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Participatory Budgeting in the Municipality of Santo André, Brazil

The challenges in linking short-term action and long-term strategic planning

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SINPA
CENTRE FOR IMPLEMENTATION
OF MUNICIPAL PLANS OF ACTION

Participatory Budgeting in the Municipality of Santo André, Brazil:

the challenges in linking short-term action and long-term strategic planning

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Municipality of Santo André, Brazil*

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Preface

This research project is dedicated to the memory of Mayor Celso Daniel with whom we worked throughout the year of 2001. We learned to know Mr. Daniel as an inspiring, competent and visionary public administrator fully committed to the realisation of social justice and equity in public resource allocation in Brazilian cities. During the finalisation of this report we were regrettably informed about his brutal assassination. Brazil incurred a great loss and Santo André lost a political leader who persistently pursued citizen participation and transparency in the management of their city. He was not only a charismatic speaker but also an urban researcher and thinker continuously engaged into the development challenges of Santo André and the Greater ABC Region.

In the beginning of 2001, Mr. Daniel visited the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies-IHS when a co-operation agreement was signed with IHS and a public lecture was delivered showing the innovations carried out in Santo André. In May of this same year he delivered a keynote speech in a professional workshop organised by IHS within the framework of the IULA world congress which focused on the challenges and opportunities of civil society participation in urban management. In July 2001, Mr. Daniel delivered an impressive lecture at the United Nations Conference Habitat II+5 as the only case selected by UNCHS to represent Brazil depicting the experiences with the social inclusion programmes and participatory approaches in his city.

We are proud to be associated to Santo André and the ideas that Mr. Daniel and his team defends and practises to make cities a viable place to live and work. These ideas and principles match the global institutional mission of IHS. The municipality's unequivocal and objective resource allocation and distributive policies have gained notoriety and we hope that this report will help to disseminate the experience, the methods and dilemmas that a local government faces when it engages itself in participatory endeavours.

The research was financed and undertaken within the framework of the SINPA-Bolivia Project executed by IHS in co-operation with the Municipality of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Universidad Estatal Gabriel René Moreno, Universidad Católica Boliviana, and several civil society and non-governmental organisations. SINPA is a capacity building programme linking policy and applied research, training and advisory services to the municipality and various community, private sector and non-governmental stakeholders aiming at strengthening local governments and civil society participation in urban management.

The research was based on participants' observations and stakeholders analysis and was carried out through 3 different working visits undertaken by the research team involving direct interviews, participation in meetings and plenary sessions, analysis of key internal documents of the municipality. It also involved a review of literature on the subject, and some theoretical research on the theme. The research was co-ordinated by Claudio Acioly Jr. who headed a team formed by André Herzog of IHS, Eduardo Sandino and Victor Henry Andrade from UEGRM/Bolivia.

The formulation of the final report in English was under the responsibility of Claudio Acioly Jr. and the Spanish version under Eduardo Sandino. An inception mission was carried out by Acioly followed by a mission of Herzog and Andrade resulting into a first draft report. Acioly and Sandino undertook a last mission resulting into an annotated table of contents and a backstopping report addressed to the municipal staff involved with the OP and CF. This final report is the result of a long process of report writing and fine tuning that involved continuous consultations with various stakeholders.

Rotterdam, Cairo, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 27th February 2002.

Acknowledgements

The people who made this research possible must be credited for their support, patience and unconditional granting of information and relevant data required for the study. First of all we would like to thank all the community representatives who shared their valuable time and opinion with the SINPA research team responding to all our inquiries and receiving us in their home and work place during the most unusual hours of the day and evening. Their names are listed at the end of this report. They are the main actors and the ones who make possible the participatory budgeting and the strategic planning process in Santo André. We are in debt with Maria da Cocada, Maria Neuza de Lima, Marcia Zanquim, Manoel Paulino Rodrigues, Ismar Macedo Bastos, Angelina Nunes de Oliveira, Luiza Aparecida Gandra Iscardo, Wilson Ambrosio, just to mention a few. We were deeply touched by their personal history and the struggle they had to go through in order to reach the position where they are today.

The municipal staff with their vitality and idealism showed us a different way of dealing with the public good in a Brazilian municipality. We would like to thank particularly Natalina Ribeiro, Nilza Oliveira and Terezinha Santos for their institutional and personal support during the various phases of the study. Pedro Pontual provided us with provocative questions helping us to focus on the issues that the municipality wishes to find some responses. Jeroen Klink was the person who made possible the link between the municipality and IHS and provided a valuable logistic and institutional support. Cid Blanco and the staff of the municipal secretariat of international relations and resource mobilisation provided us with a home within the municipality facilitating our access and transit throughout the municipal apparatus.

Mr. Claudio, a tireless driver, must be credited for showing us the various corners of Santo André and for taking us at any time to places that not many citizens have the opportunity to visit helping us to find our interlocutors' home where we were received with open arms.

We would like to acknowledge our appreciation for the support and sustained instigation given by Maria Luisa Garnelo, local project co-ordinator of SINPA/Bolivia and Maria Zwanenburg, IHS/SINPA project manager. Without them this research could not have been realised.

The research had an ambition for the time and resources allocated by the SINPA project. The idealism and restless attitude of the municipal staff in performing their tasks and obligations as public servants were an inspiring source of motivation to go beyond the original scope of the research. We believe that this effort was worthwhile and we hope that professionals, organisations, and residents of different places in the world will benefit from the analysis, information and lessons learned with this research.

Finally, we want to thank our families for the unconditional support and patience during the periods in which we replaced our leisure time by work time devoted to write this report.

List of Acronym and Portuguese Terms

ABC Region or Greater ABC Region	Geographical region – part of the Metropolitan region of São Paulo – containing the municipalities of Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano, Diadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires and Rio Grande da Serra. It has an estimated population of 2.2 million inhabitants.
CF councillor	Representative of the population in the strategic planning process of Santo André, called Cidade Futuro; elected in the annual city conference on the basis of candidates drawn from the 9 thematic working groups.
CBO	Community-based Organisation, in Brazil commonly named Resident's Associations
CF Project	The strategic planning process of Santo André called Cidade do Futuro Project
City Conference	The annual conference gathering all citizens who have registered for participation in the strategic planning process of the CF Project
CMO	Concelho Municipal do Orçamento established by the Organic Law of the Municipality, herein called OP Council
Legislative Chamber	Chamber of the political councillors elected by the population, supervises the government and legislate with sanction of the mayor, same as Câmara Legislativa or Câmara dos Vereadores – Chamber of City Councillors
Lei Orgânica	Organic Law, equal to a municipal constitution
OP	Orçamento Participativo or Participatory Budgeting
OP Council	Council of the Participatory Budgeting, also called Municipal Council for the Budgeting
OP councillors	Representatives elected in the regional plenary sessions and sessions of the thematic working groups of the Participatory Budgeting
OP PAIR co-ordination committee	Co-ordination committee of the OP formed by 4 members of the government and 4 members of the population, called Coordenação Paritária
PMSA	Prefeitura Municipal de Santo André or Municipality of Santo André
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores or Workers Party, political party that holds majority in the Municipal Chamber and is currently the governing party of Santo André for the second consecutive 4-year term. It has been elected for three times to govern the city.
SINPA	Support to the Implementation of the National Plan of Action, a project financed by the Netherlands government and executed by IHS in Zambia, Bangladesh and Bolivia. Sponsor of the Santo André research.
Tamanduathey Axis	Eixo Tamanduathey, a flagship project identified by the CF project as the motor for the redevelopment and economic recovery of Santo André. It encompasses an area of nearly 700 ha and 10 km long.
Vereador or vereadores	City councillor or municipal councillor, elected political representative of the population in the Legislative Chamber for a term of 4 years; re-election is possible.

1.

Introduction

This report is addressed to professionals and urban practitioners who are interested in participatory planning processes and in the establishment of organised priority setting mechanisms and decision-making involving government and communities on the allocation of public investments. Those who work in the public sector or with public policies at the local government level will benefit from the findings of the research particularly if their interest lies on the establishment of government-community management of public funds. The findings of the research will be instrumental for NGO's and CBO's that are engaged in partnerships with local governments.

The primary objective of the research is to analyse and describe the experience of the municipality of Santo André with participatory budgeting hereinafter called OP (Orçamento Participativo) depicted from interviews and observations of key actors and stakeholders directly involved in the OP, and from the analysis of internal documents of the municipality. The research also makes a first attempt to unveil issues underlying the integration of the participatory budgeting (OP) as a short-term planning activity and the recently started strategic planning process hereinafter called CF (Cidade Futuro) as a long-term development planning process. The research makes use of participants' observations and qualitative methods and intends not only to analyse and describe in detail the OP and CF in Santo André but also questions to what extent this peculiar participatory process can be replicated in other municipalities seeking direct citizen involvement in municipal affairs.

The authors attempt to look at the lessons learned from these experiences in order to depict issues, processes and methodologies that can be replicated in Bolivian municipalities and particularly in Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The authors look at this possibility against the enactment of legislation (Law of Popular Participation, Law on Municipalities, Sustainable Municipal Development Plan-SMDP) that seems to have created a conducive environment for genuine civil participation in urban management in Bolivian local governments. The Spanish report pays a particular attention to this dimension.

Participatory Budgeting – Orçamento Participativo or simply OP in Portuguese – can be defined as process of prioritisation and conjoint decision making through which local community representatives and local governments actually decide on the final allocation of public investment in their cities on an yearly basis. The OP is a cyclical, intricate and transparent process of organisation, public meetings and debates in support to the preparation of the annual municipal budget. Community delegates – elected in community meetings held on a self-reliant basis per geographically defined districts and neighbourhoods of the city – together with representatives of local governments actually design an investment plan that is endorsed by the municipality and inserted into the final municipal budget proposal. Within the Brazilian political context the OP can be regarded as an attempt to re-distribute public investment in the city on an equality basis and crack down perverse traditional forms of political “clientelism” in the allocation of public funding.

The OP gained national and international prominence thanks to the experience of Porto Alegre, capital of the most southern Brazilian province (state) of Rio Grande do Sul where the OP is being practised uninterruptedly since 1989¹. The successes and dissemination of

¹ *The election and re-election of the Labour Party – “Partido dos Trabalhadores-PT” – for four consecutive 4-year terms since 1989 is partly credited to the consolidation and success of the OP. It is worth mentioning that in*

the experience of Porto Alegre and particularly the rise of the labour party – PT in the municipal elections of the last decade allowed the “popularisation” of the OP as a type of non-state public management model. At the time the SINPA sponsored research was carried out in Santo André there were 138 municipalities in Brazil that are practising or have already established the OP as part of their routine municipal management. It is worth mentioning that both Porto Alegre and Santo André started practising the OP after the PT emerged as winning party in the municipal elections of 1988.

Before thinking on transferring the experience or simply implementing OP in municipal management one must bear in mind that some pre-conditions must be met. Apart from the political will from entrusted governments one must carefully assess the local context and pre-emption of local actors as well as the level of community mobilisation – and advocacy works - that exist for the OP to function. The participatory process actually places heavy demands on the community and its legitimate representative forms since it is based on voluntary civil participation. In Porto Alegre alike Santo André and many other Brazilian cities there was a favourable local context ripe enough to trigger a community-government dialogue on public resources management and decision making on the allocation of public funds that facilitates the establishment of the OP procedures and mechanisms.

The democratisation waves that swept through most Latin American countries during the last 20 years brought to the forefront the claim for civil society participation in public policy making and decision making on public resource allocation. In highly urbanised countries like Brazil (82% living in urban areas in 2001) this phenomenon was coupled with collective movements of residents of deprived areas of cities demanding the provision of basic infrastructure, access to housing and land, and overall improvement of living conditions and quality of life. Studies carried out by several Brazilian researchers during the 1980's coined the term “social urban movements” to define an ongoing dynamic process of struggle for citizenship rights and urban reform which would recapture the rights of the urban poor to enjoy a decent life in the city. Residents associations, tenants' associations, squatter (favela) residents' associations and neighbourhood-based organisations and different sorts of professional associations and charities created city-wide alliances and even regional federations of resident's associations to voice their demand more strongly to local and province governments. This was the case in cities like São Paulo, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Porto Alegre, Santos, Diadema, Vitoria, Recife, Santo Andre just to mention a few.

These movements helped to generate a nation-based claim for urban reform by progressive political forces mostly identified with the labour union movement, the labour party-PT and other left-wing political parties that were articulated under the Forum for Urban Reform. The Forum gained prominence and prioritised the pressure for a legal, institutional and policy reform that could lead to an urban policy addressing the problems related to access to land, housing credit and basic urban services. The reality of cities by then disclosed an unequivocal process of social exclusion. It was clear that an equal distribution of public investments had to take place in order to halt visible social and spatial stratification processes in Brazilian cities. These locally and nationally-based processes became important advocacy forces that ultimately influenced the new Brazilian constitution of 1988 that among other things secured the principles of social function of property and of the city, the requirement for community participation in urban management and the strengthening of municipal governments. The recently approved “Statute of the City” – a new legislation that empowers local governments to actually resolve problems of land dispute, squatter settlements and land speculation, among other urban management issues – can be partially credited to these movements.

1998, the first PT mayor - Olivio Dutra - was elected provincial governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul and is responsible for up-scaling the OP to the province level.

The demand for transparency and participation in local government policy making and implementation has been always on the agenda of civil society movements since the 1970's but it was during the 1990's that endogenous forms of participatory governance have emerged and were widely established in different parts of Brazil. This followed the increasing decentralisation and democratisation that the country has undergone. The OP is the most prominent of them. Another participatory planning process also found ground to flourish as a result of a disillusion and wider criticism on conventional and normative types of planning that generated dozens of master plans during the 1970's and 1980's. Strategic planning and strategic plans for cities emerged as an alternative to the inflexibility of orthodox planning that would give local governments the instruments to respond to the rapidly evolving and unpredictable changing external context. Limited local government financing and cuts in public expenditures due to economic recession, "disindustrialisation" and structural macro-economic adjustment policies further fuelled the search for planning processes and avenues that could match the short-term demands of the population with the long-term development needs of the city as a whole.

The experiences of Barcelona, Rotterdam, Boston and San Francisco helped to disseminate the strategic planning process that evoked the public-private partnership and the cross-sector stakeholders' participation models. These plans aim at the creation of a collective vision and synergies to overcome urban decay and increase global attractiveness and turn these cities as recipients of local and international funding (Borja and Castell 1997, Kauffman and Jacobs 1997, Hamdi and Goeyhert 1998, Friedman and Jacobs 1998 and Sandercock 1998).

These different forms and nature of participatory planning – the OP on one hand and Strategic Planning on the other - put new challenges to local governance. And therefore it becomes necessary to unveil how these two forms of participatory planning processes actually are implemented so that linkages can be identified and mechanisms can be drawn in favour of the overall development of the city. On one hand popular sections of the population seem to be more attracted to the OP and see it as a vehicle to have their immediate, locally-based and most urgent problems resolved. Apparently they fail to see the advantages of strategic and long-term planning that are not immediately translated into tangible problem resolution. On the other hand, the business sector and higher income groups seem to be more concerned with the resolution of structural economic and developmental problems of the city as a whole. The experience shows that this section of the population is not confronted with the scarcity of public services and basic infrastructure and apparently not seeing the OP as an instrument to make long-term planning attainable. The interviews carried out in Santo Andre showed that these views not always hold and that exist a much greater acceptance for these forms of planning than it is usually believed. Thus it is imperative to understand the connections between participatory budgeting and strategic planning and to look at how they can be integrated into a broader model of participatory governance.

In the end of the day one must look at how the municipal budget will be split between those long-term and short-term projects. How to make clear that the solution of one immediate problem will trigger the resolution of subsequent mid-term and long-term bottlenecks in the city? What communication and participatory methodologies one must practise in order to make possible this integration? What kind of institutional engineering is needed to formally integrate OP and CF in Santo André and make it operational and efficient? What kind of capacity building is required in order to make the participants (elected delegates and lay citizens) meaningful? There are many questions that still remain unanswered. The research makes a first attempt to give answer to a few of these questions.

Chapter 2 is a brief description of the city of Santo Andre, some facts and figures are presented, showing the most prominent characteristics of this important industrial city that was once the heart of the industrialisation of Brazil. The chapter provides the reader with an actual bird eyes view about the city and its region. It helps to place the social, economic and political contexts of the experiences of participatory planning that are hereinafter analysed. This part of the report brings forward key information about revenue generation in the city that is essential for the municipal investment plan.

Chapter 3 provides the reader with an overview of the process of municipal budgeting and the regulatory frameworks in Brazil. It provides the reader with a clear understanding about the roles and responsibilities assigned to municipal governments for elaborating and defining the municipal budget. The chapter shows how it evolved from a top-down process of resource allocation to a much more involvement of civil society helping to place the focus of the research into a historical perspective of public budgeting in Brazil.

Chapter 4 is a natural continuation but putting emphasis on the development of public budgeting in the Santo André. The chapter defines what participatory budgeting means and provides the reader with a historical review demonstrating the requisites and conditions that have determined the rise of the participatory budgeting in the city.

Chapters 5 and 6 are closely linked. Chapter 5 actually presents a detailed analysis and description of the participatory budgeting process (Orçamento Participativo or simply OP) depicting the operational mechanisms, the actors involved and their specific roles and responsibilities, the decision making process and the results of negotiations about the budget. Some graphs and diagrams illustrate the entire flow of decisions and relations between stages and actors of the process. The chapter highlights the management tools and instruments, the prioritisation system, the communication strategies as well as the linkages between the OP and the planning and implementation processes of the municipal budget. It provides the reader with an inside look at the institutional structure of the OP that attempts to provide the reader with a documented view of the planning cycle, the management instruments and work methodologies.

Chapter 6 presents the core findings of the SINPA survey depicting personal accounts of the actors directly involved in the OP. The chapter provides a hand full of information that is depicted mainly from interviews with key actors and stakeholders and key documentation provided by the municipality. These are first-hand personal insights of participants and individuals who are directly involved in the processes. This is instrumental to unfold how processes actually took place and the bottlenecks that are identified by the actors themselves. This is called process mapping and it is done through stakeholders' analysis.

The research and particularly the interviews paid a special attention to the cost-benefit of participation. This is to depict how participants of the process look at the time and resources they allocate to be an active player in the participatory planning process against the benefits that they accomplish with it. The findings are herein after disclosed under these chapters. There is a consensus among the respondents about the benefits of participation. The majority expresses the sense of belonging, an increasing self esteem and a greater awareness about the functioning of the government as some of the clear and immediate benefits of their direct involvement in the formulation of programmes, projects and in the process of priority setting for public investments. Nevertheless there is an equal consensus about the high non-computable economic costs, time, burden of civic responsibilities and even family problems resulted from the dedication and full-time involvement with civil participation.

Chapter 7 focuses on the Strategic Planning Process herein called the Cidade Futuro Project or simply CF Project. A similar analysis made for the OP is made for the CF Project. The chapter presents an analysis of the strategic planning process and its motivations. It looks at the actors, roles, responsibilities, decision making process and presents some diagrams illustrating the institutional and organisational chart of the process.

Chapter 8 is a first attempt to analyse the problems and opportunities to link the OP with the CF as two different but complementary planning and urban management processes. This is the current dilemma of the municipality of Santo André and represents in fact one of the most concurrent urban management issue faced by local governments in the Developing World. It is worth noting that at this point in time the management teams of both programmes – OP and CF – are making a serious effort to work out instruments and mechanisms to allow a smooth symbiosis between both short and long-term participatory planning strategies. It comes from simple liaison meetings up to full integration of representatives and decision-making spheres. This is all depicted in this chapter.

Finally, the research team looked at the lessons learned and the possibilities to transfer the knowledge and experience from the municipality of Santo André to a Bolivian city like Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The research team argues that there are some pre-conditions in Bolivia created by law-enforcement and changes in legislation. And also by the evolution in scope of community-based movements that may be conducive for such a participatory budgeting – or something of this kind – to emerge as a truly consultative and participatory decision making process on allocating municipal funds. This is analysed in the Spanish version of the report.

Chapter 9 brings forward a conclusion of the paper. It argues that OP is undoubtedly a significant step towards innovative urban governance and it is seen by participants, actors and stakeholders from the private, public and community sector as a truly vehicle to enable active citizenship and transparency in the management of public funds.

The research underscores that the process enables the representatives of organised civil society to prioritise problem resolution in a shared manner with the government and the full integration of these mechanisms (OP) with the strategic planning process (CF) represents the greatest challenge in urban management. The research disclosed a very strong motivation among the participants of the OP and CF towards this integration but if this is not linked with strategic, problem-solving and action orientated type of planning the municipality may loose a unique opportunity to establish a truly participatory urban management process.

Rotterdam and Cairo, 27th of February 2001.

2.

The Local Context and Profile of Santo André

Santo André is situated in the Southeast fringe of São Paulo's metropolitan region (38 municipalities) at approximately 18 km from São Paulo's city centre. The municipality boundary encompasses an area of 175 km² with an estimated population of 648.433 inhabitants² (2000). Nearly 60% of its territory is composed of environmentally sensitive areas with natural water sources and backwoods. The urban area covers nearly 40% of its territory. It has a well-developed petroleum-chemical and industrial sectors alike its neighbouring municipalities which makes it difficult to divorce it from its city region whenever its development context is depicted (see maps 1 and 2).

Santo André is part of an agglomeration of 7 municipalities called the Greater ABC Region known as the birthplace of Brazil's industrialisation in the 1950's and of the independent labour union movements of the 1970's and 1980's. The Greater ABC³ is the largest concentration of industry in São Paulo's metropolitan region. It is the seat of the automobile industry and it is directly associated with the new labour and pro-democracy movements that played a pivotal role in the democratisation process of Brazil. The largest, most well organised and traditionally mobilised labour unions are concentrated in the ABC Region notably from the metallurgic and chemical sectors which has resulted into a labour force with a relatively good salary when compared to elsewhere in Brazil. The region is also regarded as the third most important consumer's market in Brazil next to the municipalities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (REPPOL et al, 1999).

The region was the stage of important political confrontations between the labour union movements and the military regime that ruled over Brazil from 1964 till 1985. It brought to the forefront of nationally covered news most of the labour union leaders who later entered into the political career like Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula) who was to become the most voted house of representative candidate ever to take a post in the national congress in Brasilia. The ABC region is associated with and was the birthplace of the Labour Party-PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores) presided by Lula for many years. In recent years there is an increasing civil society movement attempting to link the identity of the region with its intention of vote in national elections.

Politically and socially speaking the region has a tradition in collective petition-like social movements and solidarity movements through which religious groups, civil society associations and political entities and lay residents congregate in processes and actions geared to accomplishing better quality of life. Local governments were often confronted with demanding organisations and residents' associations in their daily routine of urban management and there was often partnership arrangements coined. One example is the "Forum of Citizenship of the Greater ABC" founded by various civil society organisations, business associations, labour unions, ecological movements and environmental groups that was formalised in 1995 by 64 organisations (Klink, 2001).

Economically the ABC region is actually undergoing a broad-based economic adjustment and dramatic restructuring of the productive process with the industries and enterprises undertaking deep-rooted reform measures that range from new techniques in organisational

² Source: IBGE 2000; PMSA, 2001b.

³ With a total population of 2.2 million inhabitants, Greater ABC Region contains the municipalities of Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano, Diadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires and Rio Grande da Serra.

and production management, reduction of labour force to new technologies and changes in the production line. This restructuring process is directly associated with the changes in the macroeconomic environment of the Brazilian economy and with the process of globalisation.

Economic growth has virtually halted during the 1980's and first half of the 1990's with industries laying off large numbers of employees. A research sponsored by the Economic Development Agency of the Greater ABC demonstrates that during the last 20 years the industry in the region has had a cycle of positive (4.5% in the periods 1984-86 and 1993-97) and negative (-5.3% in the period 1990-92 and -2.5% from 1998-1999) growth. It shows that employment decreased in 31.5% during the periods 1988-89 and 1998-99 resulting in a loss of 100,000 jobs from which 85% was in the metal & mechanic sectors (78,000 jobs) and chemical rubber sectors (22,000 jobs) (ADE/ABC, 2001). In his study about the restructuring in the ABC Region, Klink confirms this loss. According to his survey there is a dramatic loss of industrial employment in the region between 1988 and 1997 up to 14.05% or 80,183 jobs. The loss has been even more extraordinary in industrial sectors regarded as typical for the region like metallurgy (45% loss or 20,000 jobs) and the automobile and spare parts industry with 60% and 35% loss respectively (Klink, 2001).

Table 2.1: Summary of Revenues of the Municipality of Santo André in 1999

ITEM	Values in US\$ Dollars	Values in R\$	%
1. Own Revenues	4,348,000	86,960,000	26.61 %
IPTU – Urban Real Estate Property Tax– Land and Building	14,450,000	28,910,000	8.85 %
ISS – Tax on Services of any kind	19,760,000	39,530,000	12.09 %
ITBI – Tax on Transfer of Real Estate Property – inter vivo	4,140,000	8,180,000	2.50 %
Cleansing Tax	4,230,000	8,460,000	2.59%
Others	940,000	1,880,000	0.57%
2. Revenue Sharing - Transfers from State & Federal Governments	100,770,000	201,540,000	61.66 %
ICMS – Value-added Tax	50,715,000	101,430,000	31.03%
IPVA -	12,240,000	24,480,000	7.49 %
FPM – Municipal Development Fund	5,855,000	11,710,000	3.58 %
IRRF – Income Tax	6,230,000	12,260,000	1.75 %
Unified Health Service System	13,455,000	26,910,000	1.23 %
Other Transfers'	12,380,000	24,760,000	7.57 %
3. Other Revenues	19,175,000	38,350,000	11.73 %
TOTAL REVENUE	163,425,000	326,850,000	100 %
<i>Exchange rate used for the figures in this table: US\$ 1.00 = R\$ 2.00. From 1998 onwards the parity between the Dollar and the Real was abolished and the currency was allowed to float within bands. At the time of the SINPA research in 2001, the rate was around US\$ 1.00 = R\$ 2.50</i>			

(Source PMSA/Cidade Futuro, "Financiamento da Cidade", undated).

This phenomenon has hit hard the local economy of the municipalities of the ABC region like Santo André where the value-added of industrial activities has a significant share in the overall municipal revenue (see Table 2.1). Nearly three quarters of the industrial value-added in the municipality is originated from chemical products (32%), rubber and plastic articles (21%), assembling of vehicles, trailers and trucks (12%), and basic metallurgy (9%). It is worth mentioning that from 1975 to 2001 the leverage of Santo André in the total revenue originated from the ICMS-Value Added Tax in the State of São Paulo has continuously declined from 4.6% to 1.62%. This is a dramatic situation for a local

government because it implies a sustained decrease in resources that are essential for keeping up with the level of services in place and to cope with the increasing demand. In 1999 per capita fiscal revenue collection was approximately R\$ 127.70 (PMSA/Cidade Futuro, undated).

In 2001 only the industrial sector employed 40,469 people in Santo André from which 52.8% was employed in 12 large enterprises and nearly 27% spread in 617 micro and small-scale enterprises (ADE/ABC, 2001). It is remarkable to note that only 12 enterprises are responsible for nearly half of the total volume of jobs in the industrial sector. Any adjustment in this sector will have an immediate impact on the municipal budget and the capacity of the municipality to maintain its level of public investment in the city. Furthermore as unemployment increases it increases the demand for social services and social assistance and there is outburst in the informal sector causing an overall decline in the volume of tax collection. Not mentioning the increase in poverty, exclusion, social unrest and urban violence. The structural adjustment process combined with the economic policy and austerity measures pursued by the central government have further encouraged the local informal economy resulting – like in many other cities in Brazil and abroad – in a significant growth of the tertiary sector.

