PAC and the Alemão representatives in ALERJ (*Assembleia Legislativa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* – Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro) to discuss the PAC programme in the human rights commission. In this meeting was discussed the programme, its process, and different data from the plan became easily accessed (the meeting was published online). In this meeting, the population was represented by Mr Alan Brum, from the NGO *Raizes em Movimento*, and the PAC programme was represented by Mrs Ruth Jurberg from the state government and Mr Ícaro Moreno from the public works department. It was appointed an interview with Mr David Amen (co-founder of *Raizes em Movimento* with Alan Brum), and other with Mrs Ruth Jurberg, in order to open up the understanding of the plan and its process and to have access to data. To understand the societal context of the favela and some historic of public policies, as well as to have a critical analysis of the whole data, I attended an extension course in “Favelas Cariocas: ontem e hoje” (*Favelas of Rio de Janeiro: yesterday and today*) in PUC Rio University in Rio de Janeiro. It was a 24 hour course, divided in 4 intensive lectures. The teachers were 3 researchers that had historic in studying the reality of the favela in Rio – Mr Mario Brum and Mauro Amoroso are Doctors in History and Mr Rafael Gonçalves is Doctor in Law. During this course, the author could have access to an historical critical perspective on public policies for *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, and at the same time, there was space for discussion about the theme both with the professors and the other students attending the course – one of the students, Mrs Maria Aparecida was actually working for PAC Alemão through the municipality. There was no chance to meet her formally, but in many informal talks Mrs Aparecida explained some of the municipal actions in Alemão. The continuous checking of the thematic with the participants of the course, as well with the literature presented, helped very much in creating a contextual understanding of the main issues around participation in *favelas*, and the introduction to the political context that built the reality of the informal settlements in Rio: *favelas* were a new theme, in the sense it was a research done by someone that had no historic in studying *favelas*, and that was being presented to its complexities for the first time.

At the same time, I attended some lectures at the State University of Rio (UERJ) in Urban Sociology. These two academic experiences were very important for the constant debate on the thematic of the research with Brazilian researchers on urban questions, and also for the contact with Brazilian fundamental literature

on Favela. These courses lead to the reading on Valladares<sup>18</sup>, Zaluar & Alvito, Birmann, Machado da Silva and acknowledgement of the present context of the favela and the current public policies on Favela happening in Rio.

### **Interviews and Internal Reports**

*Among other considerations, the relevant field contacts depend on an understanding – or theory – of what is being studied. (Yin, 2003. p. 28)*

In order to collect the necessary data on both documentation and tacit knowledge, three interviews were conducted on the research with different actors in the process.

The first interview, with Mr David Amen, clarified many aspects of the planning process and opened the debate. David is an Alemão inhabitant, leader of the NGO Raizes em Movimento – working for 10 years in Complexo do Alemão -, and worked for around one year for the PAC social on the impact management team. On his interview, David provided one exemplar of the “Complexo do Alemão Report of the Sustainable Development Plan”, and explained how the process was designed. It was an open-ended interview that, with the lack of data on the plan, ended up being close to a dialogue. His interview, together with all the theoretical data and the literature on favelas, it was possible to structure the interview with Mrs Ruth Jurberg. The interview done to Mrs Ruth Jurberg, the coordinator of PAC social form the state government of Rio, being one fundamental contact for the study, was structured as an exploratory interview, but increasingly focused on the specificities of the cable car project process and its characteristics. This second interview clarified other aspects, and positioned the analysis from the government perspective. To avoid biases, focus and clarify the questions it was done a pilot interview previously. The pilot interview was with Mrs Rayne Ferretti, coordinator of the UN HABITAT Regional Office for Latin America and Caribbean work in Brazil. Mrs Ferretti had historic of working in different urban issues in Brazil, knew Mrs Ruth Jurberg before and is currently working with UPP Social, other public policy being implemented in Rio favelas. The interview with Mrs Ruth was also a very important contact since it was agreed on this interview that it would be possible to have access to internal reports on the participatory process, not published. One monthly report, done from 2008 up to 2012, describing the action done and the budget spent. The information cannot be published, but this material was fundamental to understand the process and the priorities of it.

The person responsible to share this information, Mr Ricardo Cabral, worked for PAC Alemão as well, coordinating the social work from *Urbes*<sup>19</sup>, before being employed at the state government. While sharing the reports, it was possible to have some extra-info on the participatory process from the perspective of someone that worked directly at the office managing this work, and also to have one flyer about the sustainable development actions developed.

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<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Licia Valladares was the invited lecturer in one class at the Urban Sociology course in UERJ on the 19<sup>th</sup> June, where there was the chance to share with her the research thematic and ask for some feedback.

<sup>19</sup> Urbes was the office responsible for the social work in the last 6 months of the PAC work in Alemão.

Closer to the end of the work, it was done an interview with one representative of Super Via (Mr Gustavo Bragança), the group that got the competition for the management of the cable car, and that is evaluating the effectiveness and the users' satisfaction concerning the cable car.

The interviews were all transcribed.

The complexity of the theme (that turned to be more open-ended than expected in the beginning of the research), together with a very short period to develop the research turned it crucial to select which interviews to be done, since the practical work of transcription and analysis asks for a great investment in time resources. The interviews were all conducted in Portuguese, and the transcription is not translated. It is considered that is fundamental to give future access for other researches on the material of the interviews, but the transcriptions were not considered fundamental. It is given with this report the document with the transcription and the audio file of the interviews, so that any future research can use this material.

The interviews were done according to the theoretical framework assumptions, based on the analytical variables presented on the theoretical chapter. The interviews' aim to understand the conflicts between different perspectives on *what participation is* and *how it is carried out in the process*. These answers will help in locating the case study on Friedmann and Arnstein's conceptualization of *participation*, confronted with the specificities of the case study. Although the framework and theoretical basis are the same for all interviewees, it was necessary to adapt the questions to the information that was necessary to gather from each actor.

There was one interview that was considered important for the research but that, unfortunately didn't happen: the decision to interview Mr Mario Jauregui, the planner appeared when interviewing the first NGO leader, David Amen: it was told that on the first contact that the PAC team had with the population it was already determined that a cable car was to be implemented. Because of this, it was important to talk to the planner and understand the steps that lead to the decision of building the cable car, with that territorial distribution. The interview was pointed with Mr Leandro that worked in the project together with Jauregui. On the hour scheduled, when I got to the office, I was informed that the architect wouldn't be there, and that as soon as possible he would get in contact with me. This contact was never established; which turned it impossible to include the planners' perspective in this report.

The analytical framework was based on,

1. Were the planning process and the project a poor based, place-based or universal approach? (Perlman, 2010)
2. In which ladder of participation fits the planning process? Manipulation, therapy, information, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, citizen control? (Arnstein, 1969)

	Perlman			Arnstein			
	Universal approach	Poor based	Place Based	Manipulation	Therapy	Information	Consultation
<b>Diagnosis</b> (the demands that lead to the plan)							
<b>Implementation</b> (the construction)							
<b>Results</b> (monitoring, the cable car consequences)							

Table 3: Analytical framework (the Analytical Variables). This table is a guiding tool to build the analysis around the interviews, and the transition towards an interpretative position. It is not possible to archive on such a positivist perspective the way a participatory process is carried on, and this is better explained on the interpretation chapter. However, using the data from both interviews and documents, it can be proposed an approximation to the theoretical positions of the authors studied. Again, this is not the truth, but an interpretative approximation to the theoretical framework, from the empirical analysis.

### **The research *in the field***

Beside it all, the decision to make a case-study research was helped by the fact that 80% of the research time was done in Rio, in the case-study city. The inputs got from a daily routine living with the *favela* reality in both academic and personal life – *favelas* are a very popular and spoken theme both in individual conversations as well as in the media – helped in being embedded with the theme from many different perspectives. The debate around the new public policies in favelas is very strong, in both civic and political spectrum, and living it from inside, definitely helped on the construction of a critical and valid positioning towards the theme.

## 5. Case-study presentation

*“The new energy of civil society among the excluded comes from having been oppressed for centuries, from having been silenced, from the daily struggle for survival, and from the pervasive feeling that the state has abandoned them, that they no longer count in the political project, and that they must take charge of their lives or become even more marginalized and oppressed.”* (Friedmann, 1992 p.139)

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To settle the case-study context, is important to briefly revise some conditions of participation and governance in the Latin America context that, after years of military dictatorship is still living a period of transition towards active democratic governance. The social empowerment and participatory processes were historically absent, but with a current democratic government there are no more legal constraints for participation. One may say that this political transitory condition was the background for the existence of a *“practical utopia of political and economic inclusion”*. (Friedmann, 1992 p.138)

However, *“The time when people looked hopefully to the state to resolve their problems has passed. They have learned that the state is neither all powerful nor greatly concerned with their life situations.”* (Friedmann, 1992 p.139). The neoliberal economy came together with the implementation of democracy, and social empowerment was left behind the hegemonic rule of economy. The marginalization assumed different aspects, with social inequities and elitism strongly opposed to social empowerment and public participation and limiting the democracy to the representative of few that *control the accumulation sectors of the economy*. (Friedmann, 1992 p.139)

The government of PT (Workers Party) of Lula da Silva invested in the economic development of Brazil based on the internal market: the elaboration of a programme that invests on the upgrade of living conditions and income increase of the Brazilian population so that economic investments go together with social investments. This is innovative relative to older economic experiences in the country, when investment was mainly geared toward external markets, with the objective to increase the economy first, and then spread the positive results among the population. PAC is a clear example of a national economic-social programme that aims to improve the liveability of the poorest, invest in urban infrastructures and increase economic rates from that. This is a new perspective in Brazil having as a basis for development a better life for the population, (Migon, 2011) but on the specific context of the *favela*, or the disempowered condition, it is important to understand the historical position of the government towards these territories, and to address how development is, or is not, being grounded on participatory processes, empowering the poorest.

### ***Favelas***

*Favelas* - contrary to the idea that they were result of an abandonment of the state, and the occupation of territories by emigrants – exist since the 19th Century, when Morro de Santo Antônio and Morro do

Castelo<sup>20</sup> begin to have small houses built by people that lived before in *cortiços*.<sup>21</sup> The *cortiços* were collective houses for the poorest, and on the municipal government of Barata Ribeiro (doctor and politician), hygienist initiatives ordered to demolish all the existent *cortiços*, since they were meant to be the source of different epidemics. (Valladares, 2005) These people began to build detached houses in the backyards of the *cortiços*, and begin to build on the hillsides of the city. It was important to stay close to the centre, where the workplaces were, and the hillsides were territories not yet urbanized. However, many of the available plots were owned by landowners that rented them to the construction of the houses. *Favela* was the name given to Morro da Providência, where the soldiers from the War of Canudos<sup>22</sup> settled after returning from the conflict, in 1897, and gave to the place the name of one of the most famous plantations they had in the region of the War – *favelas*.

Favela is historically the place of the *other city*, and represents the *broken city* (Ventura, 2000), the wild in opposition to the civilization, the poor in opposition to the wealthy, the illness in opposition to the health, and the bad in opposition to the good. This is clear in the way that the state was present in the favela: the first urban improvements the favela residents had was the construction of drinking fountains for the inhabitants. It was an important measure, since the favela were already taken as undesired territories (but tolerated), but on historical readings, it is explained by the municipality that the introduction of the fountains is mainly related with the need to keep the favela inhabitants out of the city centre, and to keep them isolated from urban life. Besides isolated urban improvements, the state entered the favelas mostly for the purpose of demolishing the houses and removing the informal settlements, (Valladares, 2005) but at the same time, municipal urban plans kept on demolishing houses.

When the major urban problem was health, illness inhabited the favelas, when the major problem began to be insecurity; favelas represented the threat to urban peace.

The poverty of the territory was, in the case of Rio, historically conceived as directly related with violence and criminality, or related with unhealthy and lack of hygiene<sup>23</sup>. With this argument, several public policies ranged from hygienist measures, up to strong policeman and military interventions, ending up a great tension between the favela residents and the public forces. It can be criticized to what extend these policies were not sometimes, eugenics policies, tackling the condition of being poor rather than trying to improve the inhabitants lives. (see fig.2)

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<sup>20</sup> Morro de Santo Antônio and Morro do Castelo (Sant Anthony Hill and the Castle Hill) were two hills in the centre of Rio de Janeiro where informal settlements existed. In 1922, with the Pereira Passos municipal presidency, there was a period of great urban transformations. Some embankments were done in Rio, and the Avenue Rio Branco was built – at the period, the biggest avenue in Rio. To do the embankments, was used the ground resulted from the remotion of these hills. (Sisson, 2008)

<sup>21</sup> “The date of the origin of the favela in Rio de Janeiro is controversial. There is the register that, after the demolition of the *cortiço Cabeça de Porco* in January 1893, in the proximities to Central do Brasil, it was allowed to its residents to take part of the material from the ground and use it to build new houses in morro da Providência. Other says that after the Revolt of the Armada, in 1893, soldiers settled in Morro de Santo Antônio, also in the center of Rio.”

<sup>22</sup> The War of Canudos was a battle that occurred in the interior of Bahia where a group, coordinated by Antonio Conselheiro, was against the republicanism. This group argued for social equities and Canudos represented the fight for social rights of the poor. After the War, Canudos was completely destroyed. The houses were very precarious, and Canudos was a place of poor people, located on a hillside. (Cunha, 1902) According to Valladares, the *favela* origin in the War of Canudos and its symbolism represents the model of the *favela* on its definition – the poor, the rural population, the hill. (Valladares, 2005)

<sup>23</sup> See (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006); (Valladares, 2005), for an analysis of the social conceptualization and the representations done along the time about what a *favela* is.

In 1969, Janice Perlman's PhD resulted on the book "The myth of Marginality". In her study she found out that the identification of the favela residents as marginal was a false judgement and that its objective was mainly to blame the victim and have the arguments for the implementation of politics for displacement and the eviction of the favela residents. It is a position that didn't end: in the 25<sup>th</sup> October 2007, the state governor of Rio, Sérgio Cabral (that keeps being the governor up to the time of this research) said on an interview to the newspaper O Globo, that abortion would be a good strategy to control violence in favelas, stating even that: "*It has all to do with violence. You take the number of children per mother in Lagoa Rodrigues de Freitas<sup>24</sup>, Tijuca, Méier and Copacabana, is a Swedish pattern. Now, take Rocinha. It is pattern of Zambia, Gabon. That is an industry of marginal production. The state can't manage.*"<sup>25</sup>

If the favela, from the position of the "asfalto" was so often (and keeps being) seen as a problem to be solved (many times solved by its destruction), from the perspective of the ones living in favelas, it represents the *solution*. With very difficult living conditions, low income, scarce education or health care, the favela means "*an extremely functional solution for many of the problems faced by its residents, offering access to work and services; a community that is relatively united, where reciprocal favours mitigate the difficulties; and, above it all, free housing.*" (Perlman, 2003 p.8)



Figure 1: Oswaldo Cruz "cleaning" the Morro da Favella (the hill of Providência that was named as a "Favella" by the military that occupied it, and ended up in giving its name to the other informal territories of the city). This cartoon relates to the hygienist campaign of the Doctor Oswaldo Cruz, done in 1907, and is just the most famous of many cartoons done in that time. It is possible to see how the Doctor (in the right) removes the poor ones from the Favella as if they were head lice. *Source: (Valladares, 2005)*

After alternating periods of policies to either demolish the favelas or to tolerate the favelas, the drug traffickers and the violence began to be the main issue on public debate and on the media, which turned the spots to these territories once again.

<sup>24</sup> Lagoa Rodrigues de Freitas, located in the south zone of Rio is, together with Leblon and Ipanema the most rich areas of the city. According to IBGE, these areas are among the 5 highest human development index of the city, while Complexo do Alemão is listed as the lowest HDI (n° 126), and Rocinha is the 120th. For example, if in Lagoa the average income is of R\$2955,29, in Alemão it is of R\$177,31.

<sup>25</sup> "Cabral defende aborto contra violência no Rio de Janeiro" in O GLOBO (G1), 25.10.2007. Available online in <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Politica/0,,MUL155710-5601,00-CABRAL+DEFENDE+ABORTO+CONTRA+VIOLENCIA+NO+RIO+DE+JANEIRO.html>

## Complexo do Alemão

Complexo do Alemão is a complex of 13 favelas in the North Zone of Rio. Its occupation goes back to 1928, when it was first divided in plots and sold out. In the 40's, the population increased resulting from the migrants coming from the north and northeast of Brazil. During the military dictatorship, the territory was strongly populated, as a result of the strong industrialization of the area, and also as a consequence of different urban plans that took the poor from the city centre. The complex was the first favela becoming an Administrative Region in 1986, and in 1993 recognized as a “neighbourhood”. (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008)

It is mainly a residential area (90%), and according to the Census of 2000, 91, 36% of the houses had water services, 83, 91% had sanitation infrastructure, while 42, 17% had municipal waste management. The urban density media is of 350 inhabitants/hectare, much superior to the media of the whole city (50 inhabitants/ha). According to the same Census of 2000, 49, 73% of the children with 4 or 5 years old were not at school. (State government of Rio de Janeiro, 2010)

It had, in 2010 (according to IBGE – the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), the lowest human development index of the city (see Fig.1). There is no consensus about the population living in the whole complex, having number fluctuations from 69.143 (according to the municipality website database<sup>26</sup>), to 89.912 (according to the census done by the state government in 2010), or achieving numbers up to 400.000, according to some media news (in 2010, the DN Globo online journal, announced that “Complex with 400 000 inhabitants situated by policies and military”<sup>27</sup>).

