The role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South: Spaces and meanings of participation in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, Brazil.

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Abstract

Participation is a topic that has been widely debated in planning literature. There is a great deal of knowledge exploring the complexities of participatory planning, expanding notions of participation both within and outside state-led planning and conceptualising efforts from marginalised groups as forms of participation. In the field of transport and mobility planning on the other hand, little is known about the complexities of participation in mobility planning and the dynamics of participation beyond governmental boundaries. This understanding becomes even scarcer within the Global South context where mobility planning is not always fair and inclusive.

Considering participation as a term that can accommodate a wide range of motivations, implications and forms, this thesis explores the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. The research adopts an innovative conceptual framework that was built upon critical and Global South perspectives on participation and mobility, the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) and the 'staging mobilities' framework (Jensen, 2013; 2014). This framework was used to: identify participatory efforts in the staging of mobilities from above (governance of mobility) and from below (outside governmental boundaries); explore the dynamics across spaces; investigate the extent to which they contribute to mobility justice; examine whether marginalised populations engage with existing spaces (inside or outside the state) or create alternative ones, and grasp the significance of participation and mobility to different stakeholders.

In this thesis, the empirical investigation focused on the Brazilian context and used Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre as the case study sites. The research findings provide evidence of a range of spaces for participation in planning, contesting and improving mobility both within and outside state-led planning. The findings contribute to the understanding of the nature and dynamics of participatory efforts mobilised by marginalised populations in informal settlements and the limitations of participation in state-led mobility planning in addressing mobility justice. Evidence also highlights a plurality of meanings attributed to participation and mobility that helps understand their significance

in the Global South. This thesis concludes that the multiple roles, forms and definitions of participation theorised in this research add nuance to participatory debates in mobility studies, transport geography, development studies and planning literature, demonstrate the value of bringing together these different fields and provide an original contribution to knowledge.

Acknowledgments

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Acronyms

AEIS	Areas of Special Social Interest	*Áreas de Especial Interesse Social*
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit	
CET-Rio	Traffic Engineering Company of Rio de Janeiro	*Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego do Rio de Janeiro*
CRIP	Centre of Institutional and Participatory Relations of Porto Alegre	*Centro de Relações Institucionais e Participativas de Porto Alegre*
EMOP-RJ	Public Works Company of the state of Rio de Janeiro	*Empresa de Obras Públicas do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*
EPTC	Public Company of Transport and Circulation of Porto Alegre	*Empresa Pública de Transporte e Circulação de Porto Alegre*
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football	*Federação Internacional de Futebol*
FNP	National Congregation of Mayors	*Frente Nacional de Prefeitos*
FNRU	National Forum for Urban Reform	*Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana*
ITDP	Institute for Transportation and Development Policy	*Instituto de Políticas de Transporte e Desenvolvimento*
Ipea	Institute of Applied Economic Research	*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada*
LabIT	Laboratory of Temporary Interventions and Tactical Urbanism	*Laboratório de Intervenções Temporárias e Urbanismo Tático*
Lab.Rio	Laboratory of Participation of Rio de Janeiro	*Laboratório de Participação da Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro*
MDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement	*Movimento Democrático Brasileiro*
MPL	Movement for Free Fare	*Movimento Passe Livre*
NGO	Non-governmental organisation	*Organização não governamental*
PAC	Growth Acceleration Programme	*Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento*
PDT	Democratic Labour Party	*Partido Democrático Trabalhista*

PDTU	Urban Transport Master Plan for the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro	*Plano Diretor de Transporte Urbano da Região Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro*
PDUI	Integrated Urban Master Plan for the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro	*Plano Diretor Integrado da Região Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro*
PMDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement	*Movimento Democrático Brasileiro*
PMUS	Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan of the city of Rio de Janeiro	*Plano de Mobilidade Urbana Sustentável do município do Rio de Janeiro*
PMU	Urban Mobility Plan of Porto Alegre	*Plano de Mobilidade Urbana de Porto Alegre*
PNMU	National Urban Mobility Policy	*Política Nacional de Mobilidade Urbana*
PNPS	National Policy of Social Participation	*Política Nacional de Participação Social*
PPS	Socialist Party	*Partido Popular Socialista*
PRN	Party of the National Reconstruction	*Partido da Reconstrução Nacional*
PSD	Social Democratic Party	*Partido Social Democrático*
PSDB	Brazilian Social Democracy Party	*Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira*
PSL	Social Liberal Party	*Partido Social Liberal*
PT	Workers' Party	*Partido dos Trabalhadores*
PTB	Brazilian Labour Party	*Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro*
SERFHAU	Federal Service for Housing and Urbanism	*Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo*
SMGOV	Municipal Department of Local Governance and Political Coordination	*Secretaria Municipal de Governança Local e Coordenação Política*
SMIM	Municipal Department of Infrastructure and Urban Mobility of Porto Alegre	*Secretaria Municipal de Infraestrutura e Mobilidade Urbana de Porto Alegre*
SMTR	Municipal Department of Transport of Rio de Janeiro	*Secretaria Municipal de Transportes do Rio de Janeiro*
SMRI	Department of Institutional Relations	*Secretaria Municipal de Relações Insitucionais*

SMU	Municipal Department of Urbanism of Rio de Janeiro	*Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo do Rio de Janeiro*
UCB	Union of Cyclists of Brazil	*União de Ciclistas do Brasil*
UPP	Peacekeeping Police Unit	*Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*
VLT	Light Rail Transit (LRT)	*Veículo Leve Sobre Trilhos*
WRI	World Resources Institute	

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The thesis that you are about to read is a result of a four-year investigation of spaces for participation in mobility planning in Brazil. The motivation behind this study originated from the researcher's interest in exploring the practices of participation articulated by authorities and civil society that seek to improve mobility. This interest is based upon the following considerations. The first is the understanding that participation is a term that can accommodate a wide range of motivations and implications (White, 1996). Secondly, it is based on the recognition that forms of participation are not confined to those with the authorities and also encompass actions and spaces outside institutional boundaries (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005; Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Thorpe, 2017; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). The third impetus is a gap in the literature in recognising, understanding and researching the role that different forms of participation play in urban mobility, particularly in the Global South context.

Having said this, the research seeks to fill in the gaps in knowledge and bring to light the limitations, struggles and contributions of diverse practices of participation to mobility studies and planning. To better understand the relevance of this piece of research, this chapter introduces the gaps in literature, the research context and strategy, and outlines its contribution to knowledge and the structure of the thesis.

1.2. Research context: Participation in mobility planning in the Global South

Participation is a topic that has been widely debated in planning literature (Pløger, 2001; Friedmann, 1987; Amin and Thrift, 2002). Since the 1960s, participation has gained momentum as an alternative to expert-driven processes in planning and governance (Sandercock, 1998). Although with diverse agendas and purposes, the emergence of debates on participation represents a shift in planning literature and practice towards more collaborative approaches (Innes, 1995; Healey, 2006).

Over the years, participatory planning approaches have been heavily criticised for neglecting conflict, forging exclusionary planning practices and maintaining dominant interests and power structures (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Miraftab, 2018; Chambers, 1997; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Pløger, 2001). Scholars have recognised the limitations, challenges and complexities of participatory planning in promoting more inclusive and just livelihoods (Brownill and Parker, 2010; Mitlin, 2021). In response, planning literature has problematised the very notion of participation. Scholars have recognised that 'participation is more than what planners invite' (Thorpe, 2017, p.577) and shed light on a range of participatory practices and spaces being created within and outside governmental boundaries (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005).

These debates and notions of participation have been expanded, particularly with the 'Southern turn' in planning theory (Miraftab, 2009; 2020). Drawing on postcolonial and decolonial theories, a Global South perspective has emerged in planning literature criticising 'dominant' ideals and world-views influenced by Eurocentric and North American-oriented urban theories and practice (Watson, 2009; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Mabin, 2014; Bhan, Srinivas and Watson, 2018; Watson, 2009; Vainer, 2014). With consideration for the colonial roots and history of inequality embedded in the cities of the Global South, Southern theories brought the phenomenon of 'peripheral urbanisation' (Caldeira, 2017) and informality to the centre of urban thinking (Roy, 2011; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004). They have been challenging misleading notions of illegality and assumptions of 'proper planning' while bringing to light the peripheries and informality as an integral part of urbanisation and planning (Miraftab, 2020, p.435; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004; Caldeira, 2017). A Southern lens has allowed a fresh look at the self-built, advocacy, partnership and cooperation strategies shaping city-making in the Global South and helped to conceptualise forms of participation of marginalised and subaltern groups 'as the very practice of planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.148; Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Mitlin, 2021; Watson, 2009).

Using these notions of participation borrowed from planning literature, this thesis looks at how participation is understood and practised in mobility

planning in the Global South. Unlike the sociological takes on 'social mobility' that refer to mobility as the movement of ascending or descending socio-economic classes, urban mobility in this thesis concerns the 'spatial movement of humans, non-humans, and objects' within the city scale (Sheller, 2021, p.12). In this way, mobility encompasses not only the concrete aspects of movement and transport but also the meanings, sensations and perceptions (Kwan and Schwanen, 2016) related to 'all the forms in which people relate socially to the change of place' (Jirón, 2013, p.31).

In the field of transport and mobility studies and planning, the technocratic and expert-led approaches and debates have a longstanding tradition (Keblowski and Bassens, 2018). With the emergence of ideological and paradigmatic shifts in thinking about mobility beyond technocratic, infrastructural and purely rational approaches, in the early 2000s, public participation has gained attention in transport and mobility studies. This period is marked by the emergence of debates that consider participation as an essential mechanism of governance, transport and mobility planning (Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Dimitriou and Gakenheimer, 2011; Verlinghieri, 2020; Ward, 2001).

In light of the social and environmental issues exacerbated by transport systems and uneven mobility conditions across the globe, participation has been placed as a fundamental component for promoting more just and sustainable futures (Banister, 2008; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Sheller, 2018). Notions of sustainability and justice have been propagated as promising concepts to tackle contemporary transport challenges (Banister, 2008; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Martens, 2012) and mobility injustices (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019). Conceptualisations of "mobility justice" have emerged in recent years, seeking to understand mobility inequalities and the politics of decision-making (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019). These notions incorporate feminist, critical race and postcolonial perspectives to develop holistic, interdisciplinary and multifaceted understandings of mobility injustices and give meaning to

differential everyday mobility needs, practices and experiences (Cook and Butz, 2019; Verlinghieri and Schwanen, 2020).

Despite the advances and extensive critiques of communicative and collaborative approaches in planning literature, mobility studies remain rooted in idealised, consensual and conflict-less notions of participation. This is the case even with the latest contributions from literature on the conceptualisations of mobility justice. Yet, little is discussed about the limits of participation in mobility planning and the participatory practices beyond governmental spaces.

The complex interplay of participation and mobility remains underexplored, particularly in the Global South context, where mobilities are not always fair and inclusive (Oviedo and Guzmán, 2021; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Vasconcellos, 2001; 2014). While mobility research in the Global South has recognised the exclusionary nature of mobility planning and policies (Vasconcellos, 2001; 2014; Shove, 2002), little is discussed about the role of participation outside planning boundaries, particularly in contexts of marginalisation[1].

To fill these gaps in knowledge, this thesis investigates the spaces for participation in mobility planning in the Global South. Largely echoing Henry Lefebvre's (1991) concept of space, the spaces for participation approach has been adopted in development studies (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) and planning (Carpenter, 2014; Miraftab, 2009; 2020) as a way to understand the forms of participation, the sites where engagements take place and the interactions across spaces. The utility of the approach is that it focuses not only on the channels in which people have been 'invited' to participate in decision-making but also on 'claimed' spaces that are created by participants themselves rather than conceived for the participation of others (Cornwall, 2002). This lens is useful because it opens room to conceptualise and examine the significance of participatory practices both within and outside official planning boundaries.

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[1] In this thesis, I use the term 'marginalisation' to refer to societal groups that suffer from social, economic, educational, cultural and/or spatial exclusion to some extent.

Furthermore, the research draws on the 'staging mobilities' model developed by Ole B. Jensen (2013, 2014) to investigate the spaces for participation in mobility planning. This analytical model originally focused on the dynamics between the governance of mobility planning and designing mobilities 'from above' and the mobility experiences of individuals and groups 'from below'. In this thesis, I use the staging mobilities framework as a guide for exploring the spaces for participation in the staging mobilities from above (inside governmental boundaries) and from below (outside the state apparatus). These approaches form the conceptual basis for exploring the research topic, filling the gaps in knowledge and answering the research questions introduced in the following section. The conceptual framework is discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.3. Aims and research questions

This research aims to investigate the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. To do so, the thesis raises the following research questions (RQ) and sub-questions:

RQ 1: What are the nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning in the Global South?

   a) What are the circumstances, forms and purposes of participation?
   b) What do they contribute to addressing mobility justice?

RQ 2: How are participation and mobility defined by different stakeholders?

   a) What are the meanings attributed to participation by government professionals, activists and marginalised populations?
   b) What is the significance of mobility and participation to marginalised populations?

To answer the research questions, this thesis investigates the spaces for participation in mobility planning in Brazil. Before I explain the rationale for choosing Brazil as the empirical site for this investigation, I introduce the research objectives and approach adopted in this thesis.

1.4. Objectives

To investigate the role of participation in mobility planning in Brazil, this thesis has three main objectives:

Objective 1: To develop a conceptual framework that enables the theoretical and empirical understanding of the role of participation in mobility planning using an example in the Global South.

Objective 2: To investigate the emergence, nature and dynamics of spaces for participation in mobility policy and planning at national, city and neighbourhood scales.

Objective 3: To contribute to an understanding of the meanings and relevance of participation and urban mobility to marginalised populations.

1.5. Research approach

The study adopts a qualitative approach to inquiry that aims to gain a subjective understanding of the forms and meanings of participation and mobility in a particular context. Instead of testing hypotheses and entailing neutral observations and universal laws to describe the social world, this research adheres to an interpretive and social constructivist position, as epistemological and ontological stances, respectively. An interpretivist epistemological position means that a phenomenon – in this case, participation and mobility – is understood through the examination of the interpretations of participants. A constructionist ontological stance situates the researcher as part of the research process rather than a neutral or separated constituent of the social world (Bryman, 2012; Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012).

To carry out this qualitative research, this thesis adheres to both an inductive and a deductive approach, which focuses on the generation of theories rather than testing them (Bryman, 2012). To conduct the empirical investigation, this research adopts a multiple case study approach that looks at how a phenomenon is understood and experienced in different settings (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2014). The value of this approach is that

it helps the in-depth investigation and comparison of a phenomenon in dissimilar contexts. At a national level, this thesis explores the role of participation in national legal frameworks and its unfolding in mobility planning at city levels. For this purpose, two cities were selected for the empirical study that investigates the spaces for participation at city and neighbourhood levels (see Section 1.6).

Fieldwork was carried out between 2019 and 2020 during the SARS-CoV-2 (COVID-19) coronavirus pandemic, when lockdown measures and public health restrictions were in place. At this stage, the research strategies were adjusted and combined in-person and remote interviewing, visual methods and documentary analysis for collecting primary and secondary data.

1.6.   The geographical area of focus

Let me now turn to explain the selection of Brazil for the empirical investigation. Brazil is the largest country in South America, with a population of over 214 million people (IBGE, 2022). Brazil, like other developing countries, is marked by social, spatial and mobility inequalities. Situated in the most urbanised region in the world (Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021), Brazil has faced accelerated urban and population growth as a consequence of industrial development and migration movements in the 1950s. As a result, Brazil was transformed from a rural to a predominantly urban society in 20 years and had an intense population increase from 18.7 million to 160.9 million between 1950 and 2010 (Vasconcellos, 2018). The growing population and exclusionary urban development patterns (Fernandes, 2018) led to the 'spontaneous' forms of urban land occupation in peripheral areas lacking basic living conditions, such as housing and environmental quality, infrastructure and public service provision. While the high quality and 'formal' areas of the city have been inhabited by wealthy and educated people and equipped with greater provision of public infrastructure and services, the urban poor often occupied 'precarious' territories (Vasconcellos, 2018).

These social and spatial inequalities have negatively affected low-income groups' accessibility and quality of life, unpacking many other layers of exclusion within, such as gender, ethnicity, disability and age (Vasconcellos,

2011; Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021). The majority of the population living in the peripheries and precarious territories in Brazil are black as a result of planning measures that pushed black and poor populations out to the urban fringes and central precarious neighbourhoods (Santarém, 2021). After 315 years of colonisation (1532-1822), enslavement of Black Africans (abolished in the country in 1888) and 200 years of being an independent country from Portugal, the effects of colonialism (Schwanen, 2018) still impact how Brazilian cities and transport are planned and experienced (Santarém, 2021). This racist colonial heritage affects the everyday mobilities of black populations not only due to spatial injustices, affordability issues and uneven distribution and quality of transport services. In fact, the stigma and stereotypes faced by black populations constrain their exercise of the right to circulate and the right to exist (Petrone, 2021; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021). Recent literature demonstrates that mobilities of black populations in Brazil are negatively impacted by discrimination and episodes of violence, arbitrary behaviour from the police and vulnerability in accidents in mobility interactions (Albergaria, Martins and Mihessen, 2019; Santarém, 2021; Veloso and Santiago, 2017).

The inadequate mobility conditions faced by marginalised populations in Brazil demonstrate an 'uneven distribution of citizenship rights' (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Cresswell, 2013, p. 106). Here, a citizen refers to a member of a nation-state and a legal figure who has rights and obligations (Cresswell, 2013). For marginalised populations, for instance, being a citizen does not imply the full exercise of social, civil and political rights, particularly participation. Brazilian transport planning has created a longstanding history of incomplete (Carvalho, 2002; Marino, 2020), second-class (Fleisher and Sanabria, 2021; Vasconcellos, 2014) and shadow (Cresswell, 2013) citizenship.

Public policies and planning have been accused of perpetuating exclusionary ways of conceiving and shaping urban mobility and reinforcing social inequalities and mobility injustices instead of diminishing them (Vasconcellos, 2001, 2014). This 'elitist planning tradition' (Fernandes, 2018, p.54) is exemplified by the inadequacy of planning towards the growing peripheral

urbanisation in the country and the unequal relationships between those who plan and those who suffer from unequal urban and transport planning as well as the question of who influences decisions and policies.

Gender, race and class inequalities have been brought to the fore to criticise how, by whom and to whom mobility and transport are conceived, planned and operationalised in Brazil (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021) and other Latin American countries (Oviedo and Guzmán, 2021). The literature shows a growing concern that those planning mobilities from above are usually white middle-class men who have a limited view of the realities, problems and solutions (Oviedo and Guzmán, 2021; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021).

Given the country's social, spatial and mobility inequalities, Brazil was chosen as the main site for the empirical investigation. Within Brazil, two cities were selected for the in-depth examination of the role of participation in mobility planning: Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. The main difference between these cities that this thesis seeks to explore is their dissimilar traditions of participation. The research investigates whether this difference strengthens or weakens the capacity for participation in mobility planning and what type of spaces for participation they enable. I also selected one low-income neighbourhood in each city to explore how/whether marginalised populations engage in state-led participation or create alternative spaces. For this purpose, Favela Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro and Vila Tronco in Porto Alegre were chosen for this study. I explain the rationale for the selection of the case study sites in Chapter 4.

1.7. Contribution to knowledge

This thesis addresses two main gaps in the current understanding of participation in mobility planning. First, considering that the role of participation has been little discussed in mobility studies, the research fills this gap in knowledge by setting a stage to discuss, understand and conceptualise participatory practices in mobility planning. The research develops an innovative conceptual and methodological framework linking these fields and conducts an empirical study that enriches the existing

debates on participation in mobility studies. The thesis contributes to the understanding of the limitations of spaces for participation in mobility planning and brings to light the ones that are little discussed in mobility and transport studies, such as the ones outside the state apparatus.

Second, this thesis addresses the gap in knowledge on the significance of participation in mobility planning in the Global South, particularly from the viewpoint of marginalised populations. Despite the engagement of contemporary planning literature with insurgent forms of planning and participation (Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Frediani and Cociña, 2019), little is known about whether/how spaces for participation are mobilised to address mobility justice in contexts of marginalisation. A closer look at the spaces for participation and mobility practices in these territories not only demonstrates the limitations of mobility planning in promoting mobility justice but also helps to widen the current understanding of participation in mobility planning. This thesis is an invitation for future mobility researchers and planners to learn from and with the silenced voices in society.

Other contributions that this research generates are of a methodological nature. Firstly, this thesis contributes to the discussions in the mobility literature on the advantages of micro-level qualitative research that explores the richness of people's everyday mobilities (Raje, 2007a; Jirón, 2013, p.31; Kwan and Schwanen, 2016; Brand, 2013; Vannini, 2009). A closer look at the mobility experiences in contexts of marginalisation brings to light the relevance, feelings and obstacles to mobilities that are little discussed in the literature. It also helps to unpack the context, motives and forms of action in mobility struggles and to understand mobilities 'through participation' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019). The intention is not to take away the value of quantitative studies in transport geography but to contribute to the understanding of the fine-grained details of mobility and participation. Secondly, with the restrictions that prevented in-person interactions with participants, the approach adopted for the empirical investigation demonstrates the value of digital, static, conventional and visual methods in researching mobility and participatory practices. The findings show the benefits of online interviewing and photo-elicitation in mobility research and

add nuance to the debates on mobile methods (Merriman, 2014), which are often used by researchers engaging with people's movement through in-person, performative and multi-sensorial interactions (Büscher and Urry, 2009; Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2011; Middleton, 2011; Warren, 2017; Bergeron, Paquette and Poullauec-Gonidec, 2014; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008).

Before moving on to the next chapter, the next section explains how the thesis is organised.

1.8.   Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into nine chapters (see Figure 1). The first chapter has introduced the background to the debates, the main concepts and the aims, objectives and questions that guide this research. In this chapter, I argued the case for drawing attention to participation in mobility planning in the Global South and justified the selection of Brazil as the geographical area of focus. I also stated the general approach orienting the research, the contributions to knowledge and the structure of the thesis.

The second and third chapters introduce the theoretical and conceptual frameworks underpinning this study. Chapter 2 presents the theories and approaches to participation underpinning this research. This chapter explains why and how the spaces for participation approach and Southern planning theories are useful for examining participatory approaches in mobility studies and practice. Following this, Chapter 3 serves as the theoretical basis for investigating the interplay between participation and mobility planning in the Global South. In this chapter, I start by discussing the emergence of participatory debates in light of the paradigm shifts in mobility studies. Then, I adopt the framework developed in Chapter 2 to review the approaches to participation in mobility studies and to examine how these debates are taking shape in the Global South and, particularly, in Brazil. The chapter closes by presenting the conceptual framework guiding the thesis and the main questions to be explored empirically.

Subsequently, Chapter 4 outlines the philosophical stances informing this research and the rationale behind the research design. In this chapter, I present how the conceptual framework and epistemological and ontological positions influence the research approach. I also reflect on the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the research methods, my position as the researcher, the study limitations and the evaluative criteria for establishing trustworthiness.

Chapter 5 is the first analytical chapter of the thesis. In this chapter, I introduce the case studies and discuss the spaces and purpose of participation in the context of mobility policy in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. This chapter investigates how participation has emerged in urban and mobility policy and the policy discourses on participation.

Chapter 6 analyses the nature and dynamics of spaces for participation in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro at city and neighbourhood scales. I draw on data from documentary sources, interviews with representatives of municipal and state authorities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well as online photo-elicitation interviews with residents and community leaders from Favela Santa Marta. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the context, essence and interactions across closed, invited and claimed spaces and discuss the significance of participation and mobility to marginalised groups.

Following the same script of the previous chapter, Chapter 7 investigates the nature and dynamics of spaces for participation in the context of mobility planning in Porto Alegre and the relevance of participation and mobility to participants in Vila Tronco.

Following the analysis presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, Chapter 8 discusses the research findings and reflects on the conceptual framework adopted in this thesis. In this macro analysis, I discuss the configuration, dynamics and limitations of spaces for participation in mobility planning and the multiple meanings of participation and mobility.

The concluding chapter summarises the main findings and themes developed throughout this thesis, answers the research questions, outlines the contributions to knowledge, acknowledges the limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future research.

Figure 1: Thesis structure
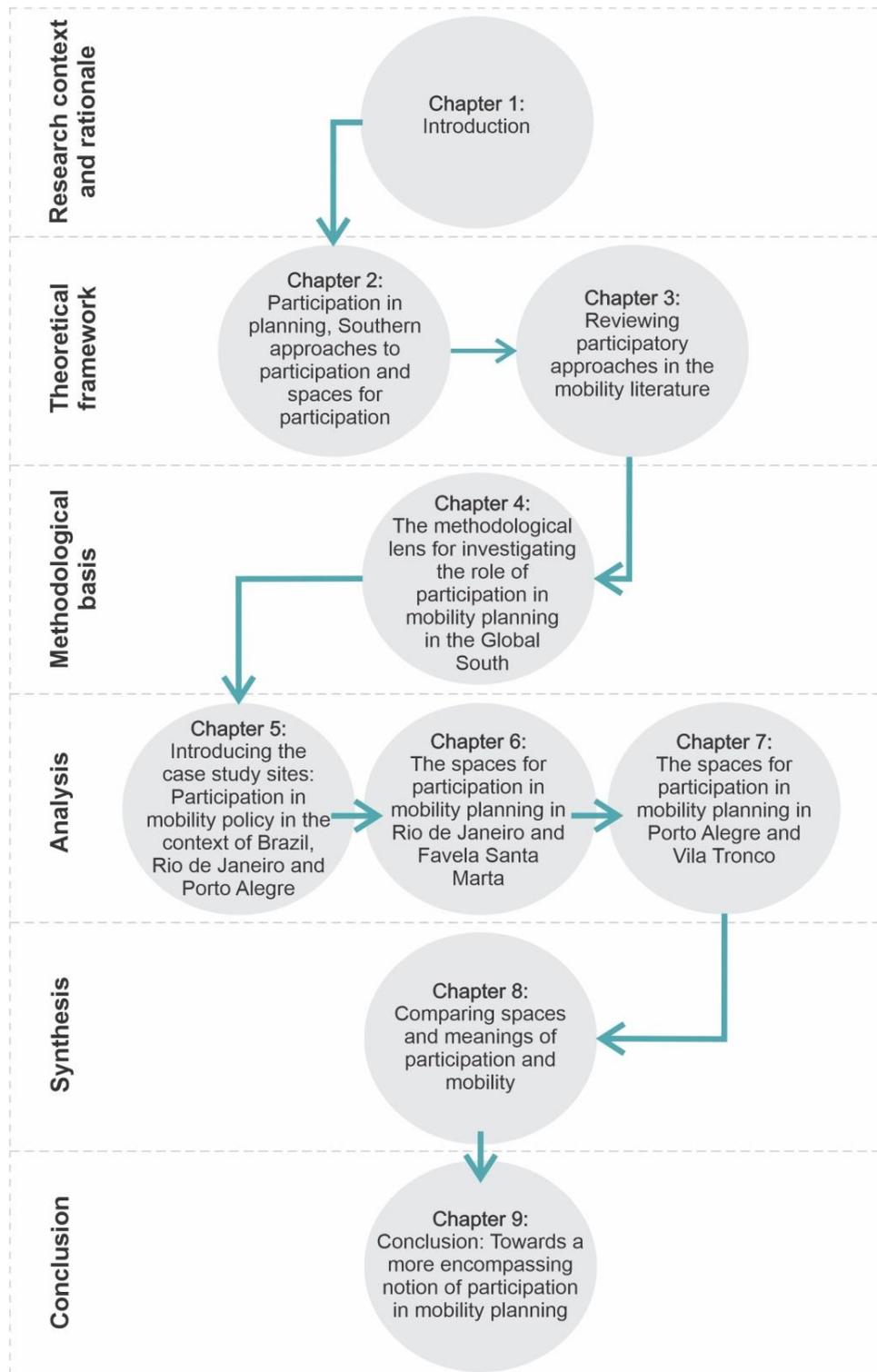
Chapter 2: Participation in planning, Southern approaches to participation and spaces for participation

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the debates on participation in planning literature and discuss what mobility studies can take from those discussions. In this chapter, I start by presenting the main theories and critiques underpinning the participatory approaches in planning literature and the contemporary discussions that widen the conceptualisations of participation, such as the 'Southern turn' and the spaces for participation approach. I then move on to discuss how Southern theories and the spaces for participation approach are useful for investigating the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. Lastly, building on those debates, I present a framework for identifying, examining and theorising the spaces for participation in this research.

2.2. Participation in planning: Benefits and critiques

As White (1996) suggests, participation is a term that can accommodate a wide range of motivations, expectations and implications. Therefore, this section reviews the main theories and critiques on participation that have gained ground in planning literature. It highlights how participatory approaches have been mostly focused on debates from the Global North and how contemporary writing and the 'Southern turn' in planning literature have shed light on the multiple understandings of participation.