Actually Santo André is confronted with a dilemma and a moment of paradigm change. On the one hand it can no longer sustain its position as a classical industrial city but it cannot abdicate from its main source of revenue and employment. On the other hand the growth of the tertiary sector – mainly in the commerce and services – is insufficient to balance the losses in the industrial sector. Furthermore the industry and the working culture are associated to Santo André since the beginning of the 20th Century (Livre Mercado, undated) and it is an attached and deep-rooted part of its own identity making it even more difficult to accept the implications of economic restructuring.

However from the beginning of the 1990's onwards Santo André started to experience the phenomenon of industrial de-concentration, re-profiling and actual closure of enterprises that did not manage to modernise itself to face increased competition and price efficiency. This was motivated by the central government's decisions to dismantle most of the fiscal and regulatory barriers that impeded the opening of the Brazilian economy to foreign companies. The opening of Brazil's economy and its integration to the world economy has caused severe impact on the ABC Region's local economy particularly in Santo André. The problem becomes more acute when it is placed against a shrinking municipal budget that leaves little room for the local government to act comprehensively. The local government together with political and economic stakeholders have acknowledged the dilemma of the city and have actually engaged into a number of endeavours to address the problem e.g. participatory strategic planning processes, forum of citizenship, regional chamber for economic development, etc. in order to develop creative and constituency-based alternatives.

Notwithstanding the municipality of Santo André has managed to keep a good standard and quality of life holding a high level of infrastructure with good quality roads, wide coverage of basic services and easily accessibility. This has been a major reason for enterprises to choose settling in the city. The ADE/ABC survey mentioned above reveals that the urban infrastructure, proximity to consumers, quality of life for the employees, proximity to suppliers and the access to the transport system were the major reason for enterprises to choose to settle in Santo André during the 1990's. In fact the rates of displacement and establishment of industrial activity remained homogeneous within the Greater ABC albeit the region holds much higher rates than other regions of the State of São Paulo. Santo André is an exception since it reports a higher rate of displacement of industrial activities

than the rate of establishment. This means the city has experienced a net loss in industrial activity (ADE/ABC, 2001).

In order to cope with the adverse impacts of this structural adjustment the municipality of Santo André designed a number of innovative policies to tackle problems confined to its boundary. Some of them are outlined further on. But it also started to look at the regional economy taking advantage of similar problems and similar economic basis that the ABC municipalities have in common. This should be credited to the vision of mayor Celso Daniel, a labour party-PT politician, who was elected for three different terms governing the city during the periods 1989-92, 1997-2000 and 2001-2004 interrupted in January 2002 when he was brutally murdered.

The 1988 elections created a conducive political environment for inter-municipal co-operation in the ABC Region with the election of mayors affiliated to the same party (Labour Party-PT) in Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo and Diadema. In the beginning of the 1990's the "Inter-municipal Consortium" (December 1990) was founded and exactly one year later the "Permanent Discussion Forum of Santo André" was established. Later on the "Regional Chamber of the ABC" (March 1997) and the Economic Development Agency of the ABC" (October 1998) were founded with a number of activities and initiatives followed by their establishment.

All these initiatives were geared to boost local and regional economic development and the involvement of civil society organisations, public and private sector agencies and community-based organisations thus creating clear channels of participation at the municipal and regional levels and for inter-municipality co-operation at the regional level. It must be underscored that public-private partnerships and public-private-community partnerships are being coined through many programmes and actions originated from these institutional channels. As noted by Klink and Daniel it is remarkable that during a relative short period of time a number of initiatives were pursued to cope with adverse impacts of economic and enterprise restructuring that after all outlines a different way in handling the problems afflicting the municipalities of the region. The regional chamber represents a truly form of regional management through which the participatory democracy is rediscovered both as method and as a goal in itself (Daniel, 1999; Klink, 2001).

Internally the municipality of Santo André underwent comprehensive reforms geared to improve its financing capacity and boost efficiency and rationalisation of public expenditures. An acclaimed programme of administrative modernisation was launched and implemented which changed completely the quality and quantity of services provided to the citizenry. Documents, petitions, permits, declarations, etc. were mapped and brought down to a booklet (Guia Fácil) of 500 services where the citizen finds the routing, duration, responsibility, costs, etc. This was coupled with training of personnel and the establishment of an integrated municipal service-SIM via Internet and telephone that provides a continuous set of information to anyone in need of a municipal service. An intranet linking more than 1000 computers and users has been established and is fully operational with a regular newsletter spread electronically.

The municipality is increasingly making use of ICT technologies including an advanced Geographical Information System where mapping and fiscal and physical cadastres are unified. A modern customer's plaza has been established on the ground floor of the municipality's headquarters where any citizen can have their requests handled in an outstanding citizen friendly environment. Municipal services have been decentralised to other areas of the city in order to bring them closer to the inhabitants' residence in the so called "Integrated Municipal Services Posts" (Postos SIM-Serviço Integrado Municipal) where anyone can get information on their petitions and have certain documents issued at

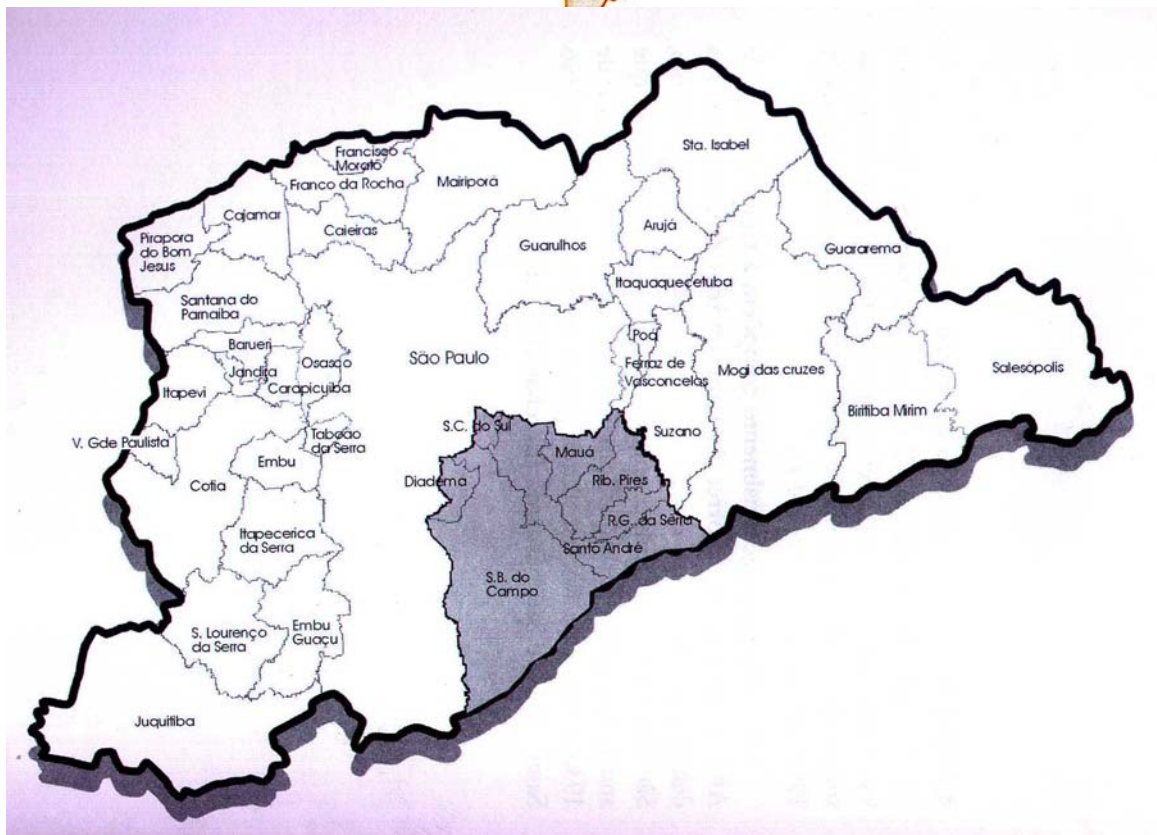
the spot. An ombudsman system was created and is reported to become an important control of local government performance on behalf of the citizenry. The goal is to reach higher levels of efficiency, cost savings and citizen satisfaction that will help boosting their involvement and ownership of the proposed programmes.

Equally important are the establishment of management procedures and matrix-based organisational mechanisms that facilitate inter-departmental co-ordination and the work of thematic groups formed within the municipal apparatus to streamline public policy making, implementation and monitoring. This has been confirmed on the basis of participant's observations. The SINPA research team had the opportunity to attend some of the operational and management meetings including a government seminar focusing on mechanisms for social inclusion attended by nearly 100 cross-cutting municipal staff and headed by mayor Daniel himself. The team also participated in meetings of the government representatives in the OP-Participatory Budgeting, a session of the OP Council, the executive meeting between the OP and Cidade Futuro teams. Undoubtedly this brings cohesion to municipal policy and articulates teams, ideas and on-going processes. Not mentioning that it most likely to have everyone speaking one language towards the outside world.

The municipal government has acknowledged that citizen participation is a sine-qua-non condition for the city and its population to cope with all the problems outlined heretofore and come up with creative solutions. This is reinforced in practically every sector and sub-sector of municipal policies, programmes and projects. A number of actions are geared to accomplish an "inclusive city" and citizen participation in management, planning and decision making. There is a well-acclaimed programme of social inclusion involving four large favelas where upgrading, land regularisation, employment, health, micro-enterprise development, education, culture, citizen participation and children's development are addressed in an integrated manner. This programme was awarded by the "Fundação Getúlio Vargas" as one of the five best practices in public policies in Brazil (Avamileno, 2001).

The municipal councils for safety and public security, education and health are also some of the channels where co-management of public good is exercised in full extent. The city-wide strategic planning process – Cidade Futuro - and the Participatory Budgeting – OP – are just two of the various channels of truly civil society participation through which residents and their organisations are empowered to define public policy and the future of their city in close co-operation with their local government. These are the focus of this report and are depicted further on in the subsequent chapters.

Location of Santo André within Brazil, São Paulo State and Great ABC Region



Metropolitan Region of São Paulo highlighting the Greater ABC Region

3.

The Process of Municipal Budgeting in Brazil

Despite its continental dimension Brazil is a country where 82% of its population already lives in urban agglomerations. Out of 39 Latin American cities of more than 1 million inhabitants 14 are situated in Brazil. This indicates unequivocally the importance of cities and their governance.

Brazil is a federation formed by three completely autonomous levels of government: federal (national), state (provincial) and municipal (local). In 2001 Brazil was divided in 5,567 municipalities that hold a remarkable political, administrative and financial autonomy that are constitutionally safeguarded. Brazilian municipalities have the power to determine their own organisation and functions of their administration, the autonomy to exploit their revenues, define their own budget and determine priority areas for public investments, and to actually determine their investment plans. Municipalities have also the mandate to write its organic law – lei orgânica – which is equal to a municipal constitution that lays down the basic rules for local governance. Actually the range of responsibilities assigned to municipalities includes but not limited to urban planning, provision of urban services, public transport, primary education, primary health, funerary services, collection of solid waste and son on. Some of these tasks e.g. primary education, urban planning and public transport are a sole responsibility of municipal governments. Other services are provided in close co-operation with state or federal governments and it is also common that municipal governments give concessions to private sector or other entities to provide certain types of services on their behalf.

The 1988 constitution – regarded as a pro-municipality enactment - created two important directives in its chapter on urban policy. One indicating the social use of land and the social value of cities for the purpose of combating perverse speculation and social exclusion. The second one is the obligation imposed on all cities with more than 20,00 inhabitants to have an enacted urban development plan formulated on the basis of popular consultation and the participation of civil society organisations. This has been additionally reinforced through the enactment of the “City Statute” law (2001) which regulates the constitutional chapter on urban policy. It delineates legal mechanisms and instruments for municipal governments to intervene among other things in the resolution of problems created by land speculation, informal urbanisation and squatter settlements (favelas), development rights, etc. indicating directions towards democratic management of cities.

What reinforces local autonomy and participation is the fact that any citizen of 16 years of age onwards are entitled to elect the mayor, vice-mayor (executive power) and members of the legislative chamber (legislative power) herein called councilors. Every four years a municipal election is held involving all legally registered political parties in a city. Both mayors and councilors can be re-elected. The number of councilors is determined according to a formula related to size and population of the city. The minimum is 9 councilors. For example, cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have a much larger legislative chamber formed by up to 55 elected councilors. The legislative councilors – called ‘vereadores’ – are the politicians who are commonly identified with their base of voters circumscribed in one or more geographic areas that they claim to represent in the chamber.

The city mayor is the key figure in local governments in Brazil and is the only one who represents the city in any event and incarnates the executive power of local governments.

It is usually stated that above the mayor there is only the law in local matters in a municipality (Acioly, 2000). A mayor's will is half a law provided that there is a good basis for political negotiation to approve it in the legislative chamber.

According to the legislation in force the mayor is the one who signs the budget proposal and presents to the legislative chamber for approval (or rejection). He is the only one to initiate legislation in relation to (1) creation of executive posts in the municipal administration, (2) salaries, (3) administrative organisation of the executive and (4) budget and budgetary planning. The mayor is the one who defines and proposes policies and plans, formulates and implements the budget, appoints senior executive staff, initiates and sanctions legislation, and formulates and signs contracts and loans. He is not subordinated to any other authority except the law.

The main task of the legislative chamber is to legislate with sanction of mayor, to inspect the executive and to administrate its own operation and functioning. It is exclusive competence of the legislative chamber (1) to set the salary of mayor and the councilors, (2) to authorize the absence of the mayor from the city, (3) to judge and approve the annual accountant, (4) to set the internal organization of the chamber, (5) to reject or authorise normative measures of the executive, and (6) to establish various expert or specialist committees to assess issues and problems found in the city and local government. Among many other tasks the legislative chamber – with the sanction of the mayor – legislates on matters of local interest, provides supplementary legislation to federal and state regulations and laws, determines the tributes and legislates on the budget planning and resource allocation. The chamber symbolizes the representative democracy at the local level.

The process and practice of public budgeting in all three levels of government in Brazil is considerably regulated in form, scope, dates, roles and procedures of approval all laid down in laws. At the municipal level traditionally the process involves the executive and legislative powers of the municipalities. It evolves from a budget proposal developed by the municipal government and presented by the mayor to the legislative chamber for approval or rejection. The municipal budget is enacted by the legislative chamber that must approve or reject it not later than 30th of November. By law, the budget proposal is prepared and presented by the executive (the mayor and his secretariat) and has to be submitted to the legislative chamber not later than 30th of September. Once it is approved it becomes a law with concise enforcement duration exactly matching the fiscal year (from 1st January to 31st December).

Simply said, "the municipal budget is a legal instrument to control and plan government actions. It is through the budget that the municipal administration foresees what it will have to invest and how it will invest" (PMSA, 1998).

The history of public management in Brazil shows that public budgeting has been repeatedly a source of manipulation, corruption, paternalism and political clientelism in all levels of government. At the municipal level the distribution and allocation of resources have often been subject to political brokerage played by elected councilors - at the legislative chamber - who tend to favour public investments in their areas of constituency – neighbourhoods where most of their voters live – or in areas associated to organised groups who support their candidacy. This has created a perverse process of favouritism resulting in cities becoming socially and spatially stratified showing vivid contrasts in levels of infrastructure and services in place from one area to another. Social exclusion is also associated with this perverse practice. Traditionally, mayors have to negotiate with the elected councillors (vereadores) of the Legislative Chamber to approve the annual budget of their municipalities. During the period in which the Legislative Chamber holds its sessions to debate the budget there is an intense process of negotiation involving the government

and elected councillors. In order to obtain political support for his programmes and policies during his government term – reflected into the budget proposal – it is common that mayors give several concessions to the elected councillors incorporating their demands into the budget particularly if his political party does not have the majority in the Chamber.

The OP emerges as a democratic practice and as a participatory mechanism against this traditionally top-down and biased form of public resource allocation that has only favoured economically and politically powerful and influential groups of society (Albers, 1998; Fedozzi, 1997, 2000; Genro et al, 1997). It also arises as a method and instrument that helps recapturing citizenship rights turning public budgeting a transparent and accountable process at the lowest level of local governments in an era when Brazil rebuilds its democratic institutions after 21 years of military regime.

A decade of experience with participatory budgeting in its birthplace – Porto Alegre – or elsewhere where it is or has been practised in Brazil shows that the OP is often not a regulated process established by law or formal enactment. It is rather a social political pact between the political forces in power and the organised civil society. It gains a self-regulated structure and mechanisms of decision that are legitimised and recognised by the mayor and his government when preparing an annual public investment plan. It is the result of a combination of specific political processes differing from city to city. On the one hand – at the population side – there seems to exist a popular claim for participation in local governance and in public policy making with articulated demands for public investments in needed areas. This makes society very receptive to channels of participation and consultation opened by progressive local governments.

On the other hand – at the government side - there must exist a political will to open up the budgeting process and to abdicate from its constitutional rights and prerogatives in favour of a shared public management model called by Fedozzi as “non-state public management or *gestão pública não estatal*” (Fedozzi, 1997). This has obviously generated a lot of controversies between the executive and the legislative powers since it relocates the actual decision making on the investments in the municipal budget from the legislative chamber to the council of the Participatory Budgeting (OP Council). This has raised a lot of heated opposition from within the legislative chamber mainly from councillors – *vereadores* – belonging to traditional and more conservative political parties who were used to political brokerage in the allocation of public investments. It has also raised polemics among ideologists about the sustainability of participatory democracy and representative democracy models.

The existence of a legislative chamber of political representatives (with its legal and constitutional mandates and elected by the city’s population) next to a council of popular representatives (OP Council) elected at neighbourhood assemblies (without a legal basis but legitimised by the municipality’s recognition) is apparently a paradox. However it brings to the forefront the transparency and accountability to decisions on public money and the public good but not without challenging the legal and political mandate of the councillors who are elected to the legislative chamber. On the one hand the councillors at the legislative chamber are put into a delicate position when decisions and prioritisation is made by the OP Council regarding the allocation of public investment. It becomes very difficult for them to exercise their mandate and use their own discretion when the budget and investment plan are presented to them as a proposal prepared jointly by the government and the population through the participatory budgeting process and endorsed by the mayor. And not as a proposal prepared sole by the municipal executive as the law prescribes. One may argue that the OP council and OP councillors are very focused on the immediate problem missing a holistic view over the city, its global problem and its strategic development issues. But opposing, rejecting or changing the budget proposal can only take

place if they are prepared to pay a high political price for example not be elected in the next election. Furthermore the members of the OP council together with community representatives follow very closely the discussion of the budget keeping a continuous pressure on the “vereadores” to maintain their proposal intact. On the legal side there is a new law – Law on Fiscal Responsibility or simply LRF – Lei de Responsabilidade Fiscal – that forbids the legislative council to modify the budget proposal presented by the municipal executive if there is no grounded revenues to cover the suggested changes.

The LRF has further strengthened transparency and accountability by regulating municipal budgeting and accounting procedures that have made mayors individually accountable for wrongdoing with public money. Mayors and governors can actually end up in prison and lose their mandate and even have their political rights nullified. It is no longer possible the old practice of preparing a budget on the assumption that future revenue will cover for particular expenditures (Gonçalves, 2000; Mugnatto, 2001; Nunes, 2000; Xavier, 2001). The law establishes limits for public debt and for expenditures with personnel. A survey conducted during 2001 shows that the average expenditure with personnel in 4,215 municipalities is 43.2% of the net revenue while the LRF establishes a limit of 60% (54% for the executive and 6% for the legislative and tribunal of accounting if it exists). The survey also reveals that these municipalities spend on average 26.7% of their revenues in Education and 21.9% in Health Services (Mugnatto, 2001). The constitution says 25% should be allocated to Education.

Xavier argues that the LRF is somehow stimulating the practice of participatory budgeting by indicating very clear the need to establish a transparent fiscal management that is safeguarded by means of popular participation and public audits during the entire process of preparing the municipal budget and discussing the investment plans. It also obliges the chief of the executive power (mayor, governor or president) to put the accounting declaration at the disposal of citizens and civil society organisations during the entire year. The LRF further obliges the executive to present formal statements of accounting at every four months and thereafter this must be published within 30 days (Xavier, 2001).

4.

The Participatory Budgeting – OP in Santo André: a short-term action planning tool

Participatory Budgeting – OP was defined by mayor Celso Daniel⁴ as “a public sphere which creates possibilities for the population to make their dreams, demands and needs explicit with an emphasis on the specific, on the local problem, that creates conditions and alternatives for the future”. In Porto Alegre, the OP was defined by its present mayor as a process of direct democracy, voluntary, where the population can discuss and decide on the budget of the city. The process of co-management is the result of a combination of the *direct democracy* exercised by the population in the OP with the *representative democracy* through which the population of the city elects the mayor for another term of four years (Tarso Genro, 1997). Santo André and Porto Alegre have in common the fact that both cities started to be governed by the PT in 1989 pioneering a number of endeavours of full citizen participation like the OP and consolidating a different way of municipal government. The OP achieved national and international renown thanks to the uninterrupted practise in Porto Alegre since then but it is actually practised in more than 150 cities in Brazil.

Participatory Budgeting (Orçamento Participativo or simply OP in Portuguese) can be defined as a process of priority setting and shared decision making through which local community representatives and local governments design a concrete annual plan of public investment on the basis of the available resources mostly originated from municipal revenues. Through this process actions and goals are agreed, resources are allocated, responsibilities and a timetable are defined. There is often negotiation over the priorities and demands and on the budget plan either between the representatives of the population and the government or in-between the representatives of the population who are safeguarding priorities from different zones of the city. The OP is a cyclical, intricate and transparent process of organisation, public meetings and debates in support to the preparation of the annual municipal budget.

The first experience with a system of participatory budgeting – OP (Orçamento Participativo) in Santo André remotes from 1989 when a Labour Party-PT Government was elected to govern the city for a 4-year term under the leadership of Mayor Celso Daniel and his team. During his first government term (1989-92) the OP was not a decision-making forum but it was rather a consultative mechanism to help the local government to fine-tune its priorities and investment plan with that of the population but in sustain to the government’s broad development programme for Santo André. The final destination of the revenues and public investments remained in the hands of the executive. The municipality actually designed the entire budget proposal on the basis of the consultation with the population and presented to the legislative chamber for approval.

During this period, the participation was structured in four stages as follows (REPPOL at al, 1999):

Stage1 (internal): municipal secretariat and departments defined a draft proposal;

⁴ Celso Daniel, oral presentation in the Government Seminar focusing on Social Inclusion organised in the Municipality of Santo André on 17th September 2001 and attended by more than 100 municipal staff.

- Stage 2 (public): mayor and secretariat discussed the budget proposal with the population through meetings that were organised throughout the city;
- Stage 3: (adjustment): there was a matching of the budget with resources available and with the demands of the population, an exercise that was undertaken by the mayor, his secretariat, the financial and technical teams;
- Stage 4: (legislative): the final budget was presented and discussed in the Legislative chamber.

There is a very specific aspect regarding the OP in Santo André during this period. The technical and financial feasibility and the operational viability of the prioritised investment were made by the municipal staff in charge of preparing the budget until a final proposal was presented to the population in a general open public meeting. In this meeting the municipality usually informed the population about the details and priorities of the budget and about the subsequent discussion that will take place within the legislative chamber. Thus the population was only consulted and was called to endorse the government's proposal without any power to decide and determine where and how public investments should be done. The process was not so systematised as today, it did not have a formal structure and route of participation and empowerment and was not regulated by any norm or municipal law. The population did not share any decision nor held any responsibility in the process. It had a much more passive role. It was informed as a means to get them involved and build ownership of the decision making on the allocation of limited resources. This is a fundamental difference with what has been practised in Porto Alegre since its inception period in 1989. And it also differs from the reality of the OP in today's Santo André.

The municipal elections of 1992 brought to power a conservative government that replaced the PT Administration in the municipality of Santo André for the period 1993-1996. Most of the channels of participation that had been created during the previous four years by Mayor Daniel team were dismantled. From that moment onwards the municipal budget started to be prepared solely by the executive - the mayor and his secretariat – without any consultation or any form of public debate with the citizenry. It is interesting to note that neither the population and civil society as a whole nor the politically progressive city councillors in the legislative chamber demanded the continuation of the OP or made any pressure to the municipal executive to maintain the practice of the previous years. It appears that the OP was not missed and there was no mechanism in place to guarantee its continuation after the PT government was replaced.

As mentioned earlier in this report the OP is not established by decree of any kind and there is no law that institutionalises its operational frameworks and channels of citizen participation. It is a participatory arena consolidated by citizen response to participation and it is only legitimised by the recognition of the mayor and the municipal government. Its decision making power lies on the "mandate" delegated by the mayor. The municipal constitution – Lei Orgânica – only indicates the need to involve the citizenry defining general concepts but not enforcing the implementation of the OP and its routine and cyclical procedures independently of who is governing the city. There is a lot of controversy about the self-regulated character of the OP. This is also reflected in the opinions given by various participants interviewed by the SINPA research team. There seems to exist reservations against the legal institutionalisation of the OP because it could result into the deadening of the continuous learning process while obstructing its flexibility for adaptation and innovations without ensuring its continuation under another municipal government different than the PT.

The question of institutionalising citizenship rights is not a new debate in Brazil. One camp argues that a detailed legislation is necessary to assure and safeguard the rights of those who traditionally have been socially and politically excluded in Brazil. Only with well-developed legal instruments will the poor have their rights recognised and respected in the decision making process on the allocation of public investments in their city alike the laws that protect basic labour rights. The other camp counter argues that in Brazil this type of legislation on citizen participation becomes easily obsolete and subject to manipulation and favouritism thus undermining the strength of the OP that is to say its autonomy from the state, its flexibility and adaptability and its learning process. The active citizenship is the only motor to sustain practises such as the OP and is the only vehicle to demand the mayor and his government to maintain the principles of governance, participation, accountability and transparency in the allocation of public resources in their cities. If this argument holds it implies that the continuation of the OP after a pro-OP mayor leaves office will entirely depend on the level of popular mobilisation and endured social political pressure to force the new mayor to go along with participatory process and shared decision making. It is obvious that if the new mayor is not comfortable with “people telling him where the money should be allocated” or with this “forced delegation” of his constitutional rights and prerogatives to the citizenry he will act politically to undermine the social mobilisation. Consequently the relation government-citizenry will certainly become a conflicting one which will destroy the principle of social pact that crystallises the OP.

Those who criticise the OP argue that this is exactly the fraudulent character of the OP that is seen as a political wing of the labour party-PT. It is argued that the citizenry is not represented in the decision making of the OP but the PT militants who participate in all phases and occupy leadership positions that should be taken by people not politically associated (and certainly not with the PT). It is argued that they are the ones responsible for keeping up the participation and the “pressure” on the mayor and his government. However evidences collected by Fedozzi and WM Pesquisas respectively in Porto Alegre and Santo André proves that this is not the case. Participants of the OP are linked to all sorts of associations or are involved in community-based movements but the local leadership and those who are elected to represent their zones of residences are mostly linked to a residents association, political party, labour union, civil society organisations (Fedozzi, 1997, 2000; WM Pesquisas et al, 1999). In Santo André, the SINPA research team even came across militants of other (opposition) parties who believe that the OP is a vehicle to practise citizenship rights. This will be mentioned in detail when dealing with the accounts on participation in the subsequent chapter of this study.