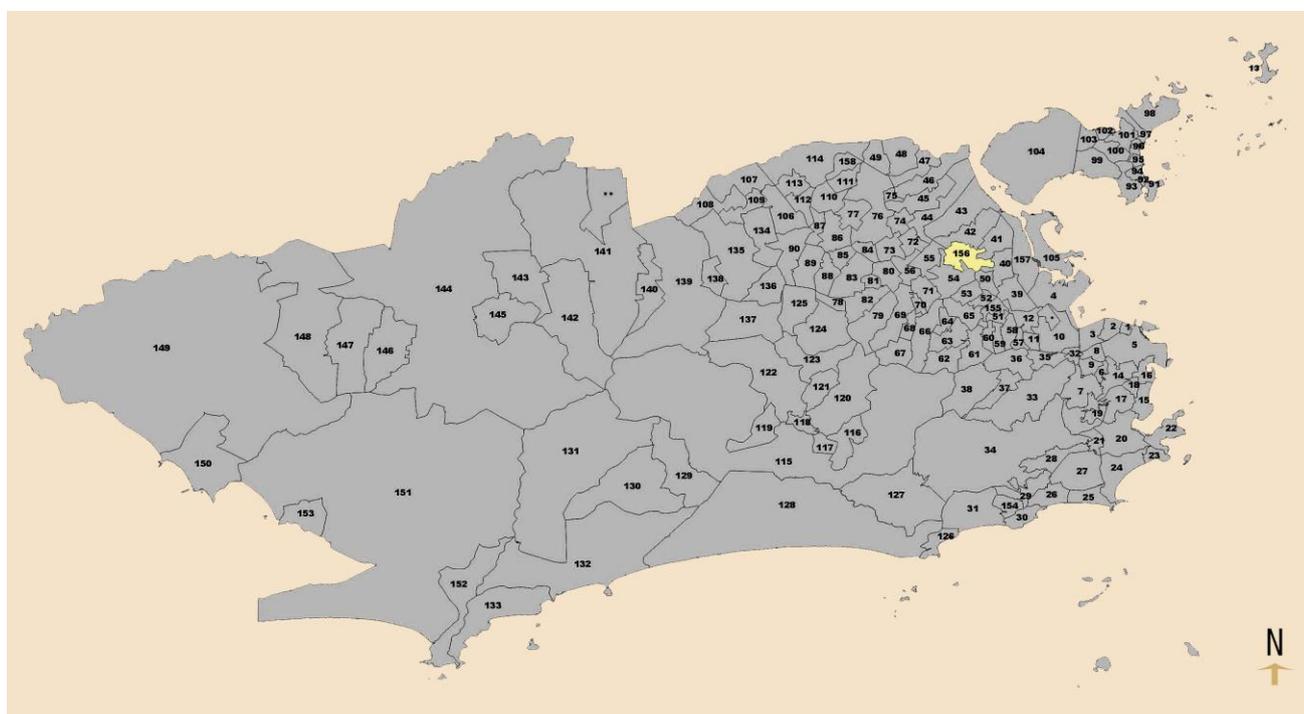


Figure 2: Localization of Complexo do Alemão in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>26</sup> [http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairros Cariocas/index\\_bairro.htm](http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairros Cariocas/index_bairro.htm)

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.dn.pt/inicio/globo/interior.aspx?content\\_id=1722413&seccao=CPLP](http://www.dn.pt/inicio/globo/interior.aspx?content_id=1722413&seccao=CPLP)

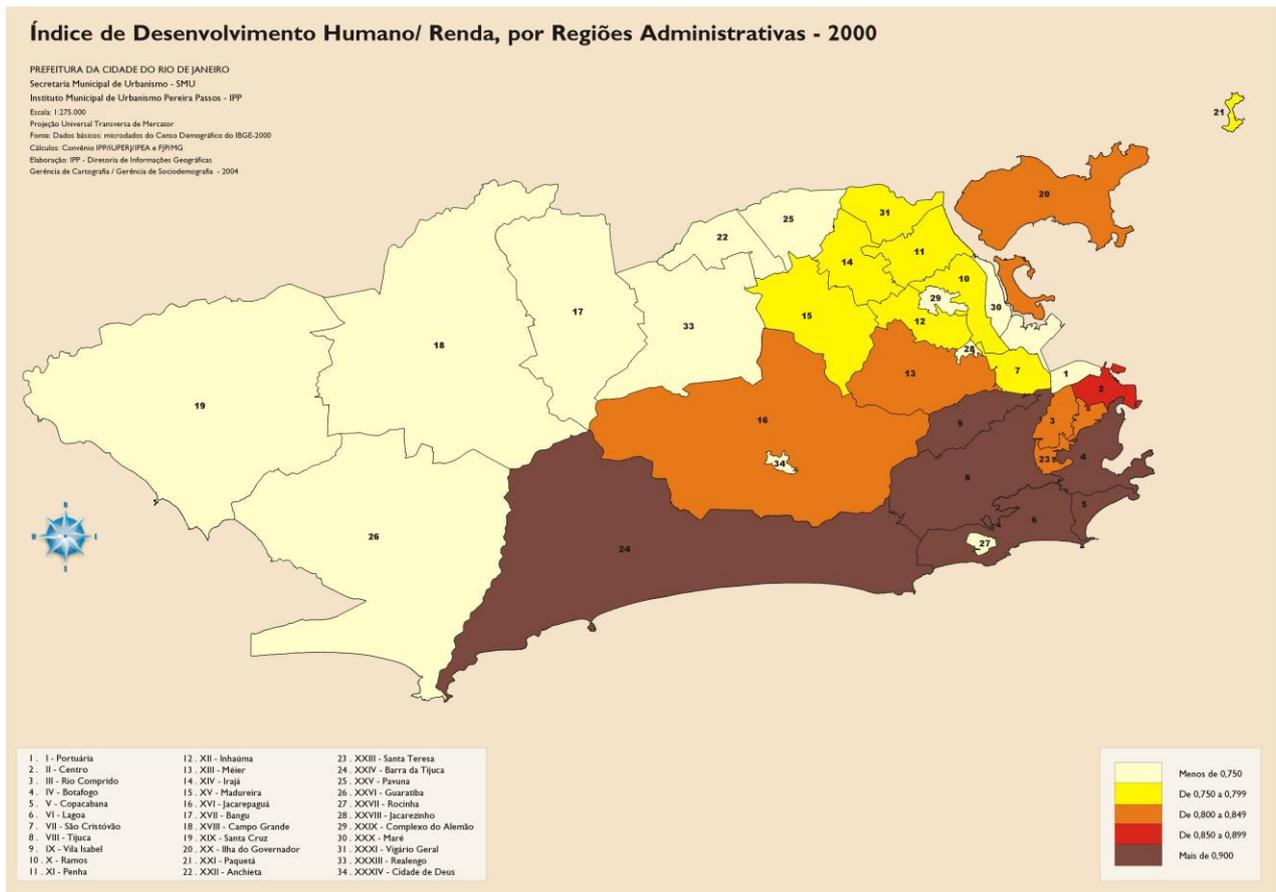


Figure 3: Human Development Index by Income, in each Administrative Region of Rio de Janeiro. Source Instituto Pereira Passos – IPP. Complexo do Alemão was the first favela becoming an Administrative Region, in 1986.

### The war to the traffic

In Rio de Janeiro, 18, 7% of the city population lives in favelas (more than 1 million people). (IBGE Census, 2000) Complexo do Alemão is one of the biggest favela areas, and was for many years considered the most dangerous favela in the city. The relation of the favela with the government in the last years was focused on the war to the traffickers, once that Complexo do Alemão was the central of Comando Vermelho, the first and biggest drug traffickers group in the city. (Wright, 2005)

In 2007 the police entered the Complexo do Alemão violently and during the operations, 19 people were killed. It was later proved that the majority of the deaths were not drug traffickers, but innocent young people. This episode increased the tension between the government (at that time, mainly represented by the policeman forces) and the population of Alemão, that, after years of absence of public policies for their lives improvement, were facing an environment of strong violence. In 2010 was carried out the most “spectacular” and mediated invasion of the Complex, by the argument of the “War to the traffic”. The military, the navy, the Special Operations Group of the military police (BOPE), all entered the complex in a strong apparatus. The territory was recovered for the state<sup>28</sup>, and the military stayed there, controlling the area until 2012,

<sup>28</sup> In conversation with one inhabitant of the slum (that preferred to stay anonymous), it was commented that “they recovered the territory? They were not here before! For me, *bandido* (the criminal) is the one carrying the guns. They just shifted the clothes, but the guns are still everywhere we look” – this is an awkward feeling while visiting Alemão: the military, holding shotguns, passing inside the complex with military cars. It is a silent tension, but still to be understood, to which extend it means that is a pacification

when the military police took place on the security control. According to Local Organizations, *“To resume the politics of public safety to this military occupation or even to give to the actions of the final days a triumphal “breaking of the traffickers” – the mediatic day D – only contributes for the criminalization of the areas of favelas and the emptiness of the debate. This interpretation may create a superficial and limited smokescreen about the real causes that lead to this serious situation, as well as to camouflage the historical reasons that lead to the abandonment of this territory and its population that lives for decades in precarious living conditions, and without access to elementary rights.”* (Observatório de Favelas, 2010)

### **PAC : Programme for Acceleration of Growth**

The PAC programme is supported on a collaborative basis between the public and the private spheres and between different governmental levels: federal, state and municipal governments. On the first phase, the programme was divided in three main areas: Logistics (improvement of transportation and territorial connections), Energetics (improvement on the energetic distribution and construction of alternative energetic sources) and Social and Urban (projects of urban improvements, housing, and relocation of residents on prone risk areas). The total amount of PAC in Rio reached R\$125, 7 billion until the end of 2010 (PAC, 2010). Now in its second phase, it is a national programme that aims to increase and speed up the economic growth of the country. The second phase began on the 29<sup>th</sup> March of 2011 and the investments are organized in 6 different areas: transportation, energy, better city, citizenship community, *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* (“My house, my life” initiative), water and light for all. The second phase of PAC began before the construction of the first phase were finished, and although there is an increase on core themes, it is important to see the lack of social programmes that are financed. The large majority of the programmes are based on physical changes in the territories, justified by a national growth. Attending to Perlman types of planning, one could say that the design of PAC has a universal base objective, but is built upon place-based initiatives, on a top-down decision making.<sup>29</sup> In [www.brasil.gov.br/pac](http://www.brasil.gov.br/pac) (official website of PAC)

The PAC Alemão included the construction of one school, one integrated health centre, one centre for psychiatric support, a library, one centre for youth reference, a service centre, a centre for law support, 2620 houses for reallocation, one administrative park and one sports area. It was also planned to build new water provision system, sanitarian, rainwater drainage, road system for vehicles and pedestrians, waste management system, public light, contention of landslide risk areas, landscape planning, the remotion of 3.482 buildings, 6 stations for the cable-car and the cable car construction, implementation of a natural park in Serra da Misericórdia (EMOP, nd). According to Ruth Jurberg, the only construction not finished in PAC1 is the library, but from the analysis we know that from the 2620 house units, only 1502 were built. From the interview with David Amen we heard that the infrastructural projects were not finished, and were

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measure. Can peace come from violence, continuous use of guns, and territorial control by the military? The question stays open, in this research, and on the public debate in Rio.

<sup>29</sup> In the PAC1 was planned to build a hydroelectric dam in Belo Monte, in Amazonia. Since then, popular movements, local initiatives, different social mobilizations are happening against the construction of the dam that will sink the territory of tribal communities and also constitute an environmental threat to the biodiversity of the area. However, the construction has began, which shows clearly how the decisions are taken independent from the social pressure of the population.

implemented exclusively around the cable-car construction (e.g., the streets modified were the ones that the cable car material needed to pass to build the stations or to implement the pillars).

PAC in Alemão, Rocinha, Pavão pavãozinho, Manguinhos and Morro do Preventório had the work of the PAC social team. This results from the federal decision that urban interventions in favelas shall include a social approach<sup>30</sup> to guarantee the positive development of the community and participatory processes. The PAC social work is done accordingly to the Guidelines of the Social Work published by Caixa Econômica (Caixa Econômica Federal, 2008), that is the main financial support of the programme.

## The cable-car



Figure 4 Alemão Aerial Cable car line proposal with 6 stations. Source: [http://urutau.proderj.rj.gov.br/seobras\\_imagens/EditaImprensa/imagensNoticias/Teleferico%20Alemao%20e%20ruas.jpg](http://urutau.proderj.rj.gov.br/seobras_imagens/EditaImprensa/imagensNoticias/Teleferico%20Alemao%20e%20ruas.jpg)

The cable-car implemented in Complexo do Alemão is the first *mass cable transport* system in Brazil. It has 3,5 km extension, and 6 stations. 5 of these stations are new (Adeus, Baiana; Alemão, Itararé and Palmeiras), and one (Bom Sucesso) is inside the train station of SuperVia. It has 152 cars, (SuperVia, nd) each with a maximum capacity of 10 people. Per day is estimated that the cable car can transport 30 000 people. In the first 9 months, 2 million travels were registered<sup>31</sup>. From the first to the last station (Bom Sucesso to Palmeiras) the travel lasts 16 minutes. It was launched on the 7 July 2011, and is integrated on the train system through the station of Bom Sucesso. (Vice-governor of the State, 2012) The model of the cable car was inspired by the example of Medellin, in Colombia, and was built by POMA, a French private

<sup>30</sup> According to the normative Instruction nº27, 14 June 2007, from the Ministry of Cities: *Art. 1: "Approve the specific Instructions for the Development of Social Work in Interventions of Housing Provision and Interventions of Urbanization of Informal Settlements (...)"*.

<sup>31</sup> 2 000 000 travellers / 270 days = 7407 passengers/day.

company that also did Medellín project<sup>32</sup>. In the interview to Ruth Jurberg was clearly explained “*The governor visited the Medellín cable-car and wanted to have one in Rio.*”<sup>33</sup>” the project was done by MPU, an architecture office directed by Jorge Mário Jauregui, that had experience in developing projects for the programme *favela-bairro* (Arco Web, 2012). The cable car in Alemão is managed by SuperVia that also manages all the trains in Rio. SuperVia was bought by ODEBRECHT in 2010, before the conclusion of the cable car.

Each travel costs R\$1, but the residents in Alemão have the right to travel twice a day for free.



Figure 5: leaving the Baiana station in the cable car. *Picture: Mónica Rocha*



Figure 6: One of the cable car stations on the top of the hill *Picture: Mónica Rocha*



Figure 7: Schematic section of one station. *Source: arcoweb.com.br*

<sup>32</sup> POMA came to Rio before the PAC Alemão was defined to make a feasibility study for the implementation of a cable-car in the area. (interview with Ruth Jurberg)

<sup>33</sup> This visit was in 2007.

## 6. Case-study Analysis.

*For these [the societies that were colonized, like Brazil], (...) the technologies of the governmental largely preceded the question of citizenship and continue prevailing as State orientation, without the majority of the individuals, members of national societies, have access to the condition of citizens. (Birman, 2008, pp.101)*

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On the analysis chapter, we will try to address the specificities of the case study from the perspective of the theoretical framework and the analytical structure defined on chapter 3. The analysis is done on a convergent perspective: first approaching the general governance of the PAC programme and the legislative feature of participation in Brazil (the institutionalization of participation). On these two items we will try to understand if the institutional and legal reality in which the PAC programme exists puts limits to participation, which strategy is presented (neo-liberal / alternative development) and which ladders of participation one may identify on the legislative purposes. With this, is possible to go back to the theoretical questions and identify *what can be blocking participation from happening?*

Later, the analysis will focus on the understanding of the PAC Alemão structure and process. The analysis is organized from the diagnosis of the territory (the decision of the cable-car), the implementation of the PAC programme, up to the monitoring phase of the launched product of the cable-car. Here, the analysis will focus in which type of planning is presented (place-based; poor-based; universal approach) on the different planning phases and working structures, which ladders of participation one may identify and what does it represent for the understanding of participation – what is blocking, on the specific case of the PAC strategy and planning process, participation from reaching empowerment? In order to understand this, it will be analysed were exists strategic misrepresentation and misinformation of the process, critically addressing the work of the team of *Impact Management* and *Sustainable Development* in relation to the ladders of participation and its objectives. The monitoring phase will be analysed mainly based on the interview done to Mr Gustavo Bragança, representing the Supervia management group. On the monitoring phase, the analysis remotes mainly to the writing of Sager, and the understanding of citizens as *consumers*. This part of the analysis will be looking at *what can be blocking participation from happening in the PAC project for the cable-car in Alemão?* The theoretical framework supports the two different questions: if Arnstein and Perlman help in understanding *what* participatory process happened, Flyvbjerg and Friedmann help in questioning *why* it happened this way.

The chapter ends with the main criticism to the PAC programme in Alemão. This criticism is first grounded on the public meeting that occurred in April between the government and the population representatives, and then followed by the author's summarized position relatively to the analysis done, so that one may re-question what participation is about, in the planning process of the cable car.

From the data collected (considering individual variables of the participants), the analysis of the “what” question will frame the case-study within Arnstein and Perlman framework on the different planning phases. The interpretation of these variables (the “why” question) is done grounded on the theoretical considerations of Friedmann and Flyvbjerg.

Individual Variables (interviewees profile)	Analytical Variables (output questions)	Interpretative Variables (outcome questions)
<b>Social Role</b>  Inhabitant; leader (NGO); government representative; cable car representative.	<b>Ladder of participation in planning</b> (Arnstein, 1969) Manipulation; Therapy; Informing; Consultation; <b>Social improvement planning</b> Place-based; Poor-based; (Perlman, 2010) <b>Planning phases</b> Before the plan (the Diagnosis); During the plan (the implementation); After the plan (the monitoring and results).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowerment / Disempowerment</li> <li>• Alternative Development / Neo-liberal planning</li> <li>• Misrepresentation / misinformation (Flyvbjerg)</li> </ul>
<i>Who to ask.</i>	<i>What to ask.</i>	<i>Why it is a question.</i>

**Table 1:** Analytical Framework for data analysis and interpretation.

The analysis done enables that the table proposed for the analysis of the case study to be populated with data. This chapter will look deeper into different sources in order to complete the logics behind this analytical proposal:

	Perlman			Arnstein			
	Universal Approach	Poor based	Place Based	Manipulation	Therapy	Information	Consultation
<b>Diagnosis</b> (the demands that lead to the plan)			X – Diagnosis report for the urban plan for Alemão.	No participation. The diagnosis was done based on the diagnosis report of 2003, done by PAA – AGRAR. The population knew about the cable-car when it was already decided.			
<b>Implementation</b> (the construction)			x	X (Impact management team)		X (Sustainable development team)	
<b>Results</b> (monitoring, the cable car consequences)			x	No participation. Quantitative data on the numbers of users and the efficiency of the technical performance.			