Since the late 1960s, public participation has gained momentum as a way of softening and changing authoritarian processes in planning and governance (Sandercock, 1998; Friedmann, 1987; Cornwall, 2002; Thorpe, 2017; Amin and Thrift, 2002). Although the debates on participation have diverse purposes, their evolution reflects a shift in development studies, planning literature and practice (Cornwall, 2002). From the 1960s onwards, the

inclusion of 'citizens'[2] in decision-making processes has been associated with a desirable and democratic practice of 'good governance' (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001, p.32; White, 1996; Thorpe, 2017). Notions of participation have been related to an inclusive and fair mechanism that has the potential to redistribute rights, reach consensus, reduce conflict, dilute power structures and bring planning debates 'closer to the people' (Cornwall, 2002, p.13; White, 1996; Verlinghieri, 2019).

One of the most enduring approaches to participation is acknowledged to be Sherry Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation' (Figure 2). By framing and classifying eight levels of participation, varying from 'manipulation', and 'degrees of tokenism' to 'citizen control', Arnstein's work has contributed to raising the issue of power and consolidating debates on 'nonparticipation' and participation. Based on a linear approach to power, Arnstein's ladder frames the degrees of power involved in different participatory levels. Nevertheless, critiques of the ladder of participation highlight that Arnstein's framing did not consider participation and power as fluid and dynamic components (Cornwall, 2002; Thorpe, 2017) and excluded 'ineffective' forms of participation, which are further discussed in this chapter (Thorpe, 2017, p.568).

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[2] This thesis recognises that the term 'citizen participation', although widely used, could limit the views of participation to legal members of a nation-state. Instead, the term 'participation' is used throughout the thesis.

Figure 2: Arnstein's eight levels of participation
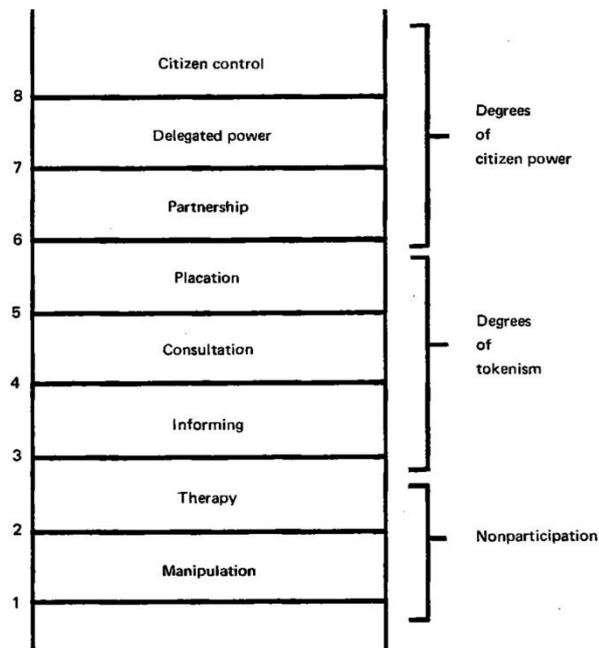
Source: Arnstein (1969, p.26).

In planning literature, later developments centred on communicative planning theory (Fainstain, 2014). Derived from Jurgen Habermas's (1984) theory of communicative action, the philosophical considerations of an ideal public realm and democratic decision-making processes have influenced planning theorists to stress agreement and consensus under communicative rationality (Forester, 1993; Innes, 1995) and the collaborative approach (Healey, 2006). By reacting against technocratic, utopian and aesthetic-based approaches and by contesting ideas of planning as an instrument for establishing social order, collaborative planning has incorporated participation and deliberation as the main drivers for achieving more just outcomes and cities (Healey, 2006; Fainstain, 2000; 2014). The debates focused on the tools and techniques controlled by professionals and governments to improve participatory processes (Thorpe, 2017; Forester, 1993; Innes, 1995).

However, collaborative planning approaches have been criticised for neglecting conflict, unequal access to power, social complexities and diversity by focusing on consensus-building (Frediani and Cociña, 2019). The assumptions of conflict-less, homogeneous, definable and organised 'communities' and 'civil society' that have permeated participatory debates

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have been accused of forging exclusionary planning practices and maintaining dominant interests and power structures (White, 1996; Thorpe, 2017; Sandercock, 1998; Yiftachel, 2006; Watson, 2009; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Miraftab, 2018; Amin and Thrift, 2002). The questions raised by Chambers (1997) – 'whose reality counts?' – and by Cooke and Kothari (2001) – is participation 'the new tyranny?' – amplified the criticisms of the technical, political and conceptual limitations of participation in incorporating multiple realities and realms of knowledge beyond professional boundaries as well as the use of participation in legitimating unjust decisions and hegemonic practices.

Over the years, the growing requirement of participation in planning frameworks has led to critical reflections on the rhetoric of participation, the outcomes of participatory processes and narratives that simply celebrate the opening of spaces for public involvement (Brownill and Carpenter, 2007; Thorpe, 2017). While discourses praise participation as a democratic and 'proper conduct' in planning, practice shows that participatory processes do not guarantee direct influence on local populations' interests in decision-making (Verlinghieri, 2019, p.537; Thorpe, 2017; Brownill and Carpenter, 2007). Scholars have contested views of participation as an instrument for reinforcing the status quo, achieving efficiency and legitimacy in plans, policies and projects, and providing 'a box to be checked' (Thorpe, 2017, p.569; Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005).

These critical perspectives have challenged the persistent technical rationality in planning and the role of planners as 'the all-knowing expert' (Watson, 2014, p.73; Sandercock, 1998). Scholars highlight the disjunctions between participatory processes and outcomes and critique the little attention of planners and governments to local populations' preferences (Brownill and Carpenter, 2007). Despite collaborative discourses, Amelia Thorpe (2017) argues that planners (and governments) exert power by choosing the content of debates, the participants, the use of knowledge and the outcomes of participatory processes. Another key critique is that planners and local populations have distinct languages, interests and contexts of experience (Pløger, 2001). This may hinder communication between stakeholders who

are less familiar with policy texts, mapping and drawings or undermine less technical contributions.

The 'contradictions of "state-led" participation' have led to research examining the complexities of participation and the practices outside the state and formal planning systems (Brownill and Parker, 2010, p.279). The notion that planning is not confined to professional and state boundaries has been part of planning debates since the 1990s. As Leonie Sandercock (1998, p.54) states: 'planning by the state is only one part of the story'. Sandercock (1998, p.34) argues that there are 'insurgent' planning histories 'existing outside the state and sometimes in opposition to it'. The growing recognition that 'planning is more than what planners do, and participation is more than what planners invite' has broadened debates and expanded notions of participation and planning (Thorpe, 2017, p.577; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). Therefore, Thorpe suggests 'a more complex genealogy for planning and for participatory practices' (Thorpe, 2017, p.577).

The increasing attention of planning scholars to the dynamics, contradictions, conflicts and micro-politics underlying planning practice relates to what Sue Brownill and Gavin Parker (2010, p.246) call a 'post-collaborative phase'. Moving away from utopian and generic collaborative approaches that obscure the complexities of participation, a post-collaborative approach highlights the challenges of participation in planning and brings to light the many contexts, dynamics, forms and interests promoting participatory experiences (Brownill and Parker, 2010; Thorpe, 2017; Frediani and Cociña, 2019).

Moreover, the inclusionary, fair and collaborative assumptions built up around the concept of participation have been challenged by a Southern turn in planning theory that contests idealised notions and seeks to expand notions of participation and planning through a Global South perspective (Brownill and Parker, 2010; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). Scholars note that existing participatory planning approaches have been unable to address the extreme urban inequalities and promote more inclusive and just livelihoods in Southern contexts, especially for those in disadvantaged populations

(Frediani and Cociña, 2019; Mitlin, 2021). This awareness has been symbolised by what Brownill and Parker (2010, p.275) call the 'crisis of participation', which is marked by the recognition of the challenges and complexities of participation beyond Global North and Westernised perspectives. Against this backdrop, a body of contemporary planning literature has argued that Northern and Western-focused theories and perspectives fail to theorise and understand different contexts.

In planning literature, a 'view from the South' (Watson, 2009), 'Southern theory' (Connell, 2007; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014), 'theory from the South' (Mabin, 2014) or 'South perspective' (Patel, 2014) represents the awareness that a planetary scale and universal framings do not elucidate all sites of inquiry and nor the search for new approaches that unseat hegemonic thinking (Connell, 2007). Contesting Eurocentric and North American-oriented social and urban theories shaped by Western and Northern views of the world and the lack of knowledge of other realities across the globe, a key aspect of a Global South perspective is the claim for an in-depth understanding of the cities of the South (Roy, 2005; Mabin, 2014; Patel, 2014). These efforts aim to 'think about the "locatedness" of all theory' and 'recalibrate urban theory itself', moving beyond views of the Global South as simply peculiar empirical cases (Roy, 2014, p.15).

In summary, two main discussions are fundamental for this thesis: one is the recognition of participation within and outside state-led planning and the other, is the contribution of Southern theories to these debates. Both widen the spectrum of participation and bring important considerations for this thesis' investigation. To understand better how this thesis can learn from Southern approaches to participation, the next section provides more detail on the Southern turn in planning literature. Following this, the chapter explains how the approach of spaces for participation (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) helps to unpack the different contexts, conditions and complexities of participation, and how Southern theories expand these discussions.

2.3. Southern turn in the planning literature

In planning literature, the dichotomies between Global North and South, East and West, have been extensively debated (Mabin, 2014; Yiftachel, 2006). In recent years, a Global South perspective has emerged in planning literature, drawing on postcolonial and decolonial discussions that instigate understandings beyond 'dominant' theories and worldviews influenced by Eurocentric and North American-oriented planning theories and practices (Watson, 2009; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Mabin, 2014).

Expanding on cultural studies and diasporic scholars contesting the colonial world established by European empires, postcolonialism and decoloniality emerge as intellectual movements aiming to challenge dominant narratives from the West and Global North (Bhambra, 2014). Although these refer to different traditions, periods and geographical locations, postcolonial and decolonial theories prepared the ground for planning scholars to shed light on the complex relationship between Western and Eastern approaches, Global North and South. Historically, postcolonialism and decoloniality refer to intellectual movements that have diverse and enduring traditions and have emerged out of diasporic scholars contesting 'the insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe' in different periods, genealogies of thoughts and geographical orientations (Bhambra, 2014, p.115; Mignolo, 2007). While postcolonial scholars emerged from cultural studies led by Edward Said (1995), Homi Bhabha (1994) and Gayatri Spivak (2010), and were mostly focused on the Middle East and South Asia and the dichotomies between West and East and Orient and Occident (Bhambra, 2014), decolonial approaches have gained ground in contemporary debates in Latin America criticising modernity and the coloniality of power and knowledge (Quijano, 2007; Lugones, 2007; Mignolo, 2002). In this context, while colonisation is attributed to a specific historical period, coloniality is considered inherent to modernity (Mignolo, 2007; Vainer, 2014).

A 'view from the South' in contemporary planning literature represents more than a specific geographical location (Mabin, 2014; Frediani and Cociña,

2019). A common thread among scholars is that a Global South perspective is not confined to geographical boundaries or reductionist binary approaches between developed and underdeveloped countries (Bhan, Srinivas and Watson, 2018). Although the geographical tensions have been acknowledged as inherent to these discussions, the 'Global South' symbolises a 'dynamic and changing set of locations' that have the potential to pose new questions for both the 'North' and 'South' (Bhan, Srinivas and Watson, 2018, p.5; Mabin, 2014). A facet of a Southern lens is the promise that the world as a whole, including Northern cities, may be better understood via ideas and practices from the South (Mabin, 2014).

A Global South perspective opens possibilities for provoking and rethinking concepts, theories, practices and assumptions (Bhan, Srinivas and Watson, 2018). Vanessa Watson (2009, p.2261) has argued that a Southern lens is needed to disrupt 'taken-for-granted assumptions in planning'. Watson's work recognises the influence of colonialism in the planning practices of previously colonised territories and the enduring inequalities shaping what constitutes knowledge, expertise and visions of a desirable city. Notions of 'best practice' and all-purpose city models, as noted by Vainer (2014, p.48), reflect a condition of modernity that reinforces the neglect of social and spatial realities in Southern cities and a tendency of state withdrawal from urban development (Robinson, 2013).

In light of the self-build practices and poverty of the urban population in the cities of the Global South, the complex relationship between planning and informality is often embedded by notions of informality as 'the exception to planning' and control (Roy, 2005, p.155; Caldeira, 2017). As stated by Watson (2009, p.2268), planners in the cities of the Global South are situated within the 'conflict of rationalities' between the logics of governing and survival. The first logic is driven by notions of 'proper planning' that reject the spatial arrangements of the urban poor and seek to control, extinguish, develop and regulate the so-called illegal, informal and irregular territories (Miraftab, 2020, p.435; Watson, 2009). The latter represents the 'survival efforts' of excluded and subaltern groups (Watson, 2009, p.2268) that

become the 'agents of urbanization, not simply consumers of spaces developed and regulated by others' (Caldeira, 2017, p.5).

Against these tensions, a Southern lens brings informality to the centre of planning debates. The work of Ananya Roy (2011 p.233; 2005; 2014; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004) in Indian cities has been critical for perceiving informality as an 'idiom of urbanization' and product of exclusionary state actions (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019). Moreover, Teresa Caldeira (2017) extends these debates and the complexity of informality and self-organising communities by conceptualising the phenomenon of 'peripheral urbanisation' as a mode of spatial production that is not confined to specific geographical locations. The growing attention given to the spontaneous and 'insurgent urbanization' (Holston, 2008) and the protagonism of 'community-based informal processes' and 'grassroots activists and strategies' of the Southern cities expanded the definitions of planning and participation (Miraftab, 2009, p.19). These debates surpass the notions of informality as poverty and lack of planning, to conceptualise a mode of city-making taking shape outside state-led planning in the Global South. As Miraftab (2009, p.19) notes, marginalised populations 'take into their own hands the challenges of housing, neighbourhood and urban development, establishing shelter and earning livelihoods outside formal decision structures'. The marginalised territories also establish other forms of authority outside the state, such as residents' associations, community groups, drug traffickers, etc (Yiftachel, 2006; Watson, 2009).

Considering all these layers of complexities, the Southern turn in planning literature has criticised universal participatory approaches and expanded notions of participation based on the practices and histories of domination and oppression of the marginalised and subaltern groups in the Global South (Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Mitlin, 2021). In recent years, alternative theoretical and conceptual frameworks have emerged in planning literature proposing a shift from seeing participation as a tool in planning to 'a practice of producing the city' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.149; Mitlin, 2021; Miraftab, 2020). To better understand what this thesis can learn from the way participation is seen from a Southern lens, the next section presents some Southern

theories that expand notions of participation in planning within and outside state-led planning.

2.3.1. Southern approaches to participation

The work of Faranak Miraftab (2009; 2020), Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2006), Vanessa Watson (2009; 2014), Diana Mitlin (2021), Nihal Perera (2009) and Alexandre Frediani and Camila Cociña (2019) have been particularly influential in expanding the notions of participation in planning both within and outside state-led planning. Through conducting empirical work in the Global South, scholars have conceptualised the insurgencies in planning (Miraftab, 2009); notions of co-production (Watson, 2009; Mitlin, 2008; 2021); grassroots urban planning together with, despite or against the state (Souza, 2006); forms of space-making outside the state (Perera, 2009), and participation as a form of planning itself (Frediani and Cociña, 2019).

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the concept of insurgency was popularised in planning scholarship through Leonie Sandercock's work (1998; Friendly and Stiphany, 2019). Later writing developed further the notion of insurgent planning, such as the work of Miraftab (2009; 2020). The idea of insurgent planning developed by Miraftab (2009) builds on James Holston's (1995; 2008; 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship. While conducting an ethnographic study of auto-constructed urban peripheries in São Paulo, Brazil, Holston identified two types of citizenship: the insurgent and the entrenched. In contrast to legal forms of citizenship secured by statutory institutions which are accused of forging unequal provisions and rights, insurgent citizenship emerges 'under the skin of the city' through the practices of marginalised populations seeking 'tangible citizenship' (Miraftab, 2009, p.16).

Miraftab (2009, p.16) goes further and refers to insurgent planning as 'radical planning practices that challenge the inequitable specifics of neoliberal governance operating through inclusion'. Rather than being promoted by legal institutions and mechanisms of inclusion by the state, insurgent planning operates through the 'oppositional practices' of marginalised

groups, including vulnerable immigrants as well as racialised and gendered minorities in the Global North and South (Miraftab, 2009).

The recognition that participatory practices exist and operate beyond 'state-led participatory planning' is expanded by the work of the Brazilian geographer Souza (2006, p.332). Drawing on social movements in Latin America, the author argues that civil society has the potential to implement solutions together with, despite or against the state apparatus. By challenging intellectual and ideological notions of civil society and the urban poor as powerless, needing to be empowered, Souza (2006) analyses and conceptualises slum activism, homeless movements and participatory budgeting mechanisms as 'grassroots' urban planning. For Souza, these movements operate as radical alternatives to the absence or inefficiency of the state apparatus.

Based on the notion that planning and city-making involve more than the processes controlled by professionals and governments, the works of Mitlin (2008; 2021), Watson (2014) and Perera (2009) widen these discussions by looking at the many collective actions taking place with the partial or complete absence of authorities in the Global South. They highlight that social movement and space-making strategies may or may not involve direct political claims and demonstrate that participation is also about making urban space materially.

In Perera's work (2009, p.70) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, for instance, the focus is on the forms of space-making taking shape 'at the bottom, the margins, the cracks, and the interstices of the authority's city'. They result from the everyday practices that were not aimed at challenging the authorities but 'finding their way through' and improving livelihood (Perera, 2009, p.55). The underlying argument is the concern that solely a focus on forms of engagement with the authorities risks missing out on 'the achievement of the subaltern' and the marginalised voices and practices (Perera, 2009, p.55).

The literature has also paid attention to the different ways in which state and community relationships are configured. Watson (2014) and Mitlin (2008; 2021) build on the idea of 'co-production' to criticise top-down participatory

efforts and move beyond communicative and collaborative planning approaches. They argue that 'citizen-generated engagements' (Mitlin, 2021, p.298) – such as housing, water, sanitation and hygiene movements – are more likely to promote alternatives, address issues in the context of spatial informality and lead to 'deeper forms of democracy' (Appadurai, 2001) than the efforts of co-production instigated by the state. To advance their struggles, these movements from below move between autonomy and dependence, self-help and clientelist negotiations with the state (Mitlin, 2008). They may scale 'within' the same neighbourhood, from one household to another; 'out' into new neighbourhoods; 'across' from one service to another; 'through' opportunities captured in other spaces, and 'up', from efforts from below into policy (Miltin, 2021, p.297).

The understanding that participation means more than a tool for collaborating in state-led planning is further developed by Frediani and Cociña's notion of 'participation as planning'. Based on case studies from African, Asian and Latin American countries, the authors conceptualise the 'ongoing efforts of participatory city-making as actual forms of planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p. 145). In their work, Frediani and Cociña have identified a series of strategies in the Global South seeking to overcome planning limitations such as 'collective forms of spatial production', 'partnership-based approaches' and a 'rights-based approach'. They respond to unequal trends in planning and represent grassroots-led efforts of social mobilisation, management of space, delivery of urban services and the use of legal avenues that seek to improve the lives of the urban poor. Among their strategies, one is to establish partnerships with public or private organisations (collective forms of spatial production and partnership-based approaches) and seek visibility from the state to their issues (a rights-based approach). These initiatives demonstrate the incapacity of state-led planning in responding to the needs and desires of the poorest populations in the Global South. Drawing on these examples, Frediani and Cociña (2019, p.149) recognise 'participation as a practice of producing the city' from below.

Overall, this section has demonstrated that Southern theories help to understand better the many complexities of participation within and outside

state-led planning. Whether focused on more or on less radical approaches, a Southern lens shows that participation is more than collaborating in decision-making but also resisting, contesting, finding alternatives and making urban space materially through collective actions from below. It brings to light a modality of participation that is often left out by participatory planning narratives.

Based on the discussions initiated in this section, in what follows, I discuss how the notion of participation as a spatial practice is useful for deepening the understanding of participation within and outside the state and for investigating the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South.

2.4.   The spaces for participation approach

Having discussed the benefits and critiques of participation and the Southern turn in planning literature, I move on to introduce the 'spaces for participation' approach (Cornwall, 2005; Gaventa, 2005). In this section, I review the literature on spaces for participation and explain how a Southern lens helps to expand their understanding. These notions will form the conceptual basis for exploring the role of participation in the mobility literature (Chapter 3) and empirical work.

The language of spaces for participation emerged in development studies focused on the Global North and South. This approach was first developed in the 2000s by Andrea Cornwall (2002) and further expanded by John Gaventa (2005), echoing Henry Lefebvre's concept of space. For Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2005), Lefebvre's (1991) insights on the social production of space contribute to the understanding that space is not a separable or neutral container but a dynamic, humanly constructed arena, constantly reconfigured by internal and external relations of power. The concrete, metaphorical and abstract approach toward the concept of space and imagery of boundary was then developed to explore the sites and contexts where participation takes place.

Gaventa (2005, p.11) interprets spaces for participation as 'opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies,

discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests'. In this approach, participation is understood as a political practice and a series of questions are raised seeking to explore the 'micro-politics of participation' (Cornwall, 2002, p.1):

- 'How, by whom and why spaces for participation are being opened or filled?' (Cornwall, 2002, p.9).
- 'Who is inviting participation and who is taking part, and what they think participation is about and for, to how people in different spaces and places perceive and enact their sense of citizenship and entitlement?' (ibid, p.10).
- What are the terms of engagement (Gaventa, 2005)? Who chooses the mechanisms of participation? What are the boundaries of these spaces (Cornwall, 2002)?
- 'What counts as knowledge and whose knowledge counts' (Cornwall, 2002, p.8). 'How do the cultures, values and knowledge prevalent in one space can [be] re-enforced or excluded within others?' (Gaventa, 2005, p.28).
- 'Who speaks for whom across the intersection of spaces and places and on what basis?' (Gaventa, 2005, p.22).
- Does participation change anything? Does it re-legitimate the status quo or does it 'contribute to transforming patterns of exclusion and social injustice and to challenging power relationships?' (Gaventa, 2005, p.5).

These questions seek to identify the circumstances, contexts and outcomes of participation, situate them in the sites in which they occur and explore their interrelations with multiple others (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005). Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2005, p.13) stress the importance of assessing the 'transformative potential' of spaces for participation through analysing them individually and in relation to others around them. Analysis over time can also inform the historical conditions and dynamics across regular, enduring, ephemeral and sporadic spaces for participation (Cornwall, 2002).

Attempting to distinguish and explore the nature and dynamics of these spaces, the durability of participatory experiences and the motivation for opening participation, three main types of spaces have been identified by Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2005): closed, invited and claimed spaces. (1) 'Closed spaces', refer to decision-making processes orchestrated by a limited set of actors behind closed doors, with no extraneous inclusion; (2) 'invited spaces', are those in which people are encouraged to participate by public authorities or civil society organisations; and (3) 'claimed' or 'created spaces', are enabled by participants themselves rather than conceived for the participation of others.

This approach demonstrates that spaces for participation can be instigated by governments, civil society organisations and individuals, and they contribute to ongoing debates and theorisations about the forms of participation within and outside the state apparatus. Although spaces for participation can be portrayed systematically, Cornwall (2002) acknowledges their dynamic, fluid and porous boundaries. The differentiation between closed, invited and claimed spaces helps to frame 'oppositional discourses and practices', but, in fact, they are considered inseparable domains that are constantly influencing each other (Cornwall, 2002, p.24).

Within the spaces for participation approach, power dynamics are also a matter of examination. Gaventa (2005, 2006) developed the 'power cube' framework (Figure 3) to analyse the levels and forms of power across different spaces for participation. Adopting a Foucauldian approach (Foucault, 1982), the power relations shaping spaces for participation are perceived dynamically and diffusely (Gaventa, 2005, p.14). This means that power is not exclusive to certain spaces and levels.

Figure 3: Power Cube
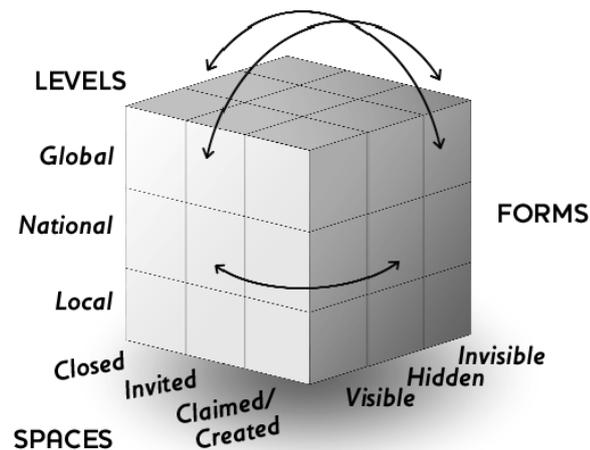
Source: Gaventa (2006, p.25)

Within this framework, Gaventa (2005, 2006) defines three forms of power: the visible, hidden and invisible. The (1) visible encompasses perceptible decision-making processes and political powers; (2) the hidden refers to the unobservable power structures performed by actors and institutions shaping decisions and interests; and (3) the invisible concerns the 'psychological and ideological boundaries of participation' influencing the meanings, agency and beliefs of the actors involved in decision-making processes (Gaventa, 2005, p.15).

Another component of Gaventa's (2005, 2006) power cube refers to the places and levels where participation takes place. This relates to the power structures performed at global, national and local levels as well as the multiple scales that are being engaged in, in spaces for participation. Nonetheless, Gaventa does not consider further levels within the 'local' perspective, such as metropolitan, city and neighbourhood scales.

In later writing, the language of invited and claimed spaces has been applied in planning literature. Carpenter (2014), for instance, applied this framework to investigate whether residents of Vaulx-en-Velin in France engaged and had a voice in the local urban regeneration process. Furthermore, a Southern perspective extended the understanding of spaces for participation, particularly the claimed ones (Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Perera, 2009). Considering the latest theoretical contributions from the planning literature,

the next sections scrutinise the nature and dynamics of invited and claimed spaces.

2.4.1. Invited spaces

As discussed in section 2.2 in this chapter, the extensive debates on participation that have permeated development studies and planning have been concentrated on the predefined and structured spaces in which 'users, citizens or beneficiaries' are invited to participate (Gaventa, 2005, p.12; Cornwall, 2002; Thrope, 2017; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). The invited spaces, therefore, are defined as the arenas into which people are invited to participate by governments, supranational agencies or civil society organisations (Gaventa, 2005; Miraftab, 2009; Cornwall, 2002). Concerning the invited spaces' debates, the literature inquires about who invites, who selects who takes part, what and whose knowledge counts and what the outcomes are in participatory processes (Cornwall, 2002).

The literature suggests that the durability and the proximity to the state may vary across invited spaces. As noted by Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2005), invited spaces may be 'regularised', such as user groups and consultative committees that serve as an interface between authorities and civil society, or more 'transient', like one-off meetings, public consultations and events. These spaces may be created, supported and mediated outside or inside the state boundaries and involve a wide range of actors, such as government, non-governmental organisations and foreign agencies (Cornwall, 2002).

For Cornwall (2002, p.13), civil society organisations in themselves configure 'new spaces for participation' as they may represent and service the interests of citizens. With the growing role of supranational agencies and NGOs in influencing urban development, the literature has acknowledged the 'new geographies of exclusions' that these produce (Yacobi, 2007, p.756; Cornwall, 2002; Martens, 2005). They may speak for certain groups while leaving out the interests of disadvantaged populations and valuing certain spaces of engagement over others. As noted by Miraftab (2020, p.437), 'institutions of power', such as international donor organisations and national

banks that fund some NGOs, may perceive the spaces with the state as the 'proper' arenas for participation and 'criminalize' the external ones. More radical activists, on the other hand, may seek to create alternative spaces.

Whether in regular or temporally bounded spaces, the outcomes differ across invited spaces for participation. Invited spaces can have different purposes, target audiences and mechanisms to engage people (Cornwall, 2002). They may create opportunities for deliberation, new mobilisations (Gaventa, 2005), 'new ways of talking about an issue', 'new networks of actors' and 'new policy discourses' (Holmes and Scoones, 2000, p.44). However, the literature has shown that invited spaces may limit the possibilities of deliberation and do not necessarily produce equitable decision-making processes and outcomes. Invited spaces may not offer the capabilities (education, training, information and skills) for a fair engagement between professionals, governments and civil society and redress the power unbalances and exclusionary dimensions of participatory processes (Cornwall, 2002). Even when embedded in inclusive, democratic and transformative discourses these spaces may not fundamentally change anything in practice and represent a 'closed field' that could limit the scope of actions (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.157; Cornwall, 2002; Thorpe, 2017; Friendly and Stiphany, 2019; Mitlin, 2021).