It is reported that after loosing the municipal election the staff who worked under mayor Daniel carried out a self-evaluation of four years of municipal government in order to depict limitations of the approaches developed and implemented during the previous years. This would help to prepare a programme to regain the municipal government in the next election (REPPOL at al, 1999). Such a government programme was under wide debate in the city during the year of 1996 involving community groups, civil society organisations, political groups, etc. which helped to introduce innovations in the OP process as follows:

1. The OP must become a decision making forum;
2. There must be a municipal council of the OP with pair representation, thus same numbers of representatives from the population and from the government;
3. The process of OP must discuss the entire budget consisting of investment, recurrent costs and revenues;
4. Other mechanisms should be created in order to involve other sectors beyond the popular sector e.g. youth, businessmen, shopkeepers, etc.
5. The OP must become more audacious.

It became clear that the OP had to be integrated into the overall government planning system in order to function as a truly decision making organ on the public investments in the city particularly in a context of decreasing revenues and squeezing municipal budget (see Table 4.1). Priority setting in view of the available resources to support actions would become extremely important given the limitations imposed to the municipal government's investment capacity leaving little room for public investments⁵ which is in fact what the focus of concern of the OP and the population adhered to it. In order to maintain the transparency of the process and continuous popular support the municipal government had to involve the population right from scratch. Furthermore in order to allow the discussion of the entire municipal budget within the structure of the OP it became obvious that a continuous capacity building of the population involved with the OP was necessary. This would broaden their understanding about public budgeting, the limitations and potentials of current revenues as well as the expenditure nature and the process of public administration as a whole increasing the quality of the discussions and the decisions thereafter. A much greater organisational effort was required from the part of the municipality in order to accomplish such an ambitious plan of civil participation. The goal was to recapture the citizenship and establish an exemplary system of local governance. This was in fact one of the top priorities of Mayor Daniel when he was re-elected for the 1997-2000 term. The new administration set the following priority lines: (1) Sustainable economic development with employment and income generation, (2) Quality, efficiency and administrative modernisation, (3) Popular participation, (4) education and professional capacity building, and (5) A city more pleasant to live.

TABLE 4.1: PMSA – Municipality of Santo André: Budget Proposal for 2002

ITEM	VALUES in R\$	VALUES in US\$
Revenues	328,255,000	131,302,000
Expenditures	229,100,000	91,640,000
Personnel and Overhead	153,000,000	61,200,000
25% Education	74,400,000	29,760,000
Legislative Chamber	1,700,000	680,000
Other Expenditures	99,155,000	39,662,000
Operational costs	80,669,000	32,267,600
Investments	15,203,000	6,081,200
Reserve for contingencies	3,283,000	1,313,200
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	328,255,000	131,302,000

Values for September 2001 are estimated in US\$ at an exchange rate set as US\$1.00 = R\$2.50).

The municipal government set the pace. The council of the OP became a reality nearly six months after Mr Celso Daniel took office again for his second term as mayor of Santo André. In July 1997 the population elected their representatives in 24 large plenary sessions realised in 18 regions⁶ and 8 thematic plenary sessions and thereafter the first OP councillors were given the oath. Two regions did not manage to mobilise the minimum quorum of attendants to the meeting that is set at 0.5% of the total population (for the

⁵ The volume of investment available for the OP in 2001 was 8-10% of the total municipal budget.

⁶ The city was originally divided into 18 regions containing several neighbourhoods. This was later increased to 19 regions. Eight (8) thematic groups were established: (1) Economic Development, (2) Social Inclusion, (3) Housing, (4) Public Sector Reform, (5) Education, (6) Health, (7) Environmental Quality and (8) Culture. Later a new thematic was created on Urban Violence/Public Safety. For every region and every thematic plenary 2 representatives are elected to become OP councillor, the principal councillor and his/her reserve.

regional plenary sessions) and 100 people for the thematic plenary sessions thus electing representatives without voting power. Since its inception phase the OP has mobilised a considerable amount of citizens in the discussions and deliberations of the annual municipal budget. For example, in its first year more than 7,000 people were directly involved in the OP and in the following year, 1998, the number of inhabitants participating in this process reached 9700⁷. Indeed, with the OP the local government has finally set up a process through which it shares with its citizens the decision-making process about public investment and resources allocation that will give shape to a number of short-term action plans.

The process starts in March with open discussions with the population and plenary sessions organised in various regions congregating residents from several neighbourhoods and the thematic groups. The first phase is more informative when the municipal government presents its accounts to the population and informs to every region through public audits about the on-going works and the state-of-affairs regarding the actions and priorities selected during the previous OP cycle. An intermediary phase follows and it is earmarked by spontaneous and neighbourhood-based meetings through which the inhabitants, grassroots organisations and lay-residents discuss and define their priorities. A second phase is decisive since not only priorities for the regions are elected but also it is the moment when those attending the plenary sessions elect their representative in the OP Council. In this phase 3 priorities for the region and 2 priorities for the city as a whole are set. Once the OP council is formed and installed their work start and not later than 30th of September the budget proposal must be delivered to the Legislative chamber. The next chapter will explain this in detail.

A careful observation of the priorities set by the OP for 1998 and 1999 and in the negotiated budget plan for 2002 (PMSA/NPP, 1999; 2001) shows that most of the priorities and actions agreed upon by the OP council relates to immediate needs in geographically determined areas. Some of these are pavement of segments of streets, flood prevention measures, enlargement of health service capacity, improvement in drainage systems, provision of water and sewerage systems and relocation of families living in risk prone areas. Complex and costly projects are also included such as a favela upgrading, land tenure regularisation as well as long-term programme commitments. Programmes such as enlargement of vocational training opportunities and broadening the scope of the Programme Child Citizen (Criança Cidadã), and training and capacity building of the municipal police for tackling urban violence are also rewarded in the final budget and investment plan.

It is worth noting that some of these actions do not necessarily require direct allocation of resources from the budget since they fall under routine responsibilities and tasks of specific municipal departments and secretariat. This is the case of a project formulation action for the primary treatment with recyclable materials in the roads of Jardim Riviera/Region Q. An analysis of the 53 priorities set in the OP of 1997 for the budget of 1998 shows that there is a significant amount of resources allocated to a series of actions geared to upgrading, regularisation and urban revitalisation in informal settlements and to improvement in basic infrastructure. The resulted budget also elected improvements in the municipal hospital, strengthening of the quality of the labour force in the city through special professional training programmes, enlargement and improvement in basic education programmes including capital repairs in school buildings.

The wide scope of actions cross-cuts different municipal departments and municipal agencies falling under specific sector-oriented municipal programmes which requires from the municipal government an incredible co-ordination and articulation in plan formulation and implementation. Often these actions also imply the direct participation of the

⁷ Source: PMSA, "Orçamento Participativo", undated. PMSA, 1999.

beneficiaries through guided self-help efforts (*mutirão*) thus realising a full government-community partnership. The municipality and particularly the government teams must keep track of the horizontal linkages as well as with the vertical policy coherence and make sure that material, logistic, human and financial resources are used in its maximum effectiveness. The load that is placed both on residents and municipal staff is significant and should not be overlooked. During the execution of the budget a committee composed by representatives from civil society and technical staff of the municipality is established to monitor each project and actions approved during the OP. Usually meeting on a monthly basis these committees get engaged in project design and implementation but have no formal or juridical status. The members of population provide the technical staff with first hand information, basic data and details of the areas affected by the projects and at times bringing solutions and alternatives thought over at the grassroots level. The participation of the citizens is also essential in helping the government establishing a close monitoring of private contractors' work on the ground since they are closer and continuously present at the project site or its area of influence allowing them to watch whether actions are being implemented accordingly. They are also instrumental in decreasing resistance to government projects among the population acting as a vehicle to explain and build ownership of the projects. It is worth noting that some contractors opposed to this partnership and new roles assigned to citizens while others have hired local community members to monitor their works.

This new form of work incremented by and through the OP has also caused impact within the government. For example, when the OP Council requests SEMASA-Secretariat of Water Sanitation and Environment to make a technical and cost benefit analysis of a particular demand and priority selected through the OP process it indirectly obliges a government agency to look at the problem through various perspectives. It is logic that SEMASA realises that this is a priority set through community-government partnership and that a YES or a NO must be well sustained. Accounts made by a management staff of SEMASA shows that the active participation of civil society in problem definition and prioritisation has modified the way projects are designed and prioritised. The pure technical thinking is no longer appropriate to deal with participatory approaches. He recognises though that the lack of clear and unequivocal criteria for technical prioritisation ends up with the government agencies taking their decisions based on circumstantial criteria.

The data showing the results of the negotiation between the government and the OP Council unveils that there is indeed an internal systemic organisation. This was co-ordinated by the "Popular Participation Nucleus-NPP" (now replaced by the Municipal Secretariat for Citizenship and Participation and the Directorate for Citizen Participation) keeping visible the areas, the type of demand/priority, the responsible municipal agency, the technical viability and the cost/value of the action (PMSA/NPP, 2001). The SINPA research team could not ascertain how these action plans are actually put into effect but could verify that during meetings of the OP Council the representative of the government could give detailed answers related to costs, technical feasibility and bottlenecks of the projects/priorities under discussion. The discussions were focused and reflected the immediate and short-term character of the solutions and actions proposed and agreed.

The population practically achieved 75% of their package of priorities that was the largest volume of priorities ever approved in 5 years of Participatory Budgeting. Even a favela upgrading worth R\$ 2 million was approved. For the first time it was the representatives of the population who took the initiative to present the budget proposal to the OP Council and not the government as it was often the case. The government always took the initiative after assembling the priorities elected through the regional plenary sessions. This time the population made the filtering and came up with a well-spread and negotiated investment plan agreed among the various regions showing a remarkable capacity for self-organisation.

On the side of the government there is also an effort to create a method to discuss the popular demands involving the municipal secretaries and mid-level management in order to define what priorities can be awarded by the budget. Before it was centralised with the mayor, his direct attachés and the secretariat of the OP.

The OP in Santo André strengthens the process of government-community negotiation reflecting an effort to reach a consensus about the use of scarce and decreasing revenues that must contemplate the projects of the government and the popular demand (70%). The result is a realist total plan of action to resolve problems identified at the very local level of the city by those immediately affected by them. It also contemplates some cross cutting issues relevant to the city as a whole. As much as it is practised the OP's new challenge will be to turn itself into an instrument that is focused onto the realisation of a strategic vision of the city by resolving the city's key problems that are hindering local development and urban productivity. A vision that is shared by all those who take part in the citizen-government partnership endeavours in Santo André.



Plenary Session at Parque Erasmo Assunção. Photo by Gilberto Garavelo.

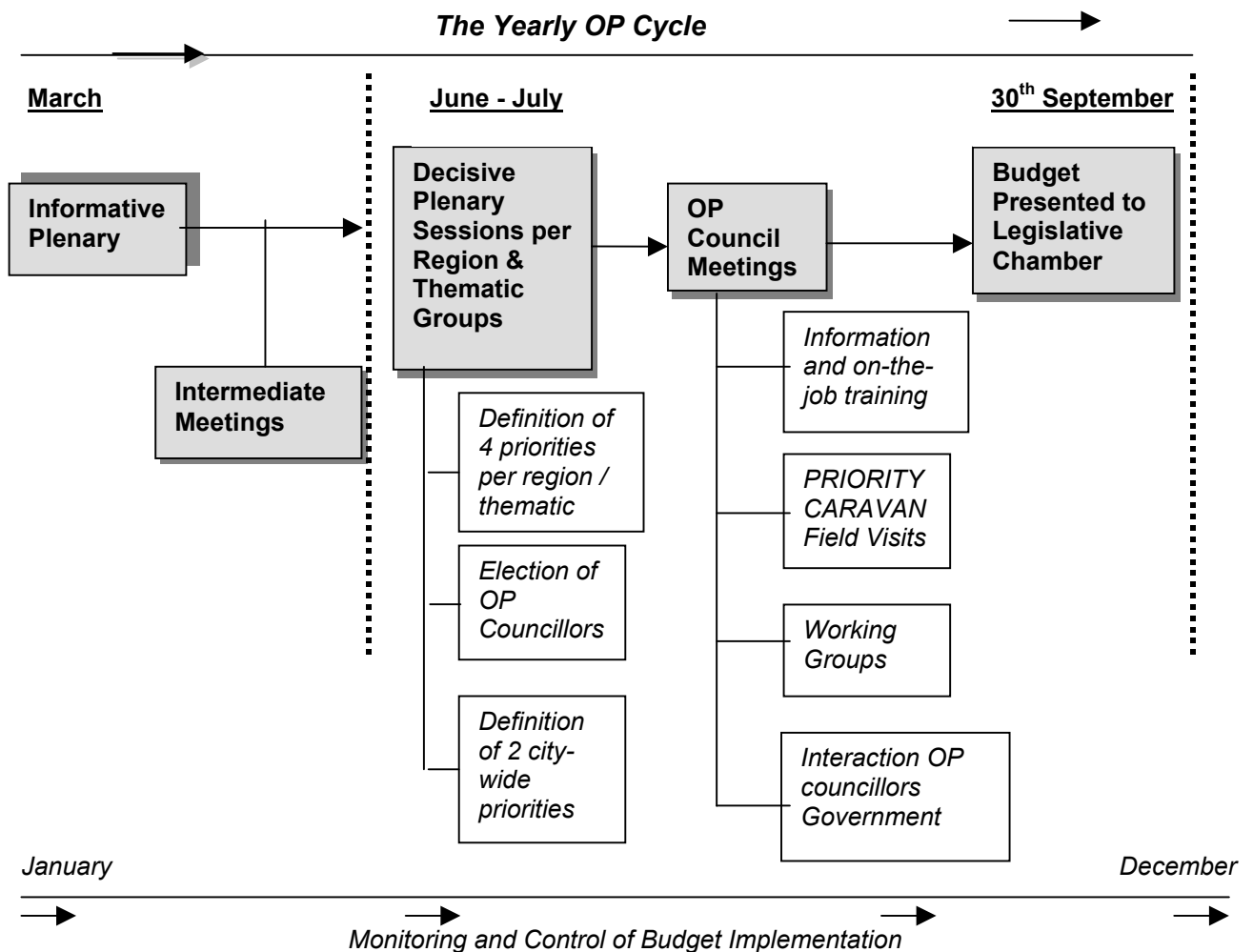
5.

The Method and Organisational Structure of the OP in Santo Andre

The fiscal year starts at 1st January and ends 31st of December. The budget must be presented to the Legislative Chamber not later than 30th September on each year. The Legislative Chamber has until 30th of November to approve the budget. These are cornerstone dates that determine the pace and schedules of the participatory process in the formulation and design of the municipal budget and the annual plan of investment in Santo André and in any Brazilian municipality. January and February are summer months and are usually a period for holidays, February being the carnival month when the greatest Brazilian festivities take place usually affecting the routine work in the public work if not the entire nation.

Figure 5.1 depicts in a diagrammatic manner how the process takes place in a cyclical manner. In March the municipal government begins its accounting to the population of the expenditures and actions undertaken in the previous fiscal year. This is done through public audits, regional meetings and special sessions with the OP Council. Usually the mayor takes the lead in making a transparent presentation of the expenditures and the performance on the revenue generation side. This helps the municipality to explain the limitations, constraints and potentials for the fiscal year that will follow. Figure 5.2 depicts the institutional framework.

Figure 5.1: Schematic View of the Participatory Budgeting in Santo André



In fact, the deliberations in the OP process are always taking place one year behind the implementation of its decisions. This phase of the OP has a strong informative character and is open for questioning from the population and their representatives in the OP. Once this is accomplished and all regions and thematic groups are informed the OP enters into an intermediary phase when region-based meetings self-organised by the inhabitants and various grassroots organisations enter into a debate to define their most needed priorities.

During the months of June-July the OP enters into a period of deliberations. Plenary sessions are organised in 19 regions and 8 thematic groups when problems are discussed and priorities are actually voted by all attending the meetings (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Four (4) priorities must be elected during these plenary sessions. These meetings are open to anyone who lives in Santo André but to have the right to vote or to be voted – to become an OP councillor - one must be older than 16 years of age and be obviously a resident of Santo André. Additionally the plenary sessions must also elect 2 priorities for the city as a whole and choose their representatives and their respective reserves/deputies who will act on their behalf in the OP Council. For an example, in 1998 while discussing the 1999 budget the OP Council was composed by 104 councillors from which 52 from the population and 52 from the government, including their deputies. In its deliberations to define the 1999 budget the OP Council approved 51 actions/priorities out of 130 that were set during the OP process and which were incorporated into the final municipal budget presented to the Legislative chamber on the 30th of September 1998. Actually (2002) the OP council is composed of 56 members from civil society, 56 members from the government, and 18 representatives of civil society elected in the annual city conference of the CF Project (Blanco and Pontual, 2002). A more detailed explanation of the process is given below.

5.1 The 5 Stage Process of the Participatory Budgeting in Santo André

Participatory Channel	Characteristics	Activities
1 Informative Plenary Sessions March	At least one informative plenary session is organised in each one of the city regions (19) and each thematic group (9)	<p>The Deputy-Mayor participates in all informative meetings and plenary sessions. Municipal secretaries also join the government delegation. At times the mayor attends as well.</p> <p>The Municipality explains what is the Municipal Budget and the process and structure of the OP as a vehicle of citizen participation and decision-making. Video films and several communication means are used to explain the entire process. These plenary sessions provide a learning process as well.</p> <p>The Municipality explains the financial situation for the current year, the financial performance of previous year, the basis of revenues and expenditures, how resources were spent, what was realised and the potential and constraints for the next fiscal year. It presents forecasts in revenues and expenditures so that the residents become acquainted with the budget limitations which is often the case.</p> <p>The residents who attend these plenary sessions are formally registered and receive identification cards that will make them eligible to vote in the next round of plenary sessions when deliberations on priorities and the election of their representatives in the OP Council will take place.</p>

<p>2</p> <p>Round of Intermediate Meetings</p> <p>April – May</p>	<p>The intermediate meetings are organised independently by the population and their grassroots organisations in each neighbourhood, region and thematic groups. CBO's are actively involved in assessing and prioritising their needs at the neighbourhood level/sub-regional level. The more mobilised are the residents the more quality in the discussions will be achieved.</p>	<p>The municipal staff, civil society representatives and community leaders identify the problems and needs in their specific areas of concern and assess the technical and financial feasibility of possible solutions.</p> <p>The Agents for Citizens' Participation – APC are working in close liaison with the local population and assisting them in defining their problems, demands and priorities, and in organising the process to appoint their representatives in the OP Council. They play an active role in providing technical and financial information related to priorities under discussions.</p>
<p>3</p> <p>Round of Decision-making Plenary Sessions – Deliberative Plenary Sessions</p> <p>June – July</p>	<p>In each one of the 19 regions and 9 thematic groups there is one Deliberative Plenary session organised.</p> <p>Minimum attendance to validate election of representatives is 0.5% of the total population of the region and 100 persons for the plenary groups. The reference is the latest IBGE census data (1991). In the regions Q and R (environmentally sensitive areas) a minimum of 50 people must attend the meeting.</p> <p>The municipal staff who attends these meetings takes records of the registration system, and reports internally on the results and processes.</p>	<p>The Mayor explains each demand and their technical and financial feasibility. In many occasions he uses this time to respond to criticism about shortcomings of the municipal government that the population brings forward during the plenary sessions. When there is a demand for improvement or regularisation of an illegal settlement – on private or public land – the mayor finds himself in position to go against the community's immediate interests and demand. A debate and frank dialogue follows.</p> <p>Four (4) priorities and demands defined locally in each one of the 19 regions and 9 thematic groups and 2 city-wide priorities will be voted in each regional plenary session organised in these regions and in the thematic groups. The decision is per majority of the votes. Negotiations may take place before voting among the groups and residents attending these plenary sessions in order to favour equally all sub-zones (neighbourhoods) of the region.</p> <p>Those attending these plenary sessions elect their representatives whose main tasks will be to safeguard their interest, needs and approved priorities in the regular meetings of the OP Council. They will also be responsible for preparing the budget and annual plan of investment. One councillor and a deputy-councillor will be elected by majority of votes in the plenary session.</p> <p>The votes are done manually and election is by majority of votes. Second most voted is automatically appointed deputy-councillor for that specific region or thematic group.</p> <p>Audio-visual equipment help informing in real-time what is happening in the plenary. Large screens show the priorities and problems one is addressing in order to facilitate voting.</p>
<p>4</p> <p>OP Council Meetings</p> <p>CMO-Conselho Municipal do Orçamento</p> <p>All year long.</p>	<p>Public meetings open to any citizen.</p> <p>On Mondays, every 2 weeks from 19:00 to 22:00.</p> <p>For decision making a minimum 2/3 of the members of the OP council must be present.</p> <p>Councillors have a maximum of 3 minutes when taking the floor to express their opinions and arguments.</p>	<p>Once all plenary sessions and thematic groups have elected their representative and deputies, they will formally hold the sworn statement for the mayor and formally given their seat as OP councillors in the OP Council. This is a formal ceremony.</p> <p>Representatives of the Legislative chamber may attend and participate in the OP Council meetings but have no voting rights.</p> <p>Meetings are well prepared (agenda, minutes, chairman, supporting staff, time control) by the <u>Pair Co-ordination</u> (Coordenação Paritária) formed by 8 OP councillors, 4 nominated by the representatives of the population and 4</p>

Both councillor and his/her deputy may attend the meetings but only the councillor has the right to vote. In his absence the deputy-councillor will take over this right.

Until December 2001, the OP council was formed by a total of 28 representatives of the population and an equal number of representatives of the government compose the OP Council. The OP Council has in total 112 principal councillors excluding the delegates elected in the annual city conference of the CF Project.

With the full integration of CF councillors as full councillors of the OP, civil society is now in majority in the OP council from 2002 onwards. The population has now 18 councillors more than the government but this has not changed the composition of the pair-committee. The OP Council is now formed by 130 members.

Mandate of councillors is one year with eligibility for one consecutive re-election. Thus maximum of 2 year mandate and he/she must step down and wait for one year more if he/she wishes to candidate again.

appointed by the municipal government. The Pair Co-ordination prepares the calendar of meetings, calls and co-ordinate the meetings, present proposals to the council and presents to the mayor the deliberations of the OP Council.

The Municipal Secretariat for Citizenship and Participation replaced the Popular Participation Nucleus (Núcleo de Participação Popular-NPP) taking over the executive secretariat of the OP Council. The OP falls under the direct responsibility of the Directorate for Citizen Participation.

There are several informative and capacity building activities to support the development of the OP councillors as a way to prepare them to the deliberations that the OP Council will have to take.

Games and psychodrama, including Augusto Boal's theatre of the oppressed techniques are used in order to increase the councillors' understand about their roles and responsibilities. Role playing exercises are also part of the set of training activities. All these activities are geared to facilitate the negotiations and the process of conflict resolution.

The councillors are taken in a field trip by bus throughout the city to visit the different regions and get acquainted – in loco – with the problems and priorities elected by the plenary sessions. This is called the Priority Caravan (Caravanas das Prioridades). This helps to sensitise the councillors about everyone's problems and to build a broader understanding and holistic view of the city and its problems.

Working groups are formed in support to the OP Council Coordination but with no deliberation powers. It is an ad-hoc structure that helps to detail priorities and alternative solutions.

Once the budget is final and delivered to the Legislative chamber, the councillors follow-up closely the debates and process of approval. The OP council continues with its regular meetings to monitor the implementation of the actions and execution of the Municipal Budget.

5

Debate and voting of the budget proposal by the Legislative Chamber

October-November

The legislative chamber holds sessions to debate the municipal budget as proposed and presented by the government. Sessions are open to the public.

The budget is submitted not later than 30th of September and must be approved not later than 30th of November. Once it is approved it is turned into a municipal law valid for the subsequent fiscal year.

The OP council submits its deliberations as a type of investment plan as part of the municipal budget. The full budget is submitted to the Legislative chamber by the municipal executive – the mayor – in which the deliberations of the OP Council are included.

OP councillors attend the sessions of the Legislative chamber and follow-up closely the debates. Lay-residents also attend the sessions of the Legislative chamber. Eventually lobbying takes place as to ensure that popular deliberations remain intact during the political discussion of the Legislative Chamber.

The LRF law regulates these activities. The vereadores – members of the legislative chamber – can only alter the budget and create other investments if there is guaranteed resources to cover these expenditures.