Table 4: Analytical Synthesis

**a. The governance puzzle: outsourcing (neo-liberal management) within a place-based organization**

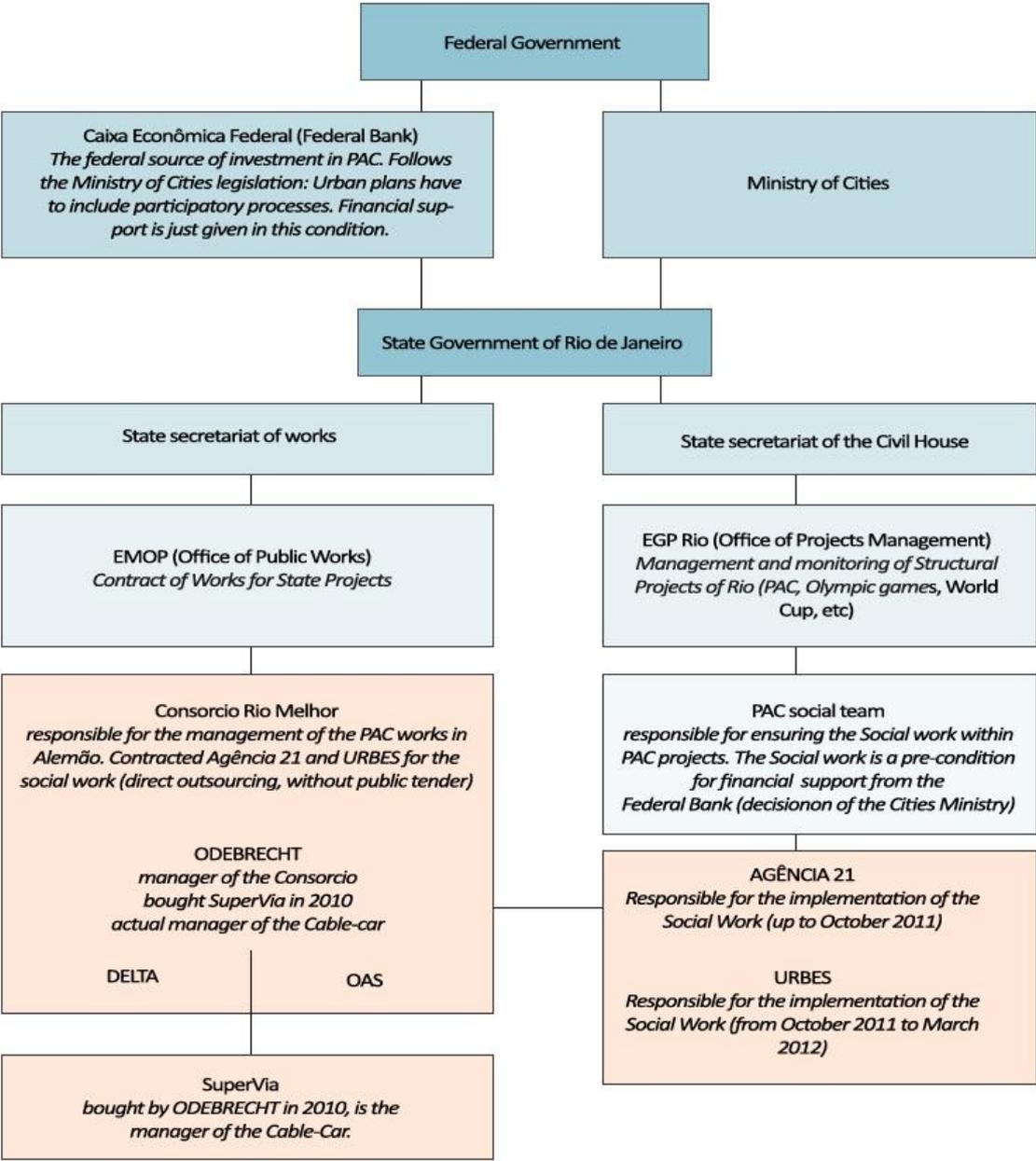


Chart 1: the institutional organization of the PAC programme in Alemão. The Canteiro Social, that is the group directly in contact with the population, works under the management of Agência 21 / URBES. In blue, the public institutions, and in pink, the outsourcings.

In the state of Rio de Janeiro, 15 cities were selected to have the PAC programme in one, or more of its projects. The main projects presented are related with depollution of river and bays (Sepetiba and Guanabara), the construction of low income houses and the urbanization of 5 *favelas* – Alemão, Rocinha,

Manguinhos, Santa Marta, Pavão-pavãozinho / Cantagalo – with a total investment of R\$3.237.000.000<sup>34</sup> from the Federal Government, and R\$643.000.000 from the State government.

In Complexo do Alemão, the PAC was managed both from the municipal and state government. The Public Works Department of Rio (EMOP), responsible for the physical interventions in Alemão, outsourced the management of the physical interventions to the *Consórcio Rio Melhor*. This consortium – a multi-organizational group resulted from the cooperation between 3 different construction offices: ODEBRECHT, Delta<sup>35</sup> and OAS – was managed by ODEBRECHT, one of the biggest engineering companies in the world and the biggest in Brazil. The Consortium was responsible to decide the office for the management of the social work (first Agência 21, and later Urbes<sup>36</sup>). (Interview with Mrs Ruth Jurberg) The selection was done without any public announcement or competition, but by direct choice from *Rio Melhor*, and the social work should be supervised by the technicians of the social work from the *Secretaria Estadual de Assistência Social e Direitos Humanos* (the State Secretary of Social Assistance and Human Rights). In conversation with Mrs Ruth Jurberg (see interview no.2), it was explained that the PAC social work was divided in two groups: management of impacts, working directly with reducing the impacts of construction and the sustainable development team, that provided actions in order to build a sustainable development plan for the area. This working structure was defined at the website of *dialog consultoria* (that absorbed Agência 21) as their general working methodology (*management of impacts* and *social dialogue*). It is curious to notice how the social work from the public programme PAC was given to private companies, both in social dialogue, or the construction of the physical projects.

The management of the cable-car was given to Supervia, since it was “*the one already managing the trains, and in fact no one knew before how to manage a cable-car before in Brazil*” (Interview with Mr Gustavo Bragança). However, before that, in November 2010, SuperVia was acquainted by ODEBRECHT, that is now the official manager and owner of the cable car. So, the private company directly responsible for the management of the physical interventions and indirectly responsible for the social work – dialogues and management of impacts – is the one that today owes the cable car. The public hand exists on a supra managerial perspective, managing the contracts of these companies, and working together with them, on a neo-liberal logics of outsourcing the public management to private institutions. (chart 1.)

Another variable that is important for understanding the governance puzzle that constitutes the social work of the PAC programme is the role of the State and the Municipal governments, how their work is

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<sup>34</sup> R\$1 = 0,42 eur.

<sup>35</sup> During the time of the research, it was opened a CPI (Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry) to the relation between DELTA and the case of Carlos Cachoeira, a corruption scandal which could implicate a large network of businessmen and politicians in the country. Although Sérgio Cabral – said to be a friend of Fernando Cavendish, who has since left the company’s board of directors – has ordered contracts between Delta and Rio City Hall be checked, and has said that he had no knowledge of any link between Delta and Carlinhos Cachoeira, (Tavener, 2012) the deputy Marcelo Freixo, (from the left party PSOL and candidate to the presidency of the municipality of Rio (RioRadar, 2012)) proposed the opening of other CPI to investigate the relations between the state government of Sérgio Cabral and DELTA constructions, by suspicious of corruption on the contracts. (Carpes, 2012)

<sup>36</sup> According to Ruth Jurberg and an informal talk with Ricardo Cabral (employee of the State Government that worked for Urbes during the PAC), the contract with Agência 21 ended because the agency was not able to manage the amount of work and quited the programme. Ricardo Cabral explained that Urbes was a very small NGO, located out of the city of Rio, in the north of the state, with less than 10 employees. According to him, he needed to take his own laptop to the office, because of the lack of resources that the office had, and after the PAC ended, the office team set apart.

divided and structured. Talking with Mrs Aparecida Miranda<sup>37</sup>, working for the municipality on the housing department of PAC in complex do Alemão, it was explained that the work is territorially divided, on a place-based logics: the municipality works with the smallest areas, since they have lower budgets than the state government that works with the largest areas. Mrs Ruth Jurberg confirmed the information: the relation among the State Government and the Municipality is a “*technical relationship*”, since the municipality is responsible for some of the favelas in the complex. Asked on how the roles division was done, Ruth answered that it was “*on the map*”, a territorial division.

The place based approach - which Perlman presents as one of the three alternatives for Social Initiatives - of the process is on the basis of the work division: the state and municipal governments divided their actions according to the territory budget needs and size.

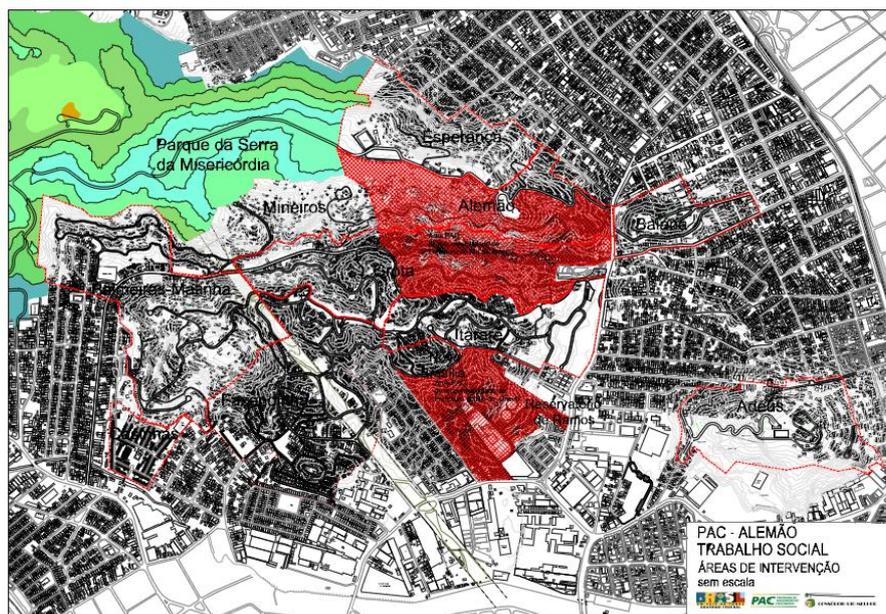


Figure 8: the territorial division of the social work: the red line limits the total area of PAC, the red patches are the areas under municipality responsibility, and the others are responsibility of the State Government. Source: Map of Areas of Intervention and Report of the Mapping of the Areas of Intervention. PAC – RJ. Social Work. Complexo do Alemão. (PAC-RJ, 2008)

**b. The institutionalization of Participation:** the top-down support of democratic planning processes or the need to obtain funding.

If the democratic government should mean in itself the end of institutional constraints to participation, in the case of Brazil, new legislation aims to ensure that participation and citizenship rights are considered in urban planning processes. According to the Article 429 of the Municipal Organic of Rio de Janeiro, from 5<sup>th</sup> April 1990,

“*Art. 429 - The politics of urban development will respect the premises: (...)*”

<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Maria Aparecida was attending the course “Favelas of Rio de Janeiro: yesterday and today” in PUC Rio University. She was working for the Housing Department of the Municipality of Rio, in Alemão PAC programme. We had the chance to talk informally, and discuss about the planning process.

VI – urbanization, plot regularization and entitlement of the favela and low income areas, **without eviction of the inhabitants**, except when the physical conditions of the area occupied is life threat to the inhabitants, hypothesis when will be followed the rules:

- a) Technical evaluation of the responsible institution;
- b) Participation of the interested community and the representative entities, on the analysis and definition of the solutions.

*Relocation to a place near the housing or working site if is necessary the displacement.*”(Free translation from “*Lei Orgânica do Município do Rio de Janeiro (Municipal Law. 5th April, 1990)*)

This regulation ensures that evictions may only occur in situations of *risk*. However, the conceptualization of what is *risk* about may allow the interpretation that once the cable car is to be built; the construction site may put the fragile constructions of the *favela* in risk. The definition of risk is, after the article 429 from 1990, the key concept to allow the demolishing of houses in favelas, and the evictions that are consequence of the cable-car project are then justified. The dialogue between the government entities and the population to inform and decide upon the alternative choices they have after leaving their houses is a rule stated. However, on the same law, article 458 says that

*“Every citizen has the right to be informed of the actions from Public Power relative to urban policies. The Public Power will guarantee the ways for the information to get to the citizens, giving them the conditions to discuss the urban problems and participate on their solutions.”* (Free translation)

So, one may say, that the current legislation promotes the participatory initiatives through information and active participation of the inhabitants (*participate on their solutions*), but there is no specification on the representativeness of the participation. It is mandatory that “*every citizen has the right to be informed*”, and have “*conditions to discuss*”. So, if the municipal organic law of Rio guarantees the participation of all citizens, it considers that participation is mainly focused on information. It could be interpreted that this is a universal law, aiming the inclusion of every citizen, but limiting the participation to information and consultation.

Since the foundation of the “Status of the Cities” (*Estatuto das Cidades*) by the federal government in July 2001 - which represents one of the measures to return political power to the population through the guarantee of public participation in urban projects - the way that urban governance is being lead is changing in Brazil. In the case of PAC, the budget comes from the Caixa Económica Federal, a national bank that finances the programme. On the institutionalization of PAC, release of funds depends on how the construction work is being done, and also how the socio-technical work is being developed. Without participatory initiatives, integrated in the social work of PAC, the works have no finance and the programme stops. This is an innovative way of top-down budgeting of public works, that aims, from above, to guarantee citizen involvement in the plan development. Although the federal decision, institutionalized on the Status of the Cities is a positive way towards participatory processes, it is important to look upon how this was implemented on the specific case of the cable car, in PAC Alemão, so one may understand if the end of legislative blocks to participation is enough to ensure an active democratic planning process.

The question *why* there is a participatory planning process on the PAC programme is first answered with that: without it, there would be no financial support from the above instances of power. This questions the essence of the participatory process, and the potential manipulative materialization it may result: “*Also*

*weakening the argument of direct democracy is the circumstance that case-studies have shown that the established political-administrative system may be unwilling to give away power in determining the outcome of planning. A detailed study of citizen participation in the Downtown People Mover Project in Los Angeles concludes that the interest of local government in obtaining Federal funding for the project overrode the intentions and obligations for citizen participation. Citizens were able to affect the planning process, but not the planning product.” (Flyvbjerg, 1982 pp.11-12)*

According to the statutes of the city (proposed by the Ministry of Cities), it is necessary to follow a *democratic management* of the policies, through participation:

***Statutes of the city – Law 10.257/01 (Federal Law, 10th July 2001)***

*Art 2nd: The urban politic has as objective to order the full development of the city’s social functions and urban property, according to the following general guidelines:*

*I – guarantee of the right to the sustainable cities, understood as the right to the urban land, housing, to environmental sanitation, to urban infrastructure, to transportation and to public services, to work and leisure, for the present and the future generations;*

*II- democratic management through participation of the population and of representative associations from the various segments of the community on the formulation, execution and monitoring of plans, programmes and projects of urban development; (...)* (Free translation from *Estatuto da cidade – Lei 10.257/01 (Lei federal de 10 de Julho de 2001)*)

This law addressed a more active democratic process in the sense that participation is seen as important on the various phases of the project, from its formulation up to its monitoring. However, stays unclear what is participation about, if it can be limited to information or if it is important that the participatory process has influence on the final product. In Arnstein ladder, one may consider that both legislations don’t determine which ladder is to be reached. In the statutes of the cities, it is curious that when the law addresses the question of sustainable development it does it considering the physical interventions, and does not relate the concept with active democratization or the inclusion of participation within the planning process. In the next points of analysis, we will try to understand if this legislative purpose was implemented with positive results on the democratization of the process or if it was turned into manipulative ways of ensuring the accomplishment of the legislation and the neo-liberal organization through a manipulative participatory process.

### **c. PAC Alemão and its guidelines: from legal obligations to strategic misrepresentation**

According to Ruth Jurberg, all the PAC programme is pre-approved by Caixa Econômica, the federal bank that provides the majority of the investment: *“we follow the rules of the federal government, of the Caixa Econômica, all the project is pre-approved on the Caixa, all the activities, all are approved on their time and resources, before execution, so we have to prevent today, with our experience, what can and what cannot be, and from what can, what can be done and how it will be done. The maximum that we can define, on a forward time, in the partner, but the number of people to be covered, all of that, even the costs of the coffee break is [decided] previously.”*. For the liberation of funds it is necessary to ensure the accomplishment of the physical and social work within the time and resources available, following the guidelines of the Caixa Economica.

The plan for PAC Alemão was decided and handed to the federal government without public participation. It was argued that, in order to have the project covered by the federal budget of 2007, it was necessary to hand in the plan before February 2008, and so there was no time for public participation.<sup>38</sup> However, it was told that the population would participate and be able to change the basic plan after the approval, which never happened: *“the community met the basic project after the federal government. So, in truth, the project was done by the state and municipal governments, without wide popular participation.”* (Migon, 2011 p.31)

On the interview with Ruth, it was explained that the plan for Alemão and its process was based on two main documents: a diagnosis that was done by the municipality of Rio in 2003 and the *“Terms of Orientation of the Social-technical work”* (Caderno de Orientação do Trabalho Técnico Social – COTS) from Caixa Econômica. The first document based the decisions of the PAC strategies, giving to the decision makers the information about the contextual conditions of Alemão and the principal problems to be addressed. The COTS is the document that provides the guidelines for the social work to be developed together with the physical interventions so that the plan enables participation.