Moreover, invited spaces have been criticised for conveniently accompanying the neoliberal agenda[3], as these may use participation to legitimise and achieve state objectives and interests (Miraftab, 2009; Brownill and Parker, 2010). The seemingly transformative potential of invited spaces may serve as an instrument of control, legitimacy and maintenance of the status quo that excludes certain social groups or only tinkers with 'the margins of already-decided solutions' (Cornwall, 2002, p.18; Gaventa, 2005). While invited spaces for participation open channels for citizen engagement, their expansion has been accused of culminating in neutralising and invalidating

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[3] Neoliberalism refers to a socio-economic model which encompasses 'a network of policies, ideologies, values and rationalities' that is marked by the decrease in the role of public institutions, the dominance of market forces and/or the growing performance of private actors and the creation of sanctioned arenas for participation (Miraftab, 2009, p.5; Brenner, 2016).

other types of collective, insurgent and disruptive efforts, as well as extending state control over society (Miraftab, 2009).

2.4.2. Claimed spaces

Having discussed the invited spaces for participation, let me now turn to examine the claimed spaces and the nuances associated with them. I start by presenting the approaches to claimed spaces in development studies and then move on to explain how planning literature expands these notions.

Claimed or created (Gaventa, 2005) spaces for participation are the ones animated by citizen-led actions with common motivations that emerge 'more organically' and are not confined to official and state-led boundaries (Cornwall, 2002, p.17). The nature, dynamics and purposes of claimed spaces are various. Some make use of governmental channels or more radical and oppositional actions (Miraftab, 2009; 2020), while others remain as a 'silent repertoire' at the backstage of the authorities (Bayat, 1997, p.58; Perera, 2009; Gaventa, 2005; Cornwall, 2002). I present below multiple approaches to claimed spaces deriving from different authors and perspectives in development studies and planning literature.

Claimed spaces were first identified by Andrea Cornwall (2002) as 'alternative interfaces' and 'movements and moments'. 'Alternative interfaces' are defined as civil society-led mobilisations aimed at influencing policies, modelling alternatives or providing alternatives to a statutory provision. These spaces have the potential to act as 'sites of radical possibility' and provide opportunities for marginalised groups to organise but may also exclude certain groups and interests (ibid., p.21). 'Movements and moments' refer to ephemeral arenas created outside the state or regularised institutions, such as popular protests and forms of leverage. Despite their ephemeral character, these spaces have the potential to become 'spaces of appearance', give visibility to the issues and interests of marginalised groups and encourage them 'to resist, to challenge their conditions and create alternatives' (Cornwall, 2002, p.22). Both spaces may open closed governmental arenas, create channels outside the state and become more influential and effective than invited spaces (ibid). These examples emerge

from outside the state apparatus but somehow operate, seek visibility or challenge the authorities.

Gaventa (2005, p.12) adopts similar notions of 'claimed' and 'created' spaces but goes further and argues that these could also behave as 'third spaces', 'where social actors reject hegemonic space and create spaces for themselves'. Instead of confronting or seeking to engage with institutionalised arenas, these spaces consist of the 'natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist' (ibid.). Gaventa builds on the idea of 'thirdspace'[4] developed by Soja (1996), following Lefebvre, but does not elaborate much on this concept. However, the notion of third spaces contributes to the understanding that participation is also about resistance.

Later writing in planning helped to expand the understanding of claimed spaces, even without deliberately adopting the spaces for participation framework. One example is the notion of 'contested spaces' developed by Perera (2009), which chimes with the idea of third spaces argued by Gaventa (2005) but gives it a more spatial and material connotation. In Perera's work (2009, p.56), contested spaces are understood as the 'acts practiced behind the backs of the authorities [that] form the hidden transcript of the subalterns'. They refer to the 'clandestine forms of space-making' of ordinary people that are often marginalised or neglected by the authorities and hegemonic spaces (ibid.). Running in the background of the strategies of the authorities, the notion of contested spaces refers to the everyday tactics (De Certeau, 1984) of space-making through which ordinary people 'exercise planning through participation' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.157) despite the state (Souza, 2006).

The concepts of 'third' and 'contested' spaces bring to light the idea that claimed spaces are more than arenas 'for' participation. They are constituted by the very practice 'of' participation and the material and immaterial actions seeking to foster (or not) the state's attention. The ones operating despite the

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[4] For Soja (1996, p.68), 'thirdspaces' do not have a material connotation. They refer to the 'lived spaces of representation', 'spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalised positioning'. These spaces could be activated 'through social action and the social imagination' (Crawford, 1999, p.29).

state (Souza, 2006) relate to Assef Bayat's (1997, p.57) notion of 'the "quiet encroachment of the ordinary" [as] a silent, patient, protracted, and pervasive advancement of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive hardships and better their lives'. Instead of aiming at scaling up (to professional and governmental spaces), these actions may represent a means and an end in themselves and remain as 'citizen-generated engagements' (Mitlin, 2021, p.298).

Moreover, the notion of claimed spaces also took a more radical connotation. Based on empirical work about South Africa's Western Cape anti-eviction campaign, Miraftab (2009) uses the concept of 'invented spaces' to designate the collective actions mobilised by the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo and the neoliberal system (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019). This approach links with the concept of insurgency developed by Holston (1995; 2008; 2009) and Sandercock (1998), as discussed in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, and highlights the fact that spaces for participation are not confined to sanctioned arenas (invited spaces) by the authorities. Insurgent movements invent spaces and move across multiple others to advance their struggle (Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Mitlin, 2021). In later writing, Miraftab (2020) coined the term 'juxtacity' to stress the fluid movement across invited (or 'created') and invented spaces when analysing the sanitation struggles in Cape Town and the housing movements in São Paulo.

Overall, this section has shown that citizen-led spaces for participation do not hold a single definition or purpose. They can take many roles, as illustrated by the literature on spaces for participation, insurgency and seeing from the South. The different takes on the 'closed', 'invited' and 'claimed' spaces reviewed in this section deepen the understanding of the multifaceted nature of participation, as illustrated in Table 1. Nonetheless, this table is not rigid as there are some overlaps between these terms and notions. The writings discussed in this section stem from different viewpoints and theoretical backgrounds and theorise about strategies outside the state apparatus, resisting, surviving and coping against the inadequacy of planning and neoliberal and austerity measures (Frediani and Cociña, 2019; Miraftab,

2004, 2009; Friendly and Stiphany, 2019). They also show their potential in disrupting, creating, reconfiguring, moving and opening up spaces within, in parallel or opposite to the state (Brownill and Parker, 2010; Miraftab, 2009).

Table 1: Summary of spaces

Authors	Cornwall (2002)	Gaventa (2005)	Miraftab (2009; 2020)	Perera (2009)
	Closed	Closed		
	Invited	Invited	Invited, created	
Spaces	Claimed	Claimed, created		
			Invented	
		Third		Contested

Source: Author compiled from various authors

As demonstrated in sections 2.3 and 2.4 in this chapter, the dichotomy between planning within and outside the state forms the basis of the contemporary approaches to participation in planning in the Global North and South. The spaces for participation approach and later Southern perspectives in planning literature widen the understanding of participation and guide this thesis' investigation. In what follows, I conclude by explaining how the aforementioned theoretical contributions are useful for exploring the role of participation in mobility planning.

2.5. Conclusions: A framework for exploring the role of participation in mobility planning

This chapter has drawn attention to the fact that participation has been extensively debated and criticised in planning literature. It has revealed how the literature has moved from a focus on communicative and collaborative approaches to broader understandings of participation within and outside state-led planning. This literature review demonstrated that a wider spectrum of participation has been increasingly nourished in planning studies, especially through a Global South perspective. The Southern turn in planning

brought informality and decolonial notions of planning and participation to the centre of urban thinking. They contributed to the understanding that participation is about engaging in decision-making but also resisting, contesting and making urban space materially, inside or outside professional and governmental boundaries.

In this chapter, I also showed how the spaces for participation approach, originally created in development studies, unpacks further complexities of participation and how a Southern lens helps to extend these discussions. Based on the literature presented in this chapter, the invited, claimed, contested, third and invented spaces described in section 2.4 are constituted by strategies of legitimation, display, efficiency, control, consensus, public acceptability and empowerment, as well as tactics of space-making, resistance, leverage, visibility, inclusion and contestation (White, 1996; Miraftab, 2004; 2009; 2020; Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005; Perera, 2009; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). These are not all the possible purposes and interests of participation but they help to frame the different foci for the creation of less radical (despite the state) and the more radical spaces for participation (against the state).

This framework extends the spaces for participation approach to look at the practices of participation 'in' and 'as' planning (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) and understand how spaces are about participating in decision-making but also resisting, contesting and making urban space materially. Therefore, this thesis adopts a perspective of participation that

> 'extends beyond contributions to processes led by the state and by professionals to encompass a wider range of activities by citizens, groups and institutions intended to influence decision-making about current and future urban development. This definition does not exclude activities by powerful groups, and it does not exclude activities that are ineffective: just as a planner's recommendation might not be implemented but is still understood as planning, activities by individuals and organisations intended to influence urban development are understood here as participation in

planning even if they do not have that effect.' (Thorpe, 2017, p.568)

This understanding is essential to fill a gap in the literature on the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. The following chapter applies the theoretical framework developed in this chapter to review participatory approaches in mobility literature. The next chapter also expands this framework to encompass the complexities around mobility and guide the empirical investigation that will be presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3: Reviewing participatory approaches in the mobility literature

3.1. Introduction

After reviewing the approaches to participation in planning literature, this chapter examines the participatory turn in mobility studies. In this chapter, I build on the theoretical debates illuminated by planning literature to review the role of participation in mobility studies. That being said, the purpose of this chapter is to investigate how ideological and paradigm shifts in mobility studies led to a participatory turn and to examine the main participatory approaches in mobility literature. This review brings to light whether and how notions of participation within and outside the state and in the Global South have been discussed in mobility studies.

The first section begins by framing the ideological and paradigm shifts in mobility studies and examining the emergence and nature of participation in the sustainable mobility paradigm; transport and mobility justice approaches, and Global South perspectives. It pays particular attention to the changeable notions of mobility and motives for participation in theory and discusses how mobility justice approaches and a Southern lens help understand the wide scope of mobility and its injustices in the context of the Global South.

Following this, the chapter moves on to review how participation in mobility planning is considered and promoted in the literature. It examines whether participatory approaches contemplate notions of participation outside governmental boundaries and include marginalised and disadvantaged populations in these debates.

Finally, this chapter concludes by summarising the gaps in the literature, expanding the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter 2 based on the contributions from mobility studies, and presenting the questions to be answered by the empirical study.

3.2.   The paradigm shift and the participatory turn in mobility literature

This section presents the ideological and paradigmatic shifts in mobility studies that are crucial for understanding the emergence of participatory approaches in mobility literature and its relation with notions of sustainability and justice. It starts by introducing the 'mobility turn' in social sciences (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006) that conceptualised mobility beyond transport and brought to light the multivalence of mobility. Following this, I discuss the paradigm shift in mobility literature that sought to overcome the social and environmental challenges in mobility planning and incorporated participation as a vital component for sustainable and just mobility approaches.

Traditionally, the transport planning profession has focused on forecasting and catering for traffic demand through the provision of transport infrastructure using a 'systems-based approach' that typically relies on mathematical models and the technical knowledge of professionals (Lucas, 2012, p.106; Kebowski and Bassens, 2018; Verlinghieri, 2016; Vasconcellos, 2018; Raje, 2007b). These technocratic and rational approaches have nourished the dichotomy between transport (as a hard, detached system) and mobility (practised through everyday experience) and reduced the provision of transport to matters of supply of infrastructure (Verlinghieri, 2016) by traffic engineering 'expertise' (Vasconcellos, 2018; Raje, 2007b).

Following a period of 'ideological' (Elvy, 2014, p.42) and 'paradigm' (Verlinghieri, 2016, p.53) shifts in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the emergence of democratic, governance, justice and equity concerns influenced transport and mobility planning literature (Lucas, 2012; Vasconcellos, 2001). Studies have explored the role of transport in shaping and reproducing inequalities (Lucas, 2012; Raje, 2007a, 2007b); criticised reductionist approaches to transport planning (Verlinghieri, 2016; Vasconcellos, 2001; Elvy, 2014) and conceptualised urban 'mobility' (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2006).

The ideological shift is marked by the new theoretical, methodological and epistemological perspectives that conceptualise mobility as a socially

constructed and contextualised phenomenon (Cresswell, 2006). The 'mobility turn' in the late 1990s and early 2000s represents the decay of the dichotomy between transport and social studies and the incorporation of contributions from anthropology, geography, sociology and urban studies into mobility research (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Mobility study then combines the 'social concerns of sociology (inequalities, power, hierarchies)', 'the spatial concerns of geography (territory, borders, scale)' with the 'cultural concerns of anthropology or communication research (discourses, representations, schemas)' (Sheller, 2021, p.12).

Mobility has been seen as a 'fuzzy term' in the literature due to its multiple notions, denotations and variations (Kwan and Schwanen, 2016, p.244; Da Silva, Costa and Macedo, 2008). With these interdisciplinary contributions, instead of confining definitions of mobility to the simple physical movement 'from A to B', the literature has expanded the notions of mobility to encompass the trajectories, social norms, experiences and everyday practices on the move (Cresswell, 2006; Jensen, 2009; 2013). By conceptualising mobility more broadly and approximating it to socially and environmentally sensitive approaches, the understanding of mobility as pure movement, a matter of infrastructure and a derived travel demand has been increasingly contested (Banister, 2008).

Another ideological shift in mobility literature is the emergence of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Adey, 2006). This paradigm instigated new questions and methodologies to understanding everyday embodied, urban scale and transnational movement and non-movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2021; Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2011). According to John Urry (2007, p.8), mobilities range 'from standing, lounging, walking, climbing, dancing, to those enhanced by technologies, of bikes, buses, cars, trains, ships, places, wheelchairs, crutches' (Urry, 2007, p.8). Mobilities concern the spatial, social and political issues of mobility (Sheller, 2021) as well as the different and also uneven 'experiences that these "mobilities" generate' (Jirón, 2013, p.31; Sheller, 2016). Furthermore, the concept of 'motility' (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006) emerged, unpacking the issues of 'potential movement, blocked movement, immobilisation, and forms

of dwelling and place-making' and deepening the discussions on capabilities, freedom of choice and accessibility in mobility studies (Sheller, 2018; Sen, 1999; Karner et al., 2020).

To capture the complexities of mobilities, a growing number of scholars have paid attention to the performance of mobility. Ole B. Jansen's (2013; 2014) analytical framing of 'staging mobilities' from above and from below, for instance, focuses on the dynamic processes between mobility planning from above and the mobility experiences of individuals and groups, as illustrated in Figure 4. Moreover, the literature has witnessed the growing interest of scholars in adopting mobile methods to capture the multi-sensorial interactions between movement, environment and social phenomena (Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2011; Carpiano, 2009; Middleton, 2011; Warren, 2017; Bergeron, Paquette and Poullauec-Gonidec, 2014).

Figure 4: Staging mobilities' analytical framework

Source: Jensen (2013, p.6)

Furthermore, the explorations of mobile experiences on the ground and a people-focused approach have opened theoretical and methodological avenues for unpacking uneven mobility experiences. Research has explored the impact of gender, ethnicity, age, income, disability, etc. in mobilities

(Raje, 2007a; Levy, 2013a; Hanson, 2010) and the role of transport and governance in reproducing mobility inequalities and social exclusion (Vasconcellos. 2018; Raje, 2007b; Lucas, 2012; Ureta, 2008; Cook and Butz, 2019; Cass, Shove and Urry, 2005). Scholars brought to light the issues of 'reduced or forced mobilities', displacement[5], immobility and forced migration of refugees or victims of environmental disasters and state violence (Cook and Butz, 2019, p.5; Gill, Caletrío and Mason, 2011; Ritterbusch, 2019; Sheller, 2012). Additionally, 'antiracist mobility' literature (Alderman and Inwood, 2016) illuminated the mobility and immobility challenges faced by black minorities and the 'strategies used to anticipate, negotiate, subvert, survive and/or resist efforts to constrain or contain racialised bodies' (Itaoui, Dufty-Jones and Dunn, 2021, p.890).

The shifts in researching and thinking about mobilities beyond purely rational approaches have also been accompanied by a paradigmatic change in mobility literature seeking to overcome the social and environmental crisis sharpened by transport systems and uneven mobilities (Verlinghieri, 2020; Ward, 2001; Sheller, 2016; Banister, 2008). The 'mobility crisis' encompasses the rise in pollution, health impacts, congestion, unevenly distributed public transport systems and mobility inequalities (Verlinghieri, 2020, p.364; Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Shove, 2002; Vasconcellos, 2001). Against this backdrop, scholars brought the principles of sustainability and justice to the centre of transport and mobility thinking (Banister, 2008; Gakenheimer and Dimitriou, 2011; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019). In this paradigm shift, participation and the involvement between the colloquial terms 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' have been increasingly celebrated in the literature as a fundamental component for promoting more sustainable and just futures.

To understand better how sustainability and justice approaches seek to transform the mobility crisis and place participation at the core of this

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[5] Displacement involves international or local, repetitive, temporary or permanent resettlement and movement of migrants (such as refugees), objects and 'imaginative travel aspirations' (Gill, Caletrío and Mason, 2011, p.301). In transport literature, attention has been given to issues of displacement engendered by infrastructure construction and their impacts on marginalised groups (Sheller, 2015; Karner et al., 2020).

transformation, the following sections discuss the conceptualisations of sustainable mobility and transport and mobility justice in detail.

3.2.1. Sustainable mobility

The concept of sustainability emerged in the 1970s, encompassing environmental, economic, social and institutional concerns. Notions of sustainability emerged as a 'key paradigm' for urban, transport and mobility planning (Marshall, 2001, p.131) that seeks to achieve sustainable economic, environmental and social development for current and future generations (Banister, 2001).

Due to the multiple meanings and possible goals associated with it, sustainability has also been considered a 'fuzzy' term (De Roo and Porter, 2007). In the transport field, sustainability has been propagated as a promising alternative for tackling the social and environmental impacts of climate change and carbon emissions and achieving more just futures (Gakenheimer and Dimitriou, 2011; Guimarães and Lucas, 2019). The transition from unsustainable to sustainable mobility often entails the prioritisation of means of transportation that are less harmful to the environment (Izaga, 2014), such as public transport, walking and cycling, and the reduction of car dependency (Banister, 2008).

In mobility planning literature, the notions of sustainable mobility have appeared as a critique of technical-rational transport planning (Vigar, 2017; Banister, 2008; Verlinghieri, 2020). The so-called 'sustainable mobility paradigm' developed by David Banister in 2008 criticises the conventional transport planning principles and measures that have failed to consider mobility as a valued activity. Alternatively, a sustainable mobility approach seeks to approximate social and environmental concerns to mobility planning; reduce travel needs and trip lengths, and promote modal shift, behaviour change and efficient transport systems (Banister, 2008).

Following the understanding of governance as 'a fourth pillar of the sustainability vision' (Dimitriou and Gakenheimer, 2011, p.xviii; Lucas and Stanley, 2013), participation has been incorporated as a vital condition for

promoting access to transport planning and governance, fair decision-making processes and sustainable mobility (Priya Uteng, Singh and Hagen, 2019; Banister, 2008; Verlinghieri, 2019). In the sustainable mobility paradigm, for instance, participation was promulgated as a mechanism for identifying people's expectations and promoting the active involvement of different stakeholders (Banister, 2008). The participatory rhetoric is built on notions of participation as a means to achieve public acceptability of policy measures (Banister, 2008; Vigar, 2017) and a catalyst for behavioural and social changes (Verlinghieri, 2019).

These participatory approaches chime with the idealised, consensual and conflict-less notions of participation and collaborative theories that have been extensively criticised in planning literature for not changing anything in practice (see Section 2.2). They limit participation to communicating, informing and 'selling the benefits' of sustainable mobility to the public (Banister, 2008, p.78). Moreover, the participatory call in the literature has been criticised for not overcoming the technocratic principles in transport planning practice and the mobility crisis (Verlinghieri, 2020). In practice, the sustainable mobility agenda has not fully responded to the paradigmatic shift in the literature or redressed unequal and unsustainable mobility patterns (Verlinghieri, 2020; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Kebowski and Bassens, 2018; Sheller, 2015).

Against this backdrop, in academia and practice, notions of justice have been propagated as more promising concepts to tackle transport and mobility challenges (Verlinghieri, 2020; Martens, 2017; Cook and Butz 2018, Sheller, 2018). In what follows, I unpack the underlying concepts and the role of participation in transport and mobility justice debates.

3.2.2. Transport justice

Concerned with the uneven distribution of mobility, accessibility, mobility rights and gender, age, racial and class inequalities, theories of justice have significantly advanced in transport and mobility literature in the last decade (Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Sheller, 2011; Cook and Butz, 2019). They expand social justice considerations and debates on redistribution,

recognition and participation in social life (Fraser, 1996). Since Henri Lefebvre's (2011) call for the Right to the City in 1968 and David Harvey's (2009) idea of territorial social justice in 1973, relevant considerations have arisen in urban and mobility studies seeking more equitable and fair conditions. The right to the city refers to an umbrella concept that has been extensively debated and adopted by academics, social movements and legal instruments (Frediani, Lipietz and Walker, 2020). In mobility studies, the right to the city encompasses the possibilities of accessing places, opportunities and rights.

In the last decade, taking into consideration the uneven development of the cities across the globe, Edward Soja's (2010) concept of 'spatial justice' has been particularly relevant in putting forward the interconnectedness of social and spatial injustices (Fainstain, 2014). Although Soja (2010) incorporated equal access to transportation as one pillar for a fair distribution of resources, Sheller (2018, p.36) argues that, through the lens of spatial justice, mobility represents 'simply a means to an end' while little attention is given to the complexities shaping uneven mobilities.

Building on theories of justice, such as the ones developed by the philosophers, John Rawls (1971) and Amartya Sen (1999), notions of 'transport justice' and equity[6] emerged in the literature arguing for a fairer approach to transport planning that tackles the uneven distribution of transport systems, access to opportunities and freedom of movement and choice (Martens, 2012; Golub and Martens, 2014; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Cook and Butz, 2019; Verlinghieri, 2020; Sheller, 2018; Karner et al., 2020). In transport justice approaches, the notions of distributive justice are prominent and concern the equitable distribution of transport infrastructure and fair access to mobility (Martens, 2012). Later writing, such as the work of Pereira, Schwanen and Banister (2017), has expanded conceptualisations of transport justice to consider procedural justice in transport planning. Pereira, Schwanen and Banister highlight the

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[6] In transport literature, the term 'equity' is often used to refer to specific components of justice, such as the fair distribution of goods, resources and opportunities (Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Karner et al., 2020; Verlinghieri and Schwanen, 2020).

importance of participatory planning for more equitable transport systems and decision-making processes but adopt the same consensual and conflict-less notions of participation of previous literature. These debates refer to local populations as homogeneous and confine participation to 'state-centric' mechanisms and spaces (Karner et al., 2020, p.5).

In general, the static and 'sedentarist ontology' of transport justice has been considered inadequate to unpack what constitutes justice beyond the realm of transport and accessibility (Cook and Butz, 2019, p.13). Transport justice has been also accused of considering 'space as merely an empty background for mobile activities' and disregarding the underlying politics of uneven mobilities and differential mobility practices (Sheller, 2018, p.27; Verlinghieri and Schwanen, 2020). Additionally, Karner, London, Rowangould and Manaugh (2020) highlight that, in practice, transport justice frameworks have been popular among activists and civil society groups seeking to transform social structures more deeply but failed to integrate governmental language and policy. The latter often adopt the term 'equity' instead, which may pursue equitable distribution of resources and opportunities but may not seek to transform structural injustices in transport planning (Karner et al., 2020).

In response, a mobile approach to justice has emerged explicitly theorising 'mobility justice' and seeking to encompass the mobility complexities of different bodies, groups and spaces at local, national and transnational scales (Cook and Butz, 2019; Sheller, 2018). Mobility justice approaches have also advanced the notions of participation as explained in the following section.

3.2.3. Mobility justice

The search for a 'twin transition toward sustainability and mobility justice' has emerged in mobility studies, aiming to deepen theoretical and empirical debates on what constitutes sustainable and just practices (Sheller, 2011, p.290). Drawing on the limitations of environmental, social, spatial and transport justice approaches in encompassing all the mobility complexities, Mimi Sheller (2011, 2018) and Nancy Cook and David Butz (2019) have

theorised a more encompassing notion of justice. The notions of mobility justice contest stationary theories of justice and recognise that spatial or transport frameworks alone would be insufficient to embrace the complex and multi-scalar aspects of mobility (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019).

With no common agreement on its definitions or meanings, mobility justice incorporates feminist, critical race, historical and postcolonial perspectives to develop holistic, interdisciplinary and multifaceted understandings of mobility-related injustices (Cook and Butz, 2019; Sheller, 2018). In general, contributors of mobility justice approaches seek to challenge and redress the injustices,

> 'that entail embodied relations of race, gender, class, age and sexuality, involve governing institutions/processes and material infrastructures, and operate at multiple (and sometimes entangled) scales, including the body, household, community, city, region, nation and globe. These include: transport justice and urban accessibility; environmental justice and sustainability; spatial justice (exclusions from public space, the right to the city, the right to dwell); migrant justice; infrastructural justice; epistemic justice; recognition and sovereignty; more-than-human justice.' (Cook and Butz, 2019, p.14)

Sheller (2011; 2018) was the first to coin the term mobility justice (Cook and Butz, 2019). The concept of mobility justice emerges in light of a 'triple mobility crisis', resulting from climate change, intensive urbanisation and use of automobiles, social inequalities and persistent violence against refugees and racialised populations (Sheller, 2018, p.3). Mobility justice conceptualisations were developed to think more clearly about the unequal politics, capabilities and rights to move and to stay that involve different bodies, transport systems, national borders and planetary scales (ibid.).

Sheller's approach expands the debates on distributive justice and incorporates notions of deliberative, procedural, restorative and epistemic justice into the mobility justice framework, as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Sheller's approaches to justice

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Transport Equity   Accessibility   Minimum Capabilities

DELIBERATIVE JUSTICE

Recognition   Deliberation   Participation

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Information   Understanding   Informed Consent

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Admission   Truth & Reconciliation   Reparations

EPISTEMIC JUSTICE

Proactive Knowledge Production   Ongoing Process of Adaptation

Source: Sheller (2018, p.35)

In Sheller's framework, participation has been reinforced as a crucial element for mobility planning and decision-making. Sheller (2018) refers to *deliberative justice* as the potential for influencing decisions and claims that deliberative processes should acknowledge the vulnerabilities impacting the mobilities of different social groups, address existing power inequalities among participants and recognise the legitimate experiences, inputs and contributions of people on the ground.

This is intertwined with aspects of *procedural* and *epistemic justice*. The first is understood as 'the meaningful participation of affected populations in the governance of transportation systems' (Sheller, 2018, p.32). This strand of mobility justice deals with structural complexities of participation, the need for including disempowered groups and promoting open access to information and substantial information and consent. It seeks to go beyond 'reformist' (Vasconcellos, 2001) and *'pro forma'* (Karner et al., 2020) participatory approaches that do not seek to challenge the politics of decision-making processes. By interrogating 'who is recognised as a participant? What is recognised as a legitimate topic of deliberation? Where (and at what scale)

should conflicts be resolved?', procedural justice includes the issues beyond accessibility to take part in mobility debates and seeks to broaden political and mobility framings, policy and planning (Sheller, 2018, p.32).

Epistemic justice refers to the need to recognise and create 'new forms of knowledge, new facts, and new ways of reconciling seemingly incommensurable ways of knowing' (Sheller, 2018, p.33). The debate on epistemic justice pays particular attention to the underestimated knowledge produced by marginalised groups and the lack of consistency between their potential contributions and the extensively quantitative data informing transport decision-making and planning (ibid). Sheller argues that marginalised populations' experiences and inputs are often overlooked and discredited by institutions of power.