5.2 Institutional framework of the Participatory Budgeting in Santo André

OP Entity	Main Role and Responsibilities	Composition
<p>OP COUNCIL</p> <p>Conselho Municipal do Orçamento – CMO</p>	<p>Approves the Budget Law Project to be submitted to the Legislative chamber.</p> <p>Analyses and gives opinion about the municipal revenue (percentage of taxes and tolls).</p> <p>Monitors the implementation of the Municipal Budget and provides opinion in case of cuts in investments.</p> <p>Approves the methodology for the OP as whole.</p> <p>On the basis of experience from previous years revises the structure, methods and functioning of the OP as a whole.</p> <p>The OP council is not regulated by law although it is inserted into the Municipal Organic Law.</p>	<p>One councillor as his/her deputy (reserve) for each (19) Regional Plenary, total of .</p> <p>One councillor and his/her deputy for each (9) Thematic Plenary Group plus the councillors of the CF elected in the annual city conference resulting in civil society gaining majority by 18 councillors more than the government. Total of 130 principal councillors (56 + 56 + 18).</p> <p>Representatives from the Government in equal number and appointed directly by the mayor.</p> <p>Members of the OP council will not receive any kind of financial remuneration.</p> <p>Mandate of OP councillors is one year with possibility for one consecutive re-election.</p>
<p>OP-PAIR CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE (Coordenação Paritária do CMO)</p>	<p>Co-ordinates the activities of the OP Council, organises the regular and extraordinary meetings of the OP Council</p> <p>Prepares and presents suggestions for the municipal budget on the basis of the priorities set by the plenary sessions, to be discussed by the OP council.</p> <p>Presents the deliberations of the OP Council to the Government (mayor)</p> <p>Reports its activities to the entire OP Council</p> <p>Co-ordinates and plans the activities of the OP Council</p>	<p>4 members indicated by the popular representatives in the OP Council</p> <p>4 members indicated by the government.</p>
<p>EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT (Secretaria Executiva)</p>	<p>Provides logistic and material support for the functioning of the OP Council.</p> <p>Organises the entire documentation required for the functioning of the OP Council.</p>	<p>It is under direct responsibility of the Local Government.</p> <p>The Directorate for Citizen Participation from the Municipal Secretariat of Citizenship and Participation assumes this responsibility.</p>
<p>WORKING GROUPS (Grupos de Trabalho)</p>	<p>Supports the work of the OP Council.</p> <p>Prepares detailed accounts of the priorities, their feasibility and alternative solutions.</p> <p>Proposes criteria for prioritisation of the approved demands/priorities.</p>	<p>It has no deliberation powers.</p> <p>Formed on an ad-hoc basis as a result of the priorities set at the plenary sessions and needs expressed by the OP Council.</p>

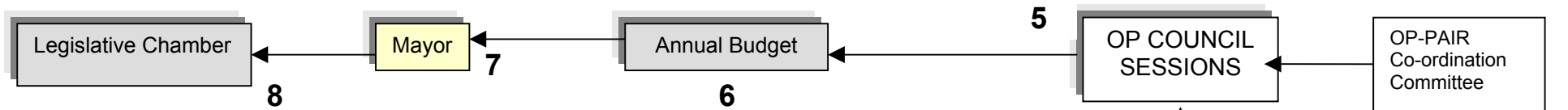
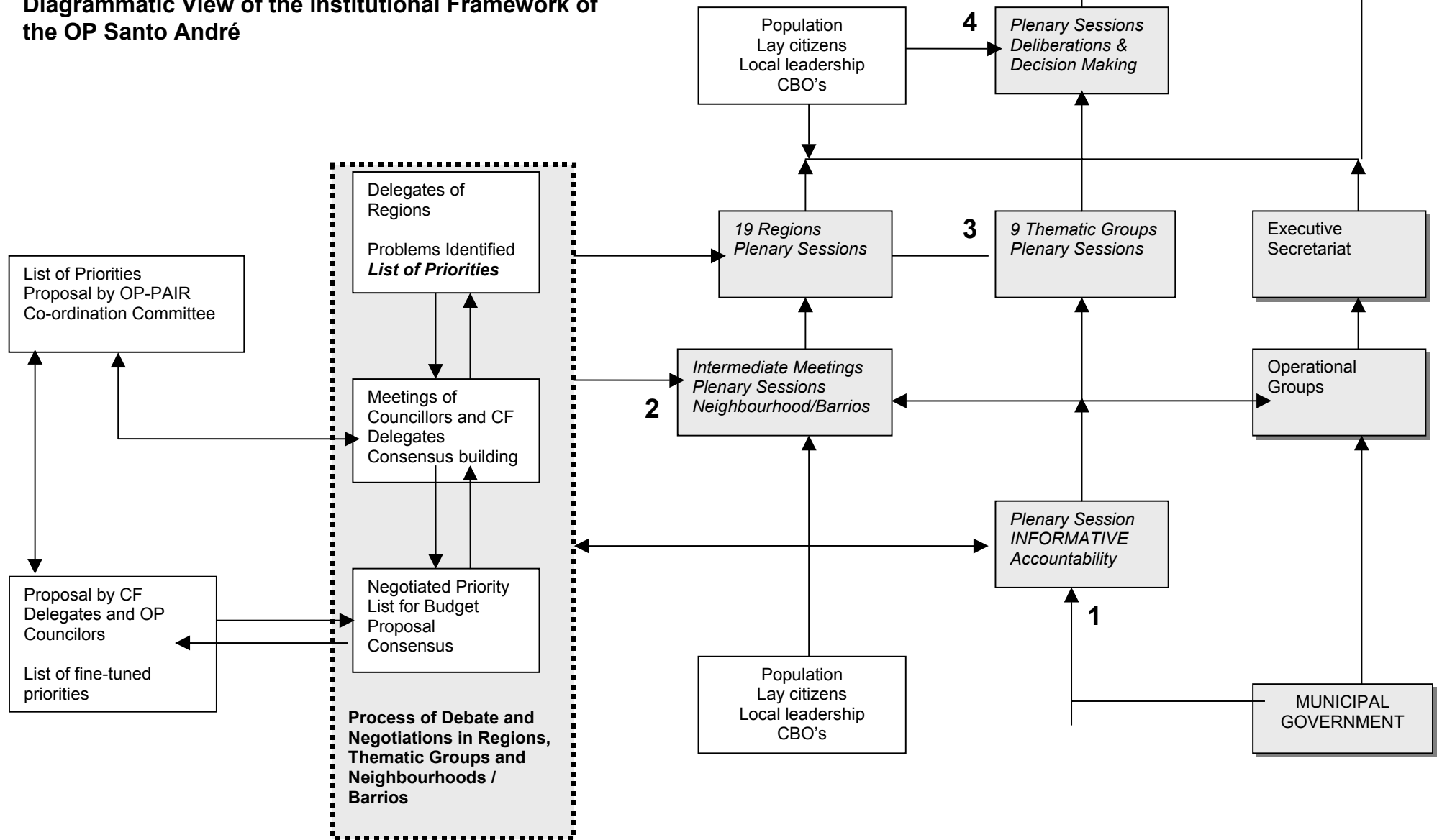


Figure 5.2:
Diagrammatic View of the Institutional Framework of
the OP Santo André



5.3 Key Stakeholders in the Participatory Budgeting in Santo André

At a glance hereafter we present the key stakeholders who play an important role in the OP in Santo André.

Stakeholder	Key Role	Remarks
Community Stakeholders		
OP Councillor representing the population of 19 zones and 9 thematic groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Votes the priorities and approves the budget proposal in the OP Council; • Monitors the implementation of the OP; • Has access to all information related to the municipal budget ; • Safeguards that regional priorities are included in the budget proposal; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follows strictly the OP Internal Regulations and improves its content. • Informs his/her Deputy and the Directorate for Citizen Participation in case he/she will be absent from the OP Council meeting at least 2 days in advance.
Delegate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He/she has a crucial role at the neighbourhood level; • Keeps close liaison with OP councillor of his/her region maintaining a system of regular meetings/monthly basis • He/she inspects the execution of the works/actions approved by the OP council in his/her region • He/she gives opinions and discusses with councillors and government eventual adjustments in the approved projects and works; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is a new actor that appears from 2001 onwards. He/she is elected in the plenary session in his/her region • At first on the basis of 1 delegate for each 50 persons attending/registered in the meeting. • Actually, in the regional plenary sessions from 1 to 50 attendees, 2 delegates; between 50 and 100, 3 delegates; for more than 100, 5 delegates. • The delegate is neighbourhood-based.
Neighbourhood-based Organisations – CBO's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilise the inhabitants at the very local level in the various regions; • Inform the inhabitants about the OP activities and calendar; • Provides support in priority setting. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not formally represented in the OP but plays active role in the mobilisation of residents and priority setting at the very local level; • Many CBO members and community leaderships associated with them are active in the plenary sessions and some are elected councillors in the OP Council.
Citizens (lay residents of the city)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registers and attends the meetings at the barrio level and region level; • Voice his/her concerns, ideas and views about the problems and priorities during the plenary sessions and intermediate meetings; • Votes for defining the final priorities; • Candidates himself/herself for the OP council; • Informs neighbours, friends and family members about the OP process, calendar, decisions, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active citizenship depends on the motivation and response of citizens to the participatory process; • If he/she believes that his/her problems and priorities are being addressed and resolved through the OP then the tendency is that the participation will grow;
Government Stakeholders		
Mayor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participates in the Deliberative Plenary sessions; • Chairs the ceremony in which chosen councillors give the oath and formally establishes the OP council. • Appoints the representatives of the government in the OP council. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mayor gives “de facto” recognition of the OP council and the OP process; • Mayor gives it political legitimacy by recognising the OP as a truly organ to decide on the municipal budget. • Presence of the mayor in the meetings have a significant impact on people’s belief in the

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can veto points of the investment plan and budget. • Formally presents the draft budget law to the municipal chamber. 	OP process.
Budget Committee of the Municipality (Comitê do Orçamento da Prefeitura)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points out what can be financed and what cannot be financed on the basis of LRF law. It gives the green light. It is a type of a financial control unit. • Keeps record of the expenditures and income of the municipality; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is not a regulated organ of the municipality; • The committee is formed by the secretaries of Finance, Government Affairs, Participation and Citizenship, and Strategic Planning.
Municipal Secretariat for Participation and Citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents the municipal government in the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council; • Voices the position of the government regarding technical, financial and political feasibility of priorities and demands made explicit in the OP Council. • Safeguards the quality of the process and decision making, monitoring closely the structure and operation of the OP as a whole. • Reports to Mayor and brings suggestions for change and/or improvement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The secretary is a key person in the process, engaging in direct contact and discussion with representatives of the population. • He is the operational arm of the government regarding the OP. • Methodological and operational aspects of the OP are resolved by him; • Strategic principles and directions regarding popular participation and citizen involvement in municipal affairs are all dealt with by this secretariat.
Municipal Secretariat for Government Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents the municipal government in the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council; • Keeps the cross-cut co-ordination of government policies; • Reports to Mayor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secretary of Government keeps the government in line with policy and orientation of mayor.
Municipal Secretariat for Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents the municipal government in the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council • Provides concrete figures regarding fiscal health of the government, forecasting, etc. • Provides back-up in discussion about investment capacity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is a strategic stakeholder who detains crucial information about the financial health of the municipality. •
Director of Citizenship Participation Department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents the municipal government in the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council • Chairs the meetings of the OP council and moderates the debates in close liaison with a representative of the population; • Monitors the daily routine operation of the OP as a whole; • Co-ordinates and supervises the supporting staff of the OP process; • Follows-up with different municipal agencies and organisations about demands and priorities spelled out by the representatives of the population. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the previous government term, the OP and the respective staff and capacities were grouped under a co-ordination status – formerly known as Nucleus for Popular Participation – NPP, and later it was raised to the status of municipal secretariat gaining more resources, capacities, political leverage and weight. • This department has a vital executive task and is essential for the horizontal and vertical articulation of participatory policies within the municipal apparatus; • It is the mentor of citizen participation and the leading stakeholder to articulate the participatory policies.
Secretariat of Strategic Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participates as observer member on behalf of the municipal government in the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council; • Provides inputs to the discussion regarding the long-term vision agreed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The involvement of this secretariat was introduced in 2001 in order to strengthen the linkages between OP (short-term planning) and CF (long-term development planning); • This is one of the measures undertaken to

	by the mayor and the municipal government as a whole.	establish a closer link between the processes of immediate solutions with the vision of the city and its strategic development choices.
Sector Municipal Secretariats e.g. Secretariat of Education, Secretariat of Public Health, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participates in the respective Thematic Plenary Sessions and Groups • Provides issue-specific feedback to discussions and deliberations in the thematic sessions; • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The involvement of these municipal secretariats provide a sector-specific view of municipal policies as well as the current limitations; • The quality of decisions taken at the level of the plenary sessions highly depends on the active participation of these secretariats in providing substantial inputs to the debates;
OP Councillor representing the Municipal Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participates and votes in the OP Council Meetings and deliberations; • Accesses all information related to the themes and issues under discussions in the sessions of the OP Council; • Provides feedback to the debates and requests from the representative of the population; • Safeguards municipal policy cohesion; • Articulates the budgeting process horizontally and vertically within the municipal apparatus; • Provides key information on technical and financial feasibility of projects, priorities, solutions, etc. • Keeps flow of information within the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abides to the Internal Regulations of the OP and attends all meetings, interacting with the representatives of the population; • The representative of the government in the OP is appointed by the mayor and has an important role in promoting active citizenship at the level of the OP. • In order to maximise the learning aspects of the OP it is important that he/she fully gets involved in the debates and plays an enabling role to empower the representatives of the population in their roles as OP councillors. This will increase the quality of discussions and of the decisions thereafter.
Agents for Citizen Participation (Agentes de Participação Cidadã – APC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for monitoring and supervision of the participatory processes at the lowest level e.g. neighbourhoods, regions and plenary sessions; • Responsible to make the link between the councillors, delegates and population; • Assures that the participatory process takes place in a fair and smooth manner; • Reports to the Department of Citizen Participation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The APC is a type of community mobilisation expert whom assures that there is a good link and good flow of information between the OP councillors, delegates and the population. • Although he/she reports to the government and is a municipal staff he/she acts on a bottom-up basis, facilitating the articulation of the population's demands and priorities and assuring that there is a continuous flow of information to the citizenry. • He/she needs to be active in the working groups where more clarification, feasibility studies and technical opinions are worked out in detail. This is an information that needs to reach the population.
Political Stakeholders		
Councillors of the Legislative Chamber (Vereadores)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He/she has the right to participate in the meetings of the OP council; • He/she can voice his/her ideas, concerns and opinions but has no voting rights; • Her/his main task is to legislate with sanction of the mayor and to present draft law and norms proposals, supervise the executive – mayor – and approve the municipal budget. • Usually he/she attends plenary sessions in his/her areas of representation in the city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are many “vereadores” who are against the OP In Santo André but because the PT has a large representation in the Legislative Chamber it manages to approve the budget and other proposals through a good political negotiation. • The challenge is to abdicate from one's legal and constitutional right and become a partner of the population, giving away a bit of his/her power and share the power with the population. • Last 4 years the municipal budget was approved in the form that it was presented.

Political Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has no formal representation in the OP process as a whole and certainly not in the OP Council. • Only the politically progressive parties get involved in the process of mobilisation particularly and advise their members and associates to support the process of citizen participation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a direct political benefit by getting involved in participatory processes, in terms of votes and political support in local elections. • The PT has a clear directive in favour of citizen participation and most of its militants and representatives in the legislative chamber do support the OP and all forms of popular participation. Other progressive and left wing parties also follow the OP closely.
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5.4 Communication and Information Management in the Participatory Budgeting in Santo André

The municipality is actively involved in mass communication and in the delivery of information about the OP, its processes and mechanisms and where and how the population can and should get involved. This is aimed at getting more people involved in the management and planning of the city. Besides that the municipality —through the Directorate for Citizen Participation and the Municipal Secretariat for Citizen Participation makes use of applied research and surveys among the participants of the OP (residents and councillors) in order to monitor the development of the participatory process. It makes use of these surveys to adjust the instruments and take measures to overcome bottlenecks identified by the participants.

The OP co-ordination within the government acknowledges the need to develop other communication instruments to sensitise and mobilise the population that is not involved in the OP process. It recognises that new tools and instruments need to be designed in accordance to the peculiarities of each segment of the population. It is reported that there are people who knows the OP but do not participate; there are those groups who know the OP but do not participate; and there are those groups who do not know and do not participate in the OP.

The communication strategy towards these different groups – particularly those who do not participate – is and issue of concern that requires an in-depth analysis. It is necessary to understand the motivations and reasons behind voluntary and non-voluntary decisions to participate and not participate in a process that is explicitly committed to citizen participation in allocation of resources and to combat social exclusion in their city.

Participation is ultimately an individual decision that is not only based on the individual benefits adhered to it but it is also based on the individual's understanding about the mutual and collective benefits that participation can generate. Solidarity, altruism and ethics are issues that are associated with the level of participation in the public realm. These are much related and influenced by the process of individual character formation and moral values that one evolves from childhood to adulthood. Participation is also influenced by the circumstances in the external environment of people's life that ultimately shape the way individuals and groups interact towards the public realm. Survival strategies of the poor may obstruct their understanding about the underlying causes of their own conditions that may or may not be changed via participatory processes like the OP. The future of any participatory approach depends on the response of the population and target groups. Consequently these questions referred to above need to be addressed via a policy research in order to redress the municipality's communication strategies that may dictate the future of the OP and of its project to build an active citizenship in Santo André.

Journal do OP (Jornal do Orçamento Participativo)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informs about the functioning of the OP; • Informs about the agenda, place, date and time of the various meetings of the OP; • Informs on the decisions taken by the OP Council; • Informs on the results from executing the municipal budget; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Publications issued by the Nucleus of Citizen Participation and distributed via the municipality. • Very informative means but does not sustain a regularity and research have proved that this is not the most effective way to inform and get people involved in the OP; • There is not much evidence about how much this journal is read and taken as reference by OP participants.
Brochure, booklets and leaflets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informs about the functioning of the OP in a pictorial manner; • Informs about many aspects of the OP, the role of councillors, the tasks of the OP Council, the processes and stages as well as dates that the OP must take into account. • Informs on the implementation results of the OP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As said above, these are not the most effective way to get the population informed. The members of labour union report that this is the way in which they usually get inform about the plenary sessions and the OP as a whole. • There was no way to verify the efficacy of these means and whether there is a regularity on the publications and the way it is actually spread.
Vehicles with Audio equipment and sound boxes installed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vehicles drive around the regions informing about the OP and calling people to attend the plenary sessions; • These vehicles are in operation during the periods preceding the plenary sessions and important events of the OP. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since this is a common political campaign method, inhabitants tend to pay less attention to this method of information provision.
Letters from councillors of Municipal Chamber – vereadores	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vereadores send news bulletin to the inhabitants of the regions where they have their voting basis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only those belonging to the governing party are likely to use this means and spread the news about the OP.
Schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children are also vehicles of the OP since schools are well informed about the process; some of the meetings take place in the premises of local school buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latest research findings show that this method is decreasing in use.
Residents' and Neighbourhood-based Organisations, and Labour Unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a strong vehicle of communication since they have their own means to inform their members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are evidences that this is the most effective informative means used by those who attend the meetings of the thematic groups; • Since they are closer to their constituents and have a much closer relation one could expect that this means would be stronger than they actually are.
Outdoors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large outdoors – static messages – seem to do little to mobilise people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are records that this means is decreasing in importance, from 10% in 1998 to 1% in 1999 (WM Pesquisas et al, 1999).
Research and Survey Reports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apart from academic research hosted by the municipality, it contracts out surveys and applied research on the process and participants. Very effective way to unveil discrepancies and participants' expectations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A wealth of information is provided by those studies. The municipality is given a good basis to assess the results of its participatory policies and how it is evolving. There are reports from 1997, 1998 and 1999.

6.

Citizen Participation in the OP Santo André

6.1 Previous Accounts on Citizen Participation in the OP

A survey conducted by WM Pesquisas and Gestão Venturi Consultorias covering interviews with 1,217 persons who participated in the second round of plenary sessions of the 1999-OP provides an interesting account of their profile with some references to data collected in 1998 (WM Pesquisas et al, 1999; 1999a). The findings of this survey serves as a truly illustration of the profile of the OP participants who were interviewed by the SINPA Research Team during the months of July and September 2001. For the purpose of this report the following findings were considered relevant:

1. Nearly three thirds of the participants attending the plenary sessions do have primary education while the participants in the thematic groups tend to have higher educational level confirming no change in the situation found in 1997 and 98.
2. There is a considerable increase of participation from people belonging to economically active groups (nearly three thirds) when compared to 1997 (57%) and 1998 (64%). It is worth noting that the thematic group meetings continue to attract the largest proportion – above the average - of economically active population (81%). One may conclude that thematic issues and sector-related problems attract a different type of participant who may be better prepared to discuss issues relevant to the city as a whole.
3. The majority of the participants in the plenary sessions (70%) do not belong to any association, union, syndicate or social movements. This shows an increase in comparison to 1998 (63%) confirming a tendency of the OP in attracting people who do not have tradition or any personal history of previous involvement with collective movements and social processes. The Thematic Plenary sessions on the other hand reports a different ration since 43% of the participants are associated to unions, syndicates or social movements. This is an important data justifying the establishment of thematic plenary sessions in the OP that were aiming at attracting those groups not geographically bound and not in high need of basic infrastructure and services but in need of policy support to their economic activity.
4. Among the OP councillors the situation differs radically. 82% of the representatives of the population and 87% for the representatives of the government are associated to one or two civil society organisation. The political militancy is prominent among the OP councillors. 42% of the representatives of the population and 78% of the representatives of the government are associated with a political party. Among the representatives of the population 36% are members of labour unions and professional associations and 24% of residents' associations.
5. Half of the respondents affirm that it is the first time to participate and attend meetings of the OP and one third participated in 97 and 98. For the thematic group meetings, 61% responds to be the first time to participate in the OP. These figures are good indications that there is indeed renewal in the participants getting involved in the OP meaning that more people are learning about the process of municipal budgeting. This confirms tendency mentioned under point 2.
6. When responding about how one gets to know about the OP the majority (42%) is informed through friends/relatives. In 1998 this was 31%. The findings show that pamphlets, folders, letters, schools, sound cars are much less efficient giving indications to the municipality that it needs to review its communication strategy. Personal accounts seem to be more effective in attracting people to the OP.
7. When asked about the motivations to participate in the OP 20% of the respondents states that it is to discuss and support improvements in the neighbourhood/city. 17% states that it is for getting improvement in infrastructure (pavement, basic sanitation,

water and sewerage) and to obtain information about favelas, and to get to know more about housing. Issues related to health, education, public safety, public money are less mentioned. This seems to indicate that indeed the short-term character of the OP and its problem resolution approach at the neighbourhood level are pull factors to get people involved in municipal budgeting.

8. When assessing the quality of decision-making 59% of the respondents describe having the sufficient information at hand to allow him/herself to vote properly. One quarter says that at times there was missing information about the most important issues and decisions. So, not everyone feels well informed when taking decisions and voting for priorities and deliberations in the structure of the OP.

6.2 Recent Findings on Civil Society Participation

The OP continues to attract the poorest sectors of society with a relative limited participation of middle-class groups and the private sector. The same applies to some groups like the youth. In order to reverse this situation the OP co-ordination incorporated several thematic groups that may interest and affect these groups more directly such as economic development and culture. This has resulted in a gradual but timid change in the involvement of these groups. The interviews carried out by the SINPA research confirm a growing interest of private sector and middle class groups to get involved in the OP particularly when city-wide issues started to be awarded in the final budget.

The participants of the OP perceive it as a clear channel to voice their needs and fundamentally to influence the allocation of the municipal budget towards their interest. It is noticeable that there is a high degree of civic involvement among the participants interviewed by the SINPA research team with many involved in more than one association and civil society organisations. The inclusion of their demands and concerns in the final budget and annual plan of investment is seen as a reward for their involvement and active participation in all participatory channels opened up by the municipal government. But there are cases in which councillors do not manage to have their demands and priorities included in the budget raising a lot of dissatisfaction and unrest as depicted in this account of a councillor:

“... In 1990 there was a popular mobilisation and the land occupation got started. There were a series of illegal land transactions and the owner of the land said it would only sell the land to a residents association. We founded the association in 1991 in contrast to another association from an adjacent area called Cassaquera. Negotiation started but it was difficult to pay the debts and the owners started threatening those who defaulted. Some got killed. I was threatened several times until the gang was caught and sent to prison. In 1996 we made a petition for land regularisation and in the next year the Municipal Chamber approved a law declaring the area an AEIS II (special area for social interest) which theoretically paved the way for regularisation. 300 families have paid for their plot and 156 have no debt but the legal owners did not receive the money since the previous leadership of the association did wrongdoing with the money. It is a big problem. There are 420 families and the option will be to use the “city statute” law to get this settlement recognised and regularised. The settlement is scarcely occupied with difficult access and woodlands to be preserved. I did not get much from the OP where I have been involved since 1997. This is the region P and we have 8 delegates. I was elected in an assembly with 300 people the largest plenary session. In 1998 the OP financed the census/registration of the families and land tenure regularisation. The municipality cannot invest in land that is not regularised. But Federal law says that the municipality can provide infrastructure where people live. Every year our area is an OP priority in the region. The mayor is only involved with the beautification of the city and not paying attention to regularisation and to the health sector. Four (4) priorities come out of the region. Two (2) are negotiated in the plenary session and one (1) has to be included in the budget. Water and electricity was negotiated but the housing project remains out of the discussion. I abide to the decision making process. I take proposals to the municipality. I do not want anything for me. I fight for

the others in condition of equality...” (MPR, president of residents association of Vista Alegre squatter settlement, born in 1942)”

In the year 2000 the city experienced a considerable decrease in the number of participants in the OP. This could be explained by the fact that within the population there was a lot of doubts whether the OP would continue and whether the municipality would honour the agreed investments in case Mr. Celso Daniel would not be re-elected. The local municipal elections brought forward a lot of uncertainties and unveiled heavy political opposition to OP from conservative groups who clearly expressed their determination to stop with the OP if elected because of actually identifying it with Mr. Celso Daniel and the PT.

Stakeholders Participation and Decision Making on what should be included in the Budget

The levels of participation have not been the same since the beginning of the OP reflecting the dynamism that earmarks civic participation in public policy making. During 2000 and 2001 there was more community engagement in the organisation side of the OP. This could be explained by the difficulty faced by the government to articulate its proposals in a period of electoral and political campaign when no promises could be assured. An agreement had to be coined with the OP councillors representing the population about the demands/priorities set at the plenary sessions and the government proposals that would be included into the budget. In 2001 the government elaborated more its proposals before reaching the level of the community debate consequently decreasing the community's role and that of their councillors in comparison to the previous year. However, it should be noted that for the first time – while discussing the budget of 2002 – the OP councillors representing the population came up with a well-prepared budget proposal at a quite consolidated format. This reinforces the belief that the learning impact of the OP has been quite high within the current group of councillors.

Within the routine works of the OP Council the government prepares a feasibility study of all community and government demands. A draft budget proposal attempts to grant at least one demand/priority elected by each regional and thematic plenary. This is negotiated until a consensus is reached. In case this is not possible the specific priority in question should be voted separately. It is reported that this situation has never happened yet. In the OP Council session discussing the final items of 2002 budget this was about to happen as a result of a relative hardheaded attitude of one councillor representing Region P regarding the regularisation of Vista Alegre settlement. He was not prepared to let it go from the budget arguing that his position as representative of the area would fall in discredit if once more his region and settlement would not be awarded by public investment while surrounding areas were being awarded once more. He failed to understand the legal barriers impeding his demand to be awarded. The government was firm in not to approve it because of the illegality of the action vis-à-vis the unresolved land dispute and the incredible cost involved but was prepared to make improvements to ease the living conditions of the affected population until the legal issues could be surpassed. There was a discussion and the representatives of the population sat in separate to negotiate an outlet. They agreed that the solution of the legal issue would be placed on priority and the other representative of neighbouring zones were prepared to give away their priority in favour of his settlement to be awarded in the next budget (2003). The experience of the OP in Santo André shows maturity in the process of negotiation around the budget that helps building a sort of social pact around the allocation of public investments in the city.

Stakeholders Ability to Participate and the Learning Process

The government leadership in the OP reports that capacity building is fundamental for the success of the OP and it remains as a continuous challenge for the technical staff. The level of education and accumulated experience with advocacy works with civil society organisations, unions and political activities by the technical staff – who is directly involved

in the OP – strengthens the participatory approaches pursued by the municipality. It is a valuable asset for the municipal government's intention to build a different kind of citizenship in Santo André. Nevertheless the participation geared to empowerment requires a total different attitude, skills and enabling approaches which is not present in all municipal staff involved with the OP. From the part of the population the lack of knowledge and experience with public policy making and about what a municipal budget is all about and how it is organised is notorious.

In order to address this weakness the municipality has systematically organised training courses and seminars targeting the technical staff and OP councillors representing the population. At the beginning of the works of the OP Council several training activities are organised in order to improve their knowledge and understanding about the OP Council, its roles and responsibilities, etc. There are also short training activities (12 hours) to clarify how public administration is structured and how the municipality operates, what is a municipal budget and how it is organised. These training events have been assessed extremely positive by the representatives of the population in the OP Council who report a high learning impact from training and from the actual engagement in the OP Council. The SINPA research confirms that. In 2001, new learning instruments were introduced such as role playing exercises, psychodrama and Augusto Boal's theatre of the oppressed techniques which assembles very much Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed. These new tools proved to be efficient to have OP councillors understanding their own roles and that of other actors like the mayor, OP technical staff, community leaders, etc. helping to strengthen team work, conflict resolution and negotiation. It is reported that the communication between government and community councillors has improved substantially as a result of these events.

These activities have also helped the government in identifying some problems that are not easily voiced through traditional means. For instance, the councillors representing civil society expressed their feelings about the incredible pressure exercised on them by their constituents to get their priorities and demands rewarded by the OP budget. This is not always possible and "going back home with empty hands" creates conflicts within their community and zones resulting in a significant loss of interest and discredit both in the councillor and in the OP as a whole.

The capacity building of OP councillors is mainly co-ordinated by the government helping to create a relative division between the role of the government and civil society in the co-ordination of the OP. The executive secretariat of the OP has acknowledged that this situation is not sustainable since it challenges the principle of equal responsibilities and rights in public policy and public resources allocation that is in itself the basis of the OP. The building and strengthening of an organised civil society and responsible citizens capable to act as multiplying agents in support to participatory governance – even under a different political environment – requires a different type of capacity building process and a much more comprehensive one. This may explain the choices for a participatory strategy that focuses primarily on consolidating the process and methodologies rather than on institutionalisation of political rights.

It is worth noting that there exist other channels of capacity building and transfer of experiences taking place in parallel to the OP-related programmes. Many participants and actors have been trained in participatory processes through different programmes sponsored and organised by *Central Única do Trabalhadores – CUT* (Congregation of Labour Unions), University of ABC, Escola do Governo and the Municipality. These programmes focus on institution building and support to community co-operatives, new community entrepreneurs and businesses, strategic planning. The internal learning process should not be underestimated either. OP councillors representing the population

who have already participated for a long time in the OP have acquired a wealth of experience and have become active multipliers of the principles, values and techniques underling the OP (and the CF). As one former councillor reports “today I participate in the OP to transfer my experience to others and therefore helping them to meet their needs”.

Measuring the Impact and Benefits from Participation

Participants have different narration about their involvement in government-citizenship activities. A lot has to do with their personal history. It is quite evident that the OP opened an avenue of participation and communication with groups of population that had been traditionally excluded from public policy. Reports from participants unveil their early involvement – back to the 1970’s and 80’s – with community mobilisation and advocacy works to press the government to upgrade the *favela* where they lived. During those days there was little tolerance and no negotiation with the squatter community and the common response was police intimidation. The administration of Celso Daniel opened up the first contacts when government staff organised the first meetings with these communities and explained the channels of participation and the possibilities of the OP. Those living in or representing squatter settlements measure their participation positively against the government recognition and the achievement of substantial improvements in living and environmental conditions where they live. They measure the benefits of their participation in quantitative terms with the families that are now supplied by water, the number of cars that circulate through their areas, the number of kids playing in the playgrounds, and with the happy smile in the face of the residents.

“... In 1977 I started getting involved with the community movements within the favelas where I lived. I have been living for 8 years in Sacadura, and lived 7 years in Tamarutaca and 7 years in Gonçalves Arco. In 1998 I started getting involved with the OP and incorporated another struggle in my list. My motivation to work with the OP is to achieve decent housing and live in dignity. I ‘dressed on the shirt of the OP’ and the more I work the more I am happy. I do not have Saturday, Sunday or free day. It is all 3 years of hard work with the OP. My sons complain that they grew up and did not see their mother. I have time to leave the house but I have no time to come back. With all these personal difficulties it is worth because through the struggle you see that it has a return and benefit. You see that it is not in vain. You see the happiness of the population, it is so delightful. When I see what Sacadura was before and what has become today I become emotional. It was a struggle. Now we see the fruits of the seeds we planted. And we collected the fruits. And this was the OP. The mayor opened the doors. He prioritised the population because he does not define everything on his own. It is together with the population... (M.N.L., housewife, born in 1956)”

The OP has also brought significant benefits in improving the communication channels between the organised civil society, government and other actors such as the private sector. The OP was central in literally opening the local government’s doors to the voices the group’s needs allowing close interaction and discussions during the plenary sessions between the head of the Secretariat of Economic Development and small scale entrepreneurs. This resulted in an articulation between a textile industry and a co-operative that ended up with 4 heavy industrial machinery donated to the co-operative. In this case there was a direct and measurable benefit.

But there are a series of benefits that are difficult to quantify as the aforementioned ones such as increasing in knowledge, becoming a better citizen, understanding the limits of each stakeholder in the city, improving the relationship and helping building consensus. In the participants’ words:

“Before the OP I was very critical in relation to the local government. Today I know the realities of the Mayor, secretaries, government staff and elected municipal councillors. The Mayor is not the owner of the city. Many people think that he can take land anywhere and build houses as he wishes...(A.N.O.)”

“...Until four years ago I lived in a shack at the margin of the creek. We were all in a risk and flood prone area. We formed a resident committee and 6 months ago we have turned it into a residents’ association. In 97-98 we went to the OP to attain a contention of the margin of the creek to avoid landslide. In 2000 we prioritised the asphalt and the vocational school and in 2001 we prioritised the urbanisation of the central square. If you knew this neighbourhood 3 years ago and today you would see the incredible change. When it rained no one could enter here. Today the square is full of mothers bringing their children to play and before it was a dirt pavement, dark and I was really afraid to come here. Now it is full of people. It is worth all that effort and I am gratified even when I hear those who are still not satisfied. Today the school has provided education for more than 500 persons who followed their vocational training. The youth is out of the street and instead of doing nothing they now have an option. There are deceptions as well. I am poor still but it was worth getting involved in the OP ... (M.Z., mother and community leader, OP councillor, member of the management board of the vocational school, secretary of the residents’ association of Jardim Cristiane, born in 1966)”

Participation leading to a better local area management

The experience with the OP is leading to better management of public investment and services. Community councillors act as on-site watch dogs inspecting the quality and monitoring the quantity of the works being implemented in their area of concern giving suggestions and reporting back on the processes to the local government. He/she suggests improvement in the design and implementation of agreed actions and plans keeping a close liaison with technical staff. He has the mandate to act as such. Quality review questionnaires have been distributed to evaluate the government projects resulting into two direct impacts in the quality of urban management. At first it brought planners and citizens closer to each other in searching for common solutions. Consequently planners had to learn how to be more flexible and to incorporate people’s knowledge and experience into projects and municipal plans. Planners are also learning how to be more accurate when preparing plans given the inevitable pressure exercised by the community to achieve the project’s objectives. This is a process that is not yet consolidated but has the potential to increase the effectiveness of public management while enlarging community ownership and co-management of public investment and services. The involvement of the population in the design, implementation and monitoring of public policies results in the incorporation of their own resources and improvement in how the municipal budget is allocated and spent while helping to decrease maintenance costs. The municipal staff engaged in the OP co-ordination reports that unfortunately there is no appropriate indicator to measure the degree of efficiency and effectiveness of the OP yet.

Time and Resources Allocated to Participation

Each regional and thematic plenary session consumes in average 3 hours. Normally it takes place at every 2 weeks from the beginning of the OP process onwards. The population is firstly registered manually which takes about 30 minutes (some cities make use of IT facilities to fasten the process). In order to facilitate the participation of mothers there is a provision of space for children and professional surveillance so children can be taken care during the sessions. There are multimedia equipment used to show the events in real time so that discussion and voting can be fasten. For instance, the demands and priorities defined by the community representatives attending the session appear in a large screen while each speaker is presenting and arguing in favour of that specific priority. Around 20 to 30 people voice the community demands taking about 1 hour. This however varies from region to region depending on the results from the preliminary community meetings that take place previously during the intermediary period which is intended to facilitate discussion and prepare the region for the deliberative plenary sessions. Regions that have better organised communities are more efficient in using time and more effective in getting their demands included in the OP. It is easy to conclude that the level of

organisation has a direct impact on the efficiency and effectiveness the participatory process.

Before each plenary session, the co-ordination team and volunteers organise a meeting to discuss the strategies and plan the actions that will take place during the plenary session. The organisation of the OP has acknowledged, however, that the plenary session is a time-consuming event and there is a need to take measures to manage the time spent by each stakeholder in preparing, conducting and finalising a plenary session. It is reported that in Recife, for instance, the OP has a co-ordination team for each function: policy, systematisation and implementation. This use of time as a resource in the participatory approach implicit in the OP is an important variable to be measured in order to assess and bring down to verifiable indicators of cost-benefit from participation.

“...The cost of participation has been high. The demand of the work has a high price. Family put aside and a serious fight with my wife. There are no real personal benefits, it is small and does not pay for what I do. In reality I am donating myself and my time, weekends and evenings, and the personal cost-benefit is very high. Though personal enrichment and the accumulated experience has no price. I am learning about the public budgeting, strategic planning, which in the future may benefit. I am getting to know other cities practising or willing to start similar participatory approaches. I have visited more than 15 cities, discussed with mayors, vereadores, etc. It is a very rich experience and a valuable learning process. The benefit is that it legitimises the proposals of government made on the basis of citizen participation. There is a gain convincing people that this process is of popular participation with the exercise of citizenship. I never had known such a process in which one exercises the citizenship. I am impressed with this type of public management”.... (JRS, government staff, Agent of Citizenship, born in 1952)

One participant of the OP reports that she undertakes different activities related to the OP during a week spending time during 1 to 3 days a week paying from her own pocket the cost of transport to participate in the sessions of the OP Council. The SINPA research unveils that many are facing difficulties to attend all meetings because of the costs involved with two cases in which one councillor representing the population actually pays for the transport of other OP councillors from his own resources. A female participant reports difficulties in continuing with her “civic commitments” with the OP. She argues that, as a woman, she has two other roles – productive and reproductive ones – on top of the unpaid community activity and citizen participation commitment. This conflicting situation was crucial for her to decide not to participate as an OP councillor during the current OP process.

It is noticeable that there is a high civic spirit among the majority of the participants of the OP. This is necessary to keep them focused and engaged in the process of public-community partnership in managing the municipal recourses. However, there is reason to believe that the level of voluntarism in allocating time, resources and energy – to a level that affects adversely the personal life of participants – will have to be reviewed carefully. This needs to be balanced with measures that can assure a healthy rotation and natural renewal of councillors, delegates and active participants in the OP process. Thus increasing its learning multiplication within the citizenry. As much as the OP provides a concrete response to the problems brought forward by the representatives of the population the more stimulus it will bring back to the population to continue and upscale its involvement in public policy making and implementation.

“...The direct benefit of getting involved with the OP is the value and enrichment of the community and to prove to the people that popular participation does not die. It generates knowledge about the public sector and a personal knowledge and better understanding how a municipal government works. The OP is bringing a wide range of knowledge, from where the money comes from, how it is given a certain value and cost to things. Today we know about the transfers from the Federal Government,

State and even European Union. The community gets enriched with the public works essential for the community life. There is a benefit and return from participation. Something concrete in the community/barrio. But there is a loss. A financial loss. How much do I gain? I gain satisfaction in getting things for the community but I have personal losses. I spend my fuel, time and I am obliged to work 24 hours/day to compensate this time and assure that my income continues coming in. It is a normal loss that we need to incur because everyone should give time to participation. We have discussed among the representatives of the population to make a fund to pay for transport. There is one councillor that I am sponsoring her transportation from my own pocket so that she can continue attending and participating in the meetings. I heard that in Porto Alegre there is basic basket and transportation provided to those heavily involved in the participation processes of the OP... (I.M.B, small scale entrepreneur, owner of small graphic workshop, born in 1969).

The Decision-making Process

The government staff working with the OP acknowledges that certain groups are not getting involved in the OP like the freelance professionals, private entrepreneurs, neighbourhood associations from the formal city, community sport organisations (futebol de várzea), and women. Regarding the latter it should be noted that there is a great number of female citizens involved in the OP but the decision making is mostly in the hands of the male group. In 1998/99, 33% of the councillors representing the population and 37% of the councillors representing the government in the OP Council were women. Among the participants in the plenary and thematic sessions this is increased to 42% (WM Pesquisas et al, 1999; 1999a). There are no reports explaining why these groups are not getting involved systematically in the OP and other channels of participation.

A member of the OP councils reports that councillors representing the population face difficulties to explain the OP and its advantages to a population that has lost completely the confidence in the politics and the politicians resulting their alienation from the political status quo. It is noticeable that their lack or limited access to a broader information combined with their short sighted strategies – individually oriented and through political links – to fight for their own interests make them very insensitive to any form of collective organisation and citizen participation as the OP advocates. Some may believe that they elected the government and their political representatives to safeguard their interests and address their needs in public policy making. A similar difficulty could be reported for getting the involvement of the poor population. A population who has been historically excluded from public policy and public investment – except in periods prior to election – and whose levels of information and education may affect their understanding and willingness to participate in a shared decision making process. Given the growing numbers of participants in the OP plenary sessions one has to believe that this difficulty is being surpassed.

Similarly some councillors representing the population report the mismatch between technical knowledge of government staff and the popular knowledge of the representatives of the population has hindered the negotiation process. The capacity building programmes have helped increasing their knowledge and understanding and consequently increased their confidence to go into negotiation with technical staff. However the language used and the explanations given by the technical staff are so intricate and less suitable to a lay resident that it makes difficult their understanding to take options and proper decision making. This has been reported several times and it is apparently a paradox given the fact that the government staff is fully experienced and acquainted with participatory process and close interaction with popular sectors of the population.

A common obstacle identified by councillors representing the population in the decision making process is the conflict of interests during the sessions of the OP Council. Deciding what demands and how they will be included in the budget is an intense negotiation process and the government councillors are sharing one view and usually voting in block/unity while among the councillors of the population there is a lot of internal divergence. The

government has also his projects and strategic vision about the city that is shared equally by its representatives in the OP Council. On the part of the population, each councillor wants to include his/her demands and priorities into the final budget. His view is immediate and short-term. The problem exists and should be resolved. This makes the decision making process weighting slightly towards the government but it should be noted that the government tries to adjust and modify the demands in such a way as to reach a consensus. This moment of negotiation places a lot of burden on the representatives of the population whom often must return back to their constituencies to find an acceptable solution and mediate locally on behalf of the government or to get his community mobilised in order to pressure the OP Council.

The councillors representing the population also report that the quality and content of their decision in the Council are affected by the relative limited access to crucial information on resource mobilisation and project implementation which is shared and stored naturally within the members of the government. This should be part of the learning and capacity building processes that will certainly strengthen the position of the representatives of the population to a level closer to the technical staff when the decisions will be made.

Strengthening Civil Society Organisations

There are sufficient reasons to believe that the OP is helping strengthening civil society organisations by clearly opening a channel of participation through which organised groups and individual citizens articulate their needs and priorities. The reported learning impacts on participants and the conducive environment for public-community-private partnership in public policy making and the actual realisation of agreed actions and projects thereafter have ultimately empowered social urban movements, residents' associations and civil society as whole. The continuity of this government policy – guaranteed by re-election of Mayor Daniel and his team – consolidates a practice of participatory governance that empowers citizens in their partner's role with the municipal government. However, the SINPA research confirms that the OP is far from being consolidated and a change in government policy – by the election of a different type of government – will certainly threaten the continuation of the OP.

“...The population sees that this government is doing more for them than any other previous government. The people sees that by discussing and loosing their demand and priorities in favour of others in the plenary sessions, but the pedagogic process is of deep nature. The number of new leaderships emerging through this process is absurdly high and with the information that they accomplished with it, they went beyond the simple attainment of their demands/priorities. It has become a conscious population and that is an important realisation for the government....” (CM, government staff, born in 1954)

New leaderships are emerging and people who did not have a previous history with neighbourhood-based movement are entering into the OP and CF. They are also getting engaged in grassroots organisations at the street and neighbourhood level that gives sufficient indications that the participatory approaches of the municipality paved the way for a new citizenship in Santo André. This is something that should be monitored closely.

“...I see the OP with good eyes. The government puts aside a relative small part of its resources, small in view of the needs. The participants of the OP push the government to the needs of the mass. It is a realisation of the mass and it is an extremely positive measure. The meetings that I participated I had some restrictions because it came out with some political connotations which is normal. I fear for a political benefit. One part of society, the most needed ones started to assume a role and the women started to be more questioning and determined. Other layers – those who emerged from the category of poor – should participate more. The middle class is not really involved. Maybe because it does not have similar demand and level of necessity. They overcame that. It is not only the ‘emergencies’ that should be

discussed. We need a broader view. These people have not realised that and we should involve them ... (W.A., private sector leadership, born in 1937)

Decisions to Keep the Process Moving

The citizen participation policies pursued by the municipality – with its various programmes – have faced a critical dilemma between a deeply rooted ‘*clientilistic*’ tradition and the empowerment approaches. In the beginning it was difficult to get the concept of co-management of municipal affairs into the minds and attitude of people. Basically the question was “if I elected the mayor, I work and pay taxes, why should I spend my time discussing with the government what they should know?” This has hindered the development of the participatory approach within groups of the population.

Another bottleneck was the lack of trust on the government and deeply rooted discredit towards the political processes that resulted into several sectors of the population keeping caution towards the intentions and new discourses of the municipal government. This is illustrated by the difficulties faced by the OP councillors to convince members of the Favela da Sacadura to participate in the plenary sessions. They feared that as usual this would not bring any benefit. Some inhabitants were fed up with early promises that were never realised and did not want to register for the upgrading programme. They ended up without housing finance scheme provided by the Municipality and the National Savings Bank (Caixa Econômica Federal-CEF) in support to the relocation of 200 families to newly constructed blocks in an adjacent site. People neither believed in the idea of upgrading the settlement nor in the relocation and that the housing block under construction was going to be assigned to the relocated families. Surprisingly the local government had never done anything similar before and there was no reason to believe that this time it would be different. The councillor representing the region was under heavy criticism for believing in the OP and was even accused to have the OP helping her to ‘leave behind’ her shantytown in order to live in a decent neighbourhood. As participation increased and the OP further awarded improvements including the area’s integrated upgrading programme with strong participation and involvement of the inhabitants the resistance and suspicion started to disappear gradually.

“...When the population speaks through the microphone they want to be satisfied in its demand and does not want to know whether there is or there is no money. But the population will only have its demand satisfied later on. But then the people will fall into inertia and deception ... Ah! The government will not do it... People get averse and accommodated and will not come anymore to participate. This is happening in some situations. The reason is that only now the politicisation of the population starts to take place... (W.B., private sector, born in 1937)

The active citizenship requires a level of political participation that must be coupled with a higher degree of involvement in the daily affairs at the neighbourhood and even at the street levels. This is a long-term process because it implies attitude change and qualitative changes in the perception and awareness of the inhabitants regarding local governance, rights and obligations of the State and the citizenry. With the amount of concerns of all nature and scope it is obvious that the municipality cannot pay much attention to this very peculiar problem of attitude change which may have serious implications in the future. The goal of creating active citizenship may be jeopardised if actions are not taken to tackle this issue in a comprehensive manner.

Another reported bottleneck was the resistance from members of the Legislative Chamber to change the way the municipal budget is traditionally formulated – and legally regulated – in Brazil. Giving away power and share responsibilities with popular representatives (OP Council) without a political mandate was seen by some ‘*vereadores*’ as an unacceptable concession. In the beginning many ‘*vereadores*’ tried to insert their projects into the budget that was previously approved by the OP Council and formally submitted to the Legislative

Chamber for approval. Because the proposed budget was presented as a complete budget it became difficult for the 'vereadores' to exercise political brokerage in favour of the areas of their constituents. It is worth note that during the last year the budget was approved intact but not without an intensive political negotiation between the block of support of the mayor and the opposition members.

"...The legislative chamber is a heterogeneous power with members holding different thoughts and defending different political ideas with different political parties. The PT holds much more cohesion. One parcel of the chamber's members believes that we must be partners and become nurturing agents within the population, encouraging them to organise themselves, supporting the OP. This means to give up a parcel of our power. It is to share power, give away our legal prerogative. There are some vereadores who are against that. But in the last four years the budget proposal was approved as it was delivered to the Legislative Chamber. The government has a large block of support that manages to guarantee the approval of the government proposals through political negotiation. It was not the OP Council that had the power of persuading. The population is really supporting the OP but it is not consolidated. There is opposition to it... (C.A.A.S., elected councillor-vereador from PT, actual president of the Municipal Chamber, third term as 'vereador', born in 1963)

To face these difficulties the OP co-ordination advises the OP councillors to attend the sessions of the Legislative Chamber and participate in the discussions. Some reports that the pressure from the OP councillors was important to convince the members of the Legislative Chamber that the budget proposal presented by the OP Council was fully supported by the population of Santo Andre. Changing it would represent an act against the interests of the population. As result many 'vereadores' withdrew their demands while others agreed to bring their inputs in the following year budget. The government and particularly the OP co-ordination has acknowledged the negative implications of this potential tension with the Municipal Chamber and has systematically invited the Chamber's members to attend and participate in all OP plenary sessions and meetings. It is reported that this relationship has improved.

Government Cohesion

The OP co-ordination within the government has identified that internally the year 2000 was a critical one for the OP. The political campaign and the (re)election, the turnover of staff⁸ and the inability of the government to prepare and incorporate its own projects in the OP as well as to present a consolidated financial analysis had an adverse impact on the participatory process. The decrease in participation may be associated with these internal problems of the government.

The government was also faced with a severe decrease in revenues. This fuelled stress into the usual tension that exists within the government when decisions need to be made about allocation of financial resources. Every sector secretariat tries to safeguard its specific programmes and projects in an attempt of pulling resources to his/her side. The tension was intense regarding the decisions about how to use the limited resources, how to satisfy the demands and priorities of the population and how to implement the government plan with global importance for the municipality as a whole all at the same time. The relocation of resources from other areas could help the government to satisfy parts of the population's priority set through the OP but would leave other equally important government plans without the needed resources. Despite of its internal tensions the government acted with maturity by frankly recognising the financial constraints in front of the population opening a negotiation about what could and what could not be realised. This was a

⁸ *It is reported that the municipality "lost" some experienced staff who were invited to join the newly elected PT governments in the surrounding municipalities. Santo André had become a fertile ground to build experience in municipal administration with mark of competence and innovation.*

fundamental response that helped not to raise false expectations within the population while strengthening the trust between the two camps.

The cohesion of the government is continuously tested through the OP. Not in voting but in the way its councillors interact and react to situations brought forward by the representatives of the population. There is a lack of prioritisation methodologies to argue or counter argue about why one priority is included or not included in the OP budget. Some critical situations took place during the first year of the OP resulting in two councillors representing the population abandoning the OP completely because their demands were not included in the budget. Not all government staff has been able to feed the negotiation process with well articulated and well understood technical information showing realistically the reasons for excluding a particular demand for example neighbourhood upgrading works depends on the land tenure status. Land disputes or illegal land occupation automatically excludes any action from the government on the area in question.

Another problem relates to the way information is produced and shared within the government and also among all stakeholders. In a number of occasions the information on projects and priorities did not reach the citizens provoking an unnecessary mistrust and misunderstandings that disturbs the works in the OP Council. The government is aware of the problem and has taken measures to improve the information flow and the information management system of the OP. The paradox is that the administrative reform has improved dramatically the information flow within the municipality and from the government towards the citizenry but it has not been sufficient to influence the channels of participation like the OP. There is a need to establish more flexible structures to respond to the dynamism and demands of the participatory process.

Public resources equally distributed in the city

There was no means to measure whether public resources are more equally distributed in the city as result of the OP. What is reported is that not all regions have equally benefited from public investments originated from the OP. It is mostly those zones and neighbourhoods that have immediate priorities and critical problems to be resolved. The municipal government acknowledges the fact that there is an intrinsic egalitarian criterion in the OP through which the most needed regions and population do receive a larger part of the municipal budget bridging the gap and overcome some dimensions of social exclusion.

Building a City-wide Understanding

Field excursions and field visits called the “Priority of Caravans” (Caravanas das Prioridades) were introduced in 2001 in order to broaden the view of the OP Council about the peculiar realities and needs of the different regions of the city. It is a powerful tool that helps all regional and thematic councillors – from government and the population – to see with his/her own eyes on the spot the different problems and priorities set in different areas of the city. This has been an important instrument for the councillors to realise that some areas are better off but others are in a much critical situation than his own zone.

Given the fact that the resources available are not sufficient to cover all priorities set at the region and thematic groups the “caravan” becomes also instrumental for triggering a negotiation process within the OP councillors about which areas are more critical and should be prioritise above others.

“... This year I did not manage to approve anything to my area but I am equally happy because others managed to get their priorities satisfied. We had a caravan of 4 buses in two Saturdays and also some mini-caravans. We ended up seeing that in comparison to what somebody else’s situation we live in heaven. It is shocking to see the problems and conditions of some people and touches one hearts which is very human. We made a voting and agreed then that that particular zone should be awarded by the budget. This is a negotiation. During the first year there were people not willing to give up not even 1

Real in the negotiation. Then we go for a consensus with one another. I am very satisfied with what I have gained with the OP. The time invested was worthwhile. Whoever is in the OP must have free time and strong will. My daughters criticise me but I feel fine about it. My sisters complain because I cannot travel to visit the family. I am hindered to earn my money because at times there are meetings in the mornings and afternoons. The municipality could help giving us a transport vouchers..." (M.J.C.S., small scale informal entrepreneur, single mother, born in 1956)

One important decision of the government was to initiate the integration between the Participatory Budgeting with the city-wide strategic planning process called Cidade Futuro-CF which was launched in 1998. At first the thematic groups of the CF elected two delegates to attend the meetings of the OP Council but as observers, with rights to voice ideas, concerns and suggestions but without voting rights. This will change in 2002 when the CF will organise the city conference and will elect its delegates who will have voice and voting rights and will become full OP councillors. In fact, these two participatory channels have their own dynamic and specific nature of discussions. The articulation between the two channels is a natural development and it is basically meant to allow the goals and targets of the CF to be materialised through investment proposals to be awarded in the municipal budget. This means that there will be some tensions since sectors of the CF are not accustomed to dispute financial resources with popular sectors within the OP. The CF will be further analyse in the next chapter.



Marcia Zanquin, September 2001. Photo by C. Acioly.

7.

The Cidade Futuro Project: a long-term strategic planning tool

The Cidade Futuro Project (CF Project) is the result of a growing awareness within a large spectrum of public, private and community stakeholders about the economic decline of the Greater ABC Region and its repercussions in the ABC municipalities as described earlier in Chapter 2. In that chapter we underlined a number of initiatives coherent with the city-region concept. The CF Project should be seen within this optic as well. It is not a project solely concerned with urban productivity in Santo André but also with the symbiosis city-region. Since its inception phase the project mobilised an ample civil society participation. Several events were crucial for nurturing the internal process of discussions that culminated into the strategic planning process embodied into the CF Project. Among these events the Local Development Forum founded in 1992; also the establishment of a discussion group within the municipality in 1997 to promote an integrated vision for the future of Santo André.

The birth of the CF project should be accredited to Mayor Celso Daniel's initiative to establish a discussion group under his co-ordination in June-July 1991 reflecting his personal conviction about the need to forge regional economic development that would necessarily touch programmes of economic and urban regeneration. In 1992 – during his first term as city mayor – he organised an informal group involving key persons and notable citizens to give their personal accounts about how they thought the city and how they viewed its future. These were distinguished persons whose opinion found echo in the local society and generated public opinion. The uniqueness of this situation was that he was gathering around the table labour union leaders, businessmen and industrialist for the first time to discuss something that was not salary or employment. In August 1992 the municipality organised a seminar entitled “ABC Year 2000” to discuss the economic future of the region. The leadership from both labour and industrialists groups as well as researchers from university and research institutions took part in this seminar that attracted on average 1,000 persons/day. It was clear that Santo André and the region needed an initiative to trigger urban and economic revitalisation and that the municipality was taking a leading role in this mobilisation. An international seminar focusing on Economic and Social Development of the Greater ABC Region motivated in-depth discussions about the future of the city helping to coin the revitalisation of the Tamanduatehy Axis⁹ which was then regarded as the *motor of economic and urban regeneration of the region*.

The CF was officially launched in September 1999 with the establishment of working groups followed by a broad-based consultation with the city's population during the 6 month period thereafter resulting in the approval of a document entitled “Scenario for a Desired Future” (PMSA/Cidade Futuro, 2001; Livre Mercado, undated). The process is depicted further on in this chapter. As explicitly outlined by the municipality of Santo André *“the assumption of the project is to search for local autonomy generating proposals for a dynamic and sustainable development that has the community as the principal actor. Favouring the co-*

⁹ *The Tamanduatehy area (nearly 700 ha and 10 km long) encompasses a large longitudinal territory between the Avenida dos Estados, the railway and the Industrial Avenue. It portrays very well the process of industrial de-concentration, technological restructuring followed by urban decay that threatens the economic future of not only Santo André but the whole ABC Region. It is easily accessible and holds at the same time a crucial urban transportation function and the position of a physical artery that determines the urban structure of Santo André. The area has a remarkable redevelopment potential.*

operation between the social actors of the city and investing in the regional complementary relation with the other municipalities of the ABC region as well as with São Paulo's metropolitan region and policies of common interest" (PMSA, 2001)¹⁰.

The CF project is more than a planning proposal for Santo André. It is a city vision for the year 2020 coined with the active civil society participation and concerned with its regional impact. Participation is central in the CF. The efforts carried out by the municipality with the project underline the need to prepare the city, its people and its economy for a future that poses serious threats for its sustainability and livelihood as outlined in Chapter 2. The municipality regards the CF Project as its Local Agenda 21 aiming at an integrated and sustainable development that equally tackles its economic, social and environmental dimensions. According to the municipality "*sustainable development means to use our unlimited capacity to think instead of our limited natural resources*" (PMS/Cidade Futuro, 2001). The involvement of civil society is actually regarded as a sine-qua-non condition for Santo André to succeed in halting the economic and social decline.

The execution of the CF project fully reflects the methodology and structure of strategic planning widely used in American cities and that achieved international notoriety with the work of Jordi Borja and associates in Barcelona. It has strong similarities with the processes and plans developed for Rio de Janeiro and Nova Iguaçu (Brazil), and Rosario and Cordoba (Argentina), Saint Petersburg (Russia), Rotterdam (Netherlands) just to mention a few. These initiatives must be seen as a local response to economic globalisation and the restructuring of the urban economy in these cities and the increasing need to make planning more flexible and result oriented. The emphasis is given to economic development and the recovery of urban productivity.

The strategic planning process is nurtured through a general call to the city population to participate in developing a city vision and in assessing the city's main weaknesses and strengthens as well as the external opportunities and threats to its development. City consultations take place and thematic working groups are formed and the process of discussion is co-ordinated by external moderators involving key actors and stakeholders who are invited to participate with their intrinsic experience and knowledge of the local reality. Documents and plan of actions are formulated and an integrated plan commonly nurturing public-private partnerships is further developed and approved through city forum and city conferences. Civil society participation is crucial as to build ownership of the process and support local actions. It is worth noting that "*articulated forces of the productive sector e.g. business, industrial, trading, etc. tend to see the strategic planning process as a concrete possibility to influence in the construction of the ideal city without having to surrender to the public sector's predominant visions vested into local governments.*" (Acioly, 2000a). The local government is just one of the participants and co-financiers of the process. In fact the experience shows that the resulted plans are seen as a social pact and not as a government plan. In cities where social movements are articulated and organised we see that community and popular organisations also take an active role in nurturing new concepts of public-private partnerships that address their social needs (Acioly, 2000a).

As in Barcelona, Rio de Janeiro and Rosario, for example, flagship projects are identified and are used as vehicles to trigger the involvement of public and private investors while equally fostering economic regeneration and urban revitalisation. The challenge of these projects is to give equal attention to social investments and meet the needs of the poor.

In Santo André, this flagship project is embodied into the Tamanduatehy Axis Project. It was a local government initiative meant to trigger a public debate about the future of the city of Santo André involving all different groups of society. The municipality contracted a group

¹⁰ Extract from a text produced by the Committee of Systematisation and Editing of the CF Project.

of external advisors to assist in the preparation of studies and formulate tangible development scenarios for the city. The group was led by Jordi Borja and was clearly influenced by his views on strategic planning and “urban polycentric developments”.

The Tamanduatehy Axis was identified as a fundamental engine of the urban dynamics of Santo André but with a broader regional impact. It encompasses the traditional industrial tissue of the city containing large installations, large tracts of privately and publicly owned land and building stock that are undergoing rapid economic transformation with some becoming obsolete and even derelict as a result of technological transformations, restructuring and industrial de-concentration. Though the area has a remarkable potential for redevelopment and it is actually thought as the future gateway to the capital city and to São Paulo’s metropolitan region whose redevelopment will help to forge a polycentric metropolis. The actual challenge is to transform the “corridor” into a vital and multifunctional urban centre. The initial steps have already been accomplished with the inauguration of a modern city central bus station and the UniABC. The industrial avenue has been redeveloped where a shopping centre, a supermarket and other services are already installed on sites where previously functioned industries and enterprises that were responsible for the rise of Santo André as a renown industrial centre. The symbolism of the Tamanduatehy is unquestionable.

Though the project raised lots of controversies. A city with a tradition of popular involvement undergoing radical changes in the relation state-citizenry, practising the OP and pursuing policies of social inclusion did not match an initiative that placed more attention to economic development and city marketing to attract investment and private sector involvement. This controversy was also present within the municipal staff. Some arguing that the large amount of vacant land serviced with infrastructure – a scarce resource in Santo André – and the potential of generating financial resources through complex land readjustment projects, urban operations and transfer of development rights could be used for sponsoring social housing in private-public partnerships. Others argued that the project should generate income and employment, foster urban regeneration and reuse of buildings while resolving a critical situation of urban decay and abandonment and reintegrate the area into the urban dynamics of the city through public-private partnerships. There was a wide acceptance for the principles of public-private-community partnerships. Mayor Celso Daniel acknowledged that the project was a complex endeavour that required a broader civil society involvement resulting in his decision to request a project review that could (re)orient the initiative towards the various development sectors and bring forward a holistic approach to the problem. The final configuration of the CF Project was to a large extent the result of the review of the Tamanduatehy Axis Project.

“... The CF Project is less a technical product and more a discussion that aggregates an integrated vision of the city. The entrepreneur and industrialist were the ones who seized the planning process. There is a problem of schooling. The population has difficulties to engage into strategic and less tangible discussions. There is a lack of political culture inherited from the paternalistic and clientelistic practices of the past. The people have a culture of the immediate demand and to a certain degree shortsighted but understood because of the incredible social debt. The government is recapturing and reviewing the political, social and economic history of the city, the state (competencies), the public budget (resources), the participatory management (co-responsibilities) and the regional realm (regional articulation) reflecting the search of an elaborated process of capacity building of the citizenry. The motivation of the people to participate in this government project is (1) the expectation to solve his/her problem and (2) to take over a discussion sphere where he/she can influence in the elaboration of public policies. The middle class, entrepreneurs and people with higher education tend to fall into the second category. But there are some contradictions or weakness. For example, people want actions implemented to give that notion that it was worth all the work and time invested. It is a challenge to involve the population into a perspective for the future – a process of strategic planning...(T.S., project co-ordinator)



Maria Neuza de Lima, September 2001. Photo by C. Acioly.

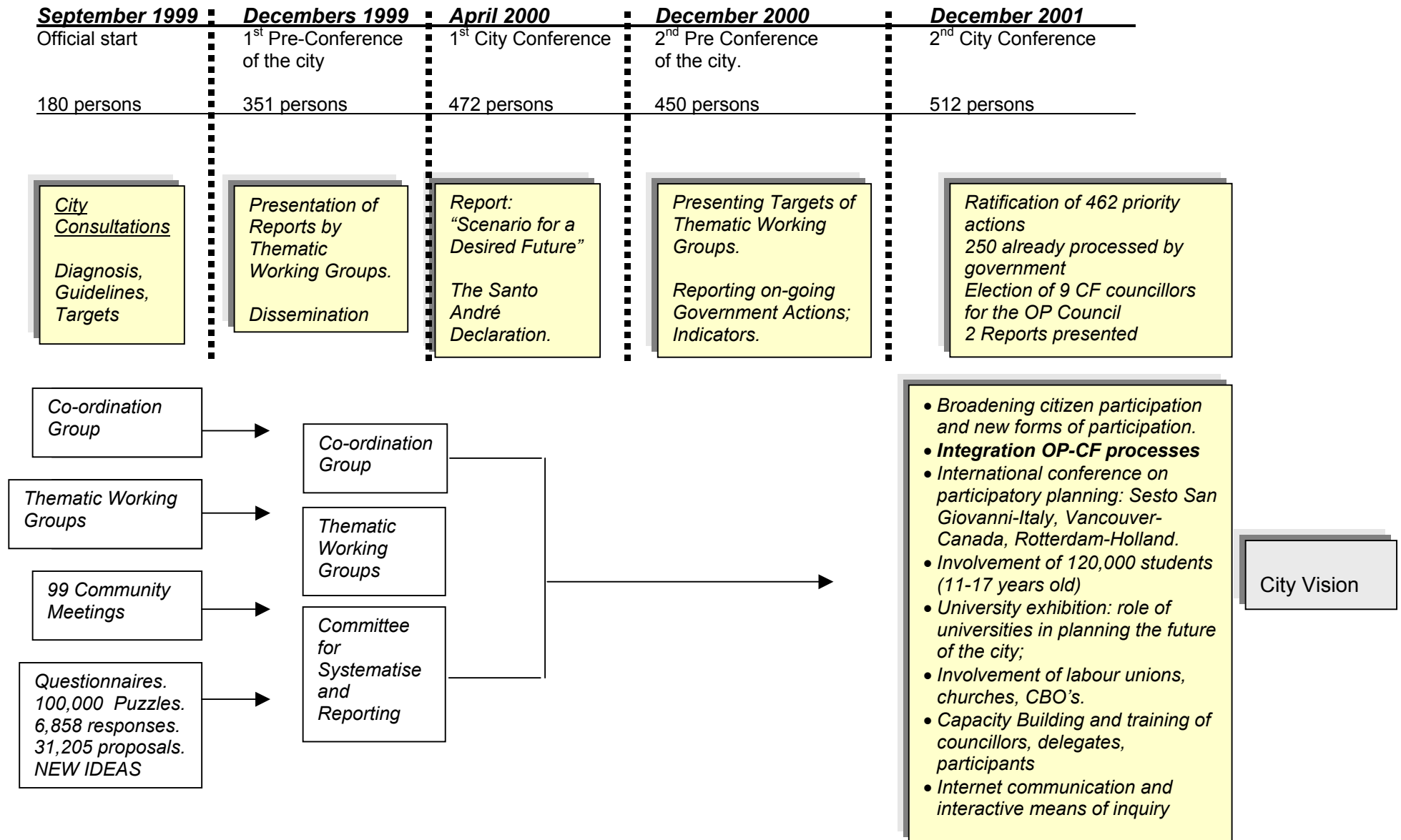
The strategic planning process

Figure 7.1 depicts in diagrammatic form the evolution of the CF Project in Santo André. It evolved from three major city conferences and the work developed through 9 (nine) fundamental streams e.g. (1) economic development, (2) urban development, (3) environmental quality, (4) social inclusion, (5) education, (6) cultural identity, (7) state reform, (8) health and (9) combat to urban violence.

These streams reflect the focus of concern of the various stakeholders from the public, private and community sectors and civil society as a whole who joined the local government in a pro-active approach to face the dilemmas of Santo André's development into the 21st century. These dimensions determines the formation and focus of the thematic working groups that are responsible for identifying key problems and defining specific actions in their areas of concern. Each group is composed by one professional specialised in the group's theme and is open for the participation of anyone interested in the subject or linked to the municipality in any form. The groups define targets that are short-term (5 years), medium-term (10 years) or long-term (20 years).

Several meetings were organised throughout the city and in the 19 regions of the OP that attracted 3,460 people and resulted in the registration of 1,010 delegates who are actively participating in the meetings and city conferences. This series of meetings generated 1,961 different proposals that qualify for their contents and relevance. These were later ranked and transformed into a series of potential plans of action by the CF Project co-ordination. The government makes the synthesis and organises them under the thematic streams and returns back to the working groups for further elaboration, prioritisation and even reformulation. In a subsequent conference the working groups are expected to report and the 'committee for systematisation and editing' will transform these reports into a comprehensive strategic plan of action.

Figure 7.1 The Strategic Planning Process of the Cidade Futuro Project in Santo André



Stakeholders Participation and Citizen Involvement in the CF Project

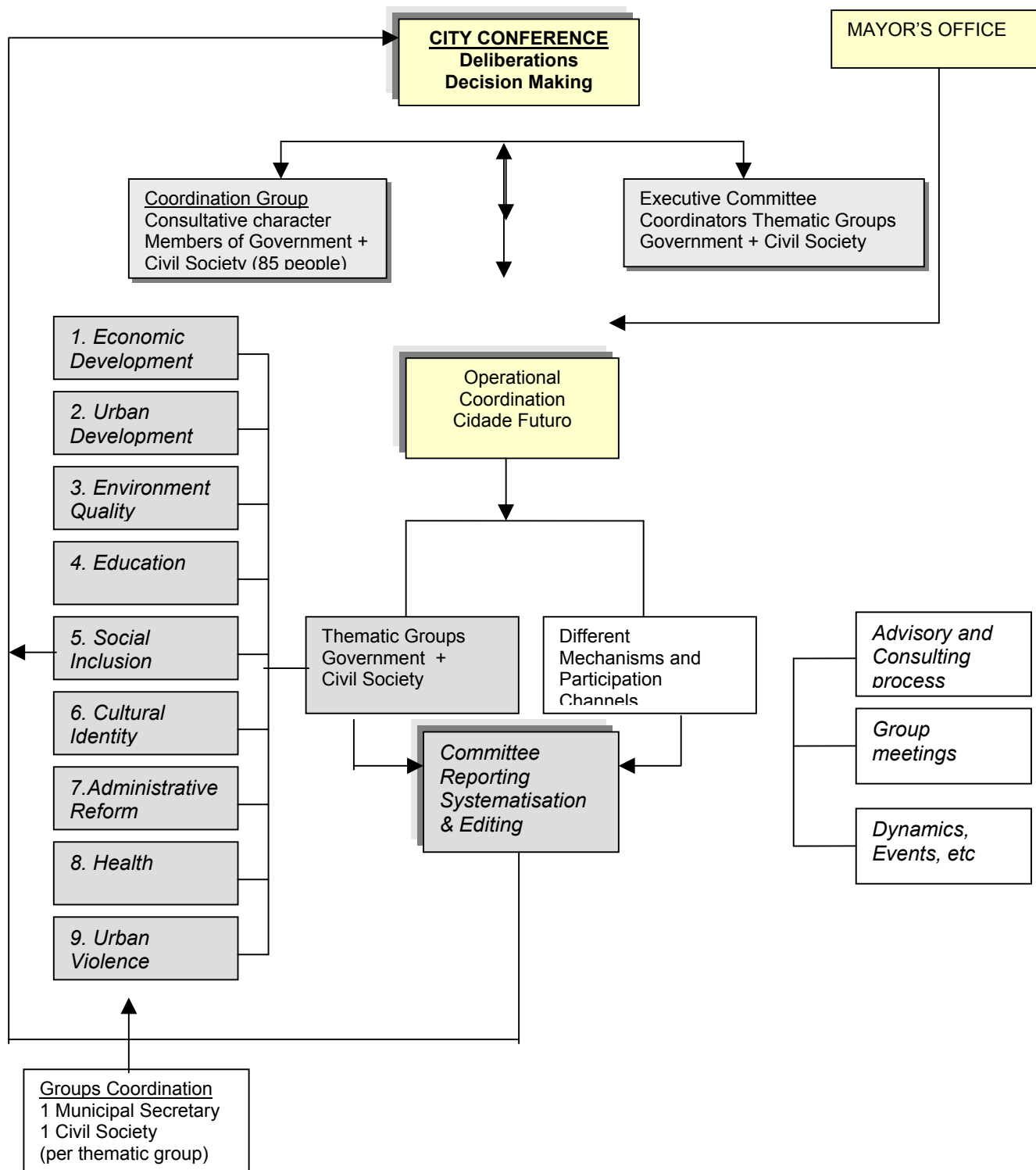
The profile of the delegates and councillors of the CF are quite different from those of the OP Council. The local government is taking the lead and there is very positive response from civil society and particularly from stakeholders from the private sector. The CF is attracting a group of participants originated from middle class and private sector. Occasionally regional stakeholders attend the meetings and events of the CF given that the project has a visible impact on regional development policies. The municipality and particularly the CF co-ordination is very alert to the participation of regional actors that will help strengthening the link between local and regional policies while articulating local development strategies carried out by each municipality of the Greater ABC region. This will obviously limit unwanted competition and increase regional synergy as explained in Chapter 2.

Private organisations participate in the CF Project to voice their opinions and interests configuring itself as a natural communication channel on public policies. For instance, the representative of ACISA explains that part of ACISA's role in the participatory process of the CF Project is to publicly express its view about how the municipal government carries out its affairs and to monitor closely the decisions and actions that are interest of its constituents. It is worth noting that ACISA is represented in 5 thematic groups that promotes economic regeneration and public-private partnership such as the Tamanduathy Axis Project and the Santo André business tourism programme. ACISA is also attentive with the reform of the state and wishes to contribute in making the municipal administration more professional and efficient but it is reported that this topic not always present in the public agenda.

“... I come from a poor family and at the age of 28 I was the manager of a company and studying at night. My compromise is with the city. I have no political compromise. I have spent 22 years working outside the city in top management positions in foreign companies and now that I am retired and back to the city I divide my time with my sons and with the community. I am presiding the ACISA-Industrial and Commercial Association of Santo André to defend the interests of the commerce and industry. I devote one full day a month to participation from 6:00 to 20:00 o'clock. The meetings are geared to improve the quality of life and these are community-based activities. The result takes time but I have to insist though the slow process can decrease the stimulus of people but we have to look ahead. I discuss, I question and the process has to be carried on. There is a return with the OP and CF. The directors have to inform about their work in the CF since it is not a remunerated work. We have family problems because of this involvement. Unfortunately not everyone is conscious of his/her role and tasks. There are many individualists. There is small parcel of people who do not have any compromise. The benefit has to be collective. I want this dream to come true. I want to live in safety and see the segregation diminished. There are many who wants to participate, have interest and are idealists with a vision and others are learning and what is important is that the problems are resolved. The process of Santo André shows a great loss of jobs in the industry. One part is now employed in the service sector and commerce that means a significant drop in salaries. This is a serious problem. But there are some opportunities with consumers network getting installed like the Shopping Plaza next to the Tamanduathay axis that is the largest in the region. There is a lot investments going to the areas of service, consume and commerce. There is a great change since the beginning of the 1990's. Before the flux of people going to work in the morning was from São Paulo towards the ABC and now is from the ABC to São Paulo. Those who worked here now is working outside the ABC. The Cidade Futuro Project is an excellent and knowledgeable proposal of Mayor Daniel with the participation of all those who make public opinion in the city. It is involving very well-educated people in delineating what the city needs and what route it must follow. The ACISA is actively present in every thematic group. The CF is gathering what the government did not manage to get with the OP and created a process that has a broader development vision while the OP is more concerned with immediate questions. The CF is a medium and long-term project...” (W.A., private sector leadership, born in 1937)”

Private sector actors identify a very clear benefit in the participatory process that supports the design and implementation of the CF Project. Its long-term strategic vision that is cross cutting all political, religious and professional interests forges a solid basis for continuation independently of who is governing the city. The various stakeholders involved and the scope of civil society participation are important elements for long-term sustainability. It is not a plan of one government. It is a plan of the city and its ample citizenry. Another benefit of the process that is also difficult to measure is the mutual learning impact resulted from the close interaction between private sector, civil society, community groups and local government.

FIGURE 7.2: Schematic View on CF Structure and Decision Flow in the CF Process



I have 30 years experience in the industry sector. Eight (8) years ago I took over the management of the Univesity UNI-A. It is a different type of school that designed its curriculum in close liaison with the enterprises. The municipality had a project involving civil society and we got involved with it. In 2000 I started working in one thematic working group on economic development. We had an idea to establish a city development agency on the basis of public private partnership in order to support the entrepreneurial spirit in the city. I am now a representative of the CF in the OP. We thought that the ideas and suggestions found in consensus in the CF would naturally be implemented. We thought that the municipality would defend the deliberations of the CF in the OP. We set aside time to something that has no financial remuneration but has a chance to participate. We have a concern with civil society. We meet once a week, there is registration and reporting and lots of email. Plus we find time in lunches or special events in the city to further discuss. There is a return at a long-term period in the quality of life, income distribution and in building expertise of the people. We managed to attain some collective benefits. Some enterprises remained in the region. Forms of working were improved. The norms became more flexible and there is less bureaucracy that used to increase production costs. There is an improvement when compared to other cities. The working group is heterogeneous with people that do not have a high educational level but is full of ideas. There is a dialogue. But the process is time consuming and the actions could be implemented more rapidly. The process is slow involving lots of people and several situations. I must say that everyone is perceiving the collective benefits... (J.G., university manager, born in 1953)"

Decision Making

The city conferences are the highest level of decision making in the process of the CF unfolding the consensus reached between government, civil society organisations, and all stakeholders on problem identification, priorities, strategies and actions (see Figure 7.2). The process of coining these decisions starts in the thematic working groups. This is further transformed into policy documents and statements by the committee of systematisation that returns back to the working groups for fine-tuning. This committee was responsible to prepare the reports and deliver to the City Conference for approval and endorsement. It was formed with this specific mission. It is at the city conference stage that public-private-community commitments are clearly spelled out and subsequently translated into a government programme that is endorsed by all parties involved. This is the point that culminates the ownership of the process and its results by civil society as a whole. It becomes clear at this point in time that the plan is not a government plan of action but a plan resulted from a social pact. There is an intensive two-way traffic between the thematic groups, the committee of systematisation and editing and the CF Co-ordination. The latter reports to the mayor while maintaining a relative subordination to the city conference. The city conference and the thematic working groups are the legitimate and democratic forum of discussion where the municipal government can voice its views and approaches and tries to persuade the citizenry and stakeholders about the soundness of its proposals and ideas.

7.1 Institutional framework and Channels of Participation in CF Project

Below is a summarised description of the main entities and channels of participation in the Strategic Planning process of the CF Project.

CF Entity	Main Role and Responsibility	Composition
City Conference	To gather stakeholders from public, private and community sectors to discuss outputs produced by thematic groups and systematised by the CF Co-ordination. To approve and endorse strategic directions, action plans and to ratify	Local Government, Public Agencies, Regional stakeholders, Private Sector Agents, Community-based organisations and Civil Society representatives. Ample spectrum of representatives from the citizenry.

	government-civil society agreements about the city vision.	
CF Co-ordination Group	Main responsibility is to co-ordinate the entire process, organise meetings, review reports, and assure that all stakeholders are informed and actively involved; To prepare the city conferences and assure that invitations and call to the citizenry are disseminated.	It is a government-civil society partnership. Keeps close liaison with the municipal executive and with major stakeholders. About 85 members.
Executive Co-ordination of the Thematic Groups	Assures that all thematic working groups are operational; Provides all needed support to the working groups particularly in getting their reports and outputs; Assures co-ordinated and articulated efforts and outputs; Keeps the horizontal co-ordination between groups and between groups and the CF Co-ordination Group	It is also a government-civil society partnership. It is formed by the co-ordinators of each Thematic Group.
Operational Co-ordination of the CF	It is a pure government stakeholder assuring the continuity of the process, the articulation from within the government and acting on behalf of the mayor. It reports directly to the mayor. It is the watchdog of the process from the part of the government.	It is a municipal team formed by one co-ordinator and a team of 10 people. Programme co-ordinators supervising all types of activities e.g. labour unions. Articulating and giving signals to the government if any Thematic Working Group is not functioning properly.
Committee for Reporting and Systematisation	Main tasks – as the name suggests – are to prepare the documents and reports on the basis of the draft papers and outline of reports produced by the thematic working groups.	Government involves advisors and technical assistance in producing final documents to be presented to the City Conference. Prepares minutes and outline of outputs from conferences and thematic group meetings and reports back to city conference, working groups, etc. This committee was specially formed during a phase of the process, gathering people from the various groups (government & civil society), to prepare the main report endorsed by the first city conference.
Moderator / Thematic Specialist	Main task is to take the lead in reporting and backstopping on specific issues concerning the thematic group. He/she is responsible for systematisation of discussions and organising the meetings so that the discussion remains focused and resulted oriented.	Normally the municipal secretary himself takes this responsibility in the Thematic Working Group falling under his thematic responsibility. He/she does this together with a civil society representative. The government has a programme co-ordinator of the CF monitoring, following closely the groups' dynamics and works, acting as a watch dog safeguarding the process. Each municipal secretariat has one specialist who is capable to respond questions raised on his/her area of concern.
Thematic Working Groups	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic Development; 2. Urban Development; 3. Environmental Quality; 4. Education; 5. Social Inclusion; 6. Cultural Identity; 7. Administrative Reform; 8. Health; and 	Participants vary in number and representation. Some groups gather regularly 50-60 persons while other groups less than that. The economic development group is divided in three sub-groups focusing on industry, commerce and services. It is known to be a very active group.

	<p>9. Combating Urban Violence;</p> <p>The main task of these groups is to identify problems under their thematic responsibility, develop an understanding and formulate actions and strategies to address them within short, medium and long-term basis.</p> <p>To formulate proposals and bring them to the city conference for endorsement.</p>	<p>Two delegates, one principal and one reserve, are appointed by each thematic group. Until December 2001 the delegates of CF had a seat in the OP council but only as observers. From January 2002 they have full voting and voice rights. The transformation of these delegates as full councillors of the CF with voting rights in the OP is in fact the first step to fully integrate the CF participatory channels into the OP channels of decision making. 9 principal CF councillors and 9 reserves were elected in the City Conference of December 2001.</p>
CF Councillor	<p>Main task is to represent his thematic group and his thematic group's priority in the sessions of the OP council.</p> <p>Report back to his thematic working group about the deliberations and debates taking place within the OP council.</p>	<p>1 principal and 1 reserve are selected by each thematic working group and taken to the city conference for overall voting.</p> <p>A tripartite list of names was taken to the last city conference for overall election. Those who are getting the largest number of votes are finally elected as CF councillor to work in the OP council.</p>

7.2 The Stakeholders in the Cidade Futuro Project

The main actors and stakeholders of the CF are summarised below:

Stakeholder	Roles and Tasks	Remarks
<u>Civil Society</u>		
Labour Unions	<p>Their main task is to articulate the needs of their constituents that will mainly focus on guaranteeing the level of employment, decent salaries, good working conditions and creative solutions to face the process of enterprise restructuring and technological changes. Their knowledge of the labour market is an important asset for the discussion counterbalancing the weight of the private sector representatives.</p>	<p>The organised trade unions are not actively involved in the CF as one would have expected.</p> <p>There is a tradition of activism and leadership involvement at the level of the enterprise – the work domain – but not in the public realm e.g. local government, planning, management, economic development.</p> <p>A lot of sensitisation is needed to bring their input in the spheres of local economic development, and environmental quality for example.</p>
Community delegates	<p>Main task is to voice and safeguard the local needs of residents and keep the strategic agenda also focusing on the local, specific and immediate problems without losing the strategic character of the process.</p> <p>Individual motivation will determine their specific concerns.</p> <p>There are 1,200 registered delegates, those who have once or twice attended the city conference or have attended meetings of the thematic working groups. They are part of the database and who receive information about the CF processes and outputs on a regular basis.</p>	<p>The community delegates will either come from groups actively involved at the OP channels like popular residents associations or through the SAB-Neighbourhood Associations of formal barrios of the city where higher income groups live. Experience shows that residents with higher income are more motivated to discuss about the future of their city and neighbourhood and not to resolve scarcity of public services.</p> <p>It is difficult to foresee that lay residents will simply show up in the process.</p> <p>The challenge is to keep the link global-local and the strategic-immediate actions while focusing the discussion on strategies and priorities of the CF.</p> <p>There is a need to training and capacity building.</p> <p>Residents' associations can play a role in</p>

Universities and Academic Institutions	To develop ideas and creative suggestions to address critical problems of the city; Create synergies among different themes and carry out research in support to policies;	bringing strategic discussions to the level of the neighbourhood but experience shows that the discussion does not level their expectations. One should not expect a sector approach in their contribution except if their residential areas of concern are affected by a specific activity falling under one of the thematic groups.
Neighbourhood Societies (SAB's)	The main task of these neighbourhood associations is to bring some global neighbourhood development issues on the strategic agenda e.g. local economic development, small business development, safety, circulation, public transport, etc.	These SAB's are not consolidated entities and mostly appear "as strongly organised" whenever there is a serious local threat e.g. violence, flood, infrastructure problem, etc. The challenge will be to attract a group that usually has its basic needs satisfied. Sensitisation will be needed to mobilise and forge involvement of these organisations.

Government

CF General Co-ordination	Main task is to keep the process rolling and in full articulation with the various components of municipal policy and private sector activities. Keep up with good reporting and synthesis of the outputs produced by the various groups and disseminate the results horizontally and vertically within the municipal apparatus and towards civil society organisations. Cross-sector and inter-agency and interdepartmental co-ordination are fundamental tasks of the CF Co-ordination.	The team is relatively small for all the tasks and comprehensive scope of action. This may result in overloading and difficulties in follow-up. Co-ordination may face internal difficulties intrinsic in government structures when more articulation and interface are needed for public policy implementation. Some overlapping and cross-sector actions may raise frictions with other government departments.
CF Government Co-ordination	The main task is to maintain cohesion of government policies and strengthen cross-sector co-ordination and articulate municipal policies with the interests and motivations of the private and community sectors engaged into the participatory processes.	There is a potential area for conflicts and overlapping with other sectors, plans and initiatives of the municipality if mayor does not keep the process tight. There is a continuous burden for liaison and organisation to keep information flow and articulated action from within the government-sector secretariats and agencies.
Municipal Secretariat of Urban Development	To guarantee that agreed strategies and actions that ultimately have a direct effect "on the ground" e.g. public works, urban growth, allocation of land for economic development, etc. are all incorporated into a cohesive and integrated urban development plan. Assure the articulation between the "micro" plans and the "macro" plans within the process of strategic planning. Assure that urban policies and the strategic planning are all in line with one	Secretary is fully attuned with the strategic process and urban policy making within the context of citizen participation. Normally, in most municipal governments this secretariat is averse to strategic planning processes because of its intrinsic flexible, open and less physical type of planning. Master plans and urban development plans that are usually enacted by laws are potential barriers to strategic planning processes. Necessary to make an auditing of current norms and legislation that may hinder the

	another.	strategic planning process. Search for flexible approaches is a must!
SEMASA	Safeguard the environmental quality and respect to the environmental protection laws and norms. Educate participants about the existing laws, norms and procedures enforced to safeguard environmental quality. Provide information about the possible environmental impacts of agreed strategies and plans. Provide measurable environmental impact indicators to decision making.	Semasa presents itself as an organisation fully attuned with the OP and active citizen involvement in environmental management. This is an asset. The organisation can play a strategic role particularly when considering that 50% of the territory is environmentally sensitive areas. The risk is the environmentalism becoming a bottleneck hindering decisions on economic development.
Municipal Secretariat of Citizenship and Participation	The main objective is to strengthen the participatory processes and integrated with all the different programmes geared to strengthen the concept of "active citizenry". Strengthening the OP and its symbiosis with the CF is another objective of the Secretariat.	This secretariat is concerned with all channels of participation. The OP is central in the secretariat. The involvement of the government OP team needs to be better articulated into the CF particularly if actions geared to improve urban productivity and economic development are coined.
Municipal Secretariat of Social Inclusion and Housing	The main objective of this secretariat is to safeguard the interests of those groups traditionally excluded from social policies and public investments to be included into the actions and be also targeted by the strategic planning process. The secretariat will tend to weight the balance towards social investments against the economic development investments intrinsic in the CF and Tamanduathy Axis.	The secretariat is focused on the integrated programmes under which housing and upgrading occupy a central part. Secretariat is very focused on the four pilot areas of the Social Inclusion Programme e.g. Tamarutaca, Sacadura Cabral, Quilombo II and Capuava. The secretariat will tend to critically look at the Tamanduathy project as to point out the need to capture available vacant land and address social housing needs. Other actors will probably counterbalance this.
Project Co-ordination of the Tamanduathy Axis Redevelopment Project	Main objective is to attract private investments and coin public-private partnerships in the redevelopment of derelict land and obsolete buildings. Safeguarding the flagship character of this project is a major task of this stakeholder.	The ambition of the project is to turn the area into a gateway to the Metropolitan region. This may create a tension with other public and community stakeholders stressing the need to match economic recovery, private investments and commercial real estate initiatives with the social needs. This stakeholder may have to play a pro-private sector involvement that is not always easy within a local government motivated by social causes.

Private Sector

Industrialists	The main objective is to safeguard the interests of the industry within the process of regeneration that is implicit in Tamanduathy planning process. Their main concern will be to de-regulate public sector procedures, facilitate the establishment of new initiatives and to settle principles and understanding with the other stakeholders about the need to foster primarily economic development so that jobs can be generated. To mobilise resources and alliances to foster private-public investments. Local market tend to be less relevant and accessibility to other markets are more	The industrial sector as a whole is hard hit by the economic decline. The Association of Commerce and Industry of Santo André is a very active stakeholder that is present in all stages of the process. They stress the need of efficiency and less time consuming decisions and procedures of the public sector. They are usually prepared to co-finance initiatives that are safeguarded by proper municipal policies. Will tend to demand guarantees from municipal government and is usually horrified by politicisation of public projects. Accustomed with "demanding" labour
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	<p>relevant meaning that attention may fall into better conditions for outlet production.</p> <p>The thematic working group on local economic development is their main focus.</p>	<p>movements, the industrialists will tend to use the process to coin a pact with these forces. There may exist conflicts with environmentalist groups and with grassroots associations only concerned with better salaries and better working conditions.</p>
Commerce	<p>The commercial sector safeguards the interests of the small-scale retail entrepreneur and those involved in service provision of all sorts.</p> <p>Safety, income and job generation and public transportation, and capacity building of the labour force will probably receive lots of attention by this stakeholder since it has a multiplying effect in consumer's habits.</p>	<p>The commerce and retail sectors are the ones who will most profit from the economic restructuring implicit in the strategic planning process.</p> <p>A stakeholder that will mostly benefit from public and private investments in the redevelopment of key areas of the city. The Tamanduathey is a clear area of concern for this stakeholder.</p> <p>The thematic working group on economic development is their primary focus of concern but not limited to.</p>
Media	<p>The media is more an instrument rather than a stakeholder in the process except when it comes to generate a safe, clean and pleasant urban environment that affects all in the city.</p>	<p>The press, radio and TV can play an important role in getting the CF Project incorporated in the routine of the city life.</p> <p>The media can play a catalytic role in mobilising opinions, disseminate ideas and critical thinking.</p> <p>It can be an alert means to warn public, private and community actors about shortcomings of the process.</p>

Political Stakeholders

City Councillors (veredadores)	<p>Objective will be to guarantee constituency to the process safeguarding its intrinsic electoral interests.</p> <p>Will tend to link committees of the Municipal Chamber with particular actions and initiatives of the CF Project.</p>	<p>The Legislative Chamber is a heterogeneous entity and most probably the veredadores tend to get involved as much as there is a response from civil society.</p> <p>There is a potential for greater involvement of the Legislative Chamber but this is not reflected into the concerns of the CF coordination.</p>
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7.3 Accounts on Participation

Process	Characteristics	Activities
First round of City Consultations	<p>180 participants</p> <p>Gathering all stakeholders who responded positively to the call for discussing and envisioning the city.</p>	<p>Several meetings to define themes and strategic issues.</p> <p>Formation of thematic working groups.</p>
Fist Pre Conference of the city	<p>351 participants</p> <p>To identify number of priorities and presentation of findings and demands from thematic working groups.</p>	<p>To present publicly the Basic Document from the 7 thematic groups, community meetings.</p> <p>Present the systematisation of proposals originated from the questionnaire attached to the puzzles/map of the city with its principal land marks.</p>
Thematic Groups meetings	<p>Open meetings to discuss the city strategy in each thematic lines or subject areas.</p> <p>From 40 to 60 persons per</p>	<p>Groups with their own dynamics. Some attract a lot of civil society participants while other are less interesting. For example, State Reform is a relative small group mostly composed of</p>

	meetings.	government stakeholders and less civil society. Local Economic Development on the contrary is formed by majority of civil society representatives. Regular meetings organised in view of the targets and outputs that thematic working groups must deliver.
Distribution of Questionnaire and City Puzzle	Distribution of 100.000 puzzles and attached questionnaires/surveys. Response was 6858 answers containing 31,205 proposals	This is a puzzle of the city (38 cm x 64 cm) with the city's most important landmark that people put together creating the known imagine of the city. People would mount the puzzle and afterwards think of the future of the city. People indicating what is important for the future of the city. These were returned via free postal service or deposited in ballot boxes spread throughout the city.
Community meetings	1961 proposal were presented during 99 community meetings that were organised during the inception phase. Other meetings have targeted the youth living in the periphery of the city, schools and universities.	Discuss all kinds of proposals
Internet Questionnaire	In process of formulation.	
First City Conference	Conference gathering nearly 500 people. Has deliberative character. Prepares main guidelines for CF.	Approval of the key document elaborated on the basis of work carried out by the thematic working groups which was later systematised under the documents "Santo André Declaration" and the "Scenario for a Desired Future" (Cenário para um Futuro Desejado).
Second Pre Conference of the city	Conference attended by 450 people. To present the work and outputs of the Thematic Working Groups. To define indicators for community monitoring. General accounting of the government about the various action plans and strategic projects.	The local government presented its account on actions, activities and projects that are on-going or in process of formulation. Discussion of the strategies to finance the city Discussion of the integration of OP and CF Discussion of how to incorporate the CF proposal into the government's projects/
Second City Conference	Conference attended by 512 participants. Ratified the basic proposal and accounting of the government related to 462 actions from which 250 are already undertaken by the government.	Two reports were presented and approved. Proposals executed or on-going. Voting for councillors to take part in the OP Council. Thematic Working Groups selecting priorities (maximum 6).

Bottlenecks and Capacity Building

It is reported that the meetings of the thematic working groups of the CF are characterised by a mobility and rotation in attendance. Particularly when it is compared to the OP. The process of participation is less structured and demands a remarkable effort from the municipal government and active participants and leaderships in keeping the discussion process rolling. Some thematic working groups have consolidated a small nucleus of people who are regularly attending and actively participating in the meetings of their working group. This facilitates the continuity of the work and following up of the previous

discussions but not all thematic working groups function like that. There are periods that the working groups are packed with people but there are periods that attendance is disappointing. All this reflects the flexible nature of the participatory process embedded into the CF Project.

It is also reported that some themes do not attract much civil society actors like the thematic working group on the Administrative Reform. The representation of the population in this group is low in comparison to other groups like the thematic working group on Economic Development thus attracting much more actors from the public sector. For example, this particular thematic group on Administrative Reform is lead by the Municipal Secretariat of Administration (from the part of the government) and is attended by members from this secretariat, and the secretariats of Finance, Juridical Services and Citizenship and Participation. Representatives from the Legislative Chamber area also active members of this thematic working group. In counter-position the thematic group on Economic Development attracts regularly between 50-60 people from which the maximum number of representatives of the municipal government attending the sessions is 10.

However representatives of labour unions and workers movement have taken a distance from the CF particular from the Economic Development Thematic Group resulting in private sector and business representatives taking over the discussions and deliberations of this group. Participants also report that labour union representatives have often refrained from giving feedback to their constituents thus decreasing the impact of the CF within the unions. The type of negotiation and consensus building intrinsic in the working groups seem to be less attractive to the labour union movement that are usually fuelled by results rather than visions and strategies. It is reported that union leaders and unionised workers are very active in the thematic groups of the OP most probably because it resembles much more the type of struggle and discourse that they are used to in the fabrics, assemblies, and negotiations with industrialists.

The meetings of the thematic working groups have their own dynamics. The calendar varies from group to group. The critical issue influencing the dynamics of participation is when a particular product, output needs to be brought forward to the municipal government or the city conference. This relative flexibility contrasts with the relative formality of the OP demonstrating the difference in nature, scope, content and timing of the participatory process. The CF Project does not have a cyclical character like the OP and is based on a long-term process and mid-term targets when compared to the OP that is yearly-based. A fundamental difference is in the content of discussion and this is a matter of concern of many participants and the municipal government. Many reports the relative weak background of civil society actors to engage in discussions on strategic urban development and relatively speaking vague subjects. The OP is more direct and addresses a tangible need or urgent necessity.

The CF co-ordination and the municipal government have acknowledged this fact and have addressed this through training. Several training activities were organised for civil society and government stakeholders in order to increase knowledge and awareness about strategic planning, city vision, public management, regulatory frameworks (LRF law), participatory urban management, public budgeting. Some of the key staff involved in the CF Project has been sent to courses at the Getúlio Vargas School of Management and Administration. In April 2002 other capacity building programme on these themes will be carried out to strengthen capacities of CF councillors, government staff and civil society members. The thematic working groups are actually meeting to prioritise 6 actions/projects from the agreed packages approved in the city conference of December 2001. This is creating a discussion about how the CF councillors will work in the OP Council to get some of these priorities approved. This integration between the OP and the CF Project is one of

the greatest challenges in participatory management and planning. Lessons from Santo André will be extremely relevant for other cities pursuing similar types of programmes.



Aerial Photograph of the Eixo Tamanduathey. PMSA, 2001.

8.

Perspectives for Integrating Short and Long-term Planning Processes: the OP and CF Project

The previous chapters depicted two different but complementary participatory processes. The integration of these two processes is not an easy task and the courage of the municipal government to pursue this integration must be underscored. This complex operation is in fact one of the greatest urban planning and urban management challenges for the municipality of Santo André since both the OP and CF have different institutional frameworks, processes, target groups and demand orientation. But on the other hand the linking of public resource allocation mechanisms with long and short-term participatory planning processes is an unique opportunity that few cities can enjoy. Needless to say that the management of this integration requires very specific institutional engineering measures in order to assure that this opportunity is maximised and the motivation of the various stakeholders to continue participating is not disrupted. It must also safeguard the specific qualities of decision making that exists in both channels of civil society participation.

Nevertheless there is an intrinsically articulated participatory approach binding both processes that is ultimately materialised in public policy making, prioritisation and allocation of public investments through the municipal budget resulting in a consensual package of local government projects. Undoubtedly the practical and operational symbiosis between the OP and CF may result into a vigorous urban governance practice where public-community-private sector partnerships, consensus building and broader civil society participation in urban management will evolve. According to Mayor Celso Daniel “both the OP and CF are aimed at creating a new model of public co-management in partnership with the community at a large scale. In fact, this management partnership is focussed on creating a new governance model characterised by decision rules which are neither exclusively determined by the market nor by classic internal bureaucratic procedures without the civil society participation at large” (Daniel, 2001).

We have reported earlier that both processes are self-regulated. On one side the OP has a predictable and clearly cyclical set-up based on the allocation of public resources derived from the annual municipal budget. On the other side the CF has a more open ended character, unpredictable in terms of participation, focusing on long-term development goals and broader urban strategies clearly translated into concrete actions pinpointed by the thematic working groups. The year of 2001 was the turning point in the actual integration of these two processes linking long-term and mid-term planning with short-term action plans defined and inserted into the discussion of the municipal budget.

The approach of the municipal government to integrate the OP with the CF is equally *process-based*. At first the municipality recognised that short-term planning and the resolution of immediate and “urgent” problems in the city would not be sufficient to overcome diseconomies and the threats imposed by economic restructuring. The need to converge short-term actions with long-term strategic envisioning became clear but shrinking revenues was a clear threat imposing the need to critically prioritise government intervention. The government has opted to increase popular participation in public policy-making as a way to build consensus and ownership to municipal policy making and implementation. This implied that there was a risk to endorse policies focusing primarily on basic needs of those mostly excluded in opposition to broader strategic development plans which are not immediately felt as a real need by the population who actively got involved in the participatory channels like the OP. The thematic groups of the OP opens a window of

opportunity to address sector-oriented problems but not yet sufficient to attract other layers of society particularly the private sector as a whole, middle income groups, the retail and service sector, etc.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, a first important step into the direction of full-integration was accomplished by the synchronisation of the themes of the working groups of both OP and CF the so-called thematic working groups. Subsequently the CF delegates participated without rights to vote and later as full CF councillors with voting rights in the OP Council. They started bringing along with them a total of 6 priorities – identified by their working groups – onto the sessions of the OP council competing for funding with other priorities from the regional plenary sessions of the OP. This administrative integration was a decisive step to accomplish a full-civil society participation in urban management.

The SINPA research team reports that on the one hand there is a certain degree of awareness among the participants of the OP and CF that this merging OP-CF can potentially bring about social and political conflicts given the difficulties in reaching consensus between long-term thinking and short-term problem resolution. But on the other hand this can widen the spectrum of participation – attracting people whose basic demands have already been satisfied but who have a greater interest in other city development issues – as well as deepen the participants’ responsiveness to long-term planning and resolution of critical needs. In practical terms the participants of the OP will have the opportunity to broaden their vision towards long term and city wide development strategies. The CF participants – on their side – will come in closer contact with the basic needs and viewpoints of those who have been traditionally socially excluded. It is hoped that this integration will turn both channels of participation more socially representative. The concrete possibility of conflicts when “negotiating” the municipal budget really opens a clear opportunity to build broad-based social, economic and political agreements.

Everybody will gain with the symbiosis of the Op with the CF. It will enlarge the views and horizon of the participants of the OP. Those with a lower education will be able to grow and those who have a higher education level will be able to understand the necessities and urgent needs of others. This is my viewpoint but it will be difficult to nurture this opinion because the councillors and delegates of the CF do not share this vision...” (W.A., private sector leadership, born in 1937)”

“... I have attended 4 meetings of the OP as a councillor of the CF. Today my participation is without voting right. The discussions in the OP are different than in the CF. We need to find a way to show everyone the importance of the long-term projects. If not the urgent demands and immediate priorities will dominate ... (J.G., university manager, born in 1953)”

A comparison on the main aspects of each channel of citizen participation shows peculiar differences that deserves special attention when merging the two processes as follows:

ISSUE	Participatory Budgeting – OP	Cidade Futuro Project – CF
Participation	<i>There is continuity and predictability. CBO’s, delegates and councillors maintain high level of presence in events. Bottom-up pressure from constituent basis on community representatives may sustain continuity in participation stressing accountability and responsiveness of representatives.</i>	<i>There is high turn-over and mobility in participants since process is open to anyone thus affecting continuity. Process is more unpredictable with less pressure from constituent groups. Thematic groups lack cohesion that neighbourhood or region-based residents have. There is less visible accountability of participants towards their constituents.</i>
Form of Process	<i>Cyclical periods with predictable timing for outputs and results, some defined in</i>	<i>Open-ended and flexible nature with dynamics being determined by outputs in preparation for</i>

	<i>law e.g. date of delivery of municipal budget proposal to Legislative Chamber. The assurance that participants may be awarded with some resources to resolve his/her problems dictates the process. Process is rather short in time.</i>	<i>the annual city conference and by individual interests and motivations of participants. Outputs are rather broad. There is no deadline fixed by any regulatory system except when the date of the city conference is fixed and made public. Process is rather long in time.</i>
Organisational Basis	<i>Geographically-based, with strong ties with 19 regions and their constituent neighbourhoods. 9 thematic working groups are also part of the organisation.</i>	<i>City-wide and sector-based affiliation based on 9 thematic working groups.</i>
Internal Procedures for Decision Making	<i>Set of rules and approval mechanisms in a rather fixed structure and approved internal rules, self-regulated by the OP councillors.</i>	<i>Flexible structure of decision, less rigid procedures. Thematic groups dictate the dynamics and basis of decision making. Municipal secretariat (top executives) in favourable position to influence decision-making.</i>
Focus & Targets	<i>Short-term and focused on locally defined problems and based on annually determined targets coinciding with the making of the municipal budgeting. Problems identified and prioritised at the lowest level of citizenship.</i>	<i>Long-term strategic targets to be accomplished within a multi-year programme with broad regional impacts and less on locally identified bottlenecks. Problems identified by "interested groups" and corporate positions with municipal government playing an active role in defining external threats and city-region issues.</i>
Finance	<i>Municipal budget is explicitly linked and the sole source of financing. Relies completely on the availability of resources within the municipal budget allocated for investments.</i>	<i>Rely much more on resource mobilisation from municipal budget and counterpart contribution from private sector and investors rather than solely on the municipal budget; integration with OP is to bring clearer sources of finance and to compete with explicit OP councillors' demands and priorities.</i>
Civil Society Participants	<i>Mostly representing popular sectors of society. Many linked to neighbourhood-based movements, popular leadership and CBO's.</i>	<i>More private sector and business sector representation, with professional associations more engaged in thematic discussions. There is a need to develop a survey on participants' profile equally to what was done with the OP participants.</i>
Role of Government	<i>Less prominent. Takes the leads on formulating the first budget proposal on the basis of the priorities and demands of population. Share co-ordination with civil society representatives and play a relevant role in technical and feasibility studies.</i>	<i>More prominent, taking initiatives and assuming relevant role in co-ordination of thematic working groups through municipal secretaries. Formulate policies and strategies on the basis of the spearheads defined in thematic groups. Uses the City Conferences to give account of its government actions.</i>
Key Actors	<i>The department of Citizen Participation of the Municipal Secretariat of Citizenship and Participation is the motor of the process. The OP councillors and the OP Pair Committee are the operational mechanisms.</i>	<i>The operational co-ordination responding directly to the mayor is the motor behind the organisation, programming, follow-up and articulation within the municipal apparatus. Elected CF councillors who will participate in the OP Council are becoming key actors who will be responsible for the actual integration between both processes.</i>
Management	<i>Process requires great managerial and planning effort to match available resources with needs and priorities. There is a mismatching since the needs exceed the financial possibilities. Budget preparation is a complex exercise of</i>	<i>Process requires a sophisticated matrix organisation to co-ordinate and articulate the variety of actors, interests, actions, objectives and very different sector-oriented plans and strategies. The need to attune short-term actions and immediate problem resolution with</i>

budgeting, technical and feasibility analysis, inter-agency co-ordination and follow-up within the municipal apparatus. Government co-ordination overloaded with tasks of horizontal articulation, communication with citizenry and negotiation with all stakeholders.

long-term strategic actions requires very accurate development management instruments. The pair-co-ordination of government and civil society has a rather political role apart from co-ordination and articulation of policies and strategies emerging from thematic working groups.

Results

Practical results like street pavement, water supply and basic sanitation networks, community services, urbanisation and public works in neglected areas of the city, all translated into immediate action plans defined by budget allocation, assigned responsibilities and time range, involving different municipal agencies and CBO's. Results are immediately visible.

Objective-oriented programmes. Programmatic approach to resolve strategic issues under specific thematic areas matching thematic working groups' priorities. Set of actions that form a holistic program in all 9 thematic areas involving local, regional, private, public and community stakeholders, demanding an active matrix-type of organisation. Results expected mostly within a term of 5 (short-term) to 10 years (mid-term).

The perspective to integrate the CF with the OP and its success as a model for citizen participation in urban management and planning in Santo André heavily depends on the management capacity of the municipal government to articulate and steer different types of participatory planning processes simultaneously. There is a need to secure cohesion and coherence between its long-term policies - the city envisioning process and strategic planning – derived from the CF and the short-term problem solving plans resulted from the OP. With the integration OP-CF the latter becomes the legitimate channel of participation where strategic choices are made in the form of public resource allocation and budget prioritisation. The present endeavour to combine a short and a long-term process is a turning point for the municipality of Santo André and this will not take place without problems.

The merging is relatively recent and it is an on-going process through which all actors involved learn by doing. This is admitted by the government officers who are directly involved in the process. For the SINPA research team it becomes difficult to come up with a complete picture and analysis of the process. We recognise that there were insufficient interviews and visits to organisations involved with the CF in order to elaborate a more critically developed analysis of the CF in order to detect eventual discrepancies and shortcomings. Needless to say that the working visits were rather short for the ambition of this research paper.

In this chapter we are sketching some issues that need to be addressed if this integration is to succeed:

Broad-based civil society participation

The CF is not attracting the number of participants as initially thought. It is very unpredictable. The only way to reverse this situation is on one hand to foster greater engagement of the CF councillors in the OP council and improving the feedback of their participation onto the thematic working groups and city wide meetings. On the other hand the demands and priorities originated from the CF will have to be awarded in the package of public investments decided by the OP Council in order to keep the motivation and morale of CF participants. This is likely to create a certain tension with the regional and neighbourhood-based councillors who will focus on their immediate and legitimate urgent needs. This consensus building within the new OP council where civil society has now a majority will be a function of capacity building – strengthening knowledge and understanding of councillors - and broad coverage by mass communication means. If the municipality fails to accomplish this it will certainly fall short in consolidating the model it advocates.

Management of complex urban operations involving strategic plans and capital investment

We can expect the burden on the administration and organisational basis of the municipality given the fact that the government is already involved simultaneously in so many different plans, programmes and endeavours. Several of these initiatives are linked directly or indirectly to one another via the OP, CF or sector-related programmes. For example the social inclusion programme (tackling different squatter settlements), Tamanduathey Axis, micro-credit programme, administrative reform programme, etc. The need to establish a smooth stream of decisions and information forces the government to accept a matrix type of organisation where authority is delegated to different levels and policy making is kept vertically coherent. This is an evolving process partly addressed by the administrative reform programme but insufficient to address attitude change within the municipal apparatus. This is a sine-qua-non condition for the model of civil society participation advocated by the municipality to succeed in Santo André. The structures and practices of local governments are so deeply rooted that the establishment of a different culture of organisation becomes a very time consuming process. This brings back to the forefront the issue of capacity strengthening of the technical and administrative cadre of the municipality and the needed institutional reform. The government will have to tackle different fronts at the same time running the risk that one of them will fail and affect the realisation of others.

Regulatory Planning

The municipality has acknowledged that the city master plan enacted in 1995 is an inadequate instrument that is not used for managing the city. It has become obsolete and is currently under revision by a team headed by the secretariats of 'Urban Development' and 'Participation and Citizenship'. Apparently this is a paradox. A municipal government that is not utilising a legally enforced instrument to plan and manage the city is another courageous step that must be underscored. The fact is that the land use zoning and normative rules embedded into the plan have not facilitated the flexible approach to planning that the municipal government has opted to follow. Nevertheless it is fundamental that such a land use plan is reformulated in order to link strategies, financial allocation with the ultimate allocation of land for economic and social activities. The challenge is to turn the plan as an enabling instrument to facilitate city building on the basis of a broad-based civil society consensus forged through the OP and CF. The risk is to create another legal bottleneck.

Ability to Engage into Discussions on the Realisation of the City Vision

The merging of the OP with the CF poses a difficult question to the municipality. Whether the OP councillors – from the government and civil society – do have the capabilities to engage into a productive discussion that will lead to a conscious decision towards the city vision designed by the CF process¹¹. At this point in time the answer is no. A process of human resources development, training and capacity building addressed to councillors (government and civil society) is highly needed and it is an inseparable part of the CF. Until now this is limited to those members of the OP council but it is essential that the participants of the thematic groups also take part in some of these programmes. The municipal staff – despite of their professionalism – do need a training that builds upon new planning and management concepts which unfortunately is not addressed in the traditional university education. This is a long-term process but necessary if an "active citizenship" is to be born in Santo André and a full ownership of the process is to be accomplished. Another challenge linked to this "capacity" issue is the ability of the local government to actually integrate the various plans and decisions into a macro-level city development strategy.

¹¹ This is depicted in the report "Scenario for a Desired Future", approved and endorsed by the first city conference from April 2000.

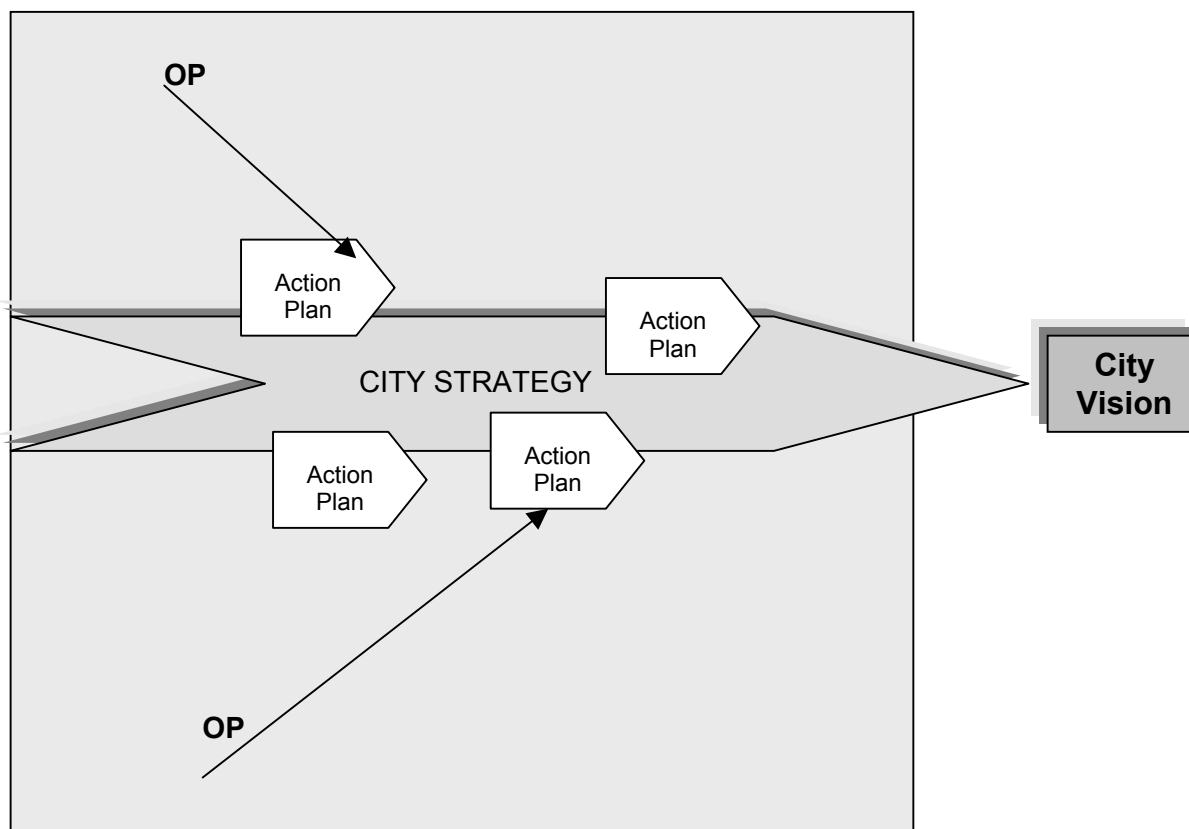
Thus linking action to strategy and plans to vision. It is like putting the particles of an engine together to attain its full operation (see Figure 8.1).

Information Management

If proper project communication and efficient information management system are not in place there is a big risk that all these efforts will end-up in good programmes that do not foster inter-sector and inter-agency co-ordination. Thus undermining institutional memory and their capacity to multiply effects and achieve institutional efficiency with the citizen participation policy. Both OP and CF processes depend on the information flow from and to different municipal departments (internal communication) and from the government to the citizenry (external communication). This is fundamental. There is a good basis in the intranet, the web site, internal reporting and synthesis documents issued particularly by the CF. Despite the fact that there is good transparency and flow of information within the various municipal teams we have noticed that each department has its own database, formats and indicators. The municipality has acknowledged this and undertook steps towards the centralisation, systematisation and analysis of socio-economic data and there is an intention to strengthen a strategic planning department to manage intra-departmental information. Furthermore, the dissemination of this information to the citizenry needs to be improved and the municipality needs to make use of the mass media and communication means in order to inform and educate the population about its plans, its successes and failures and so on.

These are the main challenges we can identify when assessing the potentials and perspectives for integrating short-term and long-term planning embedded respectively into the Participatory Budgeting and Cidade Futuro Project.

Figure 8.1: Conceptual framework illustrating the realisation of city vision from linking long-term and short-term planning tools



9.

Conclusions

The previous chapters revealed the results of a situation auditing carried out by the SINPA research team on the OP and CF Project. This was accomplished through an action research method based on participants' observations, fieldwork and further analysis of key documentation provided by the municipality of Santo André. The research depicted the on-going participatory processes and attempted to find answers to some fundamental questions regarding the value-added of citizen participation. It also tried to respond to some speculations spelled out by municipal executives about the mechanisms and bottlenecks facing the merge of the CF into the OP. This final chapter spells out some of the key conclusions drawn from the research.

Cost – Benefits from Participation

There is unanimity among all people who were interviewed about the benefits of participation. There is a consensus about direct benefits from participating in program and project formulation and in getting involved in investment planning of the municipal government through the OP and CF. Participants point out that as citizens there is an increased self-reliance and self-esteem and greater sense of belonging resulting from direct participating in both processes. Those actively involved in the OP report that greater knowledge about the public sector mechanisms and broader understanding about its institutional engineering has been accomplished through the participatory experience. Undoubtedly there is a learning process about the procedures, organisations and norms regulating the operations of local governments. Furthermore the 'windows and doors' of participation have helped to build a more active citizenship.

Nevertheless many participants emphasise the implicit high economic costs sustained by the individuals that is commonly disregarded such as time, energy and family disorder as results from full-time dedication to citizen participation in public affairs. The economic question seems to be more evident among popular sectors. Some cases are reported in which councillors end-up sponsoring from their own pockets the participation of other rather poor members of the OP Council who cannot afford paying for transportation. The economic impacts of participation vary. It depends on household income, number of people depending on head of household income, housing conditions and the overall level of poverty. All these factors undermine participation in the OP and CF. This is more evident to people who are unemployed or are pushed to work long journeys, and to those who have handicap children or elderly at home demanding full attention and care. These factors leave little space and time for exercising citizenship as foreseen by the municipality. The municipality sticks to the principle that this is a voluntary act of every citizen and it is not to be paid by any form of finance. Nevertheless those interviewed have stated that the sacrifice is rewarded.

There are noticeable changes in the citizenship basis creating opportunities for changes in the reality and attitude of individual citizens towards the state. This needs to be widely understood and analysed through careful strategies of social communication. However it is necessary to pay attention to the practical and logistic problems reported by those who cannot afford the costs of participation so that some mechanisms can be introduced to ensure universal participation without running the risk to fall in traditional *clientelistic* practices. It is also fundamental to undertake cost-benefit analysis vis-à-vis the different

roles played by men and women. This will help to design appropriate instruments and define criteria to reconcile the structural differences in productive, reproductive, constituency and community based functions that exist among them. This will create equal opportunities for participation.

Needs identification and problem prioritisation

The great majority of the participants reports that the local government seems not well instructed and prepared to deliver technical presentations addressed to an audience that is not used to technical terms and jargons commonly used in technical discussions. Many councillors cannot clearly understand the underlying reasons of technical decisions and policy options that are put forward by the government. They argue that government staff does not make it easier for them when presenting technical and financial feasibility arguments. The level of understanding is clearly related to the practical experience and educational background of each individual engaged in participatory channels in Santo André.

It is noticeable that the municipality has paid little attention to project communication, presentation techniques and visualisation of project ideas and solutions as well as to processes of interaction with the citizenry. It has relied much on the capacity and motivation of its staff not considering eventual shortcomings in training and skills. This would have helped to translate complex problems and solutions into a simple and direct image making all these technicalities and strategies easily understood by lay residents. Unfortunately this omission has only fuelled more exclusion and alienation of lay residents and even councillors minimising thus their own contribution to citizen participation in city management and planning. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the process of prioritisation and debate represent the best school of governance that additionally gives the unique opportunity for those more experienced councillors to pass on to 'new comers' their learning experience.

A Global Vision of the City

The participants unanimously affirm that the OP Caravan¹² is not sufficient to develop a global and strategic vision of the city. The integration between the OP and CF is seen with enthusiasm by many who perceive this merge as an opportunity to build the necessary knowledge and analytical basis that will help them to take decisions with a more holistic view on the city. However, some community leaders question this integration since it will certainly bring inevitable conflicts derived from fierce competition for limited municipal resources.

In general the participants who were interviewed by the SINPA research team argument that among all councillors there is no common understanding about the problems of the city as a whole. This will become more obvious with the merge of the CF into the OP since both channels of participation manage different public policy agendas and therefore attracting different social classes that inevitably have different perceptions and interests. The critical and "emergency" problems to be resolved by short-term action plans have gained more attention and interest than building a vision for the city to be realised through strategic and long-term planning. One of the reasons could be related to the method, techniques and process of discussion within the thematic and working groups underscoring once more the need to have proper project communication strategies. There is probably a deficiency in moderation and in the way presentations and illustrations (image, language, phenomenon based) about the opportunities and threats facing the development of the city. The holistic vision of the city is important for the merge between the OP and CF. This can only be accomplished with a comprehensive process of capacity strengthening involving councillors,

¹² *The municipality organises a bus tour for all councillors and delegates throughout the city in order that everyone gets acquainted with the problems of different regions, priorities and critical issues.*

moderators and government staff and with a complete change in the way projects, ideas, plans and strategies are presented to the citizenry.

From Participation to Mobilization

The government acknowledges that citizen participation, the level of involvement and feedback from the citizenry is not yet optimal. The SINPA survey reveals that the flow of information and quality of discussion between citizens and government still need to be improved in order to be consolidated as a common practice. There are evidences that the population has not absorbed the idea of active citizenship yet. There is a noticeable tendency for the population to fall into the position of ‘recipients’ of ideas, proposals, and policies rather than taking the initiatives through the channels of representation. This overloads the responsibilities of the councillors and other community representatives who are often obliged to take the role of community activists and social mobilisation leaders at the same time that they must translate these ideas back to their constituent groups. The survey reveals that according to members of the community the government is not efficiently playing the enabling and facilitating roles as one should have expected. It is reported that at times – when interacting with the population - municipal secretaries, government staff and department heads give different values and priorities to these practices of citizen participation giving signs of lack of cohesion and giving the impression that participation is not relevant as stated in policies. So at times the discourse may differ from practice. This leads to a more alert and responsive attitude from popular leaders towards the government fuelling ‘antagonism’ and calls for social mobilisation to safeguard interests.

The SINPA survey reveals that internally there are some different views and partial disagreements about the way participation is conducted. People understands differently the meaning, scope and objectives of participation. There are big differences in approaches and responses when tackling citizen participation from simple consultation on one extreme to empowerment on the other. It is obvious that not all government staff are aware of these conceptual differences that have immediate practical implications. This is another issue to be considered next to capacity building, moderation skills, project communication skills and organisational improvement that may undermine the process of building active citizenship in Santo André.

The OP and CF configure innovative urban management instruments requiring a different type of professional who makes use of tools and techniques that are not found in the vocabulary and dictionary of conventional and normative planning.

The Challenges of Keeping up with the Pace and Momentum of Participatory Processes

The secretariat for Participation and Citizenship and particularly the directorate for citizen participation is the bumper of the local government. It is a key actor to keep the OP process flowing but it is the municipal department under heavy stress and mostly subject to criticism and demands from the population, resulting in overload of responsibilities, staff and resource pressures. Participants representing civil society in the OP voice their concern that at times the team handling all this process shows signs of fatigue due to an incredible workload and amount of responsibilities. The OP process is usually long and the combination of out-of-office activities (including evenings and weekends) with office reporting and administration works demand sharp time and activity planning for the municipal staff. This is not always in place making it more difficult for the government to manage the processes efficiently. The participants identify gaps which are probably related to the interval in-between the different phases and steps of the OP when the municipal staff is neither fully engaged in providing adequate feedback to the citizenry nor closely monitoring the local processes on-site with the councillors. This leads to wrong perceptions

and conclusions that there is fatigue and/or disinterest within the government. The work organisation of this municipal unit must overcome the level of voluntarism and pioneering phase and set a stable and efficient organisational basis to lead such a complex process.

Communication

The participants argue that “the government is not talking the same language” meaning that when secretariats, government officials and OP councillors are approached by community groups or OP councillors there is a lack of cohesion in what it is stated. The councillors who represent the population in the OP Council express that they are capable of understanding the issues and points made by the government but recognise that they have a limited view on the content and repercussion of the proposals and solutions presented by the government. This brings us back to the problem of communication again that has a spin-over effect to the neighbourhoods. At this level OP councillors and delegates face serious conflicts with their base of constituents because of not being capable to explain the technical and financial argumentation of the government for not endorsing their priority in the final budget proposal.

The need to create and improve current communication instruments with and among the population is evident in order to facilitate the dialogue during the process of defining and approving the municipal budget. This will also facilitate the representatives of civil society to play the role that is expected for them. Better communication will also reduce internal conflicts within communities while increasing the transparency of the process as a whole.

Participants’ awareness of their roles in the OP and CF

Surprisingly a significant number of councillors and participants of OP and CF from government and civil society report that they are not absolutely clear about their roles and responsibilities in the participatory processes when policies are elaborated and resources are allocated. This deserves a palpable explanation. The pressure derived from the routines of the work in these participatory channels is much higher than the usual routine in the public sector giving little room for addressing this weakness via backstopping, self-analysis, tailor-made training, capacity building events and role playing exercises. The challenges are even greater for those who have a consolidated professional experience and educational backgrounds based on rationalist and positivist thinking and who tend to resist attitude change and to reject the idea that they need training.

Due to the fact that the political group governing the city has a tradition with popular participation it is likely that those involved in the OP and CF face difficulties in perceiving the need to update and upgrade their skills in a subject that they have large experience. A critical analysis of these processes by those who are deeply involved with enthusiasm and commitment is likely to produce a valuable lesson for further improving the participatory process. The proper monitoring and evaluation carried out by independent agents – like the one carried out by the SINPA research team – are instrumental to unveil issues that are usually overlooked by those directly involved in the activities. On the side of the population it is possible that many councillors have not been able to fully understand the concepts embedded in municipal policies and the new citizenship attitude that processes such as the OP and CF demand from community representatives.

Weakness, critical issues and the dilemmas of institutionalisation

There is consensus among the people interviewed about the relative fragile status of the OP. It is not yet consolidated as deeply rooted urban management practice. The issue of continuity is a matter of deep concern and has been raised in all interviews. The level of social mobilisation and the institutional basis of citizen participation are not sufficient to guarantee its continuation in case the Labour Party (PT) is replaced from the governments by other group opposing civil society involvement in municipal affairs. At this moment it is

genuine to state that the level of support to these participatory processes is much more associated to the practical benefits accomplished by those who are taking part in it.

However, it has become evident that community representatives and councillors have not been able to bring forward to the citizenry on their own a universal message about the process of citizen participation in municipal budgeting. In other words not all are able to articulate the link between the practice of citizenship, transparency and improved municipal services and public works. The municipal government is also timid with its public communication strategy by not 'aggressively' unveil the relationship between citizenship participation and better living conditions.

Representatives of the population in the OP pinpoint weak consciousness about these innovative urban management practices pursued by the municipality of Santo André based on public debates and participatory decision-making processes. This weakens the consolidation and institutionalisation of both the OP and CF. In order to turn the OP and CF as a routine and involuntary process – independently of whom is in charge of government – it is imperative to give full attention to the scope of the processes, their specific social engines and practical results. The empowerment of the actors and of the process is a sine-qua-non condition and to do that the municipality needs to have a pro-active attitude of the municipal government and very accurate monitoring tools.

If citizens acknowledge their own fragile position then the process to build a new citizen paradigm can be regarded as fragile as well. Besides that the representatives of the population also identify different vocabularies and attitudes within the government and as well as within stakeholders from civil society and argue that this helps them to build an opinion that the participatory process is not institutionalised and consolidated yet.

The organic law (municipal constitution) recognises the Municipal Council for Budgeting (CMO) which is taken over by the herein called as OP Council. It already indicates that the municipal budgets must to be elaborated on the basis of popular consultation. However this is no guarantee for institutionalisation or consolidation of the OP as a standard and routine practice of public management. There are sufficient reasons to doubt whether the assumption that "public mobilisation will sustain the continuation of the OP and CF without the Labour Party Government" will hold in the future.

- *Whether the experience and practices of the past years were able to forge and develop new leaderships who are capable to build and strengthen a locus of citizen participation.*
- *Whether the autonomous social movements and organised civil society have been sufficiently incorporated into these avenues of participation helping to institutionalise and legitimise it as a locus for conflict resolution locus of broad-based citizenship participation.*
- *Whether those who shape public opinion (in local press, mass communication media, civil society) acknowledge and support this new way of managing the city up to a level to sustain political support and the sustainability even in case of political change at the local government level.*

Challenges

The SINPA survey unveils one indisputable convergence: the government project to build a new citizenship model and to improve quality of life in Santo André receives an unconditional support. This explains the staggering victory of Mayor Celso Daniel in the last municipal election when he received nearly 80% of the votes during the first round of the election. This "social and political project" is a motor behind people's willingness to get involved in the participatory channels that are opened by the municipal government. The challenge that is put to the local government is to how to capitalise the momentum not only

as electoral instrument to continue in government and consolidate a new way of public management but first and foremost as a powerful mechanism of citizenship transformation and innovation.

The enthusiasm of the private sector and other sectors of society usually less responsive to participation also need to be better capitalised. The conception and materialisation of a long-term vision for the city without undermining its urgent demands and basic needs of its population seems to be the greatest challenge facing the government of Santo André. The strengthening and institutionalisation of the OP-CF symbiosis coupled with new institutional mechanisms will provide a conducive environment for the implementation of community-based action plans geared to resolve critical issues in the city.

The challenge will be to focus on issues that are equally important for the realisation of the future vision of the city and the immediate improvement of living conditions of the population. A pragmatic approach will have to be coined as a way to safeguard the city and its sustainability in a rapidly evolving globalised economy.

The search for innovative planning and management instruments is absolutely essential for this goal to be achieved. Instruments that can regulate the essential and organise the various resources and consensus necessary to implement short and long-term actions in a simultaneous and complementary manner. It is necessary to design a scenario for possible political changes brought forward by future local elections, creating mechanisms and/or legal instruments to safeguard resources and the existing participatory channels that will probably be jeopardised by such political changes. The challenge is ultimately to institutionalise them without limiting the chances for flexible adaptation while lessening the chances for “clientelistic” practices.



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11.

List of People Interviewed and Sessions Attended by SINPA Research Team

	Name	Occupation/Activity	Organisation	Relation with OP and/or CF	Interviewed on
1	Natalina Ribeiro	Deputy Secretary of Citizenship and Participation	PMSA	OP Gov. Councillor 2001/ Member Executive Secretary	16/07/2001
2	Teresa Santos	Coordinator of Cidade Futuro	PMSA	CF Coordinator	18/07/2001 19/07/2001
3	Angelina Nunes de Oliveira	Director	Cooperativa de Costureiras e Estamparia de Santo André	OP Community Councillor 1997	20/07/2001
4	Luiza Aparecida Gandra Iscardo	Member of the Association for Deficient People of Santo Andre	Association for Deficient People of Santo André	OP Community Councillor in Culture Thematic Group 2001 (re-elected)	23/07/2001
5	Nilza A. Oliveira	Executive Director of the Secretary of Citizenship Participation	PMSA	OP Government Councillor 2001	23/07/2001
6	José Nerivaldo de Araújo (Nerinho)	Member of the Hip-Hop Movement	Hip-Hop Movement of Santo André	OP Community Councillor in the Culture Thematic Group 2001 (new)	24/07/2001
7	Flora Lucia Marim de Oliveira	Strategic Planning Consulting for the CF Former Secretary of Strategic Planning	PMSA	Former OP Government Councillor 1999-2000	25/07/2001
8	Donato	Coordinator "Projeto Criança Cidadã"	Movimento de Defesa dos Direitos dos Favelados de Santo André	OP Community Councillor Housing Thematic Group 1997	25/07/2001
9	Pedro Pontual	Secretary of Citizenship Participation	PMSA	Coordinator of the Pair Co-ordination of the OP Council	25/07/2001, 17/09/2001
10	Sebastião Ney Vaz	Infrastructure Works and Planning	SEMASA -PMSA	OP Government Councillor since 1997	26/06/2001
11	Luis Antonio Sampaio da Cruz	Executive Manager	ACISA	CF Thematic Group: Administrative Reform	27/07/2001
12	Cid Blanco Junior	Assistant to the Secretary of International Co-operation and Resources Mobilisation	PMSA	OP Government Councillor	17/09/2001
13	Nilza Aparecida Oliveira	Director Department of Citizen Participation	PMSA	Executive Co-ordinator of OP	17/09/2001
14	Natalina Ribeiro	Deputy secretary for Citizen Participation	PMSA	Supports the work of the secretary for Citizen Participation, defines strategies, evaluation, monitoring of participatory processes.	17/09/2001 & 18/09/2001
15	Meeting Co-ordination OP-CF	Executive and Operational Co-ordination	PMSA	Teams of both OP and CF	17/09/2001
16	Government	Seminar and debate	PMSA	Articulating a practical concept	17/09/2001

	Seminar "Social Inclusion"	with secretaries, mayor and municipal staff		of social inclusion and link the short-term immediate solutions of the OP with the long-term vision of the CF	
17	Session of OP councillors of the Government	All municipal staff who holds a position as an OP councillor	PMSA	Evaluating the previous sessions and preparing for the final negotiation meeting with the population on the budget	17/09/2001
18	Session of OP Council (Government and Population)	All OP councillors present	PMSA/Citizenry	Discussing the remaining problem of the region P, Vista Alegre, and finalise the negotiated budget	17/09/2001
19	Terezinha Santos	Executive Manager Cidade Futuro	PMSA	Co-ordinator of the Strategic Planning Process and main articulator OP-CF	18/09/2001
20	Maria José Costa da Silva / Maria da Cocada	Deputy councillor in the OP Council, informal businesswoman	Deputy Representative Region G – Sacadura Cabral	Was active member in resident association, got involved with OP in 97, was councillor in 1998.	18/09/2001
21	Maria Neuza de Lima	Councillor in the OP Council, housewife	Representative of Region G	Lived in favelas for 22 years, got involved in the OP in 1998, received 480 votes when elected.	18/09/2001
22	Márcia Zanquin	Councillor in the OP Council	Representative of Region I	2 nd consecutive mandate, m Got involved in the OP in 1997.	18/09/2001
23	Manoel Paulino Rodrigues	Councillor in the OP Council	Representative of Region P	Involved in OP since 1997, elected in largest plenary – 300 people – in 2001	19/09/2001
24	Ismar Macedo Bastos	Councillor in the OP Council	Representative of Region P	Involved in OP since 1997, elected twice in 1999 & 2000, member of the Pair Co-ordination Committee of the OP Council	19/09/2001
25	José Rodrigues de Souza, Casquinha	APC-Agent of Citizen Participation	PMSA	Most voted councillor voted in 1998, was member of Pair Co-ordination of OP Council, actually delegate CF for the Region E / State Reform	19/09/2001
26	Jaime Guedes	Director of UNI-A	Private Sector / University UNI-A	Councillor Cidade Futuro, Economic Development Group, got actively involved in 1998	19/09/2001
27	Claudio Malatesta	Programme Co-ordinator, "Popular Entrepreneur", Incubators of Co-operatives	PMSA	OP Councillor from 97 to 99, ex-member of Pair Co-ordination Committee of OP Council, current councillor of the Government in the OP	20/09/2001
28	Carlos Augusto Alves dos Santos (Carlinhos Augusto)	President of the Legislative Chamber, Elected councillor for the PT.	Legislative Chamber, president	Elected councillor for the Legislative Chamber in 1988., 1996 and 2000.	20/09/2001
29	Nara Argiles	Co-ordinator of the Thematic Groups / Cidade Futuro	PMSA	Joined the municipality in 2001	20/09/2001
30	Wilson Bottaro	Presidente CMEO/IP	NGO, deputy OP councillor Region L	Involved in community-base activities since mid 1970's, president of the Municipal Council for Organised Entities for Public Interest of Santo André	20/09/2001
31	Edna Adele Fedel Frizzi, Marta Janete de Carvalho and Carlos Moura	Staff of the Administrative Reform Programme	PMSA	Improvement of municipal services, ombudsman and forum of citizenship	20/09/2001
32	Wilson Ambrósio	President ACISA- Industry and Commercial Association of Santo André	Private Sector	Involved in CF, attended meetings of OP, actively involved in strategic thinking	21/09/2001
33	Dalila Isael Agnela Teles Veras	Cultural entrepreneur, and small-scale businesswoman	Livraria Alpharrabio, Private Sector	Involved in the Thematic Group of Culture but took distance from OP due to disagreement with secretary of Culture	21/09/2001

34	Session of OP Council	All councillors and some deputies, with nearly 80 participants	PMSA	Information about the caravan (230 persons subscribed) Theatre exercises and role playing. Defining role of councillors.	16/07/2002
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