On the 2003 diagnosis, 196 pages address different aspects of Alemão, from its social economic condition, infra-structures, environment and urbanism. On the urbanism chapter, the diagnosis is done based on different levels of community types, from the household up to the district. In relation to urban transportation, the diagnosis concludes that there is a problem of connection between the area and the urban transports of the city, and also that in order to improve the road system to complement the insufficiency of the complex, it would be necessary to take 10% of the urbanized area. (Consórcio PAA - AGRAR, 2003) These two arguments may have been the first justification for the decision to build an aerial cable car in Alemão, but it is not clear. Ruth Jurberg said that the decision to have the cable car was done by the state governor, that visited Medellin and wanted to have a similar project in Rio: whatever may have determined the construction of the cable-car, the fact is that the decision making process of the PAC Alemão was done without participation of the community.

The COTS report is the guideline document from Caixa Econômica for the elaboration of Socio-technical Work in programmes of regional development. This work results from the idea that *“the participation of the beneficiaries promotes a better adequation of the interventions to the needs and demands of the social groups involved, (...) enabling the comprehension and the manifestation of the population about the interventions, allowing the affirmation of citizenship and the transparency in the application of public resources (...), [and] favours the correct appropriation and use of the projects implemented(...).”* (Caixa Econômica Federal, 2008 p.4) On the COTS are defined the 3 axes of the social work: Mobilization and Communitarian Organization; Sanitarian, Environmental and Patrimonial Education and Professional Capacitation / Generation of Work and Income. The document determines how the social work shall be carried in different areas and how it shall be evaluated. There are defined guidelines for the social work from the diagnosis phase up to the monitoring and evaluation, explained in tables for each of the different interventions.

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<sup>38</sup> *“The government convinced some leaderships and local activists that it needed the federal resources and if it didn’t send the project up to 27 February 2008, it wouldn’t be possible to free the resources that were predicted on the budget for 2007, which would delay the beginning of the interventions in one year.(...) the leaderships and the activist agreed with that when the state and the municipality undertook that, after the approval of the basic project by the federal government, they would seat again with the communitarian representatives, reorganize internally the discussions and then the whole community could propose changes on the basic project, a promess that was not accomplished until today. In March 2008 it was all approved and the community of the Complexo of Alemão couldn’t do the changes they wanted.”* (Migon, 2011 p.31,32) (free translation).

Programme	Value of TTS*	Role of TTS	Prioritary Actions	Suggested Complementary Actions
Interventions in <i>favelas</i>	Minimum 2,5% of the value of the investment (recommended)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comprehension about the programme and the action;</li> <li>• Communitarian mobilization, compliance and participation of the families in the implementation of the plan, as well as the maintenance of the goods and services generated;</li> <li>• Organization of the community for its emancipation;</li> <li>• Promotion of new habits and costumes, aiming the adaptation to the new housing and the continuous improvement of the sanitarian and environmental conditions;</li> <li>• Improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the population and its fixation to the area;</li> <li>• Support to the implementation of the plan.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activities with informative and educative character;</li> <li>• Manifestation of the families about the physical and social intervention, as well as the monitoring of the actions;</li> <li>• Monitoring activities after the implementation of the goods and services;</li> <li>• Sanitarian and Environmental educative actions for the correct appropriation and maintenance of the goods and services, as well as actions that emphasize the correct destination of solid waste, the rational consumption of water, electric energy and gas;</li> <li>• Capacitation of productive groups for the actuation on an associativist and cooperativist way.;</li> <li>• Professional capacitation for the generation of income;</li> <li>• Support and monitoring of the process of reallocation of the families.</li> </ul>	Articulation and establishment of partnerships.

\*TTS = Social-Technical Work

Table 5. The role of the Social Technical Work for Interventions in Favelas, according to the COTS. *Source:* (Caixa Econômica Federal, 2008)

So, neither the physical interventions or the social process were decided based on the inhabitants needs or wants, but pre-determined by official documents done by technicians. The technique, similarly to what happened years before with the hygienist arguments for remotion, overpasses the political question: it justifies the product and the process. The main difference is that today the technique must answer to a democratic government, and to the need for a sustainable development for the city, where participation is generally guided by official legislation and documents that don't consider the differences between each context. There is a generalization of the conceptualization of *what participation is*, and the planning processes reflect this top-down tecnicization of the concept, trying to find the most time and resource effective way of applying participatory processes within the existent legislation. If these top-down guidelines (from Caixa Econômica) guarantee the inclusion of a participatory process, they are not enough to avoid that this process ends in the manipulation or information level of participation (Arnstein, 1969). The question that once that the basic guidelines are achieved - no matter with which instruments - it is considered that the social work was done and participation was considered in the planning process, turns participation into a task

to be completed, rather than the inclusion of bottom-up decisions on the planning process and result. The technicalization of participatory processes and its inclusion in an infrastructural plan, managed by private organizations, makes the point on the real democratization of the process or on the *“planner’s role as finding bureaucratic substitutes for market solutions, and [the strengthening of] the planner’s role as designer of efficient and democratically acceptable market institutions.”* (Sager, 2009 p.66) On the COTS table, participation is more related with education and information rather than with levels of partnership or citizen control. Partnerships are recommended in the last column of the table, but are not mandatory. The *promotion of new habits* and the *sanitarian and environmental educative actions* can be considered in the level of Arnstein’s *therapy ladder*: the inhabitants need to be educated in order to have the condition to be beneficiaries of the plan. The social problems, some of the causes for the precarious living conditions of the population are not addressed, instead, education and the transformation of the community habits are considered a way of correcting the *problem* of social informality of the favela. The COTS table also clarifies that the role of the TTS is to build a comprehensive understanding of the programme and the actions, rather than to support the decisions on a participatory basis: the population shall be mobilized to comply and participate on the implementation of the plan. Participation, from this perspective, is seen as an effective way to ease the implementation process of the physical actions.

The social work began in 2008, the same year when the cable car began to be built, and the participatory process went together with the physical interventions, after the decisions were made. The cable-car was not a priority for the population, was not decided by the inhabitants but inside the office of the vice governor. (Migon, 2011 p.30,31) However, it is curious that in 2000, the NGO Verdejar proposed a solution for an ecological park in Alemão that included a cable car<sup>39</sup>. This cable car would be moved by eolic energy, located in the area of a stone quarry that exists in the hill. On an interview given for a master research in 2011, one local activist from Verdejar said that the idea was to have *“A cable-car, moved by eolic energy...then we did the document, asking for that, but that inside the area of the stone quarry. The idea was not to do exactly a cable-car, but a (...) I think it was a lightrail vehicle (...)”*. (Migon, 2011 p.16) In the same research, it is also stated that *“the cable-car was never considered priority by the inhabitants, even more because it takes 32% of the whole project budget. According to interviews I realized with residents of the “community”, activists and local leaderships, the choice for the “communities” benefited by PAC favelas, between them the Complexo of Alemão, as well as the equipments to be build and the interventions to be realized, was done “top-down”, or, without consultation of the residents”*. (Migon, 2011 p.17) So, some solutions for the community were already being proposed by the local organizations, and it even included some alternative transport solutions, but in a completely different conceptualization of the transport, included on an ecological park and supported on a bottom-up proposal. The cable-car of PAC had a completely different processual and product conceptualization than the one proposed in 2001.

### **PAC social in Alemão – the implementation**

PAC social is the responsible for the social work on the PAC initiatives. It works within the PAC initiative in Rio since 2008, and its general objective is *“to transform urban physical interventions into processes of sustainable*

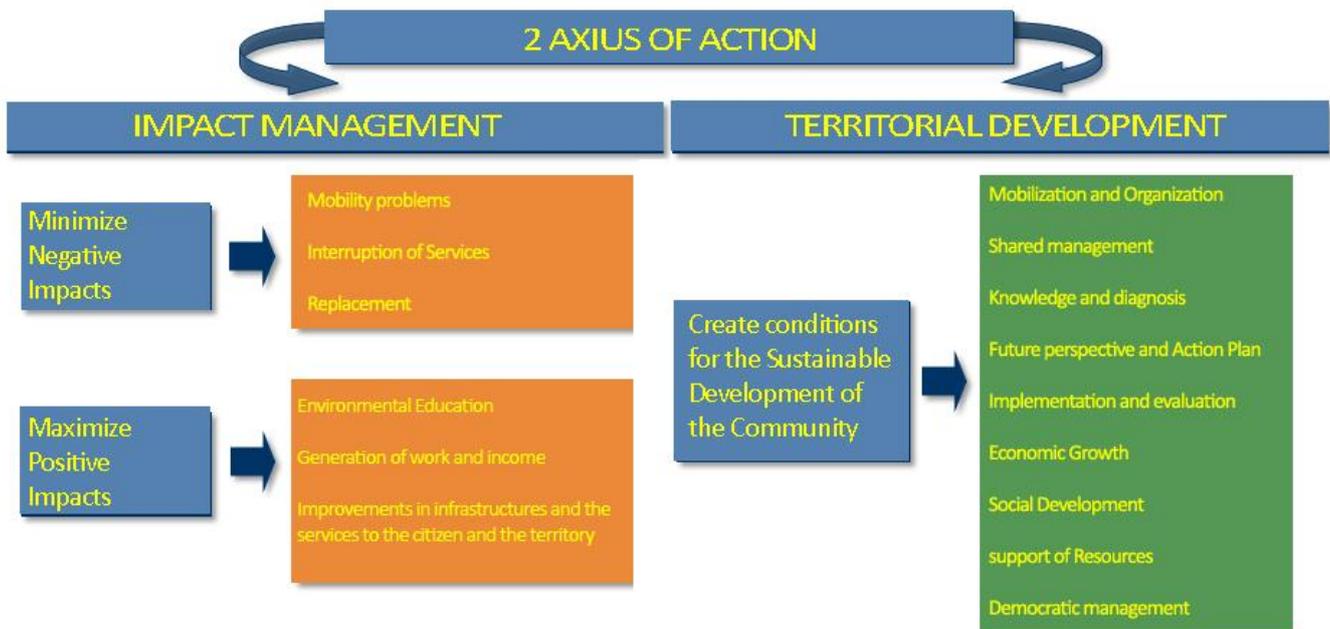
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<sup>39</sup> This was never mentioned in any document of the government, neither in the interview with the actors.

development, gathering the constructions that transform the territory with economic growth «, distribution of benefits and support resources under democratic management.” (Banco Internacional para Construção e Desenvolvimento; Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, nd / (2011 or 2012)) (Free translation)

The PAC social programme gets 2,5% of the total investment for PAC. In Alemão, this gave to its activities a financial of R\$19.906.234<sup>40</sup>. The PAC social acts in three fronts and two axes. The working fronts are the ones presented in the COTS manual, namely the *communitarian mobilization and organization; sanitarian and environmental education and generation of work and income*. These 3 fronts are addresses on two main axis of work: *Management of Impacts and Sustainable Development* (named Territorial Development at the second phase of PAC). (PAC Social, 2011 p.3)

On the Plan of the Technical-Social Work of PAC Alemão, to be sent to Caixa Econômica presenting the objectives of the work before entering the territory, it is stated that both axis of work (Management of Impacts and Sustainable Development) shall be considered within a democratic governance, enhancing social organizations of the favelas. The government strategy for the entering on the territory was the understanding of the specificities of Alemão, through a preliminar diagnosis (based on secondary data), the mapping of the territory internal divisions, the acknowledgment of the potential partners for action with the state and the definition of the strategies for the elaboration of a Census. The social dialogue would happen in the *Canteiro Social*, a space for the *attendance of the community were will be available the informations about the project. (...) It will also work as a communication channel, participation and direct negotiation with the community and will work in the area of mediation of existant conflicts resulted from the constructions.* (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.7) The objective of the social dialogue was to have space to explain the community what was going to happen physically in the territory, and to negotiate solutions for the aspects that would directly affect their lives, so that *it becomes possible to understand, assimilate and influence positively the perceptions of the actors in what refers to the impacts and their questions.* (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.7)



<sup>40</sup> If the PAC social got 2,5% of the total investment, this means that the total investment in PAC Alemão was of R\$796.249.354,80, that is around 334.427.729,016 eur. However, according to IPEA, it reached R\$ 827.721.089,17. (Nery & Flaeschen, 2010 p.21)

Chart 2: Structure of PAC social action in Alemão. Impact management (GI) and Territorial Development (first named as Sustainable Development – DS) have different approaches and results. If the first aims to minimize the impacts of what is being built, the second aims to support the building up of what doesn't exist yet. On GI, minimization of impacts was done mainly through the information of what was going to happen, and when. Only the ones affected would be informed, the ones that needed to be replaced were offered 3 different choices of replacement, no one else was included or informed on the process. The maximization of positive impacts was done mainly in partnership with local NGOs and grassroots organizations that worked both for environmental education and also for some initiatives related to the sustainable development action. Generation of work and income was an on-going process; the majority of the working places were temporary and related with the construction services. In fact, the improvement of infrastructures was much related with the construction of the cable car, but also with building of some civic infrastructures. But, in general, if the first (GI) resulted from pre-determined decisions and projects, the second lead to the publishing of a Sustainable Development Plan report, but the Plan in itself does not exist. On both, small projects with grassroots organizations and local NGOs were positive actions for the improvement of Social organization, but these projects were mainly micro-project, and as Friedmann would argue, “*Small is beautiful, but not enough*”.<sup>41</sup> Source: (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.18)

It was done a residential and a business Census in Alemão, in order to have a better understanding of the context of the place and the population. It was done door-to-door, and the majority of the staff was contracted within the community. It is a very complete document, but it was published in March 2010, when the constructions were running for already two years. The census did not guide the decision making or the implementation strategy and was developed as part of the Social Work. It probably was an important tool for the understanding of the actors in the community, the leaderships, the most important demands and priorities (although presented in quantitative analysis), but it could not have consequences in the PAC objectives or projects – may have affect the process, but not the product. The entrance in the territory was then valuable for the state to know the territory and to manage this knowledge, but the inhabitants, PAC entered the territory only in the moment of the plan implementation – when the social work began.

As it is stated in the PTTS, the social dialogue is a “*process of consultation and engagement of actors. From this strategy, it is about establishing channels and tools of relationship and communication with the affected actors or the ones affecting, directly or indirectly, the actions.*” (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.7), a strategy for the engagement and collaboration of the different actors in the development of the state initiatives. Its purpose is not to be influenced by the popular contribution, but to manage the decisions within a dialogue space with no search for consensus.

For the social dialogue was created a committee with local representatives (the residents associations leaderships) and representatives of the government, that should be “*deliberative about the community revindications*” and a Forum of Leaderships, with periodic meetings and including different communitarian leaderships.<sup>42</sup> From the committee and the Forum, it was predicted to have in total 42 meetings along the process. But none of these meetings was open to the whole community. It is important to remember also, that in 2008, up to 2010, Alemão was still under the drug dealers control, and that in the “*majority of the residents*

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<sup>41</sup> “*To be small is not enough. So-called alternative projects are prospering at community levels. There are countless examples of useful and participatory actions that directly improve the conditions of life and livelihood of the poor. But relative to the massive needs of the poor throughout the world, they are a mere drop in the bucket. Political and economic empowerment – the inclusion of the excluded – is not generally part of a people-centred development approach.*” (Friedmann, 1992, pp.158)

<sup>42</sup> The first meeting with leaderships happened in the 25<sup>th</sup> July 2008 and had 29 participants: 12 community representatives, 2 from the State Government of Rio, 7 from the local team of the Social Work and 8 from the central team of the Social Work of PAC. In this meeting was determined the constitution of the Forum. It was a meeting with *consensus in the decisions*. (PAC-RJ Trabalho Social, 07-2008)

associations (...) the presidents are not elected, being chosen and supported by sectores of the community that were not identified". (Consórcio PAA - AGRAR, 2003 p.64)<sup>43</sup>

The creation of the committee, and all the top-down entrance in the territory with no participation, misinformed the inhabitants as a result of the way the plan reached the most disempowered ones: noticing the plan when it was already being implemented and with no contact with any phase of the decision making process. This approach reinforces the place-based approach and the understanding that the plan was first presented to the inhabitants manipulated and decided by very few participants, didn't include the universality of the inhabitants, neither selected the disempowered ones to participate but the leaderships of the favela, some of them not elected and with direct relations with the traffickers.<sup>44</sup> The objective was to get into the territory, and enable the construction to happen supported by the leaderships: this was the first moment of the social dialogue.<sup>45</sup>

Later, the meetings with inhabitants were mainly focused on informing about the work of PAC and the accompaniment of technical visits to each inhabitant house that was to be demolished. For example, in the report of the Social Work of October, 11 activities were developed. Only one, the *operationalization of the relocations – informing of the process and registration* was done in a meeting together with the community. Many activities had the community as a target, announcing different programmes, making technical visits to the houses, technical analysis for implosions, etc., but the inclusion of the community as participants was only considered on the relocation process, where was necessary to register the inhabitants.<sup>46</sup>

### **Impact management: disempowerment through manipulation and therapy.**

*"The big physical interventions cause many risks for the action and questions of social nature may difficult it realization. The impacts generated in these activities, mainly when it involves remotion of communities fixed on the area of the plan, or on its surroundings, tend to have a strong appeal to the organized social society and the media. Because of that, the inefficient management of impacts and the relation with the families and the business involved inevitably have as a consequence delays in the calendar of the implementation of the plan, unexpected costs and a negative image of the interventions."* (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.8)

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<sup>43</sup> "One radical example of this position from the Residents Associations is the case of one communitarian leader, one of the most important president of residents associations of the region, that constituted one army group and, saying that he had support from the traffickers that dominated the region, appeared in one of the areas where the inhabitants didn't want to leave their houses before having concrete guaranties from the State Government that would be reallocated on the housing units proposed by PAC, and intimidated the inhabitants saying that they were dallying the constructions and should leave immediately, because they were prejudicing the whole community". (Migon, 2011 p.24)

<sup>44</sup> Mrs Ruth Jurberg told during the interview that the most tension moments of PAC were the beginning of the process, when the meetings were very tense, and when the government knew that the residents presidents, representing the community at the meetings, were related with the traffickers of Alemão. "We knew it was not the representativeness we would like to have", she explained.

<sup>45</sup> On the guidelines for the interviews to be done to the "inductive actors" (the ones that can open contact to other important acotrs of the community), before the official presentation of PAC, it is stated that *the objective is not to do research or to list the wishes and questions of communitarian interests (the process will take care of it further), but to "conquer" the leadership, from its interest in PAC and in the Social Work of PAC that shall arise, and to be able to have their help to identify and mobilize other local actors.*" (PAC, 2008, not published)

<sup>46</sup> According to the state decree nº 41395 of 15 July 2008, art. 2, 1.4, defining the process of relocation is determined that *the families that occupy these units will be target of previous registration (...)*. The same decree determines the different choices for relocation, the same that were given to the inhabitants of the Complexo.

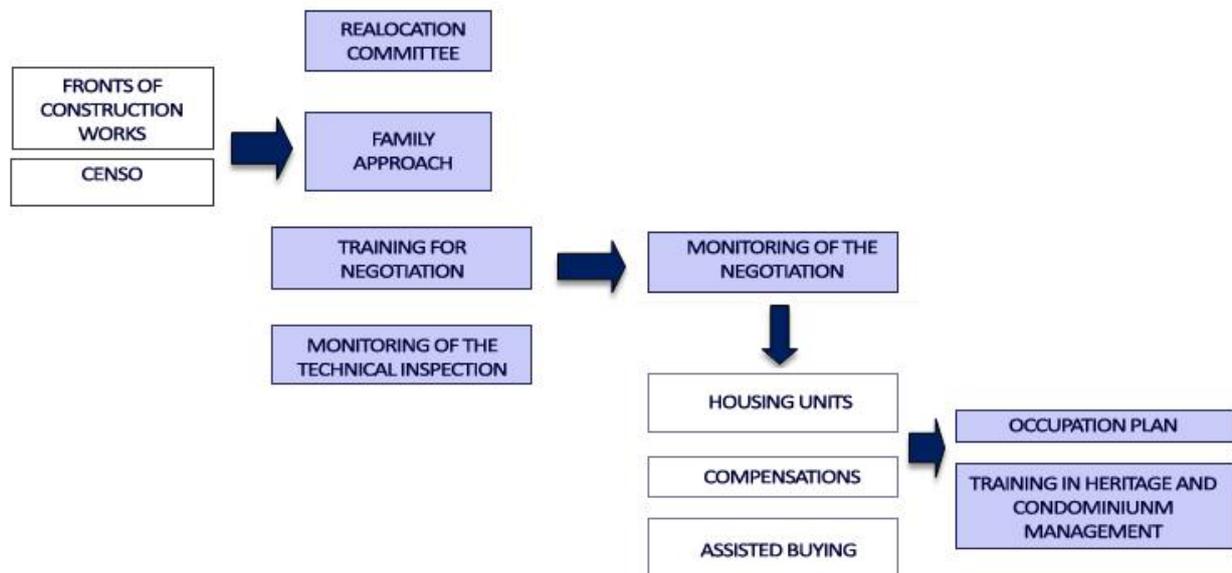


Chart 3: **The impact management work.** This scheme presents how the social work is done in relation to one of its 2 areas of action: the management of the impacts resulting from the constructions of PAC. In the scheme can be observed that the work begins when the construction is already taking place, and the focus is on the negotiation of the three different solutions that the evicted ones have, once that their houses will be demolished. The social work ends on the plan to occupy the new houses and on training the population on how to live in condominium, because they were used to have their own houses before, with their own rules, different from an apartment building with a collective condominium, source: State Government, EGP Rio (PowerPoint public presentation).

The PAC interventions, specifically the cable car, had great territorial impacts. The management of impacts worked for both the negative and positive impacts of the constructions.

The negative impacts were related with the constraints of the construction, the evictions and the difficulties to the daily routines of the communities directly affected with the 4 years of constructions: the communication of the affected ones about mobility questions (streets closed, construction in streets, etc.), implosions, or other impacts of the construction on local businesses or in having access to the houses. The relocation of thousands of inhabitants, consequence of the constructions, was also addressed by the impact management work. The inhabitants that needed to be relocated because they lived in areas that the construction needed to pass through, were invited for a meeting. From this meeting, introducing the question of the displacement, they were guided for individual meetings at the *Canteiro* in order to negotiate the relocation. (PAC-RJ , 08-2012) To relocate the inhabitants that were evicted, 1502 apartments were built on the basis of one hill (it was first planned to build 2620 housing units) in the complex and given to some of the inhabitants. The new houses were not given to everyone, so the other choices were to have the house bought by the government (indenisation) or to have an “assisted buying”<sup>47</sup> of new houses. The inhabitants that were renting their places had access to “social renting” that is the provision of R\$400 for the rent of other place. (PAC-RJ, 08-2012) the management of the relocations was the main role of the impact management work: the inhabitants were informed that their house was going to be demolished, and they

<sup>47</sup> “Assisted buying”, or *Compra Assistida*, is one of the options the inhabitants had when they were evicted. This basically consists in the state government managing a better solution for acquisition of a new house. The government had some partnership with bank institutions to have buying facilities that the inhabitant alone wouldn’t have the chance to get.

were given the choice among the three alternatives. This was, according to Ruth Jurberg, a process that left some inhabitants uncomfortable with the PAC work, because “*some didn’t want to leave their houses*”.<sup>48</sup> According to Maria Aparecida, working for the municipality, “*no one was never asked if they want to leave their house or not, that is not part of the question.*”

The *negative impact management* ended in the education of the inhabitants relocated to the new houses built so that they were capacitated to live in apartments with condominium rules.<sup>49</sup> The management of relocations was done through social dialogue, and needed to have the relocations done “in the predicted time with high degree of satisfaction from the community relocated”<sup>50</sup> (Governo Rio de Janeiro, 2008 p.10). This social dialogue was done individually, and the negotiations took into consideration the census information and focal groups that were created to identify the demands and perceptions of the families about the impacts. According to the PTTS, this process aimed to understand which were the resistant groups. The negotiation strategies were then defined for each specific group, beginning always with a financial evaluation of the buildings to be demolished.

The management of the *positive impacts* dealt with the opportunities that could be taken from the physical works of PAC. It was mainly related with working places opened by the physical interventions. The work was done by bridging the working places available and the working needs of the population – the unemployed of the community. It was seen as a chance to insert these workers in the market, through the opportunity of PAC, a way of generating work and income, one of the PAC social fronts.



Figure 9: Banner shared informing the population about the implosion of an old industry in the Complex. This information is given under the work of the Social Team of PAC, and considered as part of the impact management social work. (the banner informs about the day and time of the implosion). Source: (PAC-RJ, 12-2008)

The impact management work had no active participation. In fact, the misinformation about the decision-making process, and the way the social dialogue was built created a general misrepresentation of the participatory process and its objectives. The inhabitants had no more than the power to choose among pre-

<sup>48</sup> According to David Amen, from the NGO *Raízes em Movimento*, there was one situation of one old lady that had heart problems, and knowing that her house was going to be demolished, had some health problems and passed away. The reason of the death, the populars say, was the shock she got with the new, since she didn’t want to leave but there was not the choice of staying.

<sup>49</sup> The certification of the presence in the capacitation is a pre-requisite for having the new house.

<sup>50</sup> Time efficiency and client satisfaction are, according to Sager, characteristics of a New Planning Management approach. (Sager, 2009)

determined solutions, and in case of discordance, the shock of order was the institutional tool to impose the power holder's decisions. The popular consultation happened only with the population directly affected by the construction impacts – on a place-based perspective – and the inhabitants had no influence on the planning decisions at all. It was a manipulative decision process, since the decisions were set before and the inhabitants had no choice but to accept the PAC premises, otherwise, they would be *against* the improvements of the whole community. In the case of the educative actions, the *teaching* of how the residents should behave on the new houses and on the new perspectives for the complex, took the participation profile to the level of therapy. None of these modes of participation enable empowerment of the population, and the fact that the process was misrepresented in order to accomplish a *democratically acceptable* process disempowered the population to struggle for the inclusion of a participatory process – it was theoretically ensured within the PAC programme and the current legislation.

**Territorial Development (Sustainable Development): the micro projects, closest to *alternative development models*.**

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Included on the PAC social work of Alemão, there was the team of sustainable development (DS) that should build dialogues with the population and understand their priorities to create a vision of future for Alemão. The sustainable development team was almost absent in the beginning of the PAC work (more focused on the physical impacts). Only on a report of December 2008 is presented for the first time the proposal for the *model of shared management* of the Complexo do Alemão, included in the sustainable development work. This proposal settled that in order to achieve a shared management of the territory, the best solution would be to create Communitarian Forums. The first communitarian forum was done in August 2009, with the presence of different participants selected in previous meetings: a commission of representatives of NGOs and grass roots organizations and representatives of local business and commercial services<sup>51</sup>. The forum had the objective to be the fundamental basis for the construction of the sustainable development plan, and for the understanding of the sustainable development work as a “permanent action” that could improve the local economy, enhance the social organizations and enable the creation of democratic spaces for discussion. (PAC-RJ, 08-2009) It was considered the essential tool for the building of a Vision of Future and a Plan of Local Action. The implementation of this plan should be done, in a perspective of a shared management, by local NGOs or by consortiums under their management. Together with the Forum, there was proposed the creation of a Camera of Local Development that should gather communitarian representations, together with other partners, government institutions and private initiatives, in order to bridge the Forum Local Action Plan with the city. (PAC-RJ, 12-2008)

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<sup>51</sup> The mobilization of the different participants was done through Communitarian meetings that selected commissions to represent each of the 12 communities, through the Thematic Groups of discussion where some inhabitants volunteer to participate and some were selected to be in the Forum, Civil Society Organizations that were mapped on the PAC process, Local Business and Commercial responsables, that were identified during the census work. This way, the forum had a selected representativeness, determined by the most active participants in the community life and in the PAC process. (PAC-RJ, 08-2009)

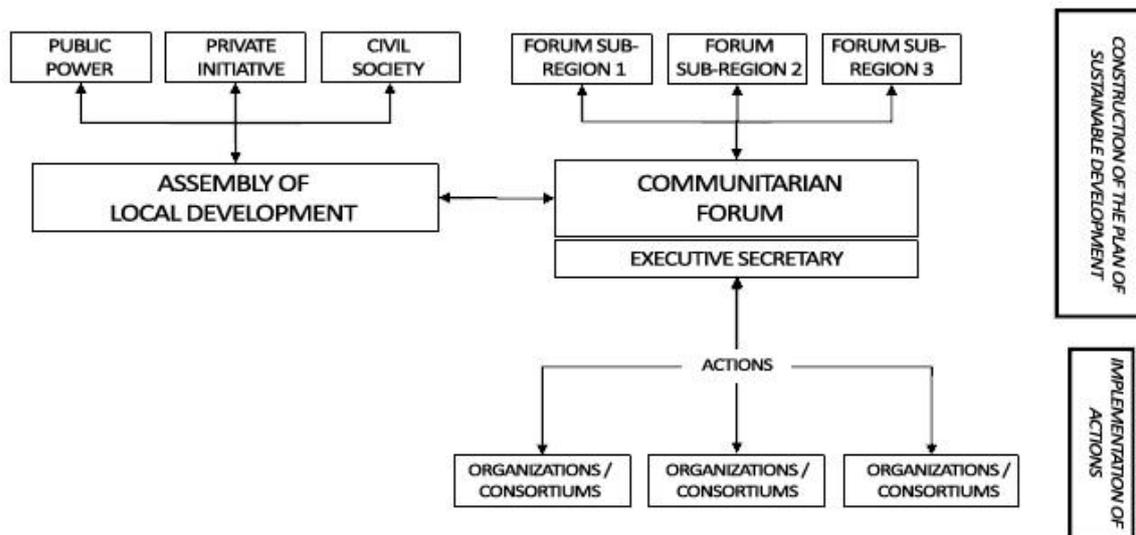


Chart 4: The Shared Management Proposal: towards the construction of a Sustainable Development Plan for Complexo do Alemão. Source: (PAC-RJ, 12-2008)

On the action plan for the Sustainable Development Plan for Alemão, the work is presented as “a group of proposals capable of, with effective protagonist of the collective agents of Complexo do Alemão, incorporate the social changes resultant from the governmental intervention on the physical and urban plan. It is, ultimately, the transformation of governmental policies into public policies in the sense of identifying them with the social fabric of the place, thus ensuring its sustainability.” Free translation. (PAC Social, 2011 p.3)

The work of the Forums had as an outcome the “Report of the Sustainable Development Plan” (PAC, 2012). Talking to David Amen (that provided this research with one report) he said that in fact, the report has some of his own saying from the reports he did while he was working on the impact management team of PAC. According to him, it is a nice collection of some of the demands of the population but in fact, it is not a plan but a report of a plan. It was published after the cable-car was opened to the public use, in the end of PAC 1 in Alemão. On the interview with Mrs Ruth Jurberg, it was asked for the plan that led to the report, and the answer was that “there is no Plan, all that is published, is the report”, and that the report should work as a guideline for future plans and actions in Alemão. So, the work of the Forums and the Committees ended on the elaboration of the Report of a plan that had no direct influence on the PAC actions. It is to be understood the influence this report will have on future actions, but by now, its capacity to empower the inhabitants and give positive answers to their priorities was not achieved.

Besides the work towards the elaboration of the Sustainable Development Plan, the sustainable development team also supported the implementation of different projects managed by local organizations, and enhanced the creation of spaces for the diffusion of income and work, as well the proposal for the creation of CEDESCA (Centre for Sustainable Development of Complexo do Alemão). In this centre different local NGOs could find a physical space to have their activities to support the sustainable development of the territory. Although the idea presented was to support a long term action for a continuous positive development of the community, based on its internal organization, the fact is that the majority of the projects developed were in a small scale, and many were implemented a later phase of the PAC work. The sustainable development actions were detached from the physical interventions. Maybe, if the sustainable

development work would have been conducted strongly together with the physical interventions, then there could have been a poor-based approach, aiming for the universalization of the results as a model of democratic process, thinking both physical interventions and sustainable development as one common plan. But the support of alternative small projects did not happen together with the mainstream macro interventions, and active democratic processes were not considered in the impact management team, the same way that the physical interventions were not result of the sustainable development team work.

Although the cable-car was considered an investment with profits for the whole community, with long term gains of investment and local development (interview with Ruth Jurberg), in practice, on the development of the Sustainable Development work, the cable car was (as stills be) considered as a physical infrastructure where some social actions may happen – exhibitions, meetings, health campaigns happen in different cable-car stations (interview with Mr Gustavo Bragança, from SuperVia). Besides the use of the space of the cable car stations, the only activities that were implemented within the cable car process with active participation were micro projects like the decision of the name of the stations or the elaboration of mosaic panels for their decoration. The inhabitants were invited to choose the name of the stations in the sense that *“The public utility of this mode of transport will be as big as the appropriation from the local population. In this sense, it pretends to define the name of the station and the thematic of its characterization on an event open to the community in which each cable-car station is built.”* (PAC-RJ, Mar/April/May 2010) The events to define the names of the stations happened in July 2010 on an event called *“The Workshops of the Imaginary”*. The event was announced through posters and a car with audio information. The construction of mosaic panels to decorate the stations was carried through the construction of workshops of capacitation in mosaic technique that ended with the construction of the mosaic panels. The participants were residents of Alemão and today the results are at the 6 stations of the cable-car. Besides these two activities, it was not found on this research the register of any other action in the cable car process that was based on an active participatory basis, building results with the community – from the decision-making phase up to today.

Project	Objective	Nº of residents involved	Institutional partnership
CDO: Centro de difusão de oportunidades para geração de trabalho e renda (Center for diffusion of opportunities for the creation of work and income);	Registration of professionals and job opportunities. It is a way of helping the inclusion of Alemão professionals on the work market.	140	X
EAD: Escola do Alemão – Educação à distância (School of Alemão – Learning in distance);	Long-distance education with free of cost professional courses.	4386	X
Espaço Sociocultural Nosso Alemão (Sociocultural Space Our Alemão)	Promotes the release of different activities and materials produced by the projects of Alemão supported by PAC. It is located in one of the cable-car stations (Adeus).	1500*	X
Tecendo Artes (Project Weaving Arts);	Workshops to the population for the art craft production of accessories and feminine fashion.	120	Instituto MUSIVA
Horizonte Gastronômico (Gastronomic Horizon);	Constitution of a cultural gastronomic circuit in Alemão.	100	FHIO
Ecos da liberdade (Project echoes of Liberty);	Insertion on the market of former prisoners through old vegetable oil collection on the new buildings of the community and its recycling for the production of vegetable soap. (work and income)	15	Cooperativa Liberdade

Inventando Moda (Creating Trend);	Dance, theatre, costume and scenography workshops.	68	Descolando Ideias
Núcleo de Promoção da Saúde Ambiental e Reciclagem Co munitária (Nucleus of Promotion of Environmental Health and Communitarian Recycling);	Building bases for a communitarian center and the institutionalization of a communitarian currency, through environmental educational strategies and collection of recyclable waste.	40	CEDAPS (Centro de Promoção da Saúde)
Bom Fruto (Good Fruit/Result);	Courses for sustainable tourism (languages, tourism reception, history of the community, entrepreneurship.)	20	SEBRAE / Centro de referência da Juventude
Estação Natureza (Nature Station);	Implementation of infrastructure for the support of ecological visits to the Municipal Park.	16	VERDEJAR
Educar para Transformar: Nunca é tarde para Estudar (Educate to Transform: Never is too late to Study)	Education of youth and adults that didn't have opportunity to study before.	42	EDUCAP
Conselho de Desenvolvimento Comunitário do Complexo do Alemão (Council of Communitarian Development of Complexo do Alemão)	Divided in thematic groups, aims the integration between the public power and the population. <sup>52</sup>	120	X

\*the project is, in essence, a presentation of various projects, so this number includes all that were involved in all projects that were presented until today, not meaning that 1500 people were involved in organizing the project "Our Alemão".

Table 6: Some of the pprojects developed by the DS (Sustainable development team):

The sustainable development team enabled the construction of small projects with a more active participation than the impact management group. However, any of these actions were related to the physical interventions and the macro decisions of the PAC programme. It can be seen in the decision to support and enable the work of local organizations the approximation of an alternative development model of planning, as supported by Friedmann, but the fact that these projects had no influence on the programme, turns the initiatives into tools of participation with no direct effect on the planning results. The fact that these small partnerships with local organizations happened may have been a way to achieve support from local representativeness through partnership. By supporting the local initiatives, the power holders ensure a better acceptance of their work as a whole, since some small initiatives are able to happen because of the PAC support. However, those initiatives don't compromise the plan, don't change any previous decision, and ease the relation among the government and the local activists: it was a way for some small organizations to get support for the implementation of programmes<sup>53</sup>, and also for the government to have a relation with the

<sup>52</sup> The thematic areas are:

*Culture, leisure and social mobility;*

*Health and environment;*

*Generation of work and income;*

*Youth education;*

*Strategy for development;*

*Strategy of communitarian and leadership strengthening;*

*CEDESCA consortium.*

<sup>53</sup> In an informal conversation with Mr Edson Gomes, director of the NGO *Verdejar*, he explained that the relations of the government with some social organizations representatives were not positive, resulting from the planning process implemented in the beginning of PAC. Edson, like Alan Brum and David Amen, worked for the PAC social and quited. *Verdejar* had a project supported by the sustainable development team of PAC. When asked about that he explained "I was not sure of accepting the proposal to do this with them. But then I understood, this is the chance to finally do something good, because if they give us some money, we will surely invest in improvements of the Complexo. So we decided to accept, and we finally build our centre of environmental education." (this conversation was on the 14<sup>th</sup> June, in the event "The Favela on the Social and Environmental Rights Agenda" in Favela of Maré, part of the RIO+20 People's Summit. *Info on the meeting at* <http://riononwatch.org/?p=3975>

organic intellectuals of the area. Although the management of the actions are from the Civil Society organization, the fact is that it will be presented as a PAC initiative of the Sustainable Development team.

### **The monitoring phase: based on quantitative data. Citizens or consumers?**

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The cable car is managed by Supervia that was bought by OT (ODEBRECHT Transports). In June, the cable car completed 2 million passengers: it was publicized with big posters at the stations and through the media<sup>54</sup> informing the population and the civil society about the *success* of the cable car. Since it was launched, the stations have received some punctual activities that promote the Complexo and the PAC initiatives – prince Harry visited, in 2012 the cable car project together with Mrs Ruth Jurberg, some of the stations are used as spaces for exhibition of local initiatives supported by the PAC programme, some actions of health promotion also happened in the stations. The stations are supposed to become areas of multiple activities, with banks, public services and business investments. However, the majority are still to be explored and stay quite empty and unused. When talking to Mr Gustavo Bragança, I asked about the monitoring results, and the structure of the monitoring team. It was explained that the cable-car management has two teams: management of operations and management of maintenance. The *excellence* of the transport is measure according to the number of technical stops and the number of passengers using the cable car. Gustavo, responsible for ensuring the continuity of the social work says that the priority is to understand the social effectiveness of the cable car. However, as it seemed from the interview, these results are understood empirically. Gustavo said that the cable-car team proposes social activities, like “football championships”, reinforcing that all activities should be done with the community. *“If they don’t buy the idea, is complicated”*. The cable-car is used as an *infrastructure* for some social activities, and its communication. According to him, the biggest value of the project is the social impact it had as a trigger for the pacification of the territory, showing that it is not truth that *“the problem of the Favela has no solution. The problem of Alemão has no solution”*. He explains that the management of the cable-car is an everyday learning, that there are things no one could expect and that happened, and others that were expected did not happen – *“there was no vandalism (...) to go to the cable-car, the people dress good (...) they respect the norms, very nice.”*

When is proposing a new communication tool, Gustavo says he asks some of the cable-car workers, from the community *what do you see here?*, and this is a way of understanding *“how they think”*, and to delimit the strategies. This relates to the importance that new planning management, based on neo-liberal processes, gives to the client satisfaction. During the interview, it was mentioned as one of the critiques of the *costumers* that the cable-car should have refrigerated air. Gustavo argued that it is a difficult thing to implement, and sometimes there are things that cannot be done considering the resources available. This points the need to satisfy individual benefits that do not contribute for the whole community empowering, and remember that *“(W)hile the term “costumer” is meant to empower the public, it may actually turn out to be a more limited role than that of citizen. The rights of a costumer are really quite minimal compared to those of a citizen (...). Reform efforts that focus on the aggregation of individual customer preferences ignore and weaken the*

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(original article at [http://www.observatoriodefavelas.org.br/observatoriodefavelas/noticias/mostraNoticia.php?Section=5&id\\_content=1205](http://www.observatoriodefavelas.org.br/observatoriodefavelas/noticias/mostraNoticia.php?Section=5&id_content=1205)) accessed on the 29<sup>th</sup> June 2012

<sup>54</sup> On the 2nd July 2012, through a search on Google, for “teleférico do Alemão 2 milhões de passageiros” (Cable-car of Alemão 2 million passengers) was achieved a search result of about 38,700 results.

*fundamental trusteeship required of both public bureaucrats and citizens*". Christensen and Laegreid cited in (Sager, 2009 p.72)

According to him, in July, when completing one year of functioning, it will be presented a report of results, but it won't be public, and at the time of the interview, it was not done. The quantitative perspective of the monitoring and of the management of the cable car, maintains the disconnection between the actions on the physical infrastructure and the understanding of social work. The infrastructure supports the social actions, and represents – according to Gustavo – a social action in itself. But the conceptualization of participation and inclusion is detached from the management of the physical investments and keeps on being understood as proposing top-down initiatives to the others, expecting them not to vandalize the structures built. The social work is seen as a technical result: the technical and infrastructural actions are seen as enough for the guarantee of a more inclusive and effective citizenship and the offering of inclusive actions to the inhabitants of Alemão. Once it was a place that had very few investments before, it is like the new investments are by themselves the guarantee of an active democratic process.<sup>55</sup>

#### **d. The main criticism**

The investments made were on a top-down basis, and the cable car is a macro project, an important one. It is not on debate the importance on the recovery of the *favela* as a place of public policies, plans and investments, but the fact is that the cable-car attends a very limited percentage of the population, and was not decided in relation to the real needs of the inhabitants. In a recent meeting organized by the Human Rights Commission of ALERJ (Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro State) between the PAC social coordinator Ruth Jurberg, the president of EMOP (the public works department) Ícaro Moreno, state deputies and one population representative, (president of the Committee of Development of Serra da Misericórdia and one of the Founders of Raízes em Movimento - both NGOs in Alemão) Mr Alan Brum, it was pointed out that one of the major problems around the planning process was the lack of communication between the government and the citizens.<sup>56</sup> This critique was accepted by the government representatives, and announced that some days before the meeting it was launched the new "Communitarian Commission of the Complexo do Alemão", that aims to bridge and build dialogue between the population and the government. However, and according to that debate, this commission is in itself a top-down institution, controlled by the government and with participation of private institutions, including some banks.<sup>57</sup>

The fact is that the impact management team dealt with informing the population about the next constructions and its impacts. The spaces of dialogue for informing or for negotiating about choices determined before in process settled by a state decree from 2008. These spaces of participation do not empower the citizens, once that the only power they may have is to decide among the different solutions

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<sup>55</sup> On the video done by Supervia to announce the 2 million passengers of the cable car it is mentioned that "*with less than one year of operation, more than an expressive number, the ranking is a demonstration of the feelings of citizenship and dignity that are now present on the life of the people of Alemão community(...)[The cable car] is an action of inclusion for the inhabitants of the region.*" SuperVia – Teleférico 2 milhões de passageiros in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2EvIVda360>, accessed on the 21 June 2012.

<sup>56</sup> This meeting was published in video through the platform *Youtube*, and is downloaded, included on the dvd material handed together with this thesis.

<sup>57</sup> This debate was published on *Youtube.com*, and the author copied it from this public domain in April 2012. It is included on the Data DVD, attached to this thesis.

presented, but never to participate on the plan decisions or affect its product. The cable car was decided before the dialogues began, all the steps of the implementation of the physical work were determined in advance, and the space for participation ended up in being, in fact, a manipulative process: by misrepresenting what *participation is*, the process ended in the previous determined results, and the power of the disempowered ones was in fact, a controlled space by the government.

The sustainable development team actions began on a later phase of the PAC work. The initiatives had no relation with the physical work of PAC, were in small scale and closed within themselves. The SD actions had no effect on the results of PAC or in any of its planning decisions, and even the sustainable development plan, done on a basis of shared management and representative forums, had no effective impact on the plan, and its output was a report of results, to work as guidelines for future plans.

Considering the theoretical framework - mainly the lessons from Friedmann and Flyvbjerg - one may say that this planning process strategy did not fit within an alternative development model, since the population was not empowered on the process. In fact, one may get that, through misrepresentation, misinformation, and a place-based approach, with manipulative participatory processes based on decisions done previously, that there is a risk that the understanding and implementation of participation in this model may help in disempowering even more the poor ones, with punctual small alternative actions, that had no influence on the plan results.

## 7. Critical interpretation

This chapter presents the theoretical positioning of the author based on the research findings and its relation with the theoretical framework that guides this report. From Friedmann position concerning alternative development models, based on participatory processes of planning, the understanding of participation gets directly related with citizenship consciousness and the support of active democratic planning. This position – shared with Arnstein, Flyvbjerg, Perlman, Sager and Maier – of citizen participation *as* citizen power is challenged by the conceptualization of *misrepresentation*, *misinformation* and the societal development of the case-study. Also the organizational structure of the PAC programme puts in debate the openness to other types of planning, once that it was analysed that the programme is mainly a *place-based approach*, not considering universal or poor-based issues at first place. These blocks to participation are expressed both on the planning decisions, the planning process and the results – the way other *favelas* are reacting to the hypothesis of having one cable car. Friedmann position is challenged, from the application of Flyvbjerg framework. Perlman introduced us to the question of the *favela*, and its societal development was understood with an historical support.

In fact, Alternative Development models could find a great opportunity on this place of disempowered ones (the lowest HDI of Rio), with a programme implementation theoretically opened to a democratic perspective of planning. But besides the societal need of empowerment within these communities and the institutional unblock of participatory processes (the existence of legislation to ensure these processes to run), active democratic planning does not occur, and more than that, considering the empowering model of Friedmann, one may say that participation, when misrepresented within a misinformed process, can lead to *disempowerment* and weakening of internal social organization. This is the theoretical challenge this research proposes.

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### **Participation: manipulation towards social disempowerment?**

Against the general understanding (reinforced by the interview of Ruth Jurberg and Gustavo Bragança), *favelas* were not a forgotten place, the presence of state was always there: first on removal politics, and then on police actions, justified by the “war to the traffic”. Also, the understanding of the *favela* as a general classification of a different place, the peripheral reality of the disempowered, the inner city with few opportunities, with lack of public services, that needs to be included on the urban dynamics and on the public concerns, did not end. The public policies for the *favela* reinforce this attitude towards a territory with lack of economic and political autonomy, the other part of *the broken city* (Ventura, 2000). But the *favela*, or the specific case of Alemão (with 14 different *favelas* within it) has its own history and its origin is directly related with the urban dynamics of Rio and the socio-economic-political development of Brazil. There are today 763 *favelas* (named as “subnormal agglomerates”, according to the Census 2010 from IBGE (IBGE, 2010)) in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The understanding of this reality as external to the city is the first step for an attitude of domination towards territories that have already build an urban autonomy and symbolism, that know what are their main priorities and have the citizen right to be included on the processes to determine the development of their own community, but also to be included on the macro strategies for the city, the state and the country.

The current politics is of participation, of understanding and including the *favelados* on the urban policies and initiatives are lacking the challenge of understanding these communities as capable to know what is

better for them, and also, the need to enable these citizens to have the right of choice. Citizenship and human rights are in risk when the right to choose the place to live, to stay on the place chosen, to have the basic infrastructural needs accomplished in order to guarantee health, education and conditions for a dignified life are not given in first hand.

The lack of participation on the construction of the cable car is not an easy debate. The government argues that it was a very participative process - according to Ruth, the strongest participatory process ever done until that time on favelas, from the state government of Rio. The population representatives, on the other hand, feel that participation didn't happen, that they were not properly listened by the government, there was very little space to speak, and the existent moments of dialogue were not reflected on the results of the plan. The fact is that the physical projects were built and the PAC social came as a proposal of participatory dialogue between the population and the government, but its methodological approach and its results present in itself the limits of the chosen approach.

After analysing the interviews done, the data got from the state government on the PAC social activities, the historic of public actions in Rio's favelas, the issue of drug traffic that was present even during the PAC works, the site visits done during this research, the political and urban governance model for PAC, together with the theoretical framework that supports this research, it was build a frame of participation limits that led to, what the author calls, the *illusory empowerment*, or the *disempowerment through participatory tools*.

By this the author means the perception that, through the construction and definition of a participatory process, designed by the government and power holders, developed by the private sector, coordinated by construction offices (managed by the one that later buys SuperVia and owes the cable-car), that contracts local representatives together with technicians, and is done while the works are running, it is possible to have, in the specific context of Alemão and the cable-car project, the illusion that participation is happening, but in fact, this illusion disempowers social mobilization to occur, and therefore, social empowerment. (Friedmann, 1992). This illusion is achieved through misinformation and misrepresentation processes, through the inclusion of local activists on the PAC team, the complex institutional organization, the construction of a manipulative participatory process on the impact management team and the inclusion of active participation in projects that had no effect on the plan results. On the next items this position will better explored, pushing the research to the objective of re-thinking *what is participation* on the cable-car case-study. This is a single case-study, but it can question and place with empirical data the debate around the implementation of participatory processes in practice and what it may represent.

#### **a. Institutional miscellaneous: how to place and understand participation?**

In Alemão, the state and municipal government are simultaneously working on the PAC programme for favelas. The state has the majority of the territory, since it has the majority of the funds. The working division was done territorially, on a map, looking from above, as both a municipal and government member confirmed. There are different presences on the social work in Alemão: the state government had, during the PAC works, a programme called "*Territórios da Paz*" (*Territories of Peace*) that aimed to build a more democratic approach to territories that were controlled by the drug traffic, and the inclusion of a communitarian police, to work more socially directed and using less violence (Ministério da Justiça, nd). The *Territórios de Paz* in Alemão began in December 2008, and was parallel to the PAC works. According to

Ruth, it was a partnership; the PAC social team was present on the *Territórios* meetings and vice-versa. If from the state government there were two simultaneous programmes focusing on the opening of a social perspective of the territory, from the municipal government things were not different.

The municipality got, as said before, the minority of the Complexo favelas, because the funds available were less than the government ones. The municipality had their own social programme, not working with the same guidelines as the state government. After the PAC 1 ended, when the cable car was already working, the UPP social entered the territory<sup>58</sup>. UPP (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora, “Units of Pacifying Police”) is a state initiative to have a communitarian police on the “pacified territories”. After occupying the territories with the military police, the control is transferred to the UPP, with professionals prepared to lead communities with a more social and less violent approach (Carneiro, 2012). UPP was followed by the programme UPP social. Besides having the same name, UPP social is a municipal project, with no relation with the state government. It consists on building a dialogue with the population in order to identify their main needs and priorities and take them to the municipal public instances responsible for those specific problems. The UPP social has no relation with the police, and cannot execute any project on the areas: it is, and in the words of Ruth Jurberg, a “listener”. The idea here is to understand that in Complexo do Alemão there were in a very short period of time State Government PAC, *Territórios da Paz*, Municipality PAC, UPP and UPP social: all different and all very hardly differentiated. As it was seen before, PAC was the executer of many construction works, from the cable car to new apartments and infrastructure, but in fact, the popular participation didn’t affect any of the decisions – they were previously decided. On the other hand, initiatives like UPP social work from the popular needs, their basic concept is listening, building dialogue, and understanding the population needs. However, UPP social cannot execute.

Also inside PAC social, there are two main projects (Impact Management (GI) and Sustainable Development (DS)) and three main objectives (Generation of work and Income, Communitarian Mobilization and Sanitary and Environmental education). So, from the internal organization of the social work of PAC, up to the collaboration between public and the private interest, it is not an easy task to understand each role within Alemão.

Considering a population that for decades had no representation of public institutional structures, it turns out to be a challenge to know what to ask, from whom, and with which consequences. The lack of management between the different works, that are not globally linked or complemented, difficult both the dialogue in specific themes with the population, and at the same time, the social mobilization for the common needs: with whom, against whom, in which space, may the debate be open? Participation is designed differently on each programme, and this miscellaneous of government representativeness and the proposals of participatory processes misinform *what is* participation about. These lack of institutional

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<sup>58</sup> The UPP social and *Territórios da Paz* were not mentioned on the analysis of this research because of two main reasons: first, both initiatives have no direct impact on the cable car planning process, but they were understood as being important on the critical interpretation in order to understand a broader institutional miscellaneous that may affect the participation of the population. Second because the debate around these public policies of “communitarian police”, pacification, and the role of UPP and UPP social (according to Machado da Silva, UPP social may be absorbing the historic role of the Residents Associations as social representatives and leaders of the social struggle (Machado da Silva L. A., 2010)) are quite polemic and complex. For a coherent analysis, it would be necessary to make a complete research of oth programmes, and this report does not purpose to do it. However, both initiatives are important to keep in mind for an understanding of the amount and the complexity of the public policies, interest and investment in Alemão and other favelas of Rio.

transparency and procedural clearness unable the understanding of the proposal of participation, the spaces for dialogue and the real empowering capacity of each programme objectives.

In the specific case of the cable-car, the technical decisions came from Rio Melhor<sup>59</sup>, the social management from Agência 21, the monitoring of the social work, from Casa Civil of the State Government, the PAC programme is in itself a national programme, and the funds come from Caixa Econômica<sup>60</sup>, the public bank. On the social work there were local coordinators, local agents, and central coordinators from the agency. The institutional miscellaneous of the whole process turn it difficult to build a clear and participatory process where the population knows what is the plan and its objectives about, the population real space in the power structure as participatory actors, and the limits of their action, so that may be defined the gap existent between the government and the public interest.

#### **b. Political priorities and weak local government power: participation as private management.**

*“The social work, on a project or integrated urbanization, has a restrict governance space when it goes behind the actions directly related with support to the urbanization. (...)”*

*From the three axis of the social work – in support of the physical intervention, inter sectorial articulation and enhancement of the social capital – only the first has models that, when well applied, work relatively well. (...) the other two axes confirmed that the success of their actions basically depends on the political priorities and the institutional arrangements that are external to the governability of the social work.”* (Free translation) (Banco Internacional para Construção e Desenvolvimento; Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, nd / (2011 or 2012) p. 73-74)

#### ***Outsourcing and local Government.***

Rio is passing through a very mediatic period. The whole city is turned into a construction site, because of the two great events coming in 2014 and 2016 (the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup). This period exists within a national new phase, with economic growth, a political stability and the international attention over the BRIC countries resistance to the world economic crisis. Both facts surely influence the political agenda, the investment priorities, and it is directly reflected on public policies and urban strategies. The PAC programme is a national programme with interest in increasing the country’s growth. The federal government takes the main decisions of investment, the state governments are the ones most responsible for implementing these decisions, and in the case of Rio - where the municipality, the state government and the federal government are today political partners – both the state government and the municipality are part of the process. However, their responsibilities are not the same range, and the territorial division of the work ends up in resulting on different processes of planning. This division makes that, in the case of Alemão, the areas that the state government had to manage, had very few or any participation of the local government. The weakness of local government increases the chance of a top-down approach with very little space for an active participation from the residents.<sup>61</sup> The weak capacity of decision of the local government on the PAC

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<sup>59</sup> The construction work is coordinated by a consortium, Rio Melhor, coordinated by ODEBRECHT. The participatory and social work is from a private agency, Agência 21. The consortium has 3 private companies, one of them, Odebrecht, one of the largest engineering and construction companies in the world. The group coordinates the social work of Agência 21 that was contracted directly, without any competition, by recommendation of the state government.

<sup>60</sup> Caixa Econômica gives the funds for PAC only if participatory processes are included.

<sup>61</sup> According to Maier, the challenge of distinguishing planning from control may be helped by the decentralization and the responsabilization of local governments, which didn’t happen in the PAC programme, which main responsibilities were both from

Alemão prejudices both the acknowledgment from the decision makers about local characteristics and priorities but also prejudices the capacity to include participation on the decision making process of mainstream projects. The contact between the population and the government is not done directly at the local scale, but through institutional arrangements in order to reach the state and federal government. According to Friedmann, the alternative development model need the support of the state, but a state open to a democratic shift in planning towards active participation. With the characteristics of the PAC programme organization, this support is hardly achieved.

This goes together with the decision to outsource both the construction work as well as the social work. The continuous outsourcing of public policies implementation that is happening in Rio shifts the planning priorities. The management of participation, from the lens of private companies, has different objectives and strategies than if it was built from and for the public service. It remotes us to (Sager, 2009), and the differences between the new planning management and the communicative planning theory that see the population as consumers, or as citizens. The participatory process is based on a consumer's perspective of achieving an effective use of resources, where "*[P]rivate developers and real estate interests soon became another power in the planning arena, challenging the previous power balance between government authorities and expert consultants. In some cases, an alliance emerged between strong business groups and local government (...)*" (Maier, 2001 pp.711). This neo-liberal perspective of planning and governance is much more related to a *narrowing of the public debate* and a *de-politicisation of the decision-making* (characteristics of New Planning Management) rather than an *opening of the process* and a *politicisation of the public planning* that constitute a communicative planning position. (Sager, 2009 p.73) Participation becomes one tool of private management, for the enabling of effective results, rather than a path towards active democratic processes.

### ***Urbanization or Remotion?***

It is quite curious that in the strategic plan for 2009-2012 from Rio's Municipality one of the objectives is to *reduce, in 3,5% the area of favelas in Rio*. Historically, one of these two planning policies could be applied to favelas: urbanization, or remotion. PAC, Morar Carioca, UPP social, are programmes that support the urbanization of favelas. Although the legislation is clear that remotion can only happen in case of being exposed to risk and the population is told that these urban investments aim to urbanize and improve their living conditions, and are not politics of removal, the fact is that thousands of houses were removed and many families were relocated. Rio is in a period of change. The housing prices are exploding, the inflation is huge, and the interest in supporting tourism initiatives comes together with the urban marketing of the city. The cable car alone was responsible for the eviction of more than 1500 people. In the newspaper *O GLOBO*, on the 1st September 2009, it was stated that in Alemão 1782 evictions were already done, plus 1754 in Manguinhos and 396 in Rocinha (all favelas that got the PAC programme). It was stated also that at least more 1800 evictions would occur on these areas. On a public presentation of PAC, it is presented that only in Alemão 3035 people were reallocated. However, in a more discriminated table, the total number of

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national and regional governments. "*During the past decade, the democratization of government institutions and the decentralization of power was slower than originally expected and rather gradual, but it eventually enabled the delegation of planning responsibility to local governments and with it, a greater voice for citizens.*" (Maier, 2001 pp.710)

reallocations in Alemão reaches 3879 people, 1502 of them reallocated to the new houses built by PAC.<sup>62</sup> If the ones leaving their houses because of demolition are clearly seen, the ones staying after the construction face different challenges. With the new constructions, and the public power getting into the favela, the external investments interest changed. The government asks for the population to regulate their small businesses, to proceed to land tenure regularization, and this may imply the payment of taxes, the end of the free individual control of their houses – it is quite usual in favelas that the houses are in continuous transformation, adapting to the changes on the families conditions. There can be a misrepresentation of the main objective of the programme: the great number of remotions and the non-inclusion of an active participative process may turn this programme into a remotion process within an urbanization argument. This would be a strategic misrepresentation, in the way that it is historically known that the favelas inhabitants often struggled against remotions, and if assumed from the beginning the number of evictions and relocations could mean a counteracted position of the inhabitants against the programme. But when named as an urbanization action, with participatory processes, there is, at first sight, no reason to struggle against it.

The Alemão residents were not part of planning decisions, while theoretically the planning objective was meant to be the improvement of their lives, and the urbanization of the territory. On the website of Rio municipality, one may find some articles about the “Shock of order”. Shock of order means the need for intervention without consent from the ones that will have the direct consequences of this intervention. In an article of 08/07/2010 it is written that the *Shock of order begins the demolition of 15 irregular constructions in Complexo do Alemão*. These constructions were 14 commercial and one residential, and according to the article, they were demolished because it was necessary to increase the width of the street for “*the benefit of PAC constructions that will give a better life quality to that community*”. The 15 owners of those constructions refused to leave their places and didn’t accept the negotiation with the government – they didn’t want to leave. They went to the court and lost, and it gave the municipality the right to destroy their places without consent. (SEOP - Secretaria Especial de Ordem Pública, 2010). On the website’s articles is possible to count almost 200 people that resisted to the construction and found no solution to be heard.

The population rights are unclear, and their space for participation is closed on the right to negotiate, among the options that the state gives them. Talking to Ruth Jurberg, this linked directly to the governance structure “*it all comes decided from above; it would be very difficult to change the project because of the population participation*”. So, the social work of PAC ends up in being a channel of communication, more than a space for participation, and even this channel of communication doesn’t link directly the population interests with the government, being more as a one-sided communicative tool – from the top decisions to the bottom implementation. So, if participation is misrepresented as being a single informative tool, also the plan objectives are confused. It becomes misunderstood if the planning process should be analysed as an urbanization programme that can be improved or a remotion process than is misrepresented. The social mobilization and popular participation purposes would necessarily change depending on each of the

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<sup>62</sup> With simple calculations, considering the Censo done by the PAC team, Alemão has 89 912 inhabitants. If we consider the presentation of 3035 reallocations, it means 3,37% of the Complexo population, but considering the detailed table that announces 3879 relocations, then the relation increases to 4,31%. The strategic plan talks about a decrease in 3,5% on the favela areas, and the fact is that these numbers do not consider neither the programme Morar Carioca (municipal programme of slum urbanization), or the prevision of works for PAC2, that will be launched in Alemão. The question cannot be avoided: urbanization, or remotion? Are the evictions consequences of the urbanization work, or is there *misinformation* about the programme objectives?

hypothesis, so this misrepresentation may have difficult the emancipation of the social structure in order to gather a common struggle. So, participation may be seen both as a tool of private management towards effectiveness and a process within a misrepresented plan.

### **c. The weakening of local representatives**

The population is told they are being part of the process on the space of the *Canteiro Social*. The population can go there, can talk, and choose among the different hypothesis that is given to them. But they cannot choose any of the hypothesis, they cannot, in fact, modify the decisions that were done before they were heard.

However, the sense of participation and the inclusion of local representatives on the PAC team discouraged social mobilization to happen, once that some of the proposals presented by the state (mainly the ones from the Sustainable Development team) were previous battles of these representatives. Participation, as a very broad concept, may become a way to ease top-down planning approaches by stopping social movements to fight – it weak their reasons to fight, since they are being included on the process.

Building a participatory process where some popular representatives, activists from local organizations, are contracted to be part of the government team; supporting different types of meetings, with different designs; mixing on time frame the planning process together with army intervention on a violent urban area; implementing different plans from different instances at the same time; designing two completely different approaches of planning processes (one top-down (IM) and other supporting bottom-up institutions (SD)) support by the same agency; supporting media publicity of the government actions – these are some actions that can misrepresent the participatory process around the planning decisions and make that both the financial source and the population perceive that participation is happening. However, the democratic instance of this participation is still to be understood, in the sense that any result of the planning process was affected by it. When talking to David Amen, he explained that one of the reasons to leave the PAC programme where he worked for more than one year was related to the involvement of his image and the NGO he also represented with the PAC processes. As he said, people were beginning to relate the PAC with the NGO, to relate him with the decisions from the government. When some activists decided to struggle for a shift in the process, according to him, was necessary to support the initiative with the Committee of Development of Serra da Misericórdia, because in the case of its NGO, some accountability was lost since some of its members were contracted by PAC. If these activists accepted to work for the PAC team in order to make prevail a more participatory and alternative way of planning, in the end they became, from the perspective of the population, as part of the programme itself. And on a social community which presidents of residents associations were historically related with the traffickers, when the local activists loose some of their independent profile and are seen as part of the government plan, the population somehow misses their external agents to manage their own struggles. (Friedmann, 1987) These external agents have the role of mobilizing, informing and supporting alternative models of planning; they are, according to Friedmann, fundamental actors for the internal support of a social organization towards active democracy. When they are included on the government team their activist role is weakened, and the population loses the contact with different planning perspectives. Participation is then the government procedural proposal, implemented acritically.

#### **d. Sustainable development, participation and planning**

The sustainable development work gathered local organizations, found partnership with different community agents and supported bottom-up initiatives, but none of these initiatives was related with the construction works of PAC. There was a clear separation between the concept and objectives of the Impact Management Work and the Sustainable Development: if on the first, participation never reached more than information related with the great impact of construction, the second was focused on small scale projects, supporting some bottom-up initiatives from local organizations, but never related with the construction works or with understanding the community position relatively to what was being physically constructed.

The sustainable development work was related with entrepreneurship, the creation of work opportunities and income increase, with no mention to planning processes. This way, the two different approaches break the link between the changes in the territory with the understanding of sustainable development: it is seen as a question of small scale projects with some potential to improve the opportunities of these communities in the market and the improvement of environmental consciousness, but with no relation to the physical interventions. On the extreme, this difference of values guiding both teams reaches a point where while thousands of people are being relocated in a manipulative participatory process, is being promoted a gastronomic experience of the favela on the sustainable development group... It seems two units of measure, two opponent processes, and two completely different ways of planning with / for the population. This strategy of relating with grassroots organizations in small projects helped in building the sense that the government was in direct contact and interested in supporting the local initiatives, enhancing the population voices and wishes, however, the sustainable development initiatives were separated from the implementation of infrastructures and the implementation of mega projects. This working and conceptual division may have contribute to the illusion of participation on the whole plan, and only with a holistic perspective one may understand that the small and punctual scale of some of these initiatives was not coherent with the social work that supported the large scale projects. Small is beautiful, but not enough, and this is a clear example how mainstream projects were not able to absorb alternative development models. But if alternative development projects cannot avoid the state in order to expand (Friedmann, 1992 pp.142), also the state cannot close these initiatives on their small scale and not work with them on the different spaces created for participation. So, it is important to rethink the challenge of alternative small projects, supported by power holders, within planning processes. These small projects may help in distracting the inhabitants, and supporting the idea that they are solving important issues, while the big plan decisions are still being built and implemented without participation. This may turn the whole process into a manipulative strategy to misrepresent participation, and to implement the plan within a sense of active democratic process that in fact, does not exist.

#### **e. The power holders and the powerless. “Pacification”, or the “invasion” of a new rule?**

Alemão had a strong presence of *Comando Vermelho*, the strongest group (*facção*) of drug dealers in Rio, and the two first years of implementation of the PAC programme in Alemão (2008 to 2010) were done while the territory was still under *control* of the traffickers. Asked about that, Ruth Jurberg told that there was never any negotiation with the traffickers, and all the constructions happened with no direct conflict. It is said in the interview also that in the beginning, the first meetings with the population were done with

representatives (presidents of residents' associations), and these representatives were selected by the drug dealers, so "it was not the representation we would aim to have".

The traffickers' presence was for around 2 decades part of the societal reality of Alemão and their presence constitutes an important fact to consider when analysing the implementation of planning processes. Not only because of the control that they had on the community, but also because it is important to consider that on a context of fear and conflict, the threat to safety may decrease participation and mobilization of the community. The PAC programme began to be implemented while the traffickers were still controlling the territory, which brings the question of - if it was possible to work for the community with public projects on this societal context - why was the state absence for so long?



Figure 10: The policeman display the Brazilian Flag and the Civil Police flag on the top of Alemão Cable-Car. After displaying the Police Flag, decided to replace it for the Rio de Janeiro's state flag. Photo: Bruno Gonzalez / Agência O Globo. In <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/policia-invade-complexo-do-alemao-2919504>



Figure 11: The Brazilian flag, displayed together with Rio de Janeiro's State flag. Three police officers, on the top of the Cable-car in Complexo do Alemão. November 2010. Photo: Bruno Gonzalez / Agência O Globo. In <http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/rio-contra-o-crime/noticia/2010/11/bandeiras-do-brasil-e-do-rio-sao-hasteadas-no-alemao.html>

The process of pacification of the Alemão in November 2010, through the military invasion of the territory, together with the PAC programme, may open a new debate: if the traffic "rules", the control that it had over the territory - and, according to Perlman, over the democratic freedom of the population and over their ability to participate and have social mobilizations for urban improvements-, was replaced by a new control: the police, the government, the new rules that came from an outside reality. The presence of the state is much represented by the military forces, and guns are still present on a daily basis routine of this population. The state took control of the territory, consequence of a "war" that was won against the criminality installed on these places.

The power holders changed, but the power holders seem, once again, to impose rules that come from the outside: if before, the rules came from the traffickers, now they come from the *asfalto*, from the formal city, from the new investments on tourism, on the great events that are up to come in the next years. The cable car travels *above the favela*, its stations are on the top of the hills<sup>63</sup>, and the whole process came *from above*,

<sup>63</sup> From the cable-car, is possible to see the church of Penha. It is curious to mention that this church was symbolic located on the highest point of the region, to express the religious power of the time. The pararellism is hard to avoid: the cable-car stations are

decided with no previous debate with the population. Similar to the police occupation with the military getting into the favela with army tanks, helicopters, and thousands of military “cleaning” and passing over what could block their war for the territory control, the construction works came with backhoe loaders to build the cable car, and ordered the population living on the “*frente de obra*” (the places where the construction machines and materials should pass) to be removed, and their houses demolished. The public policies for the favela kept on imposing external rules, in order to fight the problem of the favela (the favela as a problem): before, a problem of hygiene and ugliness, now a problem of violence and need of urban formalization.

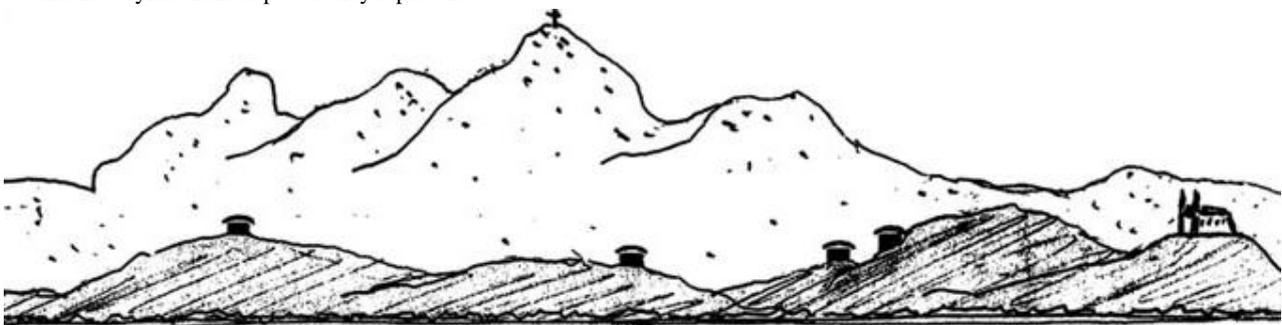
The entrance of the PAC programme and the pacification forces were very close in time and process. If it may have difficult the internal mobilization of the population because of fear (historically, police and traffickers performed many army conflict episodes), it also may have misrepresent the objectives and consequences of the PAC programme for the population. The truth is that the PAC projects did not pacify the territory and are not the responsible for the decrease of gun fights or drug traffic, the same way that the army did not implement the cable car. But sometimes it is all seen as being the same.

The *pacification forces*, the PAC or any other government projects are sometimes seen (from the government position, for example) as a gift that was given to a community that had nothing, as an empowering product that, no matter which process supports it, will always be a positive action towards the favela. The societal development and the government strategy, made that empowerment is seen as the chance to have public policies implemented. This conceptualization completely detaches empowerment from active democratic processes and related the programme and its process as the empowering capacity of healing past absences of public policies. In this sense, building the cable-car is in itself an empowering tool. Considering this, participation loses its democratic role, and from this perspective, participatory processes can be managed anyhow: the social objective is considered on the final result, not on the planning process.

The pacification forces, as well as the other programmes, came from above. If the conquering of the state should mean the point where the inhabitants would have the chance to democratically determine their future, it appears instead as an external rule that invades the territory<sup>64</sup> and controls it: decides the physical, economic, social and political investments.

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located on the highest points of the Xomplexo, and differ from its surroundings: its scale, shape and function remote to the idea of some new symbolism of power they represent.



“The new profile of Rio from the Galeão airport”: on the background, the Corcovado, on the right, the church of Penha, and 4 cable car stations. *Source: arcoweb.com.br* (from Jorge Mário Jauregui)

<sup>64</sup> As a consequence of one conflict between the *pacification forces* and some inhabitants of Alemão (an action fined by one resident), there happened some protests against the presence of the army. The army began to be called by some of the protesters as the “Green Command”, as a metaphor to the “Red Command” that controlled the area before. (Andrade, 2011)



Figure 12 and 13: On the left, a military tank breaking down the barriers that existed blocking the streets (photo: Reidacocadapreta, published in 28/11/2010 in <http://www.reidacocadapreta.com.br/2010/11/28/veja-fotos-da-invasao-da-policia-e-exercito-no-complexo-do-alemao-no-rj-rio-de-janeiro/tanque-derruba-barricada-complexo-alemao-2/>). On the right, a backhoe loader demolishing old constructions for the PAC works (photo: Marcos Arcoverde/AE. 19/08/09 in <http://fotos.limao.com.br/galeria,,68382,,17,%7C,geral-comecam-obras-do-pac-no-complexo-do-alemao-00.htm>)

The societal moment at the time of PAC is a sensitive period of transition for Alemão. The fear of the traffickers, the years with lack of active participation, of a territory and a community that had very few contact with democratic public policies, can misunderstand both the objectives of the government actions, objectives and the population expectations. The first two years of PAC with Alemão under traffickers control, the rest of the time, under the army control. The territory is militarized, as a scenario of war. And in the middle of it, the cable car is built. Urbanization, formalization, pacification, participation: where do end and begin each concept within this reality?

### **What is participation and empowerment?**

From the understanding of what is participation, from Friedmann perspective, one may say that participation is a strategic and essential tool for the achievement of an active democratic planning process. However, when misrepresented, as in the case study, participation becomes the sufficient argument to justify planning within democratic values and systems. From being an empowering tool, it becomes a disempowering process, missing its basic democratic purpose. But, what is empowerment about on this context? Again, considering the theoretical grounding of Friedmann, empowerment can be seen as the achievement of social / political / economic emancipation; the basic condition for societal development and the construction of alternative models of planning, the achievement of total civil and human rights. But, when misrepresented, empowerment becomes the single recognition that the disempowered beings have empowering rights, but it doesn't mean the accomplishment of these rights. On the case-study, empowering is generally accessed as the current attention that the power holders give to the power less. Having public policies, being heard, having external investments are seen in itself as an empowering condition of the poor. If before they were ignored by public policies, now they are taken into consideration.

So, passing Friedmann conceptualizations on Flyvbjerg misinformation and misrepresentation filter, and considering the societal development of this informal settlement and the majority of its inhabitants one may

say that the building of a misrepresented participatory process shifted the understanding of participation as a fundamental condition for planning to enable democracy, to take participation as the democratic tool to enable the ease implementation of top-down plan decisions. This participatory process proposed is based upon the disempowered and peripheral condition of the poor ones of the favela, and doesn't shift the disempowering condition within the process – by being grounded on it, built within a top-down planning approach, within a societal development almost without participatory historic, it recognizes the disempowering condition by reinforcing it with manipulative processes.

So, planning theory finds this challenge of refreshing theories and conceptualizations of participation from the understanding of its implementation in practice, and the filters that may convert potential active processes into disempowering initiatives, that may put in risk the social condition of planning and the accountability of participatory processes on the long term. A more adaptive and flexible understanding of the limits of participation in planning is necessary to build a more comprehensive, critical and contemporary perspective of what is participation, and what is empowering today.

## 8. Recommendations

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The societal development of the *favela*, the non-inclusion of all citizens of the Complexo neither on the plan nor on the process and the lack of openness to other types of planning exposed the closed planning condition of the Alemão aerial cable-car.

All these issues are consequence of an historic top-down decision making in planning that didn't emancipate from the traditional planning model based on macro projects that are implemented from above. Participation exists as a slogan to ensure that democratic processes are being implemented, but also to ease the implementation of the actions. However, this participation, when considering the macro project of the cable-car doesn't pass the level of information in Arnstein's ladder. Even the consultations done to the population that need to be reallocated, so that they can negotiate the different choices they have, is not part of an active participatory process, once that the solutions were previously determined, the dialogue is mandatory by state law and in case the inhabitant does not agree with any of the solutions proposed, there will be no other alternative choice for his specific case. In this sense, one may ask if this is not a manipulative mode of participation, once that it is all but citizen power.

The manipulative result of the participatory process results from a misrepresentation of what is participation and a misinformation of what are the objectives of the process. The effectiveness of the plan, that shall be implemented in 4 years, in a community with historical lack of public positive interventions, is in total agreement with this type of manipulative process: the participatory process shall not be much time or resources consuming. From the institutional organization of the process, up to the monitoring of the results, all the procedural choices done by the planning responsible help in easing the process and guarantying the execution of democratic governance within the guidelines of the COTS report.

In this project, one may say that *participation is disempowerment*. It proposes the place for dialogue, but misrepresents it, and by doing so, misrepresents what participation would mean in an active democratic planning process. Since it is a strategic misrepresentation, it is hard to trust that there can be some interest from the power holders in changing the process, once that it fits on the main objectives of the plan. However, the disempowered ones are the most affected, since their social and political emancipation is not being enabled. This is very important considering that it is the first time, since democracy governs the country that the drug dealers were somehow controlled and the territory was occupied by the public forces.

In a scenario with a continuous top-down decision making, it would help to sustain a more active democratic process if the actions for the implementation of the social work were clarified in advance and the local governments would have the responsibility to adapt the guidelines considering the priorities and the context of each case.<sup>65</sup> It would be important to guarantee that the social work would begin before the physical plan, so that the priorities of the plan could be accessed previously to it. The governance miscellaneous could be better solved if there was an external monitoring of the different institutions with

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<sup>65</sup> For this recommendation to be positively implemented, it would be necessary the existence of an accountable local government in Rio de Janeiro, based on transparency, truth and supported by democratic processes of dialogue with the communities it represents.

actions on the area and of the different plans for the area that could be interrelated (openness to other types of planning) to enable a systemic intervention. On the building of the participatory process it would be very important to have transparency on the objectives of the plan, the budget allocations, and inform the whole population about the plan and its process. Only with transparency the power holders can reach accountability, and the population can have the correct information to accept or to confront. However, on the political and economic scenario, where efficiency and technique justify public policies and planning decisions, it is difficult to ensure a planning process sensitive to the specificities of the case and its population. It is then important to improve the **accountability of the power holders** through transparency and truth, and the **enhancing of the role of the local governments** as the political institution closes to the community reality and needs.

The process could be then shifted from below, similarly to what is happening in Rocinha now: after having contact with Alemão reality, and with an urban plan previously done for Rocinha, the inhabitants are mobilized to have their priorities solved. The plan done by MT architecture, on a strong participatory basis, helped in the emancipation of the population: there is a technical argument for not having the cable-car: the plan, done together with the population, didn't include it.

In the technical planning world of PAC, the technical argument, together with the acknowledgement of Alemão experience empowered the inhabitants of Rocinha and shifted the participatory process: the PAC social of Rocinha turns into a space for debate around the priorities of the plan and the basic decisions. It was very important that the planner, Mr Toledo, built a strong participatory basis on his plan, and by doing so, gave a tool for the inhabitants to mobilize and support an active planning process. One may say that it was the planners' role, but it could be argued that it was the planners' *choice*. Participation can have many different applications and designs, and can be acknowledged as a citizen right.

In the case of Alemão, the planner didn't choose the same process based on participation. In this case, the solution could pass through the work of local representatives sensitive to urban issues and active democratic processes. The Committee of Development of Serra da Misericórdia was an example of how the management of different internal institutions can help in building a stronger movement towards social mobilization and citizen participation. So, the role of the NGOs and other external agents can mean the empowerment of the disempowered through organization and mobilization, grounded in accountable information. If not allowed to have voice on the decision making phase, being organized as an opposition to it can mean being closer to the power holders – and by so, empowering. (Maier, 2001) If the population acknowledges the objectives of other public policies and plans, it can also argue for the inclusion of other variables in the plan and the clarification of the management of different actions, together with the understanding of the main objective of the whole of interventions – so, one may say that it would be important to have a **broader access to technical information** but also to **share informations and learn lessons** from other communities and their plans.

In any situation, the recommendations are grounded on the same principle: **participation cannot be considered as so while it is disempowering** or not empowering the have-nots. Information, accountability through transparency, social mobilization, institutional organization, openness to other planning types and processes, and the clear understanding of the societal development and its objectives are fundamental for the

openness on the planning process and the inclusion of an active participatory process. But the main point is in **understanding *what is participation about***: not as a process enabler but as a democratic choice; not an external process but a citizenship right; not passive but active and proportional to citizen power. This is the basic information that need to be understood, evenmore in contexts of informal settlements where, 40/50 years ago, the inhabitants couldn't distinguish between rights and duties. (Perlman, 2010)

The democratization of the Complexo is just as challenging as the democratization of the planning and political system. The block in the existence of active participation finds in the complexo questions of internal conflicts between residents associations and local NGOs<sup>66</sup>, of conflicts between the interest of the internal powerholders (for many years, mainly the drug dealers) and the disempowered inhabitants, that difficult a common understanding and a common struggle for a coherent and democratic development of the whole community. In another political scale, private interests, public top-down governance, a central state managing the PAC process, links directly with issues of time, resources and mediatism management. This exogenous and endogenous conditions end up in a complex and complicated intitutional organization, an in a strong falsification and misrepresentation of the fundamental meanings of democratic processes and active participation.

Because of this, it is quite difficult to find simple reccomendations for the improvement of the way that planning processes occur in order to include participation, and therefore, it is not easy to ensure empowerment of the poor ones that constitute (the ones from the favelas) almost 20% of the city of Rio. The case of Rocinha was a positive experience of the challenge for the planner to bridge the community interests to the political responsibilities, through the choice for the building of a strong participatory process. The social mobilizations, when supported by techncial documents and the leadership of local organizations may trigguer the change in the processes, but the lack of transparent information and the continuous misrepresentation may keep weakening these forces. A strong shift on the understanding of public policies and the role of planning as an empowering tool would be necessary for the coordination and management of multiple interests with the objective of achieving the most effective societal development, together with the flexibilization of the process as a whole so that it may change and include the continuous community needs and demands on the results. The state entering the favela shall mean the empowering of the population, the ones that in a demoratic system, are the state. Otherwise, there is a risk that the state and the public policies replace the authoritarianism of older instances of power, supporting the permanence of peripheral policies of subordination and dominance (Friedmann, 1969).

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<sup>66</sup> The question of *what is participation* could be debated only on the understanding of both the residents associations presidents and the NGOs. If the first understand that they represent the community, and that a participatory process and a democratic governance may only include his presence (since he concentrates the community he represents as a whole), the NGOs undersantd their role as a mobilization of the population and the struggle for the guarantee of basic civic rights. The NGOs priviledge colective actions, do not aim the concentration of power but the achievment of a wide participation and inclusion of the population on the decisions. (Migon, 2011 p.37,38)

## 9. Conclusion



Figure 14: The army helicopter flying above the Complexo, with one of the Cable-car stations on the top of the hill. The presence of the state is symbolic present on the army occupation for the pacification and the new urban projects imposed to the inhabitants. Photo: The Brazilian Army.



Figure 12: A girl carrying a bottle of water in the Complexo, with the cable-car passing on the background. Large amount of money was invested on the urban projects for the Complexo, but the process of planning didn't empower the poor ones. Photo: The Guardian.

If participation is citizen power, then when participatory processes do not empower the poor ones, it is important to understand what does participation do. The limits for the achievement of active democratic planning processes are in themselves building new challenges for the definition and understanding not only of the block to active participation, but also the risks of overtaking *participation* as something always positive. The research findings result from the understanding of Friedmann's alternative development model limits analysed from the perspective of the causes for participation blocking and planning problems that Flyvbjerg, Maier, Sager, and Perlman bring up. Misrepresentation, misinformation, closeness to other types of planning and the general societal development analysed on the case-study turn the potential empowerment of a participative planning process into a manipulative way of conducting the *misrepresentation* of a democratic planning process. The planning process stays much closer to a new planning management position of “*administrative efficiency (...) [where] more weight is put on economic indicators of the effectiveness of the political management system, and less weight is put on indicators measuring the democratic aspects of politics*”, rather than to a communicative planning theory perspective of “*an open and participatory enterprise involved a broad range of affected groups in socially oriented and fairness-seeking developments of land, infrastructure, or public services guided but a consensus building process (...) open in the sense of being inclusive and transparent*” (Sager, 2009 p.70,67)

In the case of Alemão and the cable-car, participation was mandatory from a federal law, and fundamental for the budgeting of the plan, but if it ensures that “*public plans and services should become more in line with citizen preferences, [it doesn't ensure] that those consulted should also be the decision makers.*” (Sager, 2009 p.72). In a context of historic exclusion, and more than two decades being under the *control* of the traffickers rules, the population of Alemão had very few episodes of experience with participatory processes, and

almost all related to clientelism – which turns participation into negotiation - but when the government enters the territory with macro projects, followed by the military and the *forces of pacification*, the scenario changes. The threat of the traffickers reduces, and the state presents as the new presence in these areas: the state *occupies* the territory, as it is usually said. The occupation of the state, with the need to build participatory processes, in the area with the lowest HDI of the city of Rio, could be the ideal condition for the design of a planning process towards the empowerment of the poor ones. However, the different interests behind the plan, the institutional organization of the programme, and a top-down model of governance, resulted on the design of a planning process that does not achieve alternative development models for this population.

Questions of misrepresentation and misinformation of the process block the access to an active model of participation – participation as empowerment does not exist in this process. The strategic way of how and which actors are selected to be *in* the process, the support of two different teams of social work with two different approaches, and the governmental institutional miscellaneous turned the process into a manipulation of the construction of *what participation is*, and kept the disempowered ones excluded from the process of planning.

Since the decision making, up to the monitoring of the cable-car, technical reasons are justifying political purposes and by doing so, participation misses its purpose of empowerment and results as a tool for the achievement of effective results, designed to be time and resource effective.

The creation of two different working groups – impact management and sustainable development – also allowed the existence of two different approaches, but that together reach a very weak inclusion of the participation on the project results. If participation may reach in the sustainable development team the level of consultation on small projects (the population is asked to decide which name will have each station, or to purpose mosaic panels for the stations), in the impact management group even the consultations done to the population relatively to the housing relocations are in fact, based on a manipulative purposes. On Arnstein's ladder, the planning process does not reach the upper ladders of empowerment, and shall not be considered an active participatory process. More than that: the process design, its institutional profile, its centralized model of governance and the strategic misrepresentation that exists, is done in such a way that can disempower the population to mobilize or to take action – the choice to include local activists as part of the government team weakened the social representativeness and independence of the organizations these activists represented. If the disempowered ones would know what a participatory process *is*, they could better struggle for what it *should be*. However, from the lessons learned in the cable-car project (and other planning processes for *favelas*), other communities are aiming today to take action and to position against decisions previously made and plans that are done without listening, considering or including the demands of the inhabitants. So, somehow the information and lessons learned from some top-down processes may be awakening other disempowered territories and may be working as a trigger for more active participatory processes, resulting from the social mobilization of the population.

It is a fact that the lack of services existent on Alemão before the PAC programme was a reason for the need of an urgent intervention. There were infrastructural problems that needed to be solved, like access to

sanitary and water infrastructure, waste management, and all the basic needs for minimum conditions of urban life. However, the cable car, considering the amount of its investment and the collateral effects it had on the relocation of thousands of people, could have been understood as a project to be debated with the community and understood if it was part of the inhabitants' priorities. The amount of resources invested on this macro project, on a democratic model of shared governance, should not be destined to one single project without the inclusion of an active participative process of planning.

It is important that the population takes position and claims for voice and space within these new structures of participation that are available from the legislative shift towards the democratization of planning processes, so that, in the future, Alemão and other disempowered territories get closer to an inclusive and effective development process where poverty and inequity gives place to the struggle for citizenship rights within public policies.

The alternative development model supported by Friedmann and based on the understanding of an active democratic model of governance and planning, is still long way to be achieved. It is therefore important to rethink the risks, the limits and the current challenges of taking *participation* as a paradigm without understanding its significance in each context.

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Here will be attached a dvd with the media data of this research and the pdf file of the annexes. It was not possible, for technical reasons, to record this dvd on time for the handing in date, however, it will be provided the latest on the exam date, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 2012.

I therefore apologise for the inconvenient.

Mónica Guerra da Rocha