This discussion could be extended following Miranda Fricker's (2007) theorisations of epistemic practice such as 'conveying knowledge to others by telling them, and making sense of our own social experiences' (Fricker, 2007, p.1). Therefore, two kinds of epistemic injustice are brought to the fore: testimonial and hermeneutical injustice. The first 'occurs when prejudice causes a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word' and disregards someone's capacity as a subject of knowledge (ibid., p.1). This aspect of testimonial injustice focuses on the politics of epistemic practice that has been somewhat covered in mobility justice theorisations (Sheller, 2018). Hermeneutical injustice, on the other hand, has been little explored in mobility studies. It arises 'when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences' (Fricker, 2007, p.1). As argued by Fricker (2007, p.7), unequal power structures and politics of epistemic practice create a 'collective hermeneutical gap' that prevents subjects themselves from 'making sense of an experience which it is strongly in their interests to render intelligible'.

Additionally, Sheller (2018) highlights that populations affected by climate change, transport projects, natural disasters, displacement caused by the state and the excessive mobility of others also require *restorative justice* to

repair any harms caused and address the responsibilities of those causing them.

Overall, Sheller's (2018) notions of mobility justice contribute to broadening debates on justice in transport and mobility and drawing attention to the entangled politics and power relations at multiple scales, mobility practices and meanings. It expands the focus of transport justice to encompass the uneven practices of micro-mobilities and their interconnection with gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, climate and migrant considerations of justice. However, Sheller's conceptualisations have been criticised for being too broad and offering insufficient insights for practical implementation in urban settings – including the Global South (Barber, 2020; Turner, 2020) – and for focusing more on distributive aspects of justice (Verlinghieri and Schwanen, 2020).

Moreover, despite renewed calls for more participation in transport and mobility decision-making, Sheller's notions of participation pay little attention to the complexities of participation in state-led planning. These remain rooted in ideals of consensual and conflict-less participatory approaches that have been extensively criticised in the planning literature, as discussed in Section 2.2. Turner (2020, p.7) notes that Sheller's notion of participation implies a democratic ruling and disregards the complications of participation in 'centrally ruled countries' in the Global South.

Also, Sheller's mobility justice framework is significantly focused on 'state-centric' (Karner et al., 2020, p.5) notions of participation that overlook participatory efforts outside professional and governmental boundaries. Nonetheless, this has started to change in later writing on mobility justice. 'Society-centric' (ibid.) mobility studies begin to recognise the role of societal actors and groups, such as community organisations, NGOs and social movements, in contesting state actions and creating alternatives to redress mobility injustices (Verlinghieri and Schwanen, 2020). This has been the case, particularly in research in the Global South, which has begun to draw attention to uneven politics of decision-making processes and recognise

participatory efforts outside the state (Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020; Vasconcellos, 2014; Verlinghieri, 2016; 2019; 2020).

The contemporary mobility literature 'for/by/from the Global South' (Sheller, 2018, p.32) contributes to developing discussions on participation and mobility but also reveals a gap in knowledge in conceptualising 'society-centric' participatory efforts in contexts of marginalisation. In what follows, I discuss some inputs and deficiencies of Global South perspectives in the mobility literature.

3.3.   Global South perspectives

Considering that mobility theories have been mostly developed by Global North scholars, a Global South lens has emerged in the literature contesting the lack of context-specific perspectives on the complexities of urban mobility and immobility in the Global South (Priya Uteng and Lucas, 2017; Schwanen, 2018). Global South and decolonial perspectives have been incorporated into transport and mobility studies attempting to widen discussions on the complexities of transport, mobility and immobility in developing countries, and the social norms and political and economic interests shaping transport planning (Priya Uteng and Lucas, 2017).

Despite the sociological shifts in approaching 'mobilities' in the Global North, scholars recognise that technical transport approaches, seeking order and efficiency and promoting a car-based culture have been predominant in developing countries (Priya Uteng and Lucas, 2017; Schwanen, 2018; Oviedo and Guzman, 2021). Also, the literature draws attention to the mismatch between mobility planning and the realities of the urban poor. The recent search for sustainable development and mobility in the Global South has been accused of reproducing the same generic and determinist measures being adopted in the Global North (Banister, 2005) and disregarding the urban populations already exercising 'sustainable mobility' (Priya Uteng and Lucas, 2017). The issues of accessibility, affordability of transport and social exclusion compel poor populations to rely on cycling and walking as a mode of survival rather than a matter of choice (ibid.).

A common strand in the literature focuses on the uneven mobilities of individuals differing in class, gender, race, age group and physical and mental ability (Oviedo and Guzman, 2021; Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021) and the impact of transport planning, policy and systems in producing and reproducing social and spatial exclusion in developing countries (Ureta, 2008; Vasconcellos, 2011; 2014; Dimitriou and Gakenheimer, 2011). In light of the rapid urbanisation of developing countries, the literature has drawn attention to exclusionary transport policies, planning and services producing inefficient mobility conditions and enhancing inequalities (Vasconcellos, 2001, 2014).

With a special focus on the context of Latin America, a series of studies has adopted an accessibility-based approach to investigate the inequalities engendered by transport planning and service provision (Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Pereira, 2018; Pereira et al., 2019; Oviedo and Guzman, 2021) and their consequences on people's journey times, exposure to pollution, risk of traffic and insecurity (Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021). Moreover, qualitative research has unpacked the fine-grained detail of mobility injustices caused by state-led forced movement (Ritterbusch, 2019) and by racism impacting black minorities in exercising their right to move, survive and exist (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021). The literature has also examined the dynamics of mobility and transport systems in contexts of informality (Izaga et al., 2019; Lindau et al., 2011; Maia et al., 2016; Cervero and Golub, 2011; Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019) and the impact of violence in everyday mobility to these populations (Veloso and Santiago, 2017). In these debates, the informality of transport systems has been a recurrent theme in the literature, which is often seen as a reaction from urban populations against insufficient state-led transport systems, planning and policy (Cervero and Golub, 2011; Lucas and Stanley, 2013; Turner, 2020). Other work has focused on unpacking the impacts of state-led slum-upgrading programmes on informal settlements' mobilities and tourism (Izaga et al., 2019; Lindau et al., 2011; Nogueira and Moraes, 2020; Dávila, 2013).

In light of mobility challenges identified in the Global South (which could be similar to some Global North contexts), transport and mobility planning has

been criticised for predominantly amplifying the voices of white, young and middle-class males and homogenising transport users and city inhabitants while the needs and perspectives of women, children, older people and marginalised groups remain overlooked (Oviedo and Guzmán, 2021; Lucas and Stanley, 2013). Therefore, the literature considers the participation of local populations in decision-making processes, planning and management as a key condition for improving mobilities and transport systems (Dimitriou and Gakenheimer, 2011; Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017). The engagement of marginalised populations in decision-making processes has also been seen as a desirable mechanism for achieving mobility justice (Ritterbusch, 2019). However, these notions of participation in state-led mobility planning do not expand much on or problematise the power imbalances and reach of participatory processes. Marginalised communities were perceived as being disengaged from mobility planning processes, unaware of ways to obtain better mobility conditions for themselves (Maia et al., 2016) and unable to resolve inequalities (Lucas, 2021). Yet little is known about whether/how marginalised populations create strategies to overcome mobility inequalities (Jirón, 2008), exert participation in mobility planning outside the state or challenge narratives of informality in terms of failure and lack of planning (Schwanen, 2018).

In contrast, other scholars have adopted a more critical perspective about the power dynamics and policy outcomes of participatory processes. As long argued by Eduardo Vasconcellos (2001, 2014, 2018), different levels of education, political knowledge and influence over governmental decisions may enable or hinder participation in mobility policies, debates and decision-making processes. Especially in developing countries, while disadvantaged populations do not have much access to decision-making processes, elite and middle-class groups influence transport policy through 'hidden' and 'indirect' pressure (Vasconcellos, 2001, p.81). Conversely, Vasconcellos brings to light the types of political participation that go beyond 'peaceful' tactics, such as the demanding, reactive and, sometimes, 'violent' movements and demonstrations mobilised outside (and against) the state, as illustrated in Table 2. Nonetheless, Vasconcellos' generic considerations of

social movements in developing countries do not focus on spatial levels or particular national, city or neighbourhood scales.

Table 2: Social movements and urban transport

Type of movement	Main characteristics	Example
Level of organization Individual Group State	Individual complaints Social complaints Interests inside state	Change in bus stop Fare decrease Public transport regulation
By nature Demanding Reactive	Demand changes Resist changes	Public transport improvement Road construction revolt
By logistics Open Hidden	Direct (public) pressure Indirect (hidden) pressure	Community demonstration Elite and middle-class influence on state decisions
By tactics Peaceful Violent	Peaceful means Violent means	Community reunions Destruction of buses

Source: Reproduced from Vasconcellos (2001, p.81)

In later writing, Vasconcellos (2014) highlights that seemingly equitable and progressive policy frameworks require political forces to change unequal structures of mobility systems. As challenging the status quo and existing privileges of economic and political elites may or may not be sought by the state, Vasconcellos argues that is not very likely that policies alone would be able to make this shift. Against this backdrop, the role of social movements and non-governmental organisations has been increasingly recognised in mobility studies on the Global South. Scholars have focused on the role of citizen-led organisations in contesting transport fares and conditions (Verlinghieri, 2016; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017), producing sustainable mobility policy (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018), promoting mobility justice (Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020) and creating new proposals and reflections (Vasconcellos, 2014; Gakenheimer and Dimitriou, 2011).

The role of social movements (Castells, 1983) in protesting and mobilising the right to the city and mobility in Rio de Janeiro has been explored by the

work of Ersilia Verlinghieri and Federico Venturini (2017; Verlinghieri, 2016; 2020). They bring to light the lessons from the Fórum de Lutas and the Mobility Forum[7] in discussing, contesting and claiming the right to sustainable and just mobility. Furthermore, other work has focused on the potential of mobility-related grassroots and NGOs in promoting changes. Vasconcellos (2014, p.272), for instance, argues that possibilities for more equitable mobility futures must emerge outside the traditional political system, particularly from 'civil organisations advised by experts'. The transformative potential of these organisations has been explored by the work of Denver Nixon and Tim Schwanen (2019; 2020) concerning the role of grassroots groups in London and São Paulo in appropriating and expanding the landscape of mobility justice. Nixon and Schwanen (2020, p.98) see the 'citizen-led initiatives' as potential drivers for more sustainable and just mobility and filling 'gaps left by the state and marked in the cultivation of certain capabilities, experiences and practices in relation to walking and cycling' (Schwanen and Nixon, 2020, p.98).

With the growing 'NGO-ization' of mobility movements, the work of Sosa Lopez and Montero (2018, p.142) has explored the role of international non-governmental organisations funded by supranational donors in contesting and producing sustainable mobility policy in Mexican cities. Lopez and Montero (2018, p.137) use the term 'expert-citizens' to name the actors that make use of their technical skills, knowledge and civil society status as 'advocacy tools' to influence transport policy discussions (Yacobi, 2007). Their legitimacy is navigated through a 'toned-down language' and the use of media and public opinion tools, cooperation and propositional approaches (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018; Vasconcellos, 2014).

Overall, these debates from mobility literature on the Global South draw attention to efforts beyond 'state-level participation' (Vasconcellos, 2001, p.80), such as contributions of civil society organisations, as exemplified by

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[7] While Fórum de Lutas represents a 'protest-oriented' social movement that has mobilised against the increase of public transport fares in Rio de Janeiro since 2013, the Mobility Forum works as a 'knowledge-oriented' space within which transport engineers, unions, local authorities, NGOs and citizens regularly meet to discuss the mobility challenges in Rio de Janeiro's metropolitan area since 2011 (Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017).

Table 3. This table summarises the main focus, dimensions of justice and notions of participation within sustainable mobility, transport justice and mobility justice approaches.

Table 3: Summary of approaches with contributions from Global South perspectives

Approach	Focus	Dimension of justice	The role of state-level participation	Contributions of civil society organisations
Sustainable mobility	Low carbon transport, active mobility (walking, cycling, etc.)	Environmental Social	Public acceptability, behaviour change, fairness and good governance	Production and contestation of mobility policy
Transport justice	Transport and accessibility	Distributive (transport, accessibility)	Fair transport planning, democracy and experiential knowledge	Contestation of mobility injustices and production of knowledge
Mobility justice	Mobilities (bodies, transportation systems, city-scale systems and urban infrastructures, border regimes and transnational mobilities)	Distributive Deliberative Procedural Restorative Epistemic Transport Accessibility Environmental Social Spatial Migrant Infrastructural Recognition Sovereignty More-than-human	Access to information, transport planning and decision-making; recognition of community members' inputs and the vulnerabilities of specific groups; and promotion of new kinds of decision-making systems in which the marginalised can have power	Expansion of the landscape of mobility justice and filling of gaps left by the state

Source: Author compiled from various authors

Despite growing awareness on the role of society-level efforts in contesting mobility policy, creating alternatives and expanding justice considerations, some of these practices have not yet been theorised as forms of participation in themselves, as notions of participation remain focused on engagement

with the authorities (Perera, 2009). Also, mobility research has given little attention to the dynamics, power relations and potential exclusions within spaces where civil society organisations participate within and outside state-led planning in the Global South.

To deepen the understanding of the complex relationship between participation within and outside the state, I use the discussions on the spaces for participation presented in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4) to review further the interplay between participation, transport and mobility in the literature. This approach is useful for identifying the meanings and types of spaces for participation (within and outside the state) and further gaps in the mobility literature. The following section puts the spaces for participation 'in motion' and draws attention to some considerations that are crucial for exploring the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

3.4. Putting the spaces for participation in motion

As discussed in the previous sections, participation has been increasingly brought to the fore in transport and mobility literature. Particularly since the 2000s, with the ideological and paradigmatic shifts in the literature, participation has gained attention in transport and mobility studies and has been associated with multiple meanings and definitions. To capture the complexities and different approaches to participation in mobility literature, this section applies the spaces for participation framework developed in Chapter 2 to review the notions of participation in transport and mobility studies. It uses the notions of invited and claimed spaces to differentiate the approaches and identify further gaps in the literature.

3.4.1. Invited spaces

After reviewing the transport and mobility literature, one of the first and most enduring approaches to participation in mobility and transport studies concerns participation in 'invited' spaces for participation. These notions are mainly focused on transport decision-making processes in which participation is seen as a key element for catalysing public acceptability and behavioural

change (Banister, 2008; Vigar, 2017; Verlinghieri, 2019), promoting inclusive and participatory governance (Hodgson and Turner, 2003) as well as an opportunity to give voice to people through public consultation (Raje, 2007b; Fouracre, Sohail and Cavill, 2006) and forums (Ward, 2001).

Against the longstanding technocratic and expert-led approaches in transport planning practice, local populations' lay and experiential knowledge have been considered an important element in achieving inclusive transport planning and sustainable mobility. The combination of expert and non-expert knowledge (Vigar, 2017) emerges as a promising measure for yielding insights into transport policies (Fouracre, Sohail and Cavill, 2006), promoting mutual learning and the inclusion of transport users' abilities and experiences in planning (Elvy, 2014). These approaches recognise the local populations as the true 'practitioners of the city' and praise experiential knowledge as a key fundament for improving transport and mobility planning (Da Silva, Mello and Amaral, 2016, p.11).

In the pursuit of inclusive and effective transport planning and policy, participation has often been viewed as a tool for decision-makers to understand people's needs and knowledge. By identifying people's needs (Raje, 2007a), prioritising and giving voice to the urban poor (Fouracre, Sohail and Cavill, 2006), participation carries a collaborative approach that continues to focus on consulting and capturing 'communities' demands. These approaches not only homogenise the urban poor and local populations and generalise their 'needs' but also perpetuate idealised assumptions of participation in decision-making processes (Vasconcellos, 2001).

Considering the technocratic tradition and tendency of transport and mobility of being predominantly consensual and conflict-less, participation has been criticised for lubricating 'the pathway towards "win-win" mobility projects' and not changing anything in practice (Kebowski and Bassens, 2018, p.424; Karner et al., 2020). Therefore, invited spaces for participation in state-led planning, such as public consultations and meetings, are accused of perpetuating privilege, racism and 'expert' knowledge and keeping out crucial issues of mobility justice (Sheller, 2018). Karner et al. (2020, p.17) also argue

that participatory arenas 'inside' state-led planning may co-opt participants, limit the scope of discussions according to the authorities' interests and remain as spaces of tokenism (Arnstein, 1969).

Despite the extensive critiques of communicative and collaborative approaches in planning literature (see Section 2.2), mobility studies remain rooted in idealised notions of participation, generic consultations and purely invited spaces. Nonetheless, with the increasing critiques of participation within state-led mobility planning, a branch of the literature has paid attention to the forms of participation outside governmental boundaries. The examples shared by the literature resemble the claimed spaces conceptualised by Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2005) and Miraftab's (2009; 2020) notion of invented spaces (Section 2.4), as illustrated in the following section.

3.4.2. Claimed spaces

As demonstrated in section 3.3, a growing number of scholars have paid attention to different forms and notions of participation outside state-led mobility planning. Essentially, the studies focus on the role of social movements, grassroots and civil society organisations in contesting top-down actions (Verlinghieri, 2016, 2019; Hilbrandt, 2017), putting sustainable mobility into practice (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018) and shaping sustainable and just mobilities from bottom-up (Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020). The recognition of participatory efforts beyond 'invited' spaces has widened notions of participation, as explained by Ersilia Verlinghieri (2019, p.537) in her work on citizen-led participation in Antwerp:

> 'I consider participation to be an institutional process organised by local authorities, councils, researchers, international bodies to involve local communities, stakeholders and a variety of actors in planning processes. At the same time I consider participation in broader terms. […] Therefore, participation including all those processes that commenced from the bottom up by actors such as grassroots initiatives, social movements or citizens groups impacts, to a small or great extent, on the way we perceive and plan our cities.'

This definition includes the participatory efforts outside the state, generally led by social movements or civil society organisations. Within their initiatives, scholars have recognised the potential of protests, demonstrations and mass mobilisations in pressuring the state and challenging the status quo in insurgent and 'invented' spaces (Vasconcellos, 2014; Miraftab, 2009; Hilbrandt, 2017; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017). To a small extent, the literature has also recognised the 'knowledge-oriented movements' (Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017, p.129) or 'third spaces' (Gaventa, 2005) where grassroots groups gather to discuss, resist and build awareness and knowledge on the right to mobility (Álvarez-Gortari, Mihessen and Spencer, 2020). These efforts have been seen as fundamental to advocating more and fairer participation in transport planning but have not been yet theorised as a form of participation in itself.

Also, other authors highlight the role of initiatives outside the state in proposing alternatives and influencing mobility policy and projects (Karner et al., 2020; Verlinghieri, 2019; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020). A vivid example is the engagement of civil society organisations in small-scale interventions led by them or by the state in the Global North and South. In recent years, 'Tactical Urbanism' interventions and 'Complete Streets' have emerged, making temporary and small-scale changes that seek to balance opportunities for pedestrians and cyclists in the short and long term (Thorpe, 2017, p.575; Lydon and Garcia, 2015; Sheller, 2011, 2018; Karner et al., 2020; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018; Fernandes Barata and Sansão Fontes, 2017; 2022). Tactical Urbanism is the umbrella term to designate the temporary and small-scale actions that seek long-term changes. This approach was first developed in 2011 by Mike Lydon in the United States to name a series of citizen or state-led initiatives experimenting with transformations in urban design, subverting car spaces and increasing open public areas and safety for pedestrians (Lydon and Garcia, 2015; Fernandes Barata, 2018). 'Complete Streets' is a specific term that encompasses the notion of an equally affordable street that gives the same priority to all mobility modes and reduces the dominance of cars in cities. The idea of Complete Streets was considered by Mimi Sheller (2018) as one

principle of infrastructural justice. Emerging in the Global North, these approaches have recently reached developing countries, as illustrated by the Complete Street implemented in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in Figure 6. I discuss this project further in Chapter 7, Section 7.2.2.

Figure 6: Complete Street intervention in Porto Alegre, Brazil

Source: Santos, Samios and Batista (2021, p.54)[8]. Photo credits: Daniel Kener Neto/WRI Brasil.

These approaches, characterised by the use of objects and small-scale physical interventions, are considered by Amelia Thorpe (2017, p.14) to constitute a 'material turn' in planning. This material connotation to participation links back to the notions of participation as a form of spatial practice, as discussed in Section 2.4.2. Thorpe argues that these small-scale and temporary transformations of streets blur the boundaries between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in planning practice. Academics, activists and non-governmental organisations occupy multiple roles and create temporary urban interventions to foster (or not) the state's attention. On the other hand, these urban interventions were criticised by Neil Brenner (2016) for having a palliative potential in addressing social justice and reinforcing neoliberal trends of state withdrawal. Also, this research has identified that these approaches are rarely concerned with the potential exclusion of low-income

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groups from these temporary initiatives and respective spaces for participation.

The examples discussed in this section demonstrate the growing interest in the mobility literature on the forms of participation 'within, through and beyond the state' in the Global North and South (Karner et al., 2020). The literature reviewed shows an increasing critical perspective towards consensual and conflict-less participatory planning approaches and renewed attention to the actors and strategies contesting, resisting and shaping mobilities through the very practice of participation outside the state (Frediani and Cociña, 2019; Karner et al., 2017; Verlinghieri, 2019; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020). While these perspectives take a fresh look at the initiatives mobilised by grassroots groups and NGOs, they also adopt a critical view of their shortcomings and power dynamics. For instance, Karner et al. (2020, p.17) argue that strategies from 'outside' state-led planning may face similar or different risks from 'inside activities' (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018). They may suffer violent repression from the state and exclude, delegitimise or marginalise the voices outside their scope (Karner et al., 2017; Yacobi, 2007; Cornwall, 2002).

Although contributors of mobility justice approaches and Global South perspectives have expanded the debates on participation in mobility literature, notions of participation have not yet captured whether marginalised populations engage with existing spaces for participation (inside or outside the state) or create alternative ones. Mobility research has not theorised about the relevance of participation in mobility planning to marginalised groups in the context of the Global South. Unlike the planning literature (Chapter 2), there is a gap in mobility studies in conceptualising everyday tactics that cope with inequalities, practice solidarity or alleviate mobility injustices as forms of participation. This thesis then seeks to fill this gap and investigate whether, what and how spaces for participation engage with and emerge from marginalised territories in the Global South.

3.5. Conclusions and conceptual framework

This chapter reviewed the ideological and paradigmatic shifts in mobility studies, the emergence of participatory discussions and the contemporary Southern perspectives that have widened the critical discussions of mobilities and the notions of participation within and outside state-led planning. In this chapter, I used the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 to relate the participatory examples found in the mobility literature to the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005; Perera, 2009; Miraftab, 2009). These participatory strategies with, despite or against the state (Souza, 2006) chime with the invited, claimed, invented, contested and third spaces in developing studies and planning debates.

Despite the prominent idealised, consensual and conflict-less approaches to participation in mobility studies, the literature has begun to draw attention to the power dynamics of participatory activities and society efforts outside the state. The examples from the literature demonstrate that people on the ground are not only 'staging' and performing mobilities from below (Jensen, 2013; 2014). In fact, the literature reviewed in this chapter shows the multiple strategies and forms of action that individuals, grassroots groups and NGOs use to contest, resist and influence decisions from above and make spaces from below. However, this thesis recognises that little has been discussed about the complexities of participation in state-led planning in the Global South and whether marginalised populations engage with these spaces or create others to address mobility justice.

Taking into consideration the insights from the planning literature and Southern theories (Chapter 2) that widened the spectrum of participation in contexts of marginalisation (Frediani and Cociña, 2019; Miraftab, 2009; 2020; Perera, 2009; Souza, 2006; Mitlin, 2021; Watson, 2014), this thesis seeks to unpack the complexities of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. The contributions from mobility justice discussions (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019) and participatory strategies seeking to improve, resist and contest mobilities in the Global South (Vasconcellos, 2001; 2014; 2018; Verlinghieri, 2016; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017; Nixon and Schwanen,

2019; Schwanen and Nixon, 2020; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018) can also help to illuminate the relevance of mobility and participation to marginalised groups.

To this end, this thesis builds on Jensen's (2013; 2014) 'staging mobilities' analytical framework (introduced in Section 3.2, page 41) and the contributions from the literature on mobility justice, Global South perspectives, development studies, planning and insurgency to develop an innovative conceptual framework to answer the research questions (see Section 1.3). The first questions the nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning in the Global South (RQ 1), while the second interrogates how different stakeholders define participation and mobility (RQ 2).

Originally, Jensen (2014) used the 'staging mobilities' model to understand the influence of planning and design (from 'above') on social interactions and the embodiment of mobility (from 'below'). Jensen recognises that mobility experiences are inseparable in practice but advocates that this model adds value to the understanding of the influence of design and planning on social interactions and the embodiment of mobility. In this thesis, I borrow Jensen's notion of 'above' and 'below' to create an analytical framework that differentiates 'within' and 'outside' state-led mobility planning. Although inseparable in practice, this differentiation is crucial for exploring the role of state-led and 'citizen-generated' (Mitlin, 2021, p.298) spaces for participation in mobility planning in the Global South. Unlike Jensen, I also use this framework for identifying and understanding the participatory practices found within the lived mobility experiences of marginalised groups.

To conduct this investigation, this thesis' conceptual framework (Figure 7) is divided based on the research questions:

- RQ 1: One part of the framework (right arrow) focuses on investigating the *dynamics* within and across spaces for participation, the *interactions* between societal actors within and outside state-led mobility planning, the *purposes* of participation in these spaces and the components of *mobility justice* at stake.

- RQ 2: The framework also concentrates (left arrow) on unpacking the *meanings* of participation attributed by actors within and outside state-led mobility planning and exploring everyday mobility practices to uncover the *significance* of participation and mobility (and mobility justice) to marginalised groups.

Figure 7: Conceptual framework
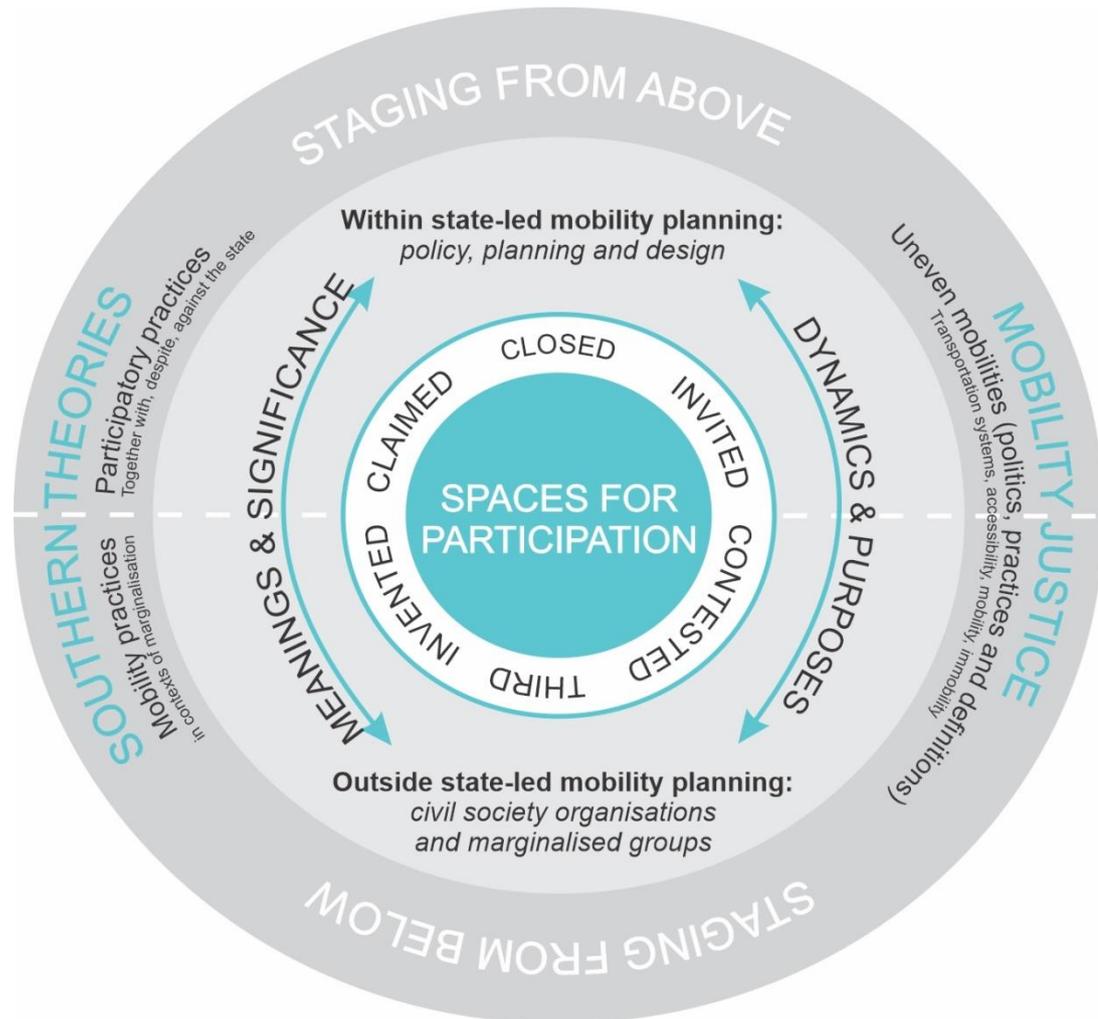
This model expands the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) and Jensen's staging mobilities model to capture the complexities and key aspects of (1) Southern perspectives and (2) mobility justice.

A Southern lens is useful for unpacking the participatory practices in decision-making, city-making and communitarian actions from above and below, their dynamics over time and levels of articulation with the state

(together with, despite or against the state). It broadens the spaces for participation approach by including notions of informality, marginalisation and insurgency in the spectrum of participation and challenges Jensen's staging mobilities model to consider whether the 'staging from below' involves more than just performing mobilities.

The combination of Global South perspectives and mobility justice considerations adds value to the framework as it helps to conceptualise the nuances of participatory practices in mobility planning and the uneven mobility politics, meanings and experiences of marginalised populations. Both lenses allow the research to consider the multiple components of mobilities beyond the boundaries of transport and accessibility and conceptualise the aspects of mobility justice at stake in spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning.

In Chapter 4, I explain the methodological approach to conducting the research and the empirical investigation in the case study sites in Brazil. I also describe the research design, my positionality as the researcher, the study limitations and the criteria for establishing trustworthiness in this thesis.

Chapter 4: The methodological lens for investigating the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South

4.1. Introduction

This thesis has demonstrated the gap in the literature in unpacking the role that different forms and meanings of participation (within and outside the state) play in mobility planning in the Global South, particularly in contexts of marginalisation. To fill this gap, the study has adopted a qualitative case study approach to research the role of participation (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) in mobility planning in the Global South.

Following the exposition of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks in the previous chapters, this chapter outlines the philosophical and empirical pathways forming the methodological basis of this research. It demonstrates the rationale for carrying out this study, clarifies the epistemological and ontological positions adopted by the researcher and offers a reflexive and detailed overview of the methods undertaken in this study. The chapter also presents the evaluative criteria for establishing trustworthiness and reflects on the researcher's positionality and the study's limitations, especially concerning the impact of COVID-19 in the course of the research.

4.2. Research philosophy

As mentioned in the introduction, this research is concerned with the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. To be able to design an approach to carry out an empirical investigation, this section presents how knowledge, knowledge production and reality are understood in this thesis.

4.2.1. Epistemological considerations

An epistemological position refers to the theory of knowledge that guides the philosophical principles by which the researcher establishes what counts as knowledge and evidence to understand social phenomena (Mason, 2018). Epistemological perspectives influence the criteria and methods for conducting research that typically lead to objectivist or subjectivist positions (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012). For example, positivism is an

objectivist stance and supposes dispassionate, neutral observations through testing hypotheses and universal laws to describe the social world, whereas interpretivism situates the researcher as part of the social world they are researching. In the latter, the researcher applies their subjective interpretations to understand the phenomena (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012; Mason, 2018; Bryman, 2012).

As this study focuses on understanding from people's perspectives how they make sense of the world and view and practice participation and mobility, this research adheres to interpretivism. This epistemological position entails different interpretive frameworks and ontological perspectives (see Section 4.2.2). The main interpretative framework to which this research adheres is social constructivism (Creswell and Poth, 2018). An interpretive framework consists of the net that connects the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological paradigms, and guides how the world is understood and studied in a piece of research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). A social-constructivist perspective refers to the multiple and varied ways in which meanings are created in society. As such, participants are at the core of the research process and the role of the researcher is to make sense of and interpret the complexities behind the meanings participants construct about the world. The researcher or the 'interpretive bricoleur', as Denzin and Lincoln (2018, p.11) suggest, considers research an interactive process that produces a bricolage: 'a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation'. Therefore, social constructionism recognises the process of interaction between the researchers and the people being researched as the means by which reality is constructed. In this framework, the subjective meanings embedded in individuals' worldviews are perceived as products of social interaction, lived experiences and cultural and historical norms.

The consideration of knowledge in this research is also informed by postcolonial and decolonial approaches (Mignolo, 2007; Watson, 2009; Vainer, 2014). Unlike positivist or post-modernist approaches that consider knowledge as universal or indeterminate, knowledge in this thesis is perceived as rooted in a context and power structures (Vainer, 2014;

Connell, 2007; Yiftachel, 2006). Therefore, the methodological lens framing this study takes some elements of postcolonialism and decoloniality to critically evaluate the views and meanings that influence the social world.

The emergence of the so-called 'phenomena of the "post-"' dates to the 1970s as a critique of the Enlightenment and Modernity concepts, theories, methods and politics (Filmer, Jenks and Seale, 2004, p.42). In the social sciences, these movements opened up spaces for counterhegemonic approaches, such as postcolonialism and decoloniality that reject the idea of universal methods and theories and challenge standard narratives and dominant structures of knowledge production (Bhambra, 2014; Kara, 2015). A postcolonial and decolonial lens recognises the persistence of the 'coloniality of power and knowledge' in post-colonial contexts (Vainer, 2014, p.52; Mignolo, 2007) and its influence on notions of the Global South as 'inferior' (Patel, 2014, p.40) and 'backwards' (Vainer, 2014, p.50; Connell, 2007).

Therefore, one prominent facet of the 'post-colonial turn' (Mabin, 2014) is the claim for 'decolonising urban knowledge' and pluralising epistemologies in urban studies, policy and planning through promoting 'alternative bases of knowledge' (Yiftachel, 2006, p.216; Vainer, 2014; Sandercock, 1998). This approach offers the opportunity to unpack the epistemologies of the South (De Sousa Santos, 2015) and to decolonise and deconstruct knowledge in peripheral and Southern contexts (Watson, 2009; Vainer, 2014). In the thesis, this meant adopting a critical reflection on how the research approaches the literature review, empirical work and data.

In regards to the literature review, this thesis paid particular attention to the gaps in Global North literature to understand and theorise about the research topic in the Global South and also highlighted the contributions from Southern theories to current debates (see Chapters 2 and 3). In the empirical work, as this research investigates the everyday mobility of disadvantaged groups, it became necessary to recognise and critically reflect on the colonial structures influencing the divergences of what knowledge and understandings of mobility are valued and whose participation is appreciated

(Schwanen, 2018). This has been done through critically reflecting on the role of actors in the field (particularly the ones with leadership roles), the absence of marginalised voices in dominant participatory spaces and my presence in the field.

This required a reflexive perspective toward my positionality as the researcher and responsibility for societies, research contexts and different ways of knowing ('knowledges') (Yiftachel, 2006; Osuteye, 2020; Banyai-Becker et al., forthcoming). The term 'different ways of knowing' in this thesis refers to the multiplicity of knowledge sources – academic, non-academic, embodied, spoken and unspoken – held by different social actors (Banyai-Becker et al., forthcoming), some of which are oppressed by colonial legacies (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021) and discredited as subjects of knowledge (Fricker, 2007). This meant having a continuous 'commitment to uncertainty, humility and unlearning in the research process' (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2010, p. 115), respecting participants and their various sources of knowledge and exercising critical reflexivity on whose paradigm is leading the research (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). Reflexivity was crucial for allowing the voices, contributions and aspirations of marginalised groups to emerge and minimising the influence of my biases and preconceptions when preparing for fieldwork, entering the field and analysing the data (more details on the researcher's positionality are discussed further in Section 4.7).

4.2.2. Ontological considerations

Ontology is concerned with the nature of social reality and an ontological perspective encompasses the 'branch of philosophy dealing with the essence of phenomena and the nature of their existence' (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012, p.18). The subjectivist epistemological stance, assuming that researchers and participants co-create understandings, connects with the relativist ontological perspective that this research adheres to (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). This research adopted a constructionist ontological position, as it perceives that there are multiple realities and 'social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors' (Bryman, 2012, p.29; Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). Constructionism not only recognises

that phenomena are socially constructed but also implies that social reality is in constant revision (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, this ontological perspective has an emphasis on how individuals interpret and make sense of their social world (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012). This approach suits the current research as it enables the exploration of understandings and meanings produced by different social practices and actors (Mason, 2018).

Taking into consideration the epistemological and ontological considerations that this thesis is built on, the following section presents the research strategy adopted for investigating the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South.

4.3.   Research strategy

Having discussed the philosophical considerations guiding this research, this section focuses on introducing the research strategy. A strategy of inquiry is attributed to an array of approaches that 'researchers employ as they move from their paradigms to the empirical world' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p.21). In this section, I explain the qualitative nature of the research and how the relationship between theory and research is viewed in this thesis. Also, I discuss the research approach adopted for the empirical investigation.

4.3.1. Qualitative research

The thesis was designed as a qualitative study to gain a subjective understanding of the practices and meanings of participation and mobility from real-life cases. To carry out this investigation, in opposition to purely inductive or deductive approaches, the research adopted an 'iterative' approach toward the relationship between theory and research that entails elements of both deduction and induction in its process (Bryman, 2012, p.26). This means a continuous reflection on theory and the data set, as illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Iterative approach
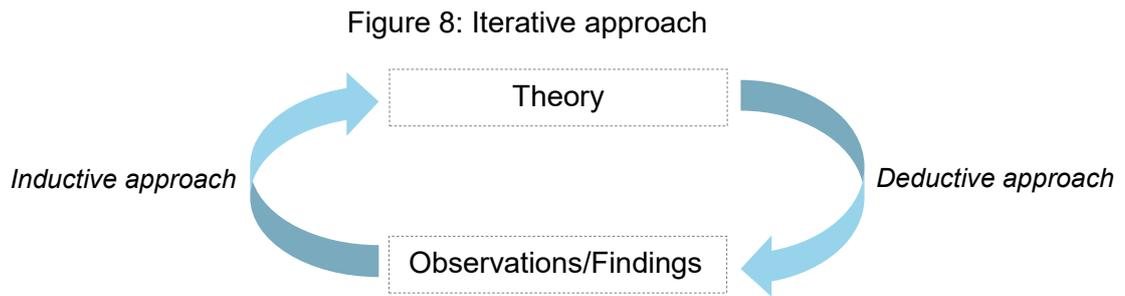
Figure adapted from Bryman (2012, p.26).

Rather than establishing hypotheses or moving on to empirical observations, this study began by developing the theoretical and conceptual basis that supports this thesis, based on the revision of existing literature. Following this, the research cycle proceeded by conducting empirical work: analysing and theorising about the research findings and reflecting on wider theoretical discussions. Therefore, the research process was divided into 8 stages (Figure 9): (1) conceptual and theoretical investigation, (2) development of methodology, (3) collection of relevant data, (4) interpretation of the data, (5) collection of further data, (6) data analysis, (7) review of conceptual and methodological frameworks and (8) writing up findings.

Figure 9: Research stages
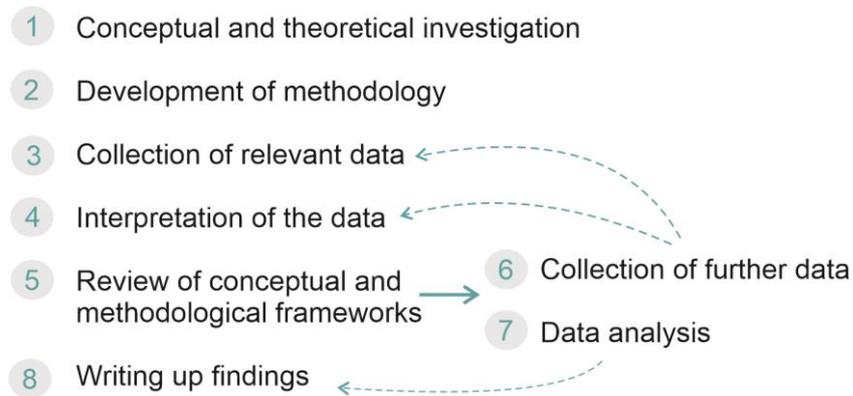
Diagram adapted from Bryman (2012, p.384).

4.3.2. Case study approach

As this thesis investigates the forms, practices, dynamics and meanings of participation in mobility planning in the Global South, I adopted an in-depth investigation of contemporary phenomena across multiple sites and adhered

to case study research as the qualitative approach to inquiry (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2014).

Case study research has a long history across many disciplines and it has been considered either an empirical method or a type of design in qualitative research (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Yin, 2014). This research views a case study as a research approach that uses one or more cases as instruments of investigation and adopts a number of methods for gathering data (Creswell and Poth, 2018). A case study approach suits the epistemological and ontological positions adopted in this thesis as it provides an opportunity for capturing the meanings, perspectives, 'knowledges' and 'realities' of different social groups in dissimilar contexts (Yin, 2014).

Considering the intent and type of study, a collective and multisite case study approach (Creswell and Poth, 2018) was selected to gain an understanding of similar or different perspectives on the issue. A multisite approach allows the researcher to study several initiatives or programs from several research sites. Therefore, an instrumental approach (ibid.) suits the intent of this thesis as it perceives the cases as vehicles to explore the research questions rather than developing an in-depth understanding of a single case. This research strategy does not intend to generalise from one case to another, rather it aims to compare and understand the similarities and differences in forms, practices, dynamics and meanings of participation in mobility planning within different contexts and backgrounds. The logic behind the selection of case study sites is presented below.

4.3.2.1. Criteria for selecting the case study sites

Following the research motivations for exploring the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South, Brazil was the chosen site for this study for two main reasons: the native condition of the researcher (see Section 4.7) and recent policies and events mobilising participation within and outside state-led mobility planning (see Chapter 5 for more details). Within Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (Figure 10) were the case study sites selected for this investigation. The criteria for selecting these two state capitals were: (1) a certain similarity of mobility policies and projects

being undertaken, with or without participation; (2) a considerable number of social movements and non-governmental organisations defending mobility rights outside the state; and (3) dissimilar traditions of participation in state-led planning. Therefore, this thesis examines whether these traditions strengthen or weaken the capacity for participation and what type of spaces for participation they enable.

Figure 10: Case study sites in Brazil
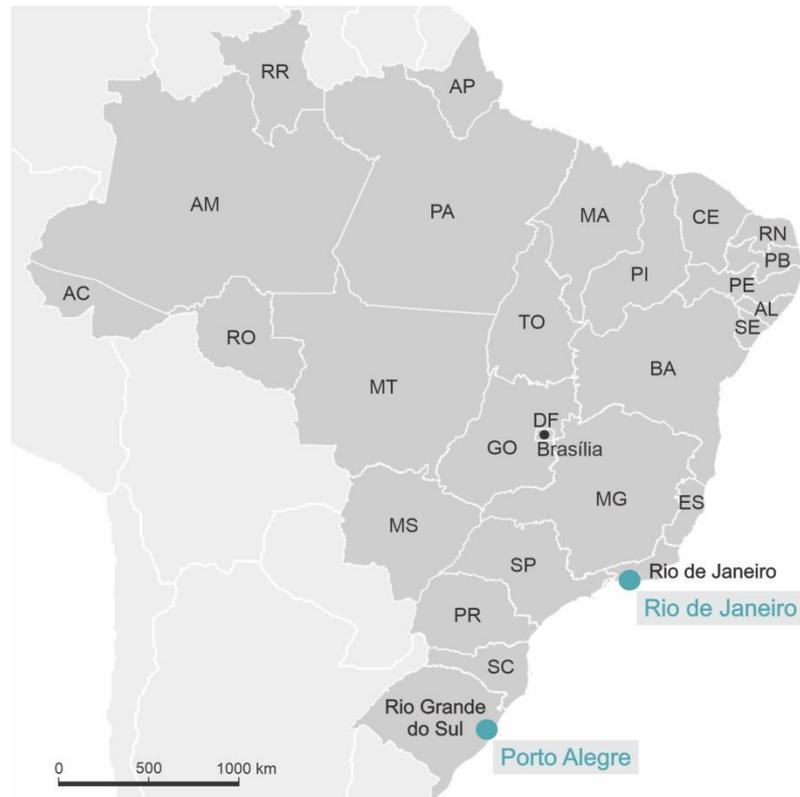
One similarity between Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre is that both consist of state capitals that have gone through the development of municipality-led mobility plans, slum-upgrading projects and urban and transport transformations in preparation to host mega-events, such as the FIFA World Cup and Olympic Games (which are discussed further in Chapter 5). Another similar feature is that these cities have a growing proportion of their population living in territories named Areas of Special Interest (AEIS) in the Brazilian planning framework, where 'irregular', 'informal' and 'precarious' settlements are found.

Following the theoretical discussions in Chapters 2 and 3 and the gaps in the literature in unpacking the complexities of participation in mobility planning in

the Global South, particularly in contexts of marginalisation, two low-income neighbourhoods were chosen for this study: Favela Santa Marta, Rio de Janeiro and Vila Tronco, Porto Alegre. The rationale for selecting these neighbourhoods was based on: (1) their 'precarious' condition, (2) their central location in the city and (3) recent transport projects. The opportunity to establish contacts on the ground through the Co-creation[9] and the Healthy Urban Mobility[10] projects was another facilitator in selecting Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco as case study neighbourhoods for this study.

Although with different geographies, political contexts and histories of occupation by its residents and control by the state, Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco are located within central wealthy districts supplied with a wide range of public transport options and mobility infrastructure. However, both neighbourhoods are socially and morphologically distinct from the 'formal' areas around them (Izaga et al., 2019), as they are marked by low income, high rates of informality and unequal distribution of public infrastructure. In contrast to marginalised areas situated in geographical peripheries that have been widely debated with a focus on accessibility and distributive justice (Pereira, Schwanen and Banister, 2017; Pereira, 2018; Pereira et al., 2019; Oviedo and Guzman, 2021; Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021), the central condition of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco was explored as both a positive and a hindering factor for performing everyday mobilities. In Brazil, central favelas are the object of disputes, evictions and inconsistent state attention (Rolnik, 2013b). These neighbourhoods have gone through state-led slum-upgrading – as in the case of Favela Santa Marta – and city transport projects – Vila Tronco – that affected mobilities and the internal functioning of these territories. With the similarities and differences between

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[9] The Co-creation is an EU-funded project led by Oxford Brookes University (Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 734770) that aims to 'co-create' understandings about different urban neighbourhoods and address disadvantages in the Global North and South. Favela Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro is one of the project's case study sites. https://www.co-creation-network.org/

[10] Between 2016 and 2016, the Healthy Urban Mobility (HUM) project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR), FAP-DF and Netwon Fund (Grant number ES/N01314X/1), focused on the impact of everyday (im)mobility on the health and well-being of different social groups and neighbourhoods in Brazil and the United Kingdom. Vila Tronco in Porto Alegre was one of the research sites.

both contexts, the research explores the significance of mobility and participation within and beyond the confines of state-led mobility planning.

In sum, the research was carried out at three levels: national, city and neighbourhood (Table 4). At the national, city and neighbourhood scales, the nature, dynamics, societal actors and purposes of spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning were investigated. At the neighbourhood scale, the research also explored the significance of participation and mobility to marginalised groups.

Table 4: Levels of case study sites

Levels	National	City	Neighbourhood
Case study sites	Brazil	Rio de Janeiro Porto Alegre	Favela Santa Marta Vila Tronco

In what follows, I explain the methods adopted for collecting data in the case study sites and scrutinise the rationale and ethical dilemmas behind the in-person and digital methods chosen for this research.

4.4. Methods adopted for collecting empirical data

In this research, I adopted two methods of collecting primary data: interviewing and online photo-elicitation interviews. I explain the rationale for choosing them, the sample size and ethical considerations in the following subsections. I also reflect on how COVID-19 impacted the choice of methods and the results.

4.4.1. Interviewing

Interviews have a long-standing tradition in the social sciences of promoting face-to-face, virtual or telephone-mediated verbal exchange between the interviewer and the interviewee. Interviewing with an embodied presence or virtual contact is based on the understanding that people make sense of the world through language and dialogue. Therefore, this method seeks to gain an understanding of people's perspectives and opinions (Brinkmann, 2018).

Conscious of the non-neutral role of the researcher in the interview process, I chose interviewing as one of the methods for collecting primary data. This method was chosen to interact with participants and capture the perspectives, experiences and personal views of government professionals, representatives of NGOs and academics involved in the spaces for participation in mobility planning (Section 4.4.3 gives more details on participant recruiting and sampling). By seeking to get a more accurate landscape of the views across different actors, the participants were approached individually.

The in-person and online interviews in this thesis were designed as semi-structured interviews to allow the participants to discuss the questions that they felt more comfortable with and for the researcher to ask for further information on relevant topics in the conversation. In this sense, the semi-structured interviews were envisioned as a conversation with 'knowledge-producing' agents, independently of their social, academic and professional status (Brinkmann, 2018, p.579).

The interviews were designed to explore how participation and mobility are understood and articulated by participants. During the interviews, the participants were asked to describe their understandings of participation in urban mobility and narrate their experiences of engagement in spaces for participation. The interviews were guided by the main questions below. The full list of interview questions can be found in Appendix 1.

1. How do different stakeholders perceive (sustainable and just) mobility and what are the main challenges?
2. What do they understand by participation, what contributions may participation bring to urban mobility and what are the main challenges?
3. Based on their experiences, what are the existing spaces for participation in urban mobility?
4. Where and how do low-income communities sit on these debates?

The interviews were conducted at both stages of the fieldwork: before and during the COVID-19 pandemic (see Section 4.6 for more details). While all

in-person interviews were conducted in December 2019 and January 2020, online interviews were part of the research thereafter. The in-person interviews were conducted in Rio de Janeiro. By being *in situ*, the face-to-face interviews opened possibilities for participants to show materials produced by their institutions or organisations to illustrate some points in their narratives. However, it was challenging to arrange suitable dates and times to meet with participants in person.

With the difficulties experienced at the beginning of the pandemic, the interviewing processes were revaluated and conducted as video-based online interviews between August and December 2020. In an era of social distancing, qualitative video-based online interviews were prominent methods for conducting research in the first stages of the pandemic (Nind, Coverdale and Meckin, 2021; Lobe, Morgan and Hoffman, 2020). The online interviews were conducted through Google Meet in a one-to-one manner and audio was recorded with the consent of the participants, guaranteeing their ethical rights, privacy and confidentiality.

Although one interview was conducted online, using Skype, after I left the field in January 2020, the shift to online methods was mainly engendered by the inability to conduct research overseas and in contact with human participants during the second stage of the fieldwork. The contexts of the first and second phases of the fieldwork were profoundly distinct and impacted the research differently (Ignacio, 2012). Challenges were faced not only in the move to online methods. It was challenging recruiting participants, talking about people's mobilities when the world was immobile and conducting interviews when people's lives and families were being affected by the disease and the loss of family members.

As Brazil was in lockdown at the time of the investigation, most participants joined the video calls from their home environments. Although the spatial setting plays an important role in how participants feel comfortable or uncomfortable disclosing their opinions and perspectives, contrary to the 'natural' flow of face-to-face interviews, online interviews encompassed the awkwardness of technological glitches. This required further strategies for

managing connection breaks and for maintaining closeness to the participants during challenging times.

Overall, the length of the interviews ranged from 30 to 90 minutes, but some exceeded the estimated time. All interviews were conducted in Portuguese, audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and fully transcribed. As narratives are essential in this research, the transcription and analysis of the interviews were in Portuguese to capture and explore, in the original language, the nuances of speeches, discourses, personal opinions and values (Riessman, 1993; 2008). These were translated into English at the writing-up stages. The interview transcripts were shared with the participants for their review. This revision process offered further possibilities for the participants to reflect, clarify and correct their narratives and ask additional questions. Especially in regard to members of NGOs with some level of experience navigating within state boundaries, one common concern was the issue of anonymity and confidentiality of the disclosed information. Therefore, follow-up messages and emails were essential to clarify and confirm the anonymous nature of their participation.

4.4.2. Online photo-elicitation interviews

By seeking to unpack how residents of central low-income neighbourhoods experience everyday mobilities and whether spaces for participation have been enabled in this respect, residents of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco were invited to participate in this research via online photo-elicitation interviews.

The insights and initial findings of the first stage of the fieldwork (see Section 4.6) suggested that purely verbal conversations would be insufficient to explain or understand mobility experiences (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008) and investigate the social aspects of mobilities and their impacts on people's everyday lives. While urban mobility has a very technical and infrastructural underpinning, it also entails broader social and cultural aspects.

Before the pandemic, the initial plan was to conduct mobile interviews *in situ*. Mobile conversations, walking interviews and 'go-alongs' consist of mobile

methods of enquiry that combine interviewing and participant observation, and enable dynamic understandings of people and places (Carpiano, 2009; Middleton, 2011; Warren, 2017; Bergeron, Paquette and Poullauec-Gonidec, 2014). Based on the interpretations that human understanding and mobilities are embodied, mobile methods were envisioned to conduct observations while participating in people's movements and explore the multi-sensorial interactions among people, movement and environment (Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2011). Additionally, mobile methods were perceived as catalysts for speech and as processes for engaging the participants and offering them a central role in the research (Miaux et al., 2010). Unlike predominant approaches to mobile methods in mobility studies, which have mostly focused on gaining an understanding of everyday mobility experiences and behaviours, the ability to move with the participants and to elicit conversation through photographs taken by them was perceived as an avenue to uncover participatory practices that support people's mobility in marginal neighbourhoods.

Considering the pandemic context within which this research stage took place between August and December 2020, creative, flexible and remote ways of engaging with different social actors and spaces were required. With the lockdown measures and public health restrictions at the time of the investigation, travelling overseas and doing mobile interviews was not achievable. Although mobility researchers have used technology as a means through which participants film and discuss their journeys with the researcher (Brown and Spinney, 2010; Spencer et al., forthcoming), the context in which the world was 'immobile' demanded a more empathic approach. In order to overcome the lack of co-presence in the field, comply with health and safety advice and avoid exposing people to external environments, I opted to assess people's views and experiences via online photo-elicitation interviews. The combination of communication and visual materials, such as photographs and videos, on a virtual basis, was chosen for an in-depth investigation of daily negotiations and embodied mobility experiences and spaces for participation in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco.

Visual methods have a long-standing tradition in anthropology and human geography as a useful means for understanding how people see and relate to the physical and social world around them (Rose, 2016). Visual materials are seen as a way of generating data rather than simply illustrating some aspects of the research project. They encompass researcher-generated, subject-generated or pre-existing photographs, videos, maps, diagrams, models, drawings, etc (Rose, 2016; Margolis and Zunjarwad, 2018).

Photo-elicitation interviews are the most popular visual method currently in use across the social sciences (Rose, 2016). In photo-elicitation interviews, the research participants are often asked to find or take photographs, which are then discussed with the researcher. Discussing a photograph with an interviewee can prompt conversations about topics that the researcher had not thought about or places where the researcher cannot go. Rather than just telling, this method allows the participants to reflect and articulate thoughts and feelings on the taken-for-granted, everyday practices that they are immersed in.

Another key strength is the possibility of giving the participants a clear and central role in the research process (Rose, 2016). Especially in cases where participant-generated images are produced, photo-elicitation interviews could work as dynamic and participatory processes of engaging and empowering marginalised communities (ibid). As with other methods, assuming that research subjects would become empowered as a direct result of the research tools employed is inappropriate (Butz and Cook, 2019). Nonetheless, participant-generated images have the potential to provide space for co-production and meaningful engagement between researchers and participants.

In this research, online photo-elicitation interviews were employed as an opportunity to overcome the lack of co-presence in the field, interact with the richness of participants' narratives on their everyday mobilities and be led by their visual materials remotely through synchronous and asynchronous activities. Residents of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco were invited to take some photographs and videos and join one-to-one interviews via Google

Meet. Prior to the online photo-elicitation interviews, participants were asked to take and label up to ten photographs and videos, using their mobile phones or cameras, of anything that represents positive and negative aspects of their experience of moving within and outside their neighbourhood; and of any improvements that have been done by themselves or other residents. This task was envisioned as a prompt to begin participants' reflections and capture the everyday mobilities in marginal communities and the forms of participation deriving from them. Also, it allowed participants to generate their visual materials to reflect on their everyday activities and past experiences with less mobile tools (Rose, 2016) and to illustrate spatial aspects of their narratives, mobilities and neighbourhoods.

Despite the possibilities opened by technology for engaging with diverse social actors at different geographical locations, online interviews, as well as other digital methods, can be technically challenging for older interviewees (Nind, Coverdale and Meckin, 2021) and low-income groups that lack the capability or affordability to access technology. As relying on technology and internet access can be restrictive and exclusionary, I offered to cover participants' mobile internet data to enable the participation of residents of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco in the online interviews. The online interviews were designed with the intent of using up to a maximum of 50% of the data offered to the participants and, therefore, leaving the remaining 50% as compensation for their time. While some participants accepted the incentive, others preferred to benefit family members with the mobile top-up.

Although some authors believe that the photo-elicitation process encompasses a briefing meeting followed by an interview (Rose, 2016), the turbulent context in which this research took place required a condensed and ethical approach. Due to the ongoing pandemic and the difficulties in approaching mobilities when the world was immobile, the online photo-elicitation interviews were conducted as a one-off video call within which the participants could show and/or talk about the photographs and videos taken/provided by them. The images were optional, considering the public health restrictions and lockdowns in place, but were desirable mechanisms

for supplementing and illustrating online interviews, unpacking tangible and intangible understandings and breaking down epistemic barriers.

Following a semi-structured format, the online photo-elicitation interviews were guided by the themes and questions below (Appendix 2):

1. Everyday mobility experiences and motility: How do you usually move within the neighbourhood? And outside? Did anything change during the COVID-19 pandemic? How would you like to move within the neighbourhood? And outside?
2. Mobilities and the urban environment: In your opinion, what are the positive and negative aspects of your experience of moving within the neighbourhood? And outside? What do you think affects your journey within and outside the neighbourhood? What do you think can be improved?
3. Mechanisms of participation for improving people's mobilities: Is there anything that has been done by residents to improve your neighbourhood?
4. Meanings of mobility and participation: What do you understand by (sustainable and just) mobility? What do you understand by participation? Do you think that participation is important for achieving more sustainable and just mobility? Why? If yes, what do you think people can contribute?

Participants' narratives unpacked the stories, language, words and terminologies of particular contexts concerning mobility and participation. Meanwhile, the photographs and videos gave life and colour to their narratives. As photographs and videos are products of the photographer's viewpoint, they disclosed the participants' intention of portraying certain elements and discarding others (Higgott and Wray, 2016). They disclosed the individual's accounts of the research topic without the 'artificial' presence of the researcher in the field.

However, as the photographs were optional due to the pandemic context, not all participants provided visual materials before or during the interviews. In most cases, the communication with participants continued after the online

interviews, via email or WhatsApp, through which photographs and videos were shared with me. Another limitation is that a few participants opted not to send any visual materials, reducing the sample of photographs and videos analysed in this research. This could have limited the visualisation and depth of some points discussed in the online interviews or prevented other topics from emerging.

Despite these limitations, the visual materials expanded the communications and opportunities for co-production beyond the photo-elicitation interview setting. One example is the digital photographic competition curated by the International Network for Transport and Accessibility in Low-Income Communities (INTALInC) on 'framing mobilities in low-income communities'. The opportunity to join this competition with one participant from Favela Santa Marta opened space to deepen the discussions commenced in the interviews and the approximation between researcher and research partner, as well as to co-produce the idea of an image that would communicate the essence of moving in a favela. Although our photograph (see Figure 37, Section 6.4.3) has not won any prizes, it was selected to be part of an online exhibition with the best photographs in the competition. This and other photographs produced by the participants are presented in this thesis in Chapters 6 (Section 6.4) and 7 (Section 7.4).

Overall, the data resulting from the online photo-elicitation interviews consist of interview transcripts, photographs and videos that have been analysed taking into consideration the narratives, stories and different worlds arising from them. Before I explain the methods used for analysing data, I discuss the sample size and some ethical considerations concerning the methods employed in this research.

4.4.3. Participant sampling and recruiting

This research involved 53 participants: 30 stakeholders (inside and outside state-led mobility planning) and 23 residents of case neighbourhoods (see Table 5 and Appendix 5 for the list of participants). Although there is no agreement on minimum acceptable sample sizes in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012), this thesis' relatively small sample size is considered

sufficient for two reasons. One is that the sample size serves the explorative purpose of providing an in-depth and fine-grained analysis of people's diverse experiences rather than reaching a representative and comprehensive sample. Also, this sample size (although slightly different in each case study site) achieved 'informational redundancy' and 'data saturation' (ibid., p.245), meaning that it reached a point at which relevant themes or information to the research topic ceased to emerge.

Table 5: Sample size

Data collection methods	Total number of participants: 53	
Interviews with stakeholders inside and outside state-led planning	**Rio de Janeiro: 17** Representatives of public authorities: 6 NGOs: 9 Academics: 2	**Porto Alegre: 13** Representatives of public authorities: 7 NGOs: 4 Academics: 2
Online photo-elicitation interviews with residents of case neighbourhoods	**Favela Santa Marta: 12**	**Vila Tronco: 11**

For the semi-structured interviews, the criteria for selecting participants considered engagement in spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning. In Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, the participants who took part in online and face-to-face semi-structured interviews consisted of key informants: representatives of public authorities and non-governmental organisations that are or have been involved in mobility policies, plans and projects. This number also encompasses some interviews conducted with academics based on the case study sites who are involved with mobility-related projects and/or research in the central low-income neighbourhoods examined in this thesis. Participants were recruited in person or by email.

For the online photo-elicitation interviews, former and current residents and community leaders of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco were selected through snowball sampling. By seeking to assess different mobility realities, perspectives, stories and approaches to participation, the criteria for selecting

the participants were: (1) residents aged 18 or above and able to give consent; (2) a balanced number of participants of different ages, gender and place of residence within the neighbourhoods; and (3) members and non-members of community organisations. As the photo-elicitation interviews were conducted online, the additional criterion for selecting interviewees was access to the internet, mobile phone or computer. Through snowball sampling, participants were recruited individually by the researcher through WhatsApp and email.

Despite the challenges, the expected sample size was not affected by the pandemic. However, the digital medium for engaging with participants could have led to different sample content. Due to the online format and the snowball sampling of photo-elicitation interviews, access to non-leaders and non-members of community organisations was more difficult, particularly in the context of Vila Tronco. This methodological limitation had an impact on the data collected, particularly when compared to the data set of Favela Santa Marta. Those in leadership positions could have pre-established views or lived particular experiences that may or may not differ from other non-leaders in the community. As this could impact the data collected, attention has been paid to the roles of residents in case neighbourhoods (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4).

4.4.4. Ethical considerations

To produce an ethical piece of research, I adopted a series of measures to ensure that the social relations within a research project are transparent and respectful. This means ensuring an ethical position when entering the fieldwork environment and protecting participants' privacy during the data collection stage and after the results are shared (Tracy, 2010). The procedures of field research have followed rigorous standards in human participation codes of practice and have been reviewed and approved by Oxford Brookes University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) (Reference numbers 191341 and 201392, see Appendix 7).

The ethical considerations were similar in the in-person and online fieldwork setting, such as ensuring confidentiality, privacy, participants' anonymity,

informed consent, etc. However, some ethical dilemmas emerged during the remote fieldwork in terms of informed consent. As not all participants had easy access to a printer, informed consent was adapted from a written to verbal and digital format. Additionally, the participants who provided their photographs in the online photo-elicitation interviews filled in a photograph consent form on Google Forms. In this form, participants could agree or disagree with the use of each one of their photographs in this piece of research and further publications.

In terms of privacy and confidentiality considerations, all participants were anonymised in this thesis. For the interviews, participants were differentiated as members of public authority, representatives of a NGO or academics, with no other information about them disclosed. In the case of participants of online photo-elicitation interviews, they were only identified by their self-chosen pseudonyms, gender and age as well as their condition as current or former residents and community leaders. The age and gender components were revealed as these have informed different challenges and perspectives on the topics discussed during the interviews. Although race issues emerged as crucial analytical components in the research, information on the ethnic profile of participants was not disclosed to protect their privacy (due to the sensitivity of the content of the interviews) and to avoid my unintentional bias concerning people's ethnic identity.

Having discussed the methods adopted for collecting data, the sampling size and some ethical considerations, in the following section I explain the methods of analysing data employed in this thesis.

4.5.   Methods of analysing data

In this thesis, to unpack the narratives, discourses, meanings and experiences of participation and mobility, the methods chosen for analysing data were discourse and thematic analysis. The rationale for choosing and conducting these analytical methods is presented below.

4.5.1. Discourse analysis of policy documents

To explore how participation is articulated in mobility policy, the research adopted discourse analysis to examine documents produced by and for the state as secondary data. Often influenced by the work of Michael Foucault (1982), discourse analysis is an analytical strategy that perceives language as 'constitutive of the social world' (Bryman, 2012). Discourse analysis is attentive to the linguistics strategies employed in talks and texts, the 'silences' in the discourses and their influence on people's meaning-making.

Although discourse analysis offers a valuable contribution to social research, this thesis is aware that there are multiple 'interpretive repertoires' for critically making sense of the implicit and explicit interests and intentions in texts (Bryman, 2012, p.531). As this thesis explores the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South, the main interpretive thread guiding the discourse analysis of policy documents was the question: 'what is participation for?' (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005). For this purpose, I evaluated the context and the discourse strategies employed in federal, state and municipal governments' urban and mobility planning policies, sanctioned between 1988 and 2019, and related official reports. The type and number of documents analysed in this research are outlined in the table below. These documents are discussed in the empirical chapters.

Table 6: Documents analysed

Case study sites	Documentary sources (1988-2019)	Number of documents analysed
Brazil	Federal Constitution (1988) and amendments Brazilian Traffic Code (1997) City Statute (2001) Growth Acceleration Programme (2007-2019) National Urban Mobility Policy (2012) and amendments Metropolis Statute (2015) National Policy of Social Participation (2014-2019) Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organisations (2014)	8
Rio de Janeiro	Integrated Urban Master Plan for the Metropolitan Region (2018) Master Plan for Urban Transport for the Metropolitan Region (2015)	11

	Master Plan for the Sustainable Development of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro (2011) Municipal Cycling Plan (2019) Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro (PMUS) (2019) Six PMUS' reports produced by the state (three) and NGOs (three) (2015)	
Porto Alegre	Urban Development Law (1994) Policy for Sustainable Urban Mobility of Rio Grande do Sul (2016) Master Plan of Porto Alegre (1999) Integrated Cycling Master Plan (2009) Accessibility Master Plan (2011) Five Urban Mobility Plan's reports produced by the state	10

Secondary data from documentary sources were separated and analysed by the case study sites. These documents were identified through desk-based research and listed in chronological order. The first step of the analysis focused on getting familiar, reading and rereading the documents. Following this, some words linked to the research topic were highlighted and further analysed. The discourse analysis of policy documents and official reports focused on breaking down the language employed about urban mobility (transport, sustainability, equity, justice), participation (citizen, social, democratic, popular) and the linguistic strategies used to link both topics. In addition, I also paid attention to the contexts of these policies and their potential influence on the policy discourses. Alongside, I used thematic analysis to analyse the interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews in this thesis. I give more details on this method of analysing data in the following section.

4.5.2. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis was the main method adopted for organising, synthesising and interpreting primary data collected through interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews. As the collected data encompass the rich experiences, meanings and narratives and counter-narratives shared by different stakeholders, thematic analysis was the chosen method for breaking down the multiple components of the data set and examining the relationship between them.

This analytical method has been widely adopted in the social sciences by employing different epistemological positions and kinds of orientation to primary and secondary qualitative data (Nowell et al., 2017; Bryman, 2012). Due to the lack of substantial literature and systematic procedures for supporting thematic analysis, this method has been criticised for its flexibility and insufficient consistency, cohesion and rigour (Nowell et al., 2017; Bryman, 2012; Gale et al., 2013). However, scholars have claimed that thematic analysis is more than just a process for analysing qualitative data. In fact, thematic analysis 'is a method for identifying, analyzing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set' (Nowell et al., 2017, p.2).

In this sense, themes refer to categories and interpretative concepts that relate to the research topic, questions, theoretical and conceptual framing, and build on and explain the collected data (Bryman, 2012; Gale et al., 2013). Therefore, the criteria for labelling and analysing themes vary according to the orientation of the research design and focus. As this research adheres to both deductive and inductive approaches, the themes were both theory and data-driven (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The process for identifying the key themes draws on the literature on thematic analysis and the framework approach. The analytical procedure in thematic analysis often starts with familiarisation with the data, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes and writing a report (Nowell et al., 2017). The thematic framework follows a similar pathway but it includes the charting of data into a thematic matrix model as a crucial step in the analysis (Gale et al., 2013; Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003).

In this thesis, thematic frameworks were adopted as a way of managing and systematising the data from interview transcripts and participant-generated images according to key themes, concepts and emergent categories. In the 1980s, the National Research Centre for Social Research in the United Kingdom developed this framing technique as a 'matrix based method for ordering and synthesising data' (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p.219; Bryman, 2012; Gale et al., 2013). By managing and mapping the data

through frameworks, themes and subthemes congregate different data sets without losing content, context or the richness of participant's language and voices.

Drawing on the aforementioned guidelines, the process of data analysis involved the following steps:

(1) Familiarisation with the data;

(2) Identifying initial themes and coding;

(3) Developing the thematic framework;

(4) Reviewing the themes and the analytical framework;

(5) Reporting the themes and research findings as part of the analysis;

(6) Mapping and interpreting the themes, connections and gaps.

Rather than static stages, the process of data analysis was continuous and iterative. It started by managing the different data sets and getting familiar with and making sense of the findings. Data management and familiarisation with the data were crucial exercises in gaining an overview of the data set at the start of the analysis (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003; Bryman, 2012; Nowell et al., 2017). The analysis stage started with the transcription of more than 60 hours of interviews that were further examined, keeping the original language. With over 600 pages in total, two documents separated the interview transcripts between Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro and, within those, the transcripts were subdivided into different stakeholders: members of public authorities, representatives of non-governmental organisations, academics and community representatives and residents based in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta, respectively.

Participant-generated images were placed in separate folders according to their site context and author and were further analysed in conjunction with the interview transcripts. The analysis of the visual materials consisted of an examination of the participants' rationale for selecting the photographs and the themes and narratives they were trying to convey. Analytical notes and short reports were produced to assist in the assimilation of the data.

Themes and subthemes were generated as a result of thorough reading and rereading of the transcripts and reflecting on the participant-generated images and official documents. Firstly, this involved the generation of initial codes describing, indexing and labelling sections of the raw data that were meaningful for this particular study. By revisiting the original materials – the interview transcripts and images – the first codes were created to label particular sections of the data with concepts, themes or categories referring to both the theory and/or the findings. These codes were managed through the original interview transcripts on Word Document and later on NVivo[11].

Instead of solely looking for patterns of meanings, the initial themes were developed based on the conceptual framework, the research questions and the emerging findings. The structure of the interview questions helped order the themes and subthemes, along with the transcripts. After the indexing process (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003), the analysis encompassed the search for themes and subthemes through systematising and framing them into analytical tables and mental maps.

The design of Table 7 was particularly useful for framing and analysing interviewees' perspectives on the forms and meanings of participation, sustainable and just mobility and the role of participation in urban mobility. This thematic charting offered the possibility of interrogating each individual as a single case and summarising the key findings while referencing back to the original transcripts and examining them holistically. The matrix was divided into cells and colour coded to differentiate the case study sites and stakeholders. Each cell contained fragments of the interview with the respective indication of their location in the transcripts that were constantly revisited. The language of participants was kept in the translation from Portuguese to English as far as possible and, in cases where the translation could lose meaning, original expressions or metaphors were kept. This process was followed by the continuous review and refinement of the themes and the analytical framing, reflection on the conceptual framework and reporting exercises as part of the analysis.

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[11] NVivo is a computer software package that has been widely used in qualitative research for storing, organising and analysing data (Bryman, 2012).

Table 7: Matrix of analytical themes

Case study cities	The role of participation in urban mobility	Forms of participation	Meanings of participation	Meanings of sustainable mobility	Meanings of mobility justice
Porto Alegre	Members of public authorities				
	Representatives of NGOs and academics				
	Residents and community leaders of Vila Tronco				
Rio de Janeiro	Member of public authorities				
	Representatives of NGOs and academics				
	Residents and community leaders of Favela Santa Marta				

The table was analysed on a qualitative basis, but I also employed quantitative thematic analysis to capture the frequency of definitions of participation and mobility and the contradictory responses between respondents (stakeholders within and outside the state and residents of case study neighbourhoods). To better visualise and compare these contradictions and different meanings attributed to participation and mobility, I charted the responses based on the academic debates discussed in Chapter 2 (participatory approaches in the planning literature) and Chapter 3 (components of mobility justice) and emerging themes, as illustrated in Appendix 4. The intention was not to categorise the most or least popular definitions; the purpose of this table was to compare and illustrate how different groups perceive participation and mobility differently. These different meanings are discussed further in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Moreover, as part of the qualitative interpretation of the themes and the search for the connections and gaps between the objects of study in the data set, mapping exercises were useful techniques to refine the analysis and visualise the networks, connections and gaps between the themes, contexts and stakeholders. The maps were developed on CmapTools[12] (Appendix 3)

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[12] CmapTools is software that allows users to create 'concept maps' using graphical nodes and lines to connect words and concepts.

using the following themes and subthemes emerging from the interviews, participant-generated images and theory: spaces for participation (closed, invited and claimed spaces); mobilities from above and from below; mobility experiences; and contextual and historical events. This stage also provided the opportunity to reflect on the context and discourses of the policy documents.

After discussing the methods for collecting and analysing data selected in this research, the following section provides more details on the context of this investigation, the empirical research stages and the sequence of activities, which are crucial for understanding the methodological approach undertaken in this study.

4.6. Empirical research stages

This research started in 2019 with the development of the literature review, desk-based research and preliminary analysis of Brazilian policy documents. The empirical investigation was conducted between 2019 and 2020, as demonstrated by the following sequence of research activities. As shown in Table 8, the empirical research was divided into two stages: a pilot study and online data collection. More details on the first and second stages of the fieldwork are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 8: Sequence of research activities

Date	Activity
February – November 2019	Literature Review
June – September 2019	Desk-based research and preliminary analysis of documentary sources
September – December 2019	Development of methodology, preparation for the pilot study
December 2019 – January 2020	**Pilot study**: interviews in Rio de Janeiro and preliminary contact with community leaders and residents of Favela Santa Marta
January – March 2020	Preliminary data analysis
March 2020	**COVID-19 pandemic**

March – July 2020	(Re)development of methodology, literature review, preparation for fieldwork
August – December 2020	**Online data collection**: interviews and photo-elicitation interviews
January – May 2021	Data analysis of primary and secondary data, literature review
July – September 2021	Transcript verification with participants
June 2021 – September 2022	Writing up

4.6.1. First stage of the fieldwork: Piloting the research approach

To develop and evaluate the research methodology and gather initial data, the first stage of the fieldwork was conducted in Rio de Janeiro from December 2019 to January 2020. This pilot study's aim was to conduct a preliminary exploration of the spaces for participation in mobility planning and evaluate the approach to be adopted in the thesis' methodology and the subsequent fieldwork phases in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. During one month of fieldwork, data were collected through semi-structured interviews (Section 4.4.1) with 11 key actors directly involved in mobility planning. These key actors ranged from representatives of municipal authorities to non-governmental organisations and academics.

Semi-structured interviews proved to be an appropriate method for investigating different experiences and perceptions concerning participation in mobility planning. The questions on whether low-income communities engage with spaces for participation both within and outside the state were added during the pilot study due to the lack of social movements and organisations deriving from these territories under the mobility agenda. As the interview questions were designed to gather the perspectives of those who mobilised and engaged with the mobility agenda, little was disclosed about the silence coming from marginalised populations. Therefore, I began to ask myself: are there other forms of participation that are not being taken

into consideration? Do these not exist or are these just not publicised or recognised? Are these blind spots in transport and mobility planning?

Also, the opportunity of being *in situ* allowed me to build a network of contacts, approximate to different stakeholders and explore possibilities for case study neighbourhoods. After conducting some interviews, I participated in a meeting (13 January 2020) with municipal public authorities, research groups and residents about a small-scale project envisioned for a street in the Botafogo district. This meeting was fruitful for understanding the content of the project, the debates emerging from the discussions, how participants engaged with them and whether the scope of the project encompassed neighbouring low-income communities, such as Favela Santa Marta.

Subsequently, I had the chance to interact with residents and community leaders of Favela Santa Marta at a meeting at Pontifícia Universidade Católica (PUC-RJ). This opened possibilities for me to join one of the local community organisations' activities, Grupo Eco's Holiday Camp[13] (*Colônia de Férias),* and assist the organisers during one day of the event. By talking to residents and community leaders, I also noticed that the topic of 'urban mobility' could constrain broader understandings of 'mobilities'. Therefore, research seeking to unpack multiple forms of participation and the social significance of mobility would also require methods of collecting data beyond spoken words (Section 4.4.2). I had plans to conduct participatory workshops in Favela Santa Marta to start exploring these issues, due to the constraints of time and Holiday Camp preparations these activities could not be undertaken. However, this first engagement with residents and community leaders was beneficial for developing trust, establishing contact networks for the following fieldwork stages and identifying relevant considerations for further investigation.

Overall, this exploratory phase in Rio de Janeiro recalibrated and fine-tuned the research focus and lenses in the initial steps of the data collection process. Considering the insights and preliminary data collected during the

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[13] More information about Grupo Eco's Holiday Camp can be found at: https://coloniadeferiaseco.wordpress.com/

pilot study, this phase represented the first stage of the empirical work. The following stage consists of the second step of this thesis' fieldwork which took place online due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

4.6.2. Second stage of the fieldwork: Adapting to online data collection methods

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which heavily affected countries across the globe in 2020, the second stage of the thesis' fieldwork was through a process of re-evaluation. As public health restrictions constrained research involving face-to-face contact with human participants due to high COVID-19 infection rates, overseas travel and face-to-face research were suppressed. On top of that, throughout the pandemic, Brazil has been one of the most affected countries in the world in terms of the number of cases and deaths (Borges and Marques, 2020). The implications of a pandemic on conducting fieldwork in a country deeply affected by COVID-19 added a new dimension to the research in rethinking data collection processes and methods and the reach of the participants.

My plan to adopt in-person engaging and participatory methods and participant observations, as originally envisioned for the second stage of the fieldwork, had to be reevaluated and adapted. Alternatively, I adopted qualitative online data collection between August and December 2020. This decision was attuned to academic debates in the social sciences about conducting research during a pandemic (Lupton, 2020). The online format also offered the opportunity to contextualise and track how the pandemic impacted multiple levels of participation and everyday mobility and/or immobility.

The shift to online methods required new strategies for approaching participants and maintaining closeness in the online format during these challenging times. At this stage, secondary data was gathered through the analysis of documentary sources available online and primary data was collected through online interviews and visual methods. The interviews served as a medium to assess representatives of public authorities and NGOs on a virtual basis (Section 4.4.1), but the interactions with residents of

central low-income neighbourhoods required further considerations. Online photo-elicitation interviews (Section 4.4.2) were undertaken to overcome my absence in the field and promote an in-depth investigation of everyday mobilities in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco.

Having explained the empirical research stages and the context of the investigation, I turn to reflect on my positionality and the strategies employed for coping with challenges in the following section.

4.7. Researcher's positionality and strategies for coping with challenges

In qualitative research, reflexivity is considered 'the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher' (Guba and Lincoln, 2018, p.143). Self-reflection, honesty and transparency refer to the means by which the researcher acknowledges their own biases, goals and weaknesses throughout the research process (Tracy, 2010). In this section, I reflect on my positionality as the researcher, the level of immersion in the field and some of the challenges encountered during the research process.

As mentioned throughout the thesis, this study aims to set a stage to debate the role of participation in urban mobility while focusing on the Global South context and Brazil in particular. However, except for the pilot study, the research activities have been mainly conducted in the Global North. By being enrolled in a British university and having this research project registered at Oxford Brookes University, I have been exposed to a wide range of existing literature which has been mainly published in English in books and restricted-access journals. The access to various research sources influenced and allowed me to develop the theoretical and methodological frameworks underpinning this study. On the other hand, access to official documents and literature produced in Brazil was made difficult by this physical distance, as well as the lack of books and official maps available online.

In regard to the conduction of fieldwork stages, as a native Brazilian citizen, I am familiar with the language, culture and functioning of cities and the structure of their public management. I also was familiar with the work of

some NGOs, academic groups and municipal authorities, particularly in Rio de Janeiro. This was helpful when interacting with and recruiting participants for the interviews. Despite my little intimacy with the context of Porto Alegre, participants were very open, friendly and familiar with the online interview setting.

On the other hand, negotiating 'nearness' and 'distance' (Simmel, 1950) in the online world posed particular challenges for conducting remote fieldwork in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco, particularly during a pandemic. I encountered profound complexities when immersing myself in these territories due to my outsider status. The idea of insider and outsider is an enduring reflection in the social sciences that refers to the social distance between members of certain groups (Kersen, 2016; Simmel, 1950; Merton, 1972). Being a member of a certain group often entails intangible aspects such as social, class, racial and gender conditions (Merton, 1972). Therefore, my native status does not solve the lack of belonging in certain groups, territories and contexts or prevent some challenges from emerging in the research process, as I explain below.

If the research were to be conducted in a purely face-to-face manner, to comply with ethical considerations and regulations, I would require support from local gatekeepers to enter and visit these neighbourhoods, precisely due to my outsider position. This understanding is based on the idea that having gatekeepers minimises the risks for the participants and the 'stranger' (Simmel, 1950) researcher when entering an environment in which they do not belong. Although the remote fieldwork setting implied that gatekeepers would not be required and that communications and recruitment processes would be done virtually without physically entering anywhere, my outsider condition was exacerbated by being overseas in the Global North.

My positionality as a white, middle-class woman and 'outsider' not physically present in Brazil or in the researched neighbourhoods could distance me even further from the participants. These case study sites have been the focus of many academics who may or may not have respected the narratives, histories and knowledge of these populations. To overcome my

lack of co-presence and highlight how much extractive and exploitative approaches during and after fieldwork stages were avoided (Osuteye, 2020; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021), before any communications with participants, I reminded the participants that a remote piece of research was only being conducted as a result of the public health and travel restrictions in place rather than my choice. I also established prolonged contact with participants through messages on WhatsApp 'beyond the fieldwork'.

Due to these insider-outsider tensions, I intended to promote more spaces for co-production and participatory methods of collecting data. However, the ongoing pandemic posed some limitations to the extent to which long-lasting participatory means could be achieved in the duration of the doctoral programme. Against this backdrop, the participant-generated photographs provided a space for participants to take and select images that are meaningful to them and to minimise the influence of the researcher's biases and preconceptions.

Another tension lies beyond the digital and pandemic confines and refers to the research paradigm itself. Unlike the local authorities, representatives of NGOs in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and residents of Vila Tronco, in the context of Favela Santa Marta, for instance, the interest in participating and talking about mobility was not very evident at the beginning of fieldwork. I began to ask myself: would mobility be a matter of interest in this neighbourhood? Would my research benefit these populations? Would this research topic represent a colonial/Western/Global North research paradigm (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021)? Or would it be due to the challenges inherent to the topic of mobility in marginalised territories in the Global South? These tensions are further explored and analysed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Finally, I recognise that my theoretical, methodological and interpretive lenses are not neutral. These are embedded in my positionality as a researcher and in my worldview. This raises some interpretive dilemmas of authenticity regarding the participants' voices (James and Busher, 2006). As this thesis deals with different stakeholders' experiences and opinions, I

brought the participants' quotations throughout this thesis to illustrate and differentiate where the voices of participants and my interpretations are taking place. But above all these efforts, I also recognise the limitations of my outsider condition. Despite not being at 'the place of speech' (*lugar de fala*) (Ribeiro, 2017) of marginalised populations and black minorities, for instance, I believe that research can be a powerful tool for catalysing change and shedding light on the inequalities and invisibilities suffered by oppressed bodies and voices (Freire, 1970).

4.8. Evaluative criteria for establishing trustworthiness

In this thesis, the positivist criteria of validity, reliability and replicability are replaced by the idea of trustworthiness, which refers to the integrity of the approaches, methods and conclusions generated by a piece of research (Guba and Lincoln, 2018). As there are no universal criteria for quality in qualitative research, a rigorous study can be achieved by establishing a series of criteria to evaluate its theoretical and methodological appropriateness and value (Tracy, 2010).

Considering the epistemological and ontological positions that this thesis adopts, interpretive and social-constructionist frameworks lead to the selection of criteria which do not seek a single truth and employ the view of reality as multiple and socially constructed. As such, the evaluative criteria for establishing trustworthiness in this thesis incorporate these paradigms and encompass meaningful coherence, transferability, reflexivity, credibility and ethical considerations.

This thesis perceives a meaningfully coherent piece of research as a study that interconnects the research aims, questions and findings with its theoretical framework, research design, and methods of data collection and analysis (Tracy, 2010). The rigour of this study was ensured through constant literature updates, self-reflection and evaluation of research questions, design and approach. These moments of reflection were continually built when exposing, publishing and presenting the research to peer doctoral researchers and scholars in the field at related international conferences (see list of Publications on Appendix 6).

In opposition to ideas of generalisation and replicability, the concept of transferability is adopted in this thesis as the research's potential to influence and be valuable across a wide variety of fields and contexts. Instead of considering knowledge as generalisable, the contributions of this study are context-specific and rooted in a certain point in time and cultural and historical backgrounds. Therefore, the outcomes of this research intend to inspire further research and new explorations.

Finally, to assure 'credibility' and 'plausibility', this study does not aim toward the precision of a single truth or a specific reality (Tracy, 2010, p.842). Instead of 'testing' or 'validating' research findings, this research sought input during the process of data analysis by sharing the interview transcripts and dialoguing with participants to offer opportunities for feedback, questions and critique. By employing 'member reflection', the research process provided space for collaboration, reflection, complexity and evaluation of the reach, value and significance of its contents to the participants (ibid, p.844).

4.9. Conclusions

This chapter delineated the philosophical, ontological and methodological routes that guide this thesis as well as the criteria for establishing trustworthiness in this research. By evidencing the research paradigms, approaches and strategies of inquiry, this chapter demonstrated the pathways leading to the empirical world and the rationale for selecting the methods of data collection and analysis. Throughout this chapter, I also highlighted the limitations and challenges encountered during the research process and the strategies used to cope with them. The rationale developed in this chapter represents the basis for understanding the transformation of raw data into research findings within the following chapters.

Chapter 5: Introducing the case study sites. Participation in mobility policy in the context of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre

5.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the case studies and the articulations of participation in mobility policy in the context of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. It builds on desk-based research and discourse analysis of policy documents produced by federal, state and municipal governments between 1988 (the period that symbolises the transition from military dictatorship to democracy in Brazil) and 2019 (the time of the investigation). In this chapter, I pay particular attention to the policy discourses on participation and the countermovements and mobility-related non-governmental organisations exerting participation outside the state. I also highlight the importance of seeing participation from a Southern perspective by shedding light on the junctions and disjunctions between mobility planning, spaces for participation and transport projects in informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre.

Before discussing the spaces for participation in mobility policy at national, state and municipal levels, understanding the overall governance structure is crucial for grasping the complexities of mobility planning in Brazil. Brazil is a democratic federative republic composed of 26 states (see Figure 10 in Section 4.3.2.1), the Federal District and 5,570 municipalities (IBGE, 2011a). The national government (also referred to as the Federal Government of Brazil) is divided into three powers: executive, legislative and judiciary[14], which are decentralised and distributed at federal, state and municipal levels (Trigueiro, 2015). Brazil follows a presidential ruling system with elections running on a four-year basis. Each state and municipality has certain autonomy and a democratically elected governor and mayor, respectively. The governor is responsible for the state administration and the corresponding metropolitan regions, while the mayors directly manage the

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[14] While executive and legislative powers are democratically elected by the population, the members of the judiciary are appointed by public examination.

municipalities. The state governments should follow the federal regulations and the municipalities, the federal and state laws.

In this chapter, I start the investigation at a national level. In the first sections of this chapter, I look at how the right to participate evolved within the Brazilian legal frameworks and the articulation of participation in mobility policy built on discourse analysis. I explain the transition from a period of military rule (1964-1985) to democracy in Brazil and the emergence of participation in urban policy. Following this, I analyse the landscape of transport policies in Brazil, the arising discourses on the right to participate in mobility policy and the movements that have emerged outside the state (see timeline below). Finally, I introduce the context of mobility policy and planning, the dynamics of participation and transport projects in low-income neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre.

Figure 11: Timeline of national policies, political parties in power and events analysed
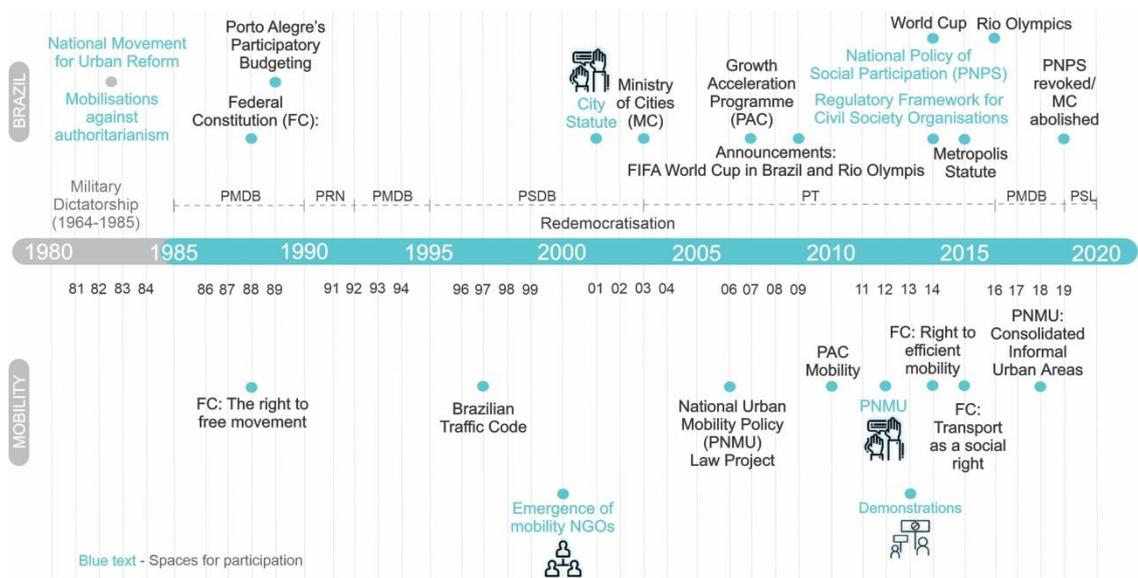
5.2. Participation in Brazilian mobility policy

The purpose of this section is to analyse the role of participation in Brazilian mobility policy. Prior to examining the recent shift from transport to mobility in Brazilian regulations and the incorporation of participation in mobility policy, I start by discussing the emergence of participation in urban policy. The latter

is crucial for understanding the panorama of participation in federal policies and potential gaps between rhetoric and practice in mobility policy.

5.2.1. The emergence of participation in urban policy in Brazil

To understand the articulation of participation in mobility policy in Brazil, this section analyses the emergence of participation in urban policy and the arising discourses on participation. Before I discuss the articulation of participation in national policy frameworks, it is important to note that when Arnstein (1969) was writing about liberal democracies and participation was gaining momentum in development studies and planning literature, Brazil was under a period of military rule. Brazil's military dictatorship began in 1964 and lasted until 1985 with the re-establishment of democracy. After 21 years of military dictatorship in Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988 was sanctioned (Brasil, 1988).

Prior to the 'redemocratisation'[15] period and the sanction of the new constitution, a series of counter-movements played a crucial role in demanding democratic and participatory governance (Rolnik, 2013a; Santos Júnior, 2019; Avritzer, 2006). Arising between the 1970s and the 1980s, the National Forum for Urban Reform and the mobilisations claiming participation in the public budget were considered crucial for the democratic and participatory approach adopted by the federal government in the following years (Avritzer, 2006; Souza, 2006; Santos Júnior, 2007; Rolnik, 2013a). The National Forum for Urban Reform[16] reacted against the 'market-led process of urban development' and the state measures that neglected and excluded the disadvantaged populations (Frediani, Lipietz and Walker, 2020, p.108; Maricato, 2013). They also claimed popular participation in urban decisions and the delivery of rights by the state. In this vein, urban reform meant

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[15] In Brazil, 'redemocratisation' is the term given to the process of restoring democracy after a period of authoritarianism and dictatorship.

[16] After a period of military rule, activists created the National Forum for Urban Reform (FNRU) in 1987, advocating spatial and social justice in the five regions of Brazil. FNRU encompasses a network of movements, grassroots groups and academic institutions that demand the democratic management of cities, the municipalisation of urban policy and the promotion of the 'right to the city' (Santos Júnior, 2007; Lefebvre, 2001). FNRU operates, demanding the enforcement of public policies, improvement of democracy and participation and reduction of social and spatial inequalities. More details on the National Forum for Urban Reform can be found at: https://forumreformaurbana.org.br/

confronting technocratic and 'well-ordered' approaches to planning in Brazil and changing the production of space based on land speculation and spatial segregation (Souza, 2006, p.336).

At the same time, a series of movements and protests led by neighbourhood associations in Porto Alegre claimed transparency and involvement in how public funds should be spent. Unlike other Brazilian capitals, Porto Alegre's tradition of civil society associations traces back to the 1950s, a period even before the military rule (Avritzer, 2006). The mobilisations against authoritarianism in the 1980s, coupled with the re-establishment of democracy and the election of the new left-wing mayor in 1988 (Olívio Dutra), influenced the implementation of the internationally renowned Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre in 1989 (ibid.). Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting (see Section 5.5 for more details), in operation for more than 30 years, symbolises an experiment in promoting new forms of governance from the bottom up and inspired over 170 Brazilian cities and other cities across the globe to implement this public mechanism (Avritzer, 2006; Novy and Leubolt, 2005; Rocha Franco and Assis, 2019).

Within the democratic ruling, the 'Citizen Constitution' represented an important legal milestone for the reinstatement of democracy and the nation's civil, political and social rights (Carvalho, 2002; Marino, 2020). The federal constitution incorporated the demands of earlier movements and institutionalised participation in health, social services and culture matters (Santos Júnior, 2019; Avritzer, 2006). The specific considerations on urban policy and the inclusion of participation as a right in urban policies were only implemented with the approval of the City Statute (Law 10.257) in 2001. This legal apparatus included democratic and participatory management of cities in the federal constitution and introduced a series of instruments to regulate and guide urban policies at city levels (Frediani, Lipietz and Walker, 2020; UN-HABITAT, 2012; Brasil, 2001). To understand better the content of this policy and the discourses on participation, the following section examines the City Statute.

5.2.1.1. The City Statute (2001)

The City Statute (Law 10.257) is a remarkable policy in Brazil as it provides the national guidelines for urban policy development, democratic city management and planning at city levels. With the implementation of this legal framework, Brazil became the first country to have a specific section on urban policy in its constitution (UN-HABITAT, 2012).

This legal framework regulates Articles 182 and 183 of the Federal Constitution, decentralises planning matters from national to municipal levels and introduces the democratic management of cities as the modus operandi in planning (Arvritzer, 2012; Caldeira, 2015). With the City Statute, the nation becomes responsible for creating general urban policy rules, guidelines for urban development (including housing, sanitation, transport and mobility), national and regional plans as well as norms of cooperation between the nation, states and municipalities. Municipalities are then responsible for developing master plans, land use regulations, zoning, plans and participatory budgeting mechanisms (Brasil, 2001). To guarantee the participation of local populations and associations in the 'formulation, execution and monitoring of urban development plans, programs and projects', the City Statute (2001) establishes the following instruments:

> I – Urban policy collegiate bodies at national, state and municipal levels;
> II – debates, hearings and public consultations;
> III – conferences on matters of urban interest at the national, state and municipal levels;
> IV – citizen-led law proposals and urban development plans, programmes and projects.
> (Art 43, Brasil, 2001)

Additionally, the City Statute institutes master plans[17] as 'the basic instrument of municipal development and expansion' (Brasil, 2001). Participatory master plans, together with their revision every ten years, became mandatory for cities with over 20,000 inhabitants. For municipalities

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[17] The concept of master planning can be found since the development of Agache's Urban Plan for Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s (Santos Júnior, 2007; Villaça, 1999) and the national guidelines of SERFHAU (Federal Service for Housing and Urbanism) for the 'integrated local development plans' in the 1960s and 1970s (Brasil, 1966). Porto Alegre was also one of the first cities in Brazil to have a master plan, which dates back to 1959 (Oliveira, 2018).

with over 500,000 inhabitants, the master plans should also include 'integrated urban transport plans' (Brasil, 2001). In the development and inspection of master plans, the municipality became responsible for guaranteeing:

> I – The promotion of public hearings and debates with the participation of local populations and associations representing various community segments;
> II – The dissemination of the documents and information produced;
> III – The access of any stakeholder to the documents and information produced.
> (Art 40, § 4º, Brasil, 2001)

However, the drawing up of master plans by city authorities and participation in this process has been extensively criticised by scholars from multidisciplinary backgrounds. As long argued by Flavio Villaça (1999, 2005), master plans are confined to producing general policies and guidelines which do not aim to change anything in practice and ignore the struggles of the urban poor. As these go through an approval process by municipal councillors, even with some level of participation, master plans have been criticised for representing a political-oriented piece of law and privileging the interests of dominant classes (Villaça, 2005). Research has also identified that many master plans have simply transcribed parts of the City Statute or included generic instruments that are not applied in practice (Santos Júnior and Montandon, 2011; Rolnik, 2013b).

The contradictions between national policy and local practice extend to the openings of participation. Invited spaces for participation in municipal master plans have been accused of being limited to purely consultative mechanisms (Santos Júnior, 2019) that propagate the 'illusion of popular participation' (Villaça, 2005). As the dominant classes have always participated in the decision-making process to some extent, this illusion lies in the reach of these participatory spaces and the technical content of master plans. Therefore, they represent an alienating 'technical smokescreen' that maintains the status quo (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019, p.275) and does not include the majority of people in planning debates and decisions (Villaça, 2005).

In the following decade, the federal government enacted the Metropolis Statute (Law 13.089/2015). With growing populations and challenges in the metropolitan areas in Brazil, this legal instrument establishes general guidelines for urban planning and management to be enforced by state and municipal governments, including Integrated Urban Development Plans (Brasil, 2015c; Ipea, 2021). This law also reinforces the need for the 'participation of civil society representatives in the planning and decision-making processes' (Art. 7, V, Brasil, 2015c).

Overall, the City and Metropolis Statutes do not expand much on the nations' intentions for transport and mobility policies. A more encompassing mobility policy is established with the National Urban Mobility Policy (PNMU) in 2012. Before discussing the PNMU in detail, I briefly present the landscape of transport and mobility policies in Brazil.

5.2.2. Transport, urban mobility and participation in Brazilian legal frameworks

Brazilian transport policies are widely known for being inconsistent, exclusionary and inefficient in dealing with the urban mobility crisis experienced by large and medium-sized cities (Vasconcellos, 2014; 2018; Marino, 2020; Verlinghieri, 2020). In Brazil, the mobility crisis is marked by precarious mobility conditions, long commuting times and spatial segregation, as a result of accelerated and unequal urbanisation between 1950 and 2010, the lack of public policies and low investments in urban mobility benefitting the urban poor.

Brazilian policies have been held responsible for building a car culture and not prioritising public transport, walking and cycling in its legal frameworks and investments (Vasconcellos, 2018). This is exemplified by the promotion of highway systems in the Constitution of 1934; fiscal incentives for multinational car manufacturers to build cars in Brazil, introduced in 1956, and a series of subsidies and low licensing costs encouraging car purchase since the 1990s (Jones and Azevedo, 2013). These public measures did not consider transport as a social right, nor did they diminish the social and spatial inequalities in the country (Vasconcellos, 2014; 2018; Marino, 2020;

Ipea, 2011). As a result, low-income populations, which are unable to afford private motorised vehicles, face long commuting journeys, exposure to pollution, congestion, road accidents and unreliable, unaffordable, uncomfortable and unsafe public transport systems daily (Vasconcellos, 2018). Mobility and accessibility conditions of poor populations in the geographical peripheries or central areas are heavily impacted by the inadequacy of transport and mobility infrastructure and service provision (Brasil, 2006; Izaga et al., 2019).

The large difference between social groups is visible not only in the uneven mobility conditions but also in low-income groups' ability to exert influence on public policies. In a field traditionally led by white middle-class males and marked by top-down, technocratic and imposed decisions, the elite and middle-class have found ways to influence transport policy, planning and decision-making in Brazil (Vasconcellos, 2014; 2018). Although transport planning had little or no public participation up until the democratic era in Brazil, the elite and middle class often influenced transport policies and decisions through 'hidden' forms of participation which rarely required an organised social movement (Vaconcellos, 2001; 2014; 2018).

After two decades of military dictatorship (1964-1985), the constitution of 1988 was enacted, eliminating censorship and re-establishing the 'right to free movement'[18] as a fundamental civic right (Brasil, 1988). With the constitution of 1988, the Brazilian Traffic Code in 1997 and the City Statute in 2001, the federal government also became responsible for providing general guidelines and programmes for transport policy while the municipalities took care of transport planning and traffic provisions (Brasil, 1988; 1997; 2001). However, the term mobility and the notion of transport as a social right only appeared in the federal frameworks through constitutional amendments in 2014 and 2015, during the Worker's party government (see Section 5.3.1 for more reflections on this). The evolution of legal instruments and their actions at the national level are presented in Table 9.

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[18] The right and the freedom to 'come and go' were guaranteed by the federal constitution in 1937 but revoked when the state of war was declared in 1942 (Brasil, 1937; 1942).

Table 9: Summary of legal instruments (1988-2018)

Legal instrument	Year	Action	Political parties in power
Federal Constitution	1988	Federal responsibility to institute guidelines for transport	MDB (centre-left)
Brazilian Traffic Code	1997	Federal responsibility to institute guidelines for urban traffic Municipalities' responsibility to enforce traffic rules	PSDB (centre-right)
City Statute Law 10.257 (Art 182 and 183 Federal Constitution)	2001	Institute guidelines for urban policy Participation in urban policy Participatory master plans for cities with over 20,000 inhabitants Integrated Transport Plan for cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants	PSDB (centre-right)
The Growth Acceleration Programme Decree 6.046	2007-2019	Stimulated private investment and the expansion of public investment in infrastructure, including transport	PT (left)
National Urban Mobility Policy Law 12.587	2012	Establishes the guidelines for mobility policy Participation in mobility policy Participatory mobility plans for cities with over 20,000 inhabitants Appreciation of non-motorised and public transport	PT (left)
Amendment Act 82 (Federal Constitution)	2014	Right to efficient urban mobility	PT (left)
National Policy of Social Participation Decree 8.243	2014 - 2019	Institutionalised participation as a method of government	Created under PT (left), abolished under PSL (right)
Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organisations Law 13.019	2014	Establishes the legal framework for partnerships between the public administrations and civil society organisations	PT (left)
Amendment Act 90 (Federal Constitution)	2015	Transport as a social right	PT (left)
Metropolis Statute Law 13.089	2015	Establishes general guidelines for the planning and management of metropolitan regions	PT (left)
Law no. 13.683	2018	Requires that mobility plans consider	MDB (centre-

In the years that followed the federal constitution, Brazilian policies witnessed the emergence of federal decrees stimulating the nation's economic and social development through investments in transport, sanitation, housing, energy and water infrastructures (Brasil, 2007; Izaga and Pereira, 2014) and the notion of mobility that culminated with the implementation of the National Urban Mobility Policy (Brasil, 2006; 2012). Both legal frameworks deserve special attention as the former impacted transport planning and infrastructure in large and medium-sized cities across the country and the latter consolidated participation as a compulsory mechanism in mobility policy. In what follows, I explain the Growth Acceleration Programme promulgated in 2007.

5.2.2.1. The Growth Acceleration Programme (2007-2019)

One decree that impacted transport infrastructure in large and medium-sized cities across the country is the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC, *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento*), announced in 2007 by President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (Workers' Party – PT *Partido dos Trabalhadores*). This programme was part of a cycle of large investments in infrastructure in the country (Ipea, 2021). The Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC) was implemented by the decree 6025/2007 (Brasil, 2007) and divided into two phases: PAC 1 (2007-2010) and PAC 2 (2011-2014). Each phase was organised by specific investments and aims (Cardoso and Denaldi, 2018).

In the same year of the announcement of the federal initiative, the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) announced Brazil as the host of the 2014 World Cup. Following this, 12 cities across the country, including Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, were chosen to host the football games. Two years later, in 2009, Rio de Janeiro was selected as the host city for the 2016 Olympic Games.

With the mega-events approaching, coupled with the complexities around urban mobility in Brazil, the PAC stimulated initiatives aimed at improving

mobility infrastructures of large and medium cities and precarious settlements (Izaga et al., 2019). The Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements was included in the Social and Urban Infrastructure strand of PAC 1. Projects of this nature involved the provision of housing and urban improvements in informal settlements and, in some cases, transport infrastructure (Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019). The mobility strand was integrated into PAC 2 to implement, improve and expand public transport infrastructure and systems.

Using federal investments, the projects of both strands were developed by state and city governments. The Ministry of Cities, created in 2003[19], was responsible for evaluating, approving and supervising the proposals and Caixa Econômica Federal was the institution in charge of operationalising the selected projects (Ministério das Cidades, 2010). The state and city governments were responsible for managing and supervising the works and were encouraged to include the 'participation of the beneficiaries in all stages of the project' (ibid., p. 10).

The federal incentives impacted transport planning and infrastructure at municipal levels, stimulated the creation of projects that benefited precarious settlements and included participation in its scope. Nonetheless, examples on the ground demonstrate that projects deriving from PAC investments did not always allow room for meaningful participation that attunes to the wishes of local populations. This has been the case with transport projects in low-income and marginalised neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, which are discussed further in Sections 5.4 and 5.5.

The consolidation of participation as an essential component of the mobility agenda occurred with the emergence of the National Urban Mobility Policy in 2012. To better understand how this policy articulates the role of participation in mobility policy, the next section presents and analyses the policy discourses in detail.

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[19] The Ministry of Cities was created under the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT). The Ministry of Cities has expanded the spaces for discussion about urban and mobility policies at national and city levels, such as the development of the National Council of Cities and City Conferences (Santos Júnior, 2019). The Ministry of Cities was abolished in 2019 under Jair Bolsonaro's right-wing mandate (Social Liberal Party - *Partido Social Liberal* PSL).

5.2.2.2. The right to participate in mobility policy: The National Urban Mobility Policy (2012)

In light of the mobility crisis experienced by Brazilian cities, the National Urban Mobility Policy was developed by the Ministry of Cities, seeking to solve the unequal environmental and social impacts of mobilities in the country (Brasil, 2006). The Brazilian National Urban Mobility Policy (PNMU), presented as a project of law in 2006 and sanctioned in 2012, represents a shift from understanding mobility beyond transport and consolidating democratic management as an instrument of mobility policy.

Implemented during the government of President Dilma Rousseff (Workers' Party – *Partido dos Trabalhadores PT*), the National Urban Mobility Policy was sanctioned through federal law 12.857 in January 2012 as an attempt to integrate urban mobility development into city planning (Izaga and Leite, 2016, p.3) and to establish a series of guidelines for improving accessibility and mobility at local levels (Brasil, 2012). The policy principles became compulsory for municipalities to implement their policies and plans in line with the federal and state governments. The Ministry of Cities, through the National Department of Transport and Urban Mobility, was the partner and guide of municipal authorities in developing the Urban Mobility Plans.

This policy marked the shift from understanding mobility beyond transport in Brazilian regulations and 'the importance of urban mobility as a dimension that qualifies urban life' (Marino, 2020, p.112). The policy considers mobility as the movement of people and objects, encompassing individual, collective, motorised and non-motorised transport modes. It fosters universal accessibility and the prioritisation of non-motorised – such as walking and cycling – and collective means of transportation over motorised and individual ones (Brasil, 2012).

The main objectives of the National Urban Mobility Policy are:

> I – To reduce inequalities and promote social inclusion;
> II – To promote access to basic services and social facilities;
> III – To improve the urban conditions of the population with regard to accessibility and mobility;

IV – To promote sustainable development by mitigating the environmental and socio-economic costs of people's and cargo displacement; and

V – To consolidate democratic management as an instrument and guarantee the continuous improvement of urban mobility.

(Art 7, Brasil, 2012)

The law sees 'democratic management' as an instrument to improve urban mobility and participation as a right of users of the National Urban Mobility System. The inclusion of participatory channels in mobility affairs represents a milestone for the consolidation of the right to participate in mobility planning and policy. The participation of civil society in planning, inspecting and evaluating the National Urban Mobility Policy is guaranteed through the following instruments:

I – Collegiate bodies with the participation of representatives of the Execute Power, civil society and service operators;

II – Ombudsmen services in the institutions responsible for managing the National Urban Mobility System or in bodies with similar attributions;

III – Public hearings and consultations; and

IV – Systematic procedures of communication, evaluation of the satisfaction of citizens and users and rendering of public accounts.

(Art 15, Brasil, 2012)

The municipal mobility plans[20] became the main instrument to put the national policy into practice and incorporate participatory procedures. Following similar guidelines and participatory mechanisms of the City Statute, mobility plans become a legal requirement for cities with over 20,000 inhabitants and reinforce the transfer of mobility planning responsibilities to municipalities (Brasil, 2012). The policy requires that the mobility plans must be integrated and compatible with the existing master plans and metropolitan transport and mobility plans, if applicable. Like municipal master plans, for the mobility plans to be approved, these must be signed off by the mayor and sanctioned by the members of the city council.

The municipal authorities were initially expected to develop their mobility plan by April 2015, which has been subsequently extended through additional legal measures. Further policy amendments established new deadlines for

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[20] According to the national law, mobility plans should include guidelines (to be reviewed and updated every ten years) for the planning and management of collective public transport services, road traffic, mobility infrastructure, accessibility for people with disabilities and mobility restrictions, cargo transport and parking areas (Brasil, 2012).

the development of mobility plans until 2022 and 2023, depending on the municipalities' size, and the requirement for mobility plans to include 'measures aimed at serving the consolidated informal urban areas' (Brasil, 2012; 2018). Nonetheless, the policy does not elaborate on how to 'serve' better the 'informal' territories and their mobilities.

The policy does not mention the word 'justice' in the text and uses the discourse of 'equity' instead to address even access of citizens to public transport, public spaces and services. Despite this, the policy incorporates some of the aspects of distributive, deliberative and restorative justice discussed by Mimi Sheller (2018). As the main principles of the PNMP, Article 5 establishes the need to promote (1) universal accessibility and equitable access to public circulation spaces and collective public transport (distributive justice); (2) democratic management, social control and evaluation of the PNMP (deliberative justice); and (3) fair distribution of benefits and burdens arising from the use of different modes and services (restorative justice). Throughout the text, the policy also includes aspects of procedural justice when it mentions the need for systematic communication procedures and the right of mobility users to be informed in accessible and easy-to-understand language[21] (Brasil, 2012).

Although PNMU enforces compulsory principles for the mobility policy at city levels, scholars have argued that little change has been observed in practice (Marino, 2020). The contradictions between policy rhetoric and practice identified in urban policy (Section 5.2.1.1) seem to extend to mobility policy. Despite the advances in promoting an agenda of mobility in Brazil, the policy *per se* has been accused of providing unclear legal instruments to be followed in the development of mobility plans at municipal levels (Maranhão, Orrico Filho and Santos, 2017). The policy only provides a generic approach toward the reduction of social inequalities and the negative influence of motorised individual transport. Moreover, research has identified several barriers in small and medium-sized municipalities that constrain the development and implementation of mobility plans (Bezerra, Santos and

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[21] These guidelines relate to the national law 12.527 on access to information implemented in 2011 (Brasil, 2011).

Delmonico, 2020). In addition to a lack of integration between public departments (such as transport and land use) and budget constraints, the opening of participation poses further challenges for municipal administrations. The challenges of participation in mobility plans are discussed further in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

In parallel, claimed spaces for participation emerged outside governmental boundaries, both in conjunction with and against federal, state and municipal mobility policies and measures. In what follows, I analyse the role of mobility-related civil society organisations and demonstrations that are crucial for understanding recent policy frameworks and the spaces for participation at the case study sites (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8 for more reflections).

5.3. Participation outside the state

Beyond the opening of participation in Brazilian policy frameworks, the role of mobility-related civil society organisations and demonstrations in the democratic period deserve special attention. They demonstrate participatory efforts outside the state in defence of mobility rights that influenced recent national instruments consolidating mobility and the right to participate, and were articulated with federal and municipal governments. To understand better the nature and unfolding of these spaces for participation, this section unpacks the role of social movements in June 2013 contesting mobility and the mobility-related civil society organisations in Brazil.

5.3.1. Social movements contesting mobility: The demonstrations of June 2013

One year after the implementation of the National Urban Mobility Policy, Brazil experienced a series of protests reacting against the increase in public transportation fares in more than a hundred cities around the country (Peschanski, 2013; Verlinghieri, 2016; Maricato, 2013). Initially triggered by the protests by the Movement for Free Fare[22] (*Movimento Passe Livre*)

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[22] The Movement for Free Fare (MPL) is a national movement that originated from protests against the increase of bus fares in Salvador (2003) and Florianópolis (2004) which was officially founded in 2005 during the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre (Movimento Passe

against the bus fare increase of 20 cents in Sao Paulo, a series of protests took to the streets in Brazil (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013). Beyond the population's discontentment with transport fares and conditions, the demonstrations contested the political corruption and the violations of mobility and housing rights engendered by the mega-events' preparatory works – the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio Olympic Games (Omena de Melo, 2020; Peschanski, 2013; Maricato, 2013; Verlinghieri, 2016). With the heavy use of social media, the mobilisation rapidly extended to more than a hundred cities, including Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (Peschanski, 2013; Verlinghieri, 2016; Maricato, 2013).

Along with the contestations against bus fare hikes, the precarious conditions of public transport and the police repression of ongoing protests, the movement encompassed much broader issues, including further political and social claims (Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017; Neves et al, 2018; Omena de Melo, 2020; Izaga and Pereira, 2014). Considering the increased participatory mechanisms after the reestablishment of democracy in Brazil, the movements of June 2013 were also seen as a space for contesting the limitations of participation and disappointment with the state as well as a precursor of later political polarisation and the emergence of extreme-right forces in the country (Omena de Melo, 2020).

Although the demonstrations of June 2013 were known for being predominantly composed of young, educated, middle-class protesters (Gohn, 2013; Maricato, 2013; Castells, 2012), these mobilisations also offered ground for the contestations and claims from low-income neighbourhoods across the country. In this case, protestors reacted against the evictions, mega-events, transport infrastructure and slum-upgrading projects affecting their neighbourhoods (Izaga and Pereira, 2014; De Araújo, 2014, 2015).

As a result, the movements of June 2013 were considered responsible for revoking the bus fare increase in several cities in Brazil (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013) and influencing the recognition of transport as a fundamental

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Livre, 2013). The movements of June 2013 began in São Paulo by MPL-SP and rapidly spread to more than a hundred cities in Brazil (ibid.).

right in Brazilian policies (Verlinghieri, 2016). A few years after the demonstrations, constitutional amendments incorporated the 'right to efficient urban mobility' into the federal constitution (Brasil, 2014b) and introduced transport as a social right[23], along with education, health and housing, among others (Brasil, 2015a). Additionally, the federal government launched the National Policy of Social Participation (PNPS) through decree 8.243/2014 to 'consolidate social participation as a method of government' and strengthen 'the dialogue' and articulations between federal public administrations and civil society (Brasil, 2014a; Santos Júnior, 2019). Whether or not these legal frameworks were created to contain protests or genuinely open up participation, the policy suggested a few participatory mechanisms: 'public policy council, public policy commission, national conference, federal ombudsman service, dialogue meetings, inter-council forum, public hearing, public consultation and virtual environment for social participation' (Art 6, Brasil, 2014a). However, this policy was abolished by the right-wing government of Jair Bolsonaro in 2019, demonstrating the instability of participation in relation to political changes and interests.

Moreover, civil society and state relations in the governance of mobility have been nourished beyond the spaces of direct contestation and participatory channels in policymaking. In the 2000s, Brazil witnessed the emergence of mobility-related civil society organisations that advocate for better mobility conditions in the country. In what follows, I explain the nature and dynamics of these mobility non-governmental organisations in the Brazilian context.

5.3.2. Mobility-related civil society organisations

With the democratic rule, the implementation of the federal constitution and the institutionalisation of participation in urban policy, the profile of social movements and forms of mobilisation changed after the 1990s in Brazil (Gohn, 2013; Santos Júnior, 2019). Unlike the social movements arising in the military dictatorship, the ones that emerged during the democratic period adopted an 'active-propositional approach' and were articulated with

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[23] However, the constitution does not specify whether the federal government would be accountable for the provision of transport services (Marino, 2020).

governmental actors (Gohn, 2013, p.250). Collaborations between public authorities and civil society organisations, such as through formal partnerships and cooperation agreements, have been deepened and regulated with the sanction of the Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organisations since 2014 (Law 13.019/2014) (Brasil, 2014c; 2015b).

In defence of mobility rights, social movements and non-governmental organisations emerged, advocating better mobility conditions for pedestrians, public transport users and cyclists in Brazil. With different interests, forms of actions and powers, collective mobilisations from below have been undertaken on a regular or sporadic basis. According to Vasconcellos (2018, p.87), in Brazil 'people do not call for improved mobility for all, but instead for improvements in the mode of transport that is most important for them'. While consistent movements and associations in defence of pedestrians and public transport users' rights remain rare, cycling activism has been more active and able to exert pressure on the state (Vasconcellos, 2014). Led mainly by middle-class activists, NGOs have been advocating the use of bicycles, contesting accidents, demanding more infrastructure, increased safety and better mobility conditions, and they seek to influence mobility policy and decision-making at national and city levels (Jones and Azevedo, 2013). Some national civil society organisations have become reference points for governmental and non-governmental organisations, such as the Brazilian Union of Cyclists (União de Ciclistas do Brasil - UCB) established in 2007, Bike Anjo Association (2010), Pedala Brasil Association (2013), Transporte Ativo (2003) and Mobicidade (2012). These NGOs are based in different cities across Brazil, such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and have national or local presences.

With the international environmental movement in the 2000s and carbon emission concerns, mobility organisations have received investments from international donors and national banks (Vasconcellos, 2014) that Miraftab (2020, p.437) calls 'institutions of power'. Some of the aforementioned organisations, such as UCB, Bike Anjo and Transporte Ativo, have been sponsored by a national bank. UCB and Bike Anjo, for instance, have signed a cooperation agreement between them and the federal government, through

the Ministry of Cities, aimed at carrying out actions to support and foment the use of bicycles in the country (Ministério das Cidades, 2018).

Additionally, supranational organisations have been developing other mobility-related actions and cooperation agreements with federal and municipal governments. These international organisations have headquarters in the case study cities and, to some extent, impacted the development of Rio de Janeiro's and Porto Alegre's mobility plans and other initiatives. One of them is the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP), an international NGO founded in the United States in 1985 with offices across the globe. With headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, ITDP Brasil has been systematically or sporadically interacting with city authorities in Rio de Janeiro since 2009, when the city was going through major investments and urban transformations engendered by the mega-events. Based on international funding and through partnerships with municipalities, the institute offers data, support, workshops and policy recommendations related to urban and mobility development (Vasconcellos, 2014; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018).

Another organisation is the World Resources Institute (WRI), an international research institute founded in 1982 and based in Washington USA that develops studies and proposals in partnership with governments, academics, civil society and companies. WRI Brasil was created in 2014 with offices in São Paulo and Porto Alegre. The institute has international partners and donors that fund its projects focused on active mobility, urban mobility and urban development, among others. Both ITDP and WRI have signed cooperation agreements with the Ministry of Regional Development, the National Congregation of Mayors (*Frente Nacional de Prefeitos* – FNP), the Institute of Applied Economic Research (*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* - Ipea) and several municipal governments.

Furthermore, local civil society organisations across the country have been advocating active mobility (walking and cycling), public transport and mobility justice, and establishing campaigns, projects and studies with or without the support from the government or donations from 'institutions of power'

(Miraftab, 2020, p.437). Among other topics, some of them bring to the centre the mobility challenges and inequalities of peripheral populations, such as Pedala Queimados and Casa Fluminense[24] in Rio de Janeiro. Founded in 2015, Pedala Queimados is a NGO from Queimados dedicated to promoting cycling in one of the poorest and more violent cities of Rio de Janeiro's metropolitan area. Casa Fluminense represents a civil society organisation established in 2013 aimed at collectively creating and influencing public policies for the metropolitan area and the peripheries of Rio de Janeiro. The organisation offers courses on public policy, develops projects and monitors political agendas. Mobility, especially public transport, is one of their main work strands. Their work also raises critical race issues impacting the everyday mobilities of black populations in the peripheries. The focus on race, cycle activism and the peripheries has also been promoted by the project Pedal na Quebrada (Pedaling in the Hood) (2018) in São Paulo and the movement La Frida Bike[25] (2015) in Salvador. These women-led groups mobilise educational, social and entrepreneurship actions that raise awareness about the intersectionality between gender, race, sexuality and mobility issues.

In these organisations, the main focus is on the geographical peripheries. Despite the issues of accessibility faced by populations in 'central peripheries' that have been widely discussed in the literature (Izaga et al., 2019; Lindau et al., 2011; Maia et al., 2016; Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019), the topic of mobility is not similarly mobilised by favela associations. This indicates a potential disjunction with the mobility agenda in central favelas. To begin to investigate this, the following sections explore the context of mobility planning and participation in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and pay particular attention to how favelas fit into state-led mobility planning. The role of NGOs in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre is explored further in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

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[24] More information about Casa Fluminense can be found at https://casafluminense.org.br/.
[25] For more details, see https://www.lafridabike.com/.

5.4. Contextualising mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro

Located in the Southeast of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro (Figure 12) is the capital of Rio de Janeiro state and the second-largest city in the country, with over 5,940,000 inhabitants (IBGE, 2011a). The city was founded in 1565, at the beginning of the colonial period of Portuguese domination. Due to the growing gold mining activities in Minas Gerais state and the maritime gateways in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil was transferred from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 (Enders, 2015). In 1960, the capital of the nation was allocated to the newly built Brasília.

Figure 12: Map of the city of Rio de Janeiro

Source: Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (2019c), North and scale by the author

Rio de Janeiro is one of the richest but also one of the most unequal cities in the Global South in terms of income concentration (UN-HABITAT, 2008; Pereira et al., 2019). It has a long history of uneven urban development and distribution of public infrastructure, including housing, water, sanitation and transport (Pereira, 2018; Pereira et al., 2019). The city experiences socio-spatial fragmentation and patterns of peripheral urbanisation marked by the growing expansion of geographical peripheries and informal settlements in central areas, also known as favelas (Perlman, 2010; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017). Rio de Janeiro has the largest favela population in Brazil,

with over 22% of the inhabitants residing in favelas across the city, as illustrated in Figure 11 (Izaga et al., 2019; IBGE, 2011b).

Figure 13: Favelas in Rio de Janeiro
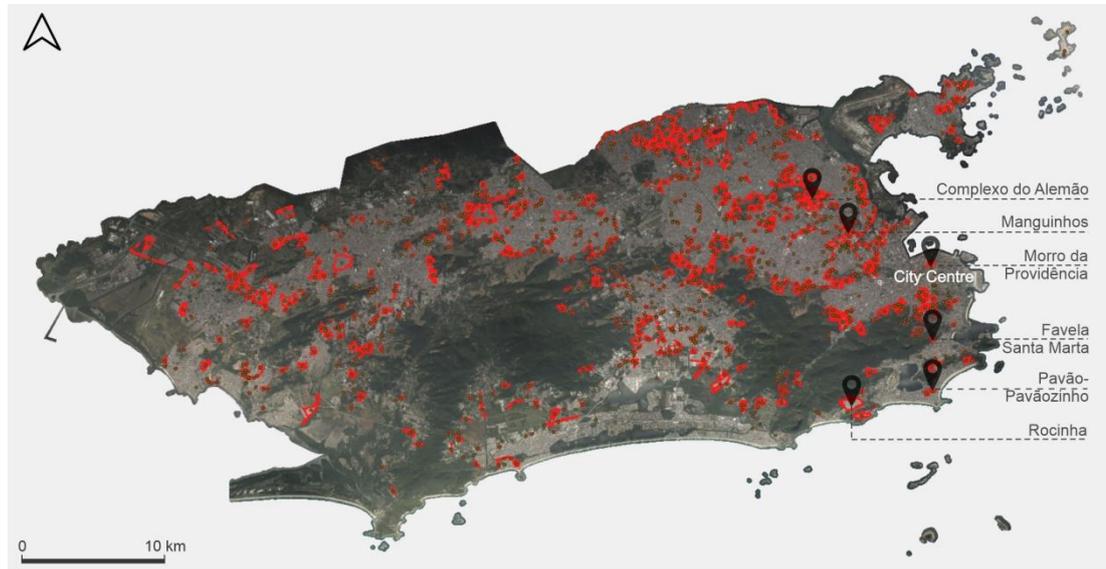
Favela[27] is the name designated to the so-called slums, squatter settlements, informal or 'subnormal urban clusters occupying land owned by others', public or private (IBGE, 2011b). Sometimes called hill (*morro*) or community (*comunidade*) (Perlman, 2010), official planning terminology often characterises favelas as Areas of Special Interest (Perlman, 2010). Although the word favela carries misleading notions of illegality and absence of planning and control as well as the stigma of poverty and criminal behaviour, this nomenclature has also been associated with pride and resistance (Freire-Medeiros and Menezes, 2020).

The origin of the term 'favela' is attributed to the first informal settlement in Rio de Janeiro, Morro da Favela (known today as Morro da Providência), situated on a central hill. The occupations originated at the end of the nineteenth century after the abolition of slavery in Brazil and the eviction of

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[26] The content is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0). https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/
[27] Due to the multiple connotations of resistance and pride embedded in words such as 'favelas', 'vilas' (in the case of Porto Alegre) and 'communities' (*comunidades*), I use these terms interchangeably in this thesis.

overcrowded tenement dwellers at the centre of the former nation's capital in 1893 (Perlman, 2010).

The poorest populations are the ones that suffer the most from the lack of planning and investments in mobility and public transportation. With a transport network that mainly relies on road transport, such as buses and private cars, mobility opportunities are unevenly distributed in the city and its metropolitan area (Pero and Mihessen, 2013). The city has the longest commuting journeys (ANTP, 2013) and one of the most expensive public transport fares in Brazil (Pereira et al., 2019). With poor accessibility, inadequate transport infrastructure and conditions, expensive fares and transport-related accidents, low-income groups, which mostly rely on walking, cycling and public transport for their daily mobility, experience mobility injustices (Albergaria, Martins and Mihessen, 2019; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017; Maricato, 2013; Pero and Mihessen, 2013).

In the 2010s, Rio de Janeiro benefitted from major investments in urban transport infrastructure in preparation for hosting the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The most significant investments in transport infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro (Figure 14) involved the expansion of the metro line and road network, the renovation of the rail system, the development of the international airport and port, including the construction of a light rail transit (VLT), four Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) corridors, three cable cars and several sports infrastructures (Pereira et al., 2019; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017). The Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC Mobility Large Cities) invested around R$2.4 billion in the airports, BRT and VLT systems in Rio de Janeiro (Ministério das Cidades, 2012). Other transport projects were funded by the private sector (rail, roads and BRT), and the state and city governments (rail, roads, BRT and traffic management) (Rio 2016, 2009).

Figure 14: Transport projects
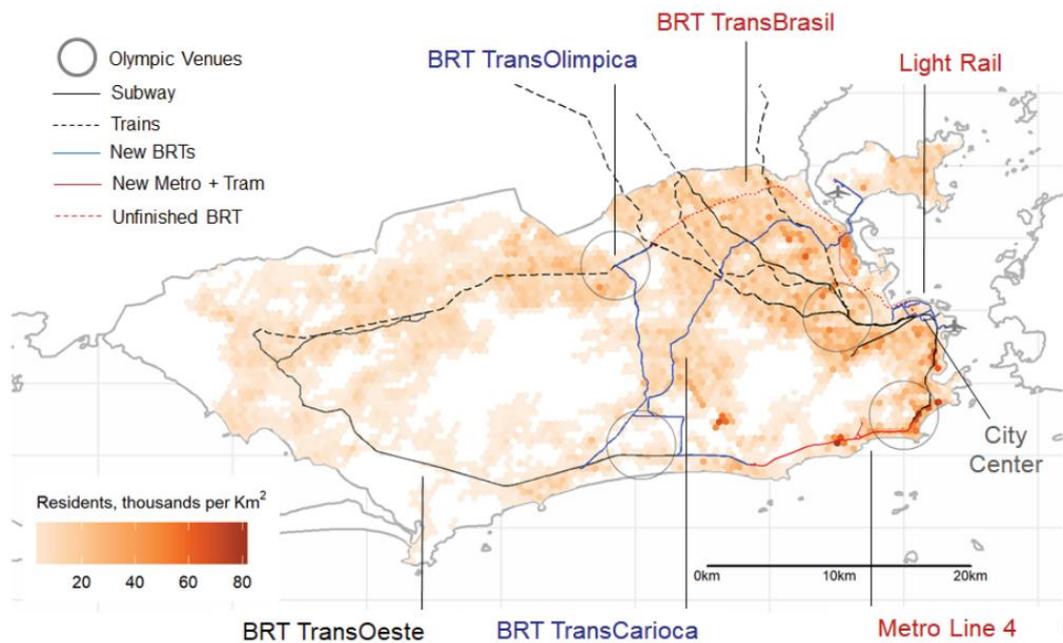
Source: Pereira et al. (2019).

The projects deriving from the mega-events' investments have been widely criticised for being the subject of forced evictions, corruption investigations, budget overruns, privatisation of public spaces and uneven expansion of public transport infrastructure (Vainer, et al., 2018; Neves et al, 2018; Omena de Melo, 2020; Pereira, 2018; Pereira et al., 2019; Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2017). Some of these projects, such as the cable cars, were targeted at larger favela clusters, such as Complexo do Alemão and Rocinha (see Section 5.4.2). While transport projects were being conceived and implemented at the metropolitan, city and neighbourhood scales with limited spaces for participation, urban and mobility plans were being developed by the state and municipal governments. In what follows, I analyse the scope and participatory spaces of the state and municipal plans and transport projects in favelas.

5.4.1. State and municipal plans and spaces for participation

In parallel to the substantial urban and transport projects being implemented in Rio de Janeiro, state and city governments developed urban and mobility plans, following the federal guidelines, as illustrated in Table 10.

Table 10: Summary of planning instruments in Rio de Janeiro and political parties in power (1988 - 2019)

	Urban planning	Mobility planning
Federal government	Constitution 1988	
	City Statute 2001 Metropolis Statute 2015	Brazilian Traffic Code 1997 National Urban Mobility Policy 2012
State government	Integrated urban master plan for the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro (2018) – MDB (centre-left)	Master plan for urban transport for the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro (2015) – MDB
Municipal government	Master plan for the sustainable urban development of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro (Complementary Law 111/2011) – PSD (centre-right)	Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro (Decree 45.781/2019) – Republicanos (centre-right) Municipal cycling plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro (Complementary Law 199/2019) – Republicanos

At state level, a series of plans that deal with urban mobility were developed with a focus on Rio de Janeiro's metropolitan region[28]: the Urban Transport Master Plan for the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (PDTU/2015), which updated the previous plan approved in 2005, and the Integrated Urban Master Plan for the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (PDUI/2018) (Luft, 2020). These plans are aimed at providing general guidelines for urban and transport planning at the metropolitan scale. They were developed by the state government of Rio de Janeiro (under a centre-left government), following the requirements of the City Statute (2001) and Metropolis Statute (2015), as discussed in Section 5.2.1.

While PDTU makes no mention of participation in its scope (Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2015), public hearings and meetings with members of civil society were conducted by the state government within PDUI's development (Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2018). However, spaces for participation in plans of this scale are 'subject to

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[28] The metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro was instituted in 1997 and updated by Complementary Law 184/2018.

controversy regarding its scope, its instances and its depth' (Ipea, 2021, p. 11). Considering the coverage of the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro, the plan had little participation (ibid.). This fact was intensified by the financial and political crisis faced by the state government[29] that contributed to the cancellation of meetings and the exclusion of civil society in follow-up events (Comunicação Casa, 2019). With further political complications at state level, such as changes in mandate and legal priorities, PDUI has not passed through the state Legislative Assembly and, therefore, has had no normative effect yet (Ipea, 2021).

At municipal level, under a centre-right government, the city authorities have been revising the master plan (Complementary Law 111/2011) and developing the city's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (Decree 45.781/2019) and Cycling Plan (Complementary Law 199/2019). The city's master plan and Cycling Plan had not been approved at the time of this investigation (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2019a). Despite this, the complementary law that institutes and regulates the creation of the Cycling Plan included a specific paragraph that states that 'the participation of women from the low-income population should be encouraged at all stages' (ibid.). It flags that these groups may not be part of mobility planning and policymaking invited spaces.

Following the national call for municipalities with over 20,000 inhabitants to develop their mobility plans (as explained in Section 5.2.2.2), Rio de Janeiro's mobility plan activities were initiated by the Municipal Transport Department (SMTR) between 2014 and 2019. These varied from coordination, data collection, diagnosis and prognosis to approval procedures that sanctioned Decree 45781 establishing Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan in 2019 (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2019b). A series of in-person and digital mechanisms of participation was conducted in 2015. The participatory tools and events were carried out in 2015 with

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[29] The financial crisis of the state of Rio de Janeiro was decreed in 2014 as a result of the failure in the management of public finances, budget overruns (in preparation for the mega-events) and the global petrol crisis. Following this, in 2018, the state leader and members of the legislative and judiciary powers were accused of corruption and arrested, aggravating the crisis in the state (IPEA, 2021).

support from ITDP Brasil, Casa Fluminense, and a public entity led by young professionals called Laboratory of Participation of Rio de Janeiro (Lab.Rio) (Da Silva, Mello and Amaral, 2016). The development of Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan and its participatory spaces are analysed further in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

Along with the aforementioned state and municipal plans and policies, several transport projects were undertaken in Rio de Janeiro's favelas. The following section provides a brief overview of these initiatives. This is crucial to start outlining the significance of mobility and the role of participation in these territories.

5.4.2. Transport projects in favelas

To examine the trajectory of projects in favelas established in Rio de Janeiro and situate the scope of transport and mobility projects, this section provides an overview of municipal, state and federal initiatives ranging from the Mutirão project (1982), Favela-Bairro (1993), Growth Acceleration Programme - PAC (2007) to Morar Carioca (2010). The study of these programmes forms the basis for understanding the history of Favela Santa Marta and the urban and mobility upgrading projects in the locality. As none of them was directly articulated with the municipal Transport Departments, this section also signposts the potential disconnection between mobility planning and consolidated informal urban areas, which will be further evaluated in the following chapters.

Favelas are ingrained in the Brazilian societal issue of colonial and slavery legacies and deep social and mobility inequalities (Rocha, 2012). With the incoming migrants and their rapid expansion over the landscape of Rio de Janeiro, for a long period, urban policies (such as the Building Code in 1937) considered favelas as provisional, inappropriate and unhygienic, making them invisible on the city maps (up until the 1970s) and determining their eviction to peripheral areas (Perlman, 2010; Magalhães and Izaga, 2013; Santos, 2014a; Maia, 2018; Ferraz, Leme and Maia, 2018). With the emergence of drug trafficking in Brazil in the 1970s, favelas came to be characterised as

'territories of exception' due to the absence of the state and dominance of drug gangs and militia (Magalhães and Izaga, 2013, p.43; Perlman, 2010).

The histories of favelas were marked by self-construction, self-management (*autogestão*) and collective task forces (*mutirões*) seeking to provide living conditions to their residents (Figure 15). These practices of 'horizontal governance' (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019) as characteristics of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, chime with the notion of 'participation as planning' in the literature (Frediani and Cociña, 2019).

Figure 15: Collective task forces

Source: RioOnWatch (2017)[30]. Photo credits: Anthony Leeds.

After decades of policy efforts to make favelas invisible and eradicate them in Rio de Janeiro, a process of reconciliation between the state and the favelas emerged in the 1980s, in which the so-called 'urbanisation projects' were the turning point (Izaga et al., 2018). The increasing complexity of these territories and the growing number of favela dwellers made it impossible for public authorities to continue neglecting and displacing entire populations. With the favourable political context of the 1980s, the implementation of slum-upgrading projects and police control attempting to integrate the 'informal city' with the 'formal' one was conducted by municipal, state and federal initiatives (Maia, 2018). Investments in transport were central components of these projects (Maia et al., 2016), as briefly described below.

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At municipal level, the Municipal Department for Social Development created the project *Mutirão* in 1982, aimed at providing favelas with basic infrastructure and services, such as road paving and construction of public facilities (Santos, 2014a; Leitão et al., 2014). The state of Rio de Janeiro also began to experiment with mobility interventions in favelas after the government of Leonel Brizola (*Partido Democrático Trabalhista*). Between 1983 and 1987, the funicular of favela Pavão-Pavãozinho was implemented (Figures 13 and 16), characterising the first mobility project of this proportion in a favela in Rio de Janeiro (Santos and Gonçalves, 2017). The following years also were marked by further municipal measures revising Rio de Janeiro's master plan in 1992 and establishing the favelas as part of the city (Santos, 2014a).

Figure 16: The funicular of favela Pavão-Pavãozinho

Source: Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (2011b). Photo by J.P. Engelbrecht.

At a broader scale than in project *Mutirão*, the *Favela-Bairro* programme, launched in 1993 during the mandate of the mayor Cesar Maia (*Democratas*), sought to reinforce project *Mutirão*'s guidelines to integrate middle-size favelas into the city's urban structure and to improve accessibility, sanitation, public facilities and leisure spaces (Santos, 2014a; 2014b; Izaga et al., 2018; Izaga and Pereira, 2014). Although the initiative was managed by the Municipal Housing Department, urban mobility was tackled as a way to improve accessibility inside the favelas and to connect them with the surrounding neighbourhoods through road widening, paving paths and improvements to

staircases (Izaga and Pereira, 2014; Santos, 2014a). Further on, the project unfolded during the mandate of the centre-left mayor Luiz Paulo Conde (*Movimento Democrático Brasileiro*) with the development of *Programa Bairrinho,* focused on small-scale favelas and *Programa Grandes Favelas* for favelas with over 2,500 dwellings (Santos, 2014a; Izaga et al., 2018).

In Rio de Janeiro, the strand of the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC*)* that deals with the Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements was commonly known as PAC Favelas (Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019; Izaga and Pereira, 2014). The mega-events boosted a series of state government measures seeking to promote slum-upgrading, exercise control over the favelas and reduce organised crime (Maia, 2018). As part of the state public security policy, Pacifying Police Units (UPP *Unidades de Policia Pacificadora*) were installed in favelas occupied by drug trafficking (Santos and Gonçalves, 2017; Santos, 2014b). The UPPs were proposed to bring safety and open up the favelas for investments and improvements. Favela Santa Marta was the first favela where the 'pacification' took place. After the implementation of Santa Marta's Pacifying Police Unit in December 2008, 37 other UPPs were implemented by the state government in the following years (Izaga and Pereira, 2014).

The development of projects financed by the Growth Acceleration Programme in Rio de Janeiro was carried out by the state government through the Public Works Company (EMOP) together with the Ministry of Cities and the bank Caixa Econômica Federal (Izaga and Pereira, 2014). These projects targeted larger favela clusters, such as Complexo do Alemão, Manguinhos[31] and Rocinha (Figure 13), and focused on improving and implementing water supply, drainage, basic sanitation, public lighting, street widening and paving, housing units and public facilities.

In regard to mobility, high investments were directed to the construction of larger public transport infrastructures, such as footbridges, funicular railways

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[31] In Complexo de Manguinhos, the proposal included the elevation of a railway line that crosses the neighbouring favelas. Although the project envisioned promoting a safer connection between them, accidents are still recurrent and mobility remains a challenge for the residents (Pivetta et al., 2016).

and cable cars, as an attempt to improve the accessibility within the favela and its connection with the rest of the city (Lindau et al., 2011; Izaga and Pereira, 2014; Santos, 2014a). Inspired by the Metrocable in Medellin, Colombia, the implementation of the cable car in Complexo do Alemão (Figure 17) in 2011 was a controversial project due to the lack of participation and articulation with the existing population, a high number of evictions and budget overrun, as well as the strong appeal to tourism in the favelas (Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019; Santos and Gonçalves, 2017; Santos, 2014b; Izaga and Pereira, 2014; Izaga et al., 2018). Since September 2016, the cable car[32] has been out of operation due to maintenance issues and the lack of subsidies from the state government (Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019).

Figure 17: Cable car in Complexo do Alemão

Source: RioOnWatch (2016). Photo credits: Marcello Santos.

Although participation has been included as a guiding principle of PAC Favelas in Rio de Janeiro, research has shown that, in fact, this programme followed a common trend of neglecting local voices and desires and offering little or no room for decision-making from below (Santos, 2014a; Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019). In response, the movements of June 2013 also witnessed the participation of Vidigal and Rocinha residents reacting against the cable car

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[32] The cable car of Complexo do Alemão, with 3.5 km of extension and six stations, cost over R$210 million. It was operated by Supervia and later on by Rio Teleféricos. Between 2013 and 2016, the fare for residents was R$1 (who were also entitled to two free tickets per day) and R$5 for visitors (Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019).

project envisioned for the largest favela in Brazil, as illustrated in Figures 18 and 19 (Izaga and Pereira, 2014). By referring to the proposed cable car as a waste of money or 'a white elephant' ('*elefante branco*'), the slogan 'basic sanitation yes, white elephant no' (*'saneamento básico sim, elefante branco não'*) contested the lack of dialogue with public authorities and attention to the favela's most basic issues, such as insalubrity and the lack of sewage system and rubbish collection (Steiker-Ginzberg, 2013; Santos, 2014a). Considering the high costs and number of evictions; touristic approach; misconduct of the cable car, and the lack of participation experienced in Complexo do Alemão, