When Public Participation Meets Resettlement: The Vila Chocolatão Experience in Porto Alegre, Brazil

Felicity Cahill, Elizabeth Ryan, Liam Magee and Paul James

Global Cities Research Institute, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

felicity.cahill@rmit.edu.au, elizabeth.ryan@rmit.edu.au, liam.magee@rmit.edu.au, paul.james@rmit.edu.au

Global Cities Research Institute, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

2013

Chis Hudson, Sam Carroll-Bell, Alyssa Taing

http://global-cities.info/news-events/conferences-forums/conferences-proceedings
When Public Participation Meets Resettlement: The Vila Chocolatão Experience in Porto Alegre, Brazil

FELICITY CAHILL, ELIZABETH RYAN, LIAM MAGEE and PAUL JAMES

Abstract: Progress in developing economies such as Brazil is often marked by a parallel rise in urban poverty and informal settlements. Development-induced resettlements are increasing, and often result in displaced persons suffering greater impoverishment and disadvantage. For communities across the globe, devising approaches to dealing with slums is one of the biggest challenges to emerge from the unprecedented and rapid urbanization in the twenty-first century. Current international ‘best practice’ approaches recommend resettlement of slum communities be avoided where feasible.

This paper explores the paradoxical nature of a resettlement project in Porto Alegre, Brazil, the relocation of the Vila Chocolatão community, involving the intersection between urban resettlement and public participatory processes. In May 2011, approximately 800 residents of an inner city slum were re-housed in the newly constructed Residencial Nova Chocolatão. This occurred after a decade-long preparatory process, initiated through Porto Alegre’s renown Orçamento Participativo or OP (participatory budget) system, supported by a long standing cross-sectoral network group and resulting in a housing project that incorporated employment and early childhood services and education. This research examines how the public participatory processes evolved in the lead-up and during resettlement, and also explores the role of collaboration and partnership in community transformation.

Keywords: Citizenship, urban resettlement, public participation

1. Introduction

Recent experiences with resettling slum communities have been widely condemned. According to its critics, slum resettlement is a substantially disruptive process, associated with the loss of housing, shelter, income, land, livelihoods, assets and access to resources and services, and impacts adversely on already vulnerable communities (Milbert 2006, p. 305, Patel et al. 2002, p. 159, Price 2009, pp. 267–8, World Bank 2010). Current recommendations from international
Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), including UN HABITAT and the World Bank, echo such criticisms in stating that resettlement should be avoided (UN-HABITAT 2003, p. xxviii, World Bank 2011, Asian Development Bank 2012, Inter-American Development Bank 2012). The negative effects of relocation on slum communities, particularly where slum dwellers are resettled in the absence of community consultation and consent, extend beyond challenges involved with moving into a new urban environment. These potentially include higher living costs, extended commuting time and the loss of neighbourhood support networks (Smolka and Larangeira 2008, p. 102). However, as Perlman (2010) notes in her study of Rio favela communities, long-term experiences of resettlements can be ambiguous. If accompanied by formalization of residency and occupation, the worst effects of relocation can sometimes be mitigated.

This study examines a high profile slum resettlement in Porto Alegre, Brazil, the relocation of Vila Chocolatão. The case exhibits two apparently contradictory features. It is another case of development-induced resettlement (usually highly detrimental to communities), but one in which the imperative to resettle was treated as an opportunity to improve the lives of the resident community. This resulted in an unusual and lengthy preparation process. In May 2011, approximately 800 residents of Vila Chocolatão were re-housed in the newly constructed Residencial Nova Chocolatão in the Porto Alegre suburb of Morro Santana. The original Vila Chocolatão was located on a small block of land in the city centre, adjacent to a federal administration district. The resettlement was triggered more than a decade earlier, in 2000, by the appeal for eviction by the Federal Union who owned the land. Given the vulnerability and complexity of Vila Chocolatão, along with the trauma and risk associated with relocation, the resettlement experienced significant challenges and criticism. Conversely, the community’s situation and lack of social structure also triggered the support of its ‘neighbours’ the Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região (TRF4), and with time, many other partners.

Vila Chocolatão was reported to be ‘a hidden world’, without social structure, ‘the poorest community in Porto Alegre’. Residents were primarily catadores or ‘street pickers’, living in semi-constructed housing amongst excess rubbish, highly vulnerable to fires, and struggling with issues relating to parallel power structures, drug and alcohol dependency, and domestic violence. The process of public participation, as we describe below, centred on a small group of community leaders who led the bid to the Participatory Budget (Orçamento Participativo, OP) and subsequent efforts to formalize. Other residents were reportedly deeply fearful of resettlement. There was also some opposition to the resettlement in the broader community, including sustained activism from local groups, who were highly critical of the resettlement. Such criticisms considered the relocation a violation of human rights, with some accusing the city government of ‘urban cleansing’, and claiming the community was not consulted and would be disadvantaged by removal from the city centre, with the resulting loss of access to health services, education and income generation opportunities (Vila do Chocolatão 2011)

Despite these challenges, there is clear evidence the processes of public participation went some way towards alleviating the trauma associated with resettlement, improving living conditions and opened employment opportunities. The interviews conducted by this study indicate participatory social structures developed within the community, and that the cross-sectoral Network group, who formed with resident leaders to support the community’s preparation,
slowly gained credibility and trust through sustained activity and tangible projects. Most of the community appeared to be prepared to move by the time resettlement happened. There was some controversy about families who weren’t resettled at Vila Chocolatão (those who arrived past the census date). Many interviewees spoke of challenges but also about the transformative qualities of the project’s process, which was also a public forum for working through issues. Whilst there has been immense change with the location and its distance from the city centre, improvements in living conditions have been achieved. Some of the community are employed in the new cooperatively-managed recycling sorting centre, or have moved into formal employment outside of the community. The new village has retained a high number of original residents, with around 90 per cent of families still occupying their new house, and some undertaking house extensions. The community’s children have access to high quality care (daily) on site.

In light of the original decision to reclaim the old Vila Chocolatão site, we argue the subsequent process by which resettlement took place mitigated the worst impacts of resettlement and opened opportunities for a number of residents. This process included aspects of community engagement; development of participatory or collective groups in the community; and collaboration between community leaders and external partners. Longitudinal studies are required to assess the long-term impact of the resettlement, particularly on children, a specific focus of the residents’ associations and the network’s collaborative efforts. Our study begins by providing contextual background on urban resettlement, particularly in Brazil and public participatory processes in Porto Alegre. The Methods section describes the data collection process and methodological approach adopted for the case study. We then develop a chronological account of the original Vila do Chocolatão, discussing its history, and residents’ living conditions and livelihoods, in the Findings section. We also outline the series of public processes related to the relocation project: the impetus for the resettlement project; the participation of residents in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget and formation of resident associations; and the engagement of residents and actors in the Chocolatão Sustainability Network (CSN) and its related resettlement preparatory projects. Finally we offer several tentative conclusions about the relationship between resettlement and public participation, and identify further areas for further research.

2. Literature review

2.1 Urban resettlement

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

The rapid growth of urban slums in the cities of developing countries around the world presents a diversity of challenges. In particular, the displacement and resettlement of slum communities where the state exercises its right to take over land for national public needs involves a myriad of issues for government administrations and slum dwellers alike (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993, p. 4). As Guggenheim and Cernea assert,

‘reconciling the need of developing societies to improve their physical infrastructure with the protection of the rights and interests of the people most immediately affected by displacement is a major issue that, until recently, few countries have been prepared to address’ (1993, p. 2).

While the resettlement of urban slum communities is largely viewed as something that should be avoided (Bennett and McDowell 2012, p. 1), development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is sometimes an unavoidable consequence of urban development projects and infrastructure programs (Cernea 2009, p. 265). Both voluntary and involuntary resettled populations face substantial challenges in adapting to new social and physical environments following relocation. However involuntary resettlement caused by development projects differs in important ways to other common types of population relocation. People who are displaced by conflict or disasters, whether they are natural or man-made, are often able to return to their homelands once turbulence has subsided (McDowell and Morrell 2010, p. 21). However, voluntary resettlement scheme managers have the capacity to screen resettlers and determine what qualities, dispositions and capabilities they should possess in order to have the best chances of succeeding following relocation. In contrast, forced resettlers have no say in their relocation (De Wet 2006b, p. 196) and resettlement instigated by development projects is typically permanent (Muggah 2003). Those affected by DIDR must therefore find a way to survive in the long term, as opposed to ‘making do’ in an interim period (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993, p. 4).

Since their emergence in the 1930s and early 1940s, slums in Brazil have been subjected to a variety of policies, programs and projects (Koster and Nuijten 2012, p. 179). According to Caldeira, Brazilian slums are generally perceived as occupying land with high economic value, presenting health risks for all city dwellers, hiding places for criminals and a collective threat to the ‘image of modernity’ (2000, p. 78). Macedo asserts that prior to the implementation of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil, a range of tactics were attempted by local, state and federal government administrations to eradicate slums within Brazilian cities (2008, p. 263). Denying the provision of basic infrastructure services or amenities in irregular settlements was one such tactic. However, where this proved ineffective, local administrators resorted to the more forceful measure of demolishing slum dwellings (see Leeds 1981). Slum clearance and resettlement to low-cost housing on the outskirts of cities was the predominant mode of dealing with irregular settlements adopted by the Brazilian government throughout the 1960s and 1970s. While government programs aimed at the removal of slums were ostensibly implemented as a means of addressing and combating urban poverty, slum clearance in cities has actually resulted in an increase in the number of vulnerable people in need in Brazil.
When Public Participation Meets Resettlement

(Valladares 1978). The ineffectiveness of most slum clearance and relocation initiatives over time is evidenced by the trend of relocated families selling their subsidized units situated far away from city centres and livelihood opportunities, and then re-establishing new irregular settlements in more accessible areas (Macedo 2008, p. 263). Several authors note that slum upgrading represents a cost-efficient and viable alternative to slum clearance and relocation in Brazilian cities and the predominant mode of dealing with slums (Apsan Frediani 2007, p. 133, Macedo 2010, p. 611). However, as the case of Chocolatão shows, forced resettlement continues to be adopted as a policy strategy for managing slum populations.

2.2 Public participatory processes

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

Porto Alegre’s innovative participatory budgeting model serves as a functioning example of neighbourhood democracy in Brazil. It emerged during the early years of re-democratization and decentralization in Brazil. Following the end of the military dictatorship in 1985, the city’s Participatory Budget was originated in a consultative process driven by the municipal administration and emerging social movements (World Bank 2008, p. 1). The implementation of Brazil’s new Constitution in 1988 resulted in the initiation of a process of tax reforms and decentralization that provided space for municipal governments across the country to make more substantial decisions concerning public investment (World Bank 2008, p. 1). In 1988, a left-wing coalition dominated by the Workers’ Party (Partidos dos Trabalhadores, PT) was voted into power in Porto Alegre’s municipal elections (Gret and Sintomer 2005, p. 1). In partnership with pro-democracy social movements, the PT formally introduced participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre the following year (World Bank 2008, p. 1). The PT had a bold yet simple idea—to decentralize the power of City Hall and elected politicians to determine how municipal funds are spent and to democratize decisions concerning the use of the city’s resources. The PT’s first year in office was fraught with difficulties related to fiscal constraints. In spite of financial challenges, participatory budgeting was mobilized across the municipality’s
then 16 sub-regions in 1989.\footnote{A 17th region was created in 2007 after Region 1 (Humaitá/Navegantes) was divided to include Ilhas das Flores, Pintada, Pavão and Ilha Grande dos Marinheiros (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre 2010a).} In the early years of its administration, the PT was successful in drawing a significant number of participants into the participatory budgeting process from Porto Alegre’s less privileged areas (Baocchi 2011, p. 307).

Participatory budgeting represents an approach to municipal administration that facilitates a reversal of public policy priorities in favour of the poor and working class (Gret and Sintomer 2005, pp. 3–4). This reversal is made possible through public participation in the prioritization of urban issues and subsequent allocation of municipal funding, and is centred upon the promotion of a redistributive politics (Ibid, p. 21). Participatory budgeting creates formats for public decision-making that promote citizen engagement in policy-making, enhancement of accountability, curtailment of corruption, and the cessation of arbitrary allocation of public resources (Wampler and Avritzer 2004, p. 299).

Building upon participatory democratic processes established and cultivated through Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting process, the municipal administration elected in 2005 established the Local Solidarity Governance scheme (Governança Solidária Local or GSL) (PMPA 2010b). Developed with the assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the GSL is a change management project that aims to promote a partnership approach between local government and citizens with an emphasis on shared responsibilities between municipal bodies and societal groups (Metropolis 2011a, p. 3). The GSL focuses on a change of culture as opposed to a single social practice. Institutionally, the GSL is based on the following principles:

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

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

The role of the city’s municipal administration in the GSL is to promote a culture of partnerships (Metropolis 2011b, p. 2). Porto Alegre’s Central Administrative Centres (Centros Administrativos Regionais, CARs) were established to provide administrative support with the city’s participatory budgeting processes and they assist City Hall in working towards this aim (PMPA 2012a). Under the GSL, City Hall is responsible for connecting the public sector, businesses, citizens of Porto Alegre (especially the least politically organized and most socially and economically vulnerable of the population) and civil society organizations through intersectoral and multidisciplinary networks that are territorially organized (Metropolis 2011b, p. 2).
Local solidarity governance and participatory budgeting are based on the promotion of citizen empowerment at the local level. Chaskin (et al.) articulates this idea as follows,

‘An emphasis on local power (and ‘empowerment’) concerns both the assumption that local knowledge and rights will be channeled into deliberative and decision-making forums in meaningful ways—that they will have influence and impact—and that participation in such forums will further build the capacity of community members to be active, effective citizens’ (2012, p. 7).

As this review shows, there are strongly contrasting elements of Brazilian governance in cities: on the one hand, an historical and ongoing trend towards forced slum relocation, and on the other, experimentation with radical forms of localized and participatory democracy. While both have been studied extensively, there have been few occasions where the resettlement has met with public participatory processes. The case of Vila Chocolatão is relatively unique not only in Brazil, but in a global context. Hence this study, in telling the story and analyzing aspects of the case, aims to contribute to an understanding of how state-driven ‘goods’—participatory processes—and ‘bads’—forced resettlement—respond when they meet.

3. Methods

Our study explores the intersection between the resettlement of a community living in Porto Alegre’s downtown Chocolatão slum and civic participation in the city’s public participatory processes. Given that residents were relocated from the slum to Residencial Nova Chocolatão in May 2011, it is too early to evaluate whether or not the resettlement process has been a ‘success’ (Horowitz et al. 1993, p. 229); nor is that the objective of this study. However, our findings demonstrate that there are useful insights that can be drawn from the participatory processes around the resettlement of the Vila Chocolatão community. The Chocolatão resettlement can be considered a single, critical and embedded case study, as it incorporates a variety of evidence and sub-units of analysis in relation to what is a unique and complex process of resettlement.

3.1 Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA)

Document sources were selected on the basis of their contribution to the task of mapping the history of the resettlement project. In addition they were selected to represent a range of points of view, from those of local government, media, NGOs, critics and academics, and was motivated by the identified need to canvass a range of documents from different, and sometimes ideologically opposed, sources. We started with an initial set of documents compiled by the UN Global Compact Cities Programme (UNGCCP) who were associated with Porto Alegre as a participant city. These included:

- Historical email communication between UNGCCP and Porto Alegre City Hall staff (2007–2011)
- Brochures produced by City Hall on participatory budgeting, local solidarity governance and the Chocolatão Sustainability Network
- Internal City Hall documents pertaining to the resettlement project
• Observational field notes from site visits conducted by UNGCCP staff in 2010 and 2012, and
• News articles about the Chocolatão community.

Further documents were then sourced from Porto Alegre’s City Hall and online sources. These included:

• Internal reports, meeting minutes and briefing notes produced by Porto Alegre’s municipal departments involved in the resettlement project on various aspects of the relocation process;
• Reports prepared by organizations that opposed the resettlement;
• Reports written by international organizations involved in the resettlement project;
• Websites and reports of significant project stakeholders; and
• Academic journal articles and books about Porto Alegre and the city’s Participatory Budget and Local Solidarity Governance scheme.

To guide the initial research (Altheide et al. 2008, p. 128), we coded documents according to the scheme in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key Terminology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porto Alegre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory Budgeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Solidarity Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background and Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chocolatão Sustainability Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2 Stakeholder analysis

Based on our document analysis, we employed stakeholder analysis (Brugha and Varasovszky 2000b, p. 239, Simmons and Lovegrove 2005, p. 496) to identify people and organizations who appeared to have contributed to the participatory resettlement of the Chocolatão community. After identifying stakeholders through the QDA process, we then mapped their respective roles in relation to the resettlement of the Chocolatão community. The mapping process covered individuals, organizations, different individuals within an organization and networks of individuals and organizations (e.g. the Chocolatão Sustainability Network). We confirmed the roles of stakeholders through preliminary face-to-face interviews and additional document analysis of published and unpublished documents, reports, policy statements, meeting minutes and websites. Stakeholders were then represented in a map detailing each actor’s roles and relationships in the resettlement project. This map was then used to identify interview participants and inform the narrative of the case.
3.3 Qualitative interviews

Interviews were conducted with those involved with the Chocolatão Sustainability Network, a cross-sectoral group that supported civic participation amongst Chocolatão community members. This group offered us an informant with strong ties to a number of the stakeholders from community, municipal government, civil society and business groups. With assistance from the informant, we solicited 14 members of the Network who agreed to be interviewed. A researcher in Porto Alegre then conducted the interviews. In preparing a semi-structured questionnaire, we decided to use the lens of the Chocolatão Sustainability Network itself to orient interviews, since participation in the Network was the common experience of all participants. From there, follow-up questions asked about the objective aspects of the resettlement project, such as key events, personnel and decisions, along with subjective and evaluative impressions. Common questions included:

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

3.4 Data analysis

Data collected from the QDA, stakeholder analysis and interview transcripts were then coded and synthesized to produce a historical timeline of events from 2000 to 2012. We superimposed the results of the stakeholder mapping on the timeline, to identify points at which key individuals and organizations became involved in the resettlement process. Finally we incorporated interview responses to develop a narratological timeline, enriched and enlivened by the personal reflections of respondents. From the narrative and the collected evaluative responses from interviews, we were then able to build a nuanced case about both the benefits and the challenges of public participation in the resettlement of the Chocolatão community.²

4. Resettlement and participation in Vila Chocolatão

Vila Chocolatão was a long standing irregular settlement in the Porto Alegre suburb of Praia de Belas, close to the city’s historical centre and waterfront and surrounded by a number of federal government buildings (Schwedler 2011, p. 30, PMPA 2011b). First settled in 1984 with families using discarded materials to construct dwellings on Otávio Francisco Caruso da Rocha Street, Vila Chocolatão expanded over time, covering an entire inner city block and housing over 200 families by 2011 (see Table 1) (PMPA 2010b). The parcel of land is owned by Brazil’s Federal Union (Receita Federal, RF) (PMPA 2011b). The Vila (slum area) drew its name from one of the federal buildings located next to the slum which resembles a chocolate bar and inspired the name Chocolatão (chocolate) (Goncalves de Souza 2008).

² This paper represents an excerpt of a larger study, which presents a fuller historical account of the resettlement preparation.
Table 1: Basic demographic information for Vila Chocolatão in 2011

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

Source: PMPA (2011a)

Figure 1: A *catadore* in downtown Porto Alegre
Many Vila Chocolatão residents had relocated from rural areas to the city in search of work (as reported by former community member, Olivia). The majority of Vila Chocolatão residents supported themselves by working as catadores—collectors and sorters of recyclable waste. (PMPA 2011b). Close to Porto Alegre’s central business district, catadores were well located to access recyclables. A number of interviewees also reported the vila was ideally situated for the illicit drug trade. Catadores collected recyclable waste in large carts (carrinhos) that they pulled through the city streets (see Figure 1). Paula (Governance Agent, SMGL) reported most catadores in Vila Chocolatão could not afford to buy their own carrinhos and rented them from middlemen who ran informal carrinho sheds. The middlemen would then purchase catadores’ recyclables at a heavily reduced cost and on-sell them to formal recycling companies. Paula described this process as ‘a cycle of misery that is difficult to escape from’. A number of interviewees described Chocolatão as a community that worked by day to eat at night.

The rubbish was then brought back to Vila Chocolatão and sorted in peoples’ homes. The excess accumulated in the slum streets, posing a huge fire and health risk (see Figure 2). The condition of the slum was described by many as precarious, overcrowded and unhygienic (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros 2011), and as one of the most impoverished communities in Porto Alegre, lacking basic infrastructure, adequate housing and sanitation. Running water and electricity was largely accessed illegally (Glock 2011). Community members, Olivia and Evelyn, identified numerous challenges faced by the community relating to crime and violence, addiction to narcotics and alcohol, and children begging. Persistent outbreaks of fire and flooding within the slum posed a continuous threat not only to residents’ physical safety but also the integrity of their dwellings (Gonçalves de Souza 2009, Glock 2011) (see Figure 3).
The impetus for the resettlement project is traceable to a judicial expropriation request filed by the Federal Union (RF) with the Federal Office for Environment, Agriculture and Residual Affairs on January 14, 2000 (Vara Federal Ambiental Agrária e Residual de Porto Alegre 2000). The Federal Union sought to reclaim the land upon which the slum existed for alternative use as a federal administrative area. Given residents would be forced to relocate so new administrative buildings could be constructed, the resettlement of the Chocolatão community came within the ambit of development-induced displacement and resettlement. Upon hearing the Union’s claim, the Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region (TRF4) determined the eviction of the Chocolatão community should be postponed, as the Director of the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHAB) indicated that there was no immediate area available for the resettlement of residents (Vara Federal Ambiental Agrária e Residual de Porto Alegre 2000). The community’s vulnerability also influenced the postponement: ‘the Federal Court, understanding there was no social census and concerned about the residents’ social situation (the TRF4) decided to shelve, to suspend the decision … and then start the process of the community resettlement’ (Lara, social worker, TRF4).

4.1 Representing the community in Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget (Orçamento Participativo, OP)

The threat of eviction triggered the beginnings of collective action in Vila Chocolatão; a community described by most respondents as lacking cohesion and social structure. A small group of community members formed the Association of Collector Mothers for Preservation (Associação de Mães Carrinheiras de Preservação) in 2005, later becoming the Chocolatão Residents’ Association. The group formed because members were concerned about the potential eviction, and the safety and welfare of their community (due to recent fires). Former leading community member Olivia recalls that in 2005 the group formed, with the motto ‘Recycling to preserve, Working to educate’:

‘It was a group we created to represent the community in the participative budgeting … we did it due to a very complex process for the community expropriation. We knew it was a federal area and it needed to be vacated … we represented the community in the forum because we were afraid the community would simply be evicted.’

Olivia states that one of the reasons the community needed to leave was because of fire. In 2005 a four year old and 36 year old man died in a fire: ‘from that moment, the community started to get organized’. She said the group was concerned with domestic violence, children’s rights and education and ‘building for everyone in an egalitarian way’. As well as requesting housing she says, ‘we asked for a childcare centre in the participative budgeting and … a waste recycling shed … an income source’. The group made a demand to Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget for support and resources to resettle the community, and requested that an alternative housing site include a childcare centre and a recycling facility, to improve the lives of the community. Olivia reports a number of men in the community represented the women’s association in the Participatory Budget. She said it eventually became difficult for a women’s group to represent the community publicly; the Chocolatão Residents Association was subsequently formed and was led by a male community leader.
4.2 Chocolatão social inclusion and the Vila Chocolatão Sustainability Network

Driven by the then President of the TRF4, the *Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion Project* was initiated in August 2005 in the TRF4’s capacity as a leading partner in the Chocolatão Sustainability Network (Tribunal Regional Federal de 4a Região 2006, Goncalves de Souza 2008). The Network was to become a vehicle for working through the challenges facing the community and prepare for resettlement. It adopted the unusual strategy of undertaking projects to improve residents’ lives before resettling, particularly related to income generation and care of children. Numerous social projects were undertaken, in addition to a number of key development initiatives within the slum. These included: the allocation of street names and numbers; the legal connection of electricity; the establishment of a recycling cooperative and waste sorting centre; and the building of a meeting house, amenities building and childcare centre. These projects, and the accompanying social and cultural changes within the community, led to a state of the art recycling centre and childcare centre being central in the design of the new housing village.

The first stage of the Network was initiated by the TRF4 bringing together the organizations who were working in Vila Chocolatão, recognizing it needed to ‘share this (social) responsibility with other agencies (and) entities’. TRF4 social worker, *Lara*, explains one of the biggest challenges was bringing together ‘these entities, organizations, public agencies, NGOs, churches that worked there … so they wouldn’t do duplicating [or] overlapping work’. She added, the network was created initially to ‘make the entities, especially municipal government agencies, play a role in the community, communicate and really work transversely’. *Olivia* also explains that the Vila Chocolatão Social Inclusion project and Network happened in parallel to the resettlement process,
This new project emerged through partnership. The community looked for help within the participative budgeting and this was the first step towards Chocolatão’s community resettlement process. Given that we occupied a federal area but the housing policies are the city council’s responsibility, there was a partnership between the federal and the municipal governments for the resettlement process. Automatically and parallel to it, the sustainability network emerged.

The TRF4 was the initial coordinator of the Network and hosted meetings with the community and partners in the Court administration buildings. The coordination role was then passed onto the Local Solidarity Governance (around 2007) and a meeting space was developed in the community. Meetings were also regularly held on “neutral ground” outside Vila Chocolatão in an adjacent park. The Network grew to be a large cross-sectoral group consisting of members from all levels of government, civil society, the private sector and the local community (see Figure 4).

![Figure 4: Overview of Chocolatão Sustainability Network members](image)

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

Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) states that the main objective of the Social Inclusion Project was to improve quality of life for and promote the dignity of Chocolatão residents both prior to and following resettlement. Almost all interviewees spoke of the Network’s objective in terms of transformation and emancipation. Former leading community member, Olivia, says,

‘the Network was a group of partners, federal public agencies, NGO’s and community leaderships who had the same basic principles: look for the people’s quality of life. This may go unnoticed but everyone who took part in the network is playing their role in what we call “social responsibility, social justice”.’

Gustavo from the city department of urban cleaning (DMLU), speaks of the network’s unique role as an ‘articulator’,

‘when the network does the articulation ie. it brings together the public service and the private sector to solve a problem. This is the power of articulation, I currently work for the public power and we know that without the private sector’s support … maybe we’d only be half way in the problem’s solution. I believe the network has an essential role in something called articulation and planning.’

4.3 ‘Mapping’ Vila Chocolatão

After constructing a community-meeting house, one of the first projects to be developed by the Network was the ‘mapping’ of Vila Chocolatão. Common to many informal settlements, dwellings were not numbered and there were no street names. Network members prioritized the establishment of formal addresses, as the lack of addresses constituted a significant impediment to entering the formal employment market and participating as ‘formal’ citizens in society generally. Sometime between 2007 and October 2009, the Municipal Health Department’s (Secretaria Municipal de Saúde, SMS) Santa Marta Strategic Health Unit (Estratégia de Saúde da Família Santa Marta, ESFSM) ‘mapped’ Vila Chocolatão for the first time in the slum’s history (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2008). This process involved ESFSM workers walking through and naming the community’s ‘streets’, numbering peoples’ houses, and identifying residents living in each dwelling. This work led to the provision of essential information to the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHAB) and the State Energy Company of Rio Grande do Sul (Companhia Estadual de Energia Elétrica, CEEE), allowing these agencies to conduct their work more efficiently and safely (Ibid). Putting Vila Chocolatão ‘on the map’ constituted a pivotal step in the process of contributing to the formalization of the community. Residents now had addresses that could be recognized by external individuals and organizations.
4.4 Legal provision of electricity

The mapping of Vila Chocolatão was essential to the legal provision of electricity to the community. In 2009, according to Sophia and Raquel (former and current community members), the lack of the provision of legal electricity in Vila Chocolatão was a significant problem for community members. Aside from the stigma of irregularity associated with the absence of formal electricity supply to the community, other concerns included illegal connection to surrounding electricity networks, excess debris and the use of candles resulted in a number of fires in Vila Chocolatão (Gonçalves de Souza 2009). In order to prevent the occurrence of fires in the slum, and ‘to bring more dignity into the lives of community members’ (Medeiros 2009 quoting Sergio Camps de Morais, the president of the CEEE group), the Municipal Department of Local Governance (SMGL) coordinated a group of Network members to legalize and establish an electricity network in Vila Chocolatão (Medeiros 2009). This group consisted of the Energy Company of Rio Grande do Sul (CEEE), the TRF4 and the municipal administration of Porto Alegre.

There was opposition to connecting electricity to Vila Chocolatão, with authorities reportedly questioning the wisdom and appropriateness of (legally) connecting electricity to an illegal informal settlement, particularly given the community was due to be resettled. This was compounded by, initially, the CEEE’s inability to install an electricity network due to legal issues (Medeiros 2009). This was circumvented through application of a law that allows for the temporary provision of legal electricity to travelling circuses in Porto Alegre (Ana, Governance Agent, SMGL). In October 2009, the CEEE installed a 150 kilovolt ampere transformer, 66 wooden poles, 39 galvanized steel poles and a 750 metre low voltage electricity network worth 66,500 Brazilian Real (BRL). The provision of electricity to the community was accompanied by a special social subsidy so that the 120 customers who had registered with CEEE to receive electricity would pay 3.78 BRL per month for this service (Medeiros 2009).

Ana (SMGL) describes the legal provision of electricity to the community as a ‘paradigm shift’. In her words:

‘Legalizing an electricity network in an illegal settlement was a means of promoting social inclusion in the Vila Chocolatão community. It also prepared the community for their new residences at Residencial Nova Chocolatão.’

4.5 Supporting sustainable livelihood opportunities

Building livelihoods around recycling was a core focus on the Chocolatão Sustainability Network. The majority of Vila Chocolatão residents worked as catadores—in 2009, 45 per cent of community members reported working in the collection and sorting of recyclable waste (Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros 2011, p. 10). In the same year, Instituto Vonpar, a subsidiary of the Coca Cola group in Brazil who supports the professionalization of recycling shed cooperatives in the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina (Instituto Vonpar 2011) entered into a three-year partnership with the Chocolatão Sustainability Network aimed at promoting financial emancipation and social inclusion for Vila Chocolatão residents (TRF4 2006a). They worked in partnership with CAMP (Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional), a non-
When Public Participation Meets Resettlement

governmental organization with extensive experience in cooperatively managed community recycling sheds and seven Vila Chocolatão residents (Salvadori Vitri 2012) to establish the Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association (Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão, ARC) in August 2010. They collectively built a temporary recycling shed space in Vila Chocolatão for bench-top screening of waste and storage of electric wireless network equipment, baling and waste, as well as recycling equipment. A partnership was established with the Municipal Department of Urban Sanitation (DMLU) for the supply of recyclable waste. By the time of resettlement the DMLU were providing three loads of recyclable waste to the community per week, and the ARC membership had increased to thirteen community members (Salvadori Vitri 2012).

4.6 Residencial Nova Chocolatão

Residencial Nova Chocolatão is located in the Morro Santana suburb in Region 3 (Leste) of Porto Alegre’s Participatory Budget (PMPA 2012b and 2012c). It is 12.8 kilometres from the former slum site and covers an area of approximately 33,450 square metres (see Figure 5). Lara (Social Worker, TRF4) notes the Federal Union ceded an area of land it owned in Morro Santana in exchange for the repossession of the parcel of land upon which the Vila Chocolatão slum was established, in order to facilitate the construction of new housing units for community members. Residencial Nova Chocolatão consists of 181 housing units, four commercial units, paved streets, street lighting, a sewerage treatment plant, a community daycare centre, a library, a sports field and a new recycling centre (see Figures 5 and 6). The state-of-the-art recycling centre at the new site has the capacity for 60 workers per shift (180 workers per 24 hours) and was financed and constructed by project partners, Soluções Usiminas, a neighbouring steel company in Morro Santana (see Figure 7). Each housing unit comprizes two bedrooms, a lounge room, a kitchen and a bathroom. One of the houses has been adapted for a disabled resident (PMPA 2011b). 30 per cent of the new houses were made from pre-fabricated material donated by the Federal Union (RF) (TRF4 2006). In total, the construction of Residencial Nova Chocolatão cost approximately 8.7 million BRL (31.6 per cent provided by the Municipal Department of Housing (DEMHAB), 68.4 per cent financed by the Federal Savings Bank (Caixa Econômica Federal, CEF). Several bus lines are accessible by community members in their new neighbourhood, with one line (the 491) that stops at the entrance to Residencial Nova Chocolatão (PMPA 2010c).

![Figure 5: Plan of Residencial Nova Chocolatão](image)
Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011a)
4.7 Eligibility and issues

Inability to house all Chocolatão residents at the point of resettlement was a critical issue for the community and authorities. To be eligible to have a house in the new Chocolatão residents had to have registered with DEMHAB as a resident of Vila Chocolatão between 2005 and 2009; and have evinced an intention to remain living in Residencial Nova Chocolatão after resettlement (PMPA 2010c).

When DEMHAB’s register closed in 2009, the number of families living in the slum was 225 (PMPA 2010c). Only 181 housing units were constructed at the new site (PMPA 2011b). Those who were not eligible to relocate to the new site were referred to federal government’s Minha Casa, Minha Vida (My House, My Life) program (PMPA 2010c, Vila do Chocolatão 2011).

This was one of a number of issues picked up by opponents of the resettlement. These groups, such as the Brazilian Geographers’ Association (AGB) and Serviço de Assessoria Jurídica Universitária-SAJU, considered the relocation a violation of human rights, with some accusing the city government of ‘urban cleansing’; claiming the community was not consulted and would be disadvantaged by removal from the city centre through the resultant loss of access to health services, education and income generation opportunities (Vila do Chocolatão 2011).

External opposition to the project impacted residents in a variety of ways. For some, particularly those who were not going to be housed in Residencial Novo Chocolatão, it offered a form of advocacy. For others, it was a source of consternation. Former community leader, Olivia speaks of the struggle with differing ideologies of resistance and the community’s fight for rights and citizenship:
When you live in a community like Chocolatão, you end being the object of a study … in a work group a guy said to me (and I was so shocked), ‘How are we going to study about the misery of the city if you leave without resistance?’ It was very surprising because the (move was about the) future of our children changing … we did not need to resist at that moment but needed awareness of our rights, of our role in relation to the city citizenship principle … When you start taking the pathway of the citizenship development principle, of looking for your rights, there are certain powers that take that as a political flag, as a resistance. The community fought for their rights, looking for quality of life, social inclusion, as no one lives in Chocolatão community of their own free will and accord but for lack of community; and we were aware that we could look for a better life through the collective … our vision was building for everyone in an egalitarian way.’

The move from the slum to Residencial Nova Chocolatão began on May 12, 2011 and concluded three days later. Dwellings were demolished as they were evacuated (to prevent re-occupation). One observer reports the relocation process was surprisingly calm, particularly given the dwelling demolition was running in parallel to the move. Another spoke of it as being traumatic to watch and wasteful. There was a controversy over a family who were not being housed at Residencial Nova Chocolatão, and did not yet have alternative accommodation. These residents were supported by project opponents and a ‘sit-in’ occurred for a period of time on the first day of moving and demolition. There were also protests outside Residencial Nova Chocolatão on the following day for those not being housed in the new village.

The official Inauguration ceremony was held at Nova Chocolatão Residencial on May 13, 2011 (PMPA 2011). It attracted an attendance of a few hundred people, and included broad representation of partners in lengthy formal proceedings.

5. Post-resettlement

The massively increased space of the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão with its state of the art equipment and additional facilities such as communal kitchen and training room enabled the expansion of the Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association (ARC) membership and an increased demand for formal recyclable waste workers (Salvadori Vitri 2012). Ana (Governance Agent, SMGL) states that within two weeks of the resettlement an additional 22 residents joined the seven founding members of the ARC. By July 2012, 110 community members were registered as formal employees at the new recycling centre constructed by Soluções Usiminas (Gonçalves de Souza 2012). Instituto Vonpar, CAMP and founding ARC members from Vila Chocolatão have continued to work with the community at the new site, including the training of new ARC members and equipping managers for the new site and systems (Gonçalves de Souza 2012, Salvadori Vitri 2012).
Figure 7: Inside the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão  
Source: Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional (2011)

Figure 8: The Babies Room in the Residencial Nova Chocolatão childcare facility  
Source: UN Global Compact Cities Programme (2012)
In Camila’s (Social Educator, CAMP) opinion, the new recycling centre at Residencial Nova Chocolatão has great prospects for becoming a ‘best practice’ example in the Brazilian recycling sector if Network members continue to support its operations until it is sufficiently strengthened (Gonçalves de Souza 2012, Salvadori Vitri 2012). Olivia (former community leader) also reports that a number of people who were originally catadores have moved on from working in the new recycling centre to employment in the formal labour market. She states some people are now managing their own businesses, while others have expressed an interest in pursuing further education. She says the ‘construction of the childcare centre (in Nova Chocolatão) was like a dream come true’.

Whilst it is too soon to gauge the long term impact of the initiatives which have aimed to bring ‘transformation’, particularly the influence on early childhood development, there are indications that they have positively influenced personal change for some community members. Camilla (CAMP educator) speaks of witnessing changes in relationship to the Recycling Centre,

‘When we started to work with them (residents) in the recycling shed, many of them lived in the drug addiction and alcoholism world. When they started to work in the recycling shed, we noticed several people stopped using drugs, they stopped without a rehabilitation clinic, without a doctor. Some stopped using alcohol, stopped drinking, and this was, as they say: “work did me well. Look work did me well”.’

Camilla also points out this process and experience of change was not limited to Chocolatão residents, it included the external partners as well,

‘I am going to tell you something that is really strong for me. I don’t know if we got to change the way they (the residents) see the world, or if they changed our way of seeing the world, or if everybody changed everyone’s way of seeing the world. The fact is, the exchange experience, the life exchange—many times we had to put ourselves in their shoes, and sometimes they had to put themselves in our shoes—this working together, this exchange in the way we see the world, culture, values, this produced a change in everybody.’

Conclusion

The views expressed in this case study highlights the immense challenges and trauma that face a fragile informal settlement community when they are presented with development induced resettlement; This confirms the view that forced resettlement is a ‘negative’ phenomenon and demonstrates that any form of resettlement involves enormous change and upheaval. This sentiment was also held by elements of the broader community reflected in the actions of the groups who advocated against the resettlement. Participatory systems clearly influenced the events that followed the threat of eviction in 2000. For Vila Chocolatão leaders, the support of their ‘neighbours’, the presence of the regional court TRF4 and access to the OP system enabled a potential forced resettlement to become a process over which they had an element of control.
It triggered formalization and participatory groups with the community. Recognition of the community’s vulnerability and the significant support required to resettle enabled an extraordinarily long preparation period and the formation of a cross-sectoral group of partners to support the process and, in fact, actively engage in a process of community transformation. The partnership process also influenced the external agencies connected to Vila Chocolatão; encouraging or ‘articulating’ collaboration between the various departments of Porto Alegre city government, state and federal agencies and NGOs. It also attracted the resources and support of the private sector.

The cross-sectoral network is a potentially replicable core component of this resettlement project given it clearly has value as a vehicle to support the change the resettlement demanded, if approached ethically and inclusively. Community leaders and partners had a forum to collectively identify problems, discuss and resolve issues, negotiate responsibilities, plan, implement and seek resources and support for collaborative projects. Certainly the group had immense challenges but it appears a certain collective will and philosophy developed, possibly from a combination of community identified needs and practitioners values. The process seemed to be assisted by the particularly long lead time to the resettlement.

In spite of the recent attention devoted to the development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) of slum dwellers, participatory development and citizenship studies, relatively few studies have examined cases where these fields intersect. The case of Vila Chocolatão represents, what to date, is an unusual combination of ‘participatory resettlement’. In light of the significant number of urban slum dwellers who will be affected by DIDR and rapidly increasing urbanization in the years ahead, this case warrants additional study. Assessing the application of the network model in other informal settlements in Porto Alegre also offers significant possibilities for further research.

Whether public participation leads to better outcomes in cases of forced resettlement remains to be seen. Longitudinal research of the Residencial Nova Chocolatão community to measure impacts may suggest ways in which participation helped develop forms of community resilience and sustainability. As this study shows, however, in cases where resettlement, voluntary or involuntary, will inevitably take place, engaging the community in decision-making, planning and implementation at least offers prospects for improvement.
References


Centro Assessoria Multi Profissional (2012), Histórico, [Online], <www.camp.org.br/?canal=historico>


F. Cahill et al.


Departamento Municipal de Habitação (2012), Minha Casa, Minha Vida, Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, [online], <http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/demhab/default.php?p_secao=129>


Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2008), A ESF Santa Marta integra a Rede de Sustentabilidade para a Vila Chocolatão, Internal briefing notes, PMPA, Porto Alegre.


Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2010b), Governança Solidária Local, Brochure, PMPA, Porto Alegre.

Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2010c), Reunião sobre a Vila Chocolatão, Internal meeting notes, PMPA, Porto Alegre.

Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2011a), Vila Chocolatão, [online], <http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/demhab/default.php?p_secao=103>


Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2012a), Centros Administrativos Regionais - CARs, [online], <http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/smgl/default.php?p_secao=76>

Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2012b), Palestrante do Fronteiras conhecerá Nova Chocolatão, [online], <http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/portal_pmpa_novo/default.php?p_noticia=152406&PALESTRANTE+DO+FRONTEIRAS+DO+PENSAMENTO+CONHECERA+NOVA+CHOCOLATÃO>

Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (PMPA) (2012c), Regiões do Orçamento Participativo, [online], <http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/op/default.php?reg=2&p_secao=5>


When Public Participation Meets Resettlement


F. Cahill et al.

Vila do Chocolatão (2011), *Vila do Chocolatão Blogspot*, [online],
<http://viladochocolatao.blogspot.com.br/search?updated-min=2011-01-01T00:00:02:00&updated-max=2012-01-01T00:00-02:00&max-results=11>


World Bank (2010), *Social Development: Involuntary Resettlement*, [online],


Appendix 1: Interviewees’ Positions and Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | Olivia* | Chocolatão Community Education Committee  
|     |       | Comissão de Educação Comunidade do Chocolatão – Estudante                    | Former Coordinator  
|     |       |                                                                             | Ex-coordenador                                |
| 2  | Evelyn* | Municipal Foundation for Social Welfare and Citizenship  
|     |       | Fundação de Assistência Social e Cidadania, (FASC)                           | Social Worker  
|     |       |                                                                             | Assistente Social                             |
| 3  | Helena* | Municipal Department of Housing  
|     |       | Departamento Municipal de Habitação (DEMHAB)                                 | Superintendent of Social Action and Cooperatives  
|     |       |                                                                             | Superintendente Ação Social e Cooperativismo   |
| 4  | Carolina* | Municipal Department of Education – PIM/PIA (Better Early Childhood/Porto Alegre Childhood) Projects  
|     |       | Secretaria Municipal de Educação – PIM/PIA (Primeira Infância Melhor/ Porto Infância Alegre) | PIM/PIA Coordinator  
|     |       |                                                                             | Coordenador – PIM/PIA                         |
| 5  | Mariana* | Osicom                                                                       | Psychological Counsellor  
|     |       |                                                                             | Psicopedagoga                                  |
| 6  | Gabriela* | Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region  
|     |       | Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região (TRF4)                                | Judiciary Technician  
|     |       |                                                                             | Técnico Judiciário                             |
| 7  | Lara*   | Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region  
|     |       | Tribunal Regional Federal da 4ª Região (TRF4)                                | Social Worker  
|     |       |                                                                             | Assistente Social                              |
| 8  | Estella* | Centre for Integration of Social Networks – Local Cultures Division  
|     |       | Centro de Integração de Redes Sociais Culturas Locais (CIRANDAR)            | Project Coordinator  
|     |       |                                                                             | Coordenador                                    |
| 9  | Gustavo* | Municipal Department of Waste  
|     |       | Departamento Municipal de Limpeza Pública (DMLU)                             | Director of Social Projects  
|     |       |                                                                             | Diretor de Projetos Sociais                     |
| 10 | Sophia* | Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association  
<p>|      |     | Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão (ARC)                                | Treasurer                                      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Raquel*</td>
<td>Chocolatão Recyclers’ Association Associação dos Recicladores Chocolatão (ARC)</td>
<td>President Presidente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Camila*</td>
<td>Multidisciplinary Advisory Centre Centro de Assessoria Multiprofissional (CAMP)</td>
<td>Social Educator Educadora Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Eduardo*</td>
<td>Soluções Usiminas</td>
<td>Manager of Environment and Sustainability Gerente de Meio Ambiente e Sustentabilidade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ana*</td>
<td>Municipal Department of Local Governance Secretaria Municipal da Governança Solidária Local (SMGL)</td>
<td>Governance Agent Agente de Governança</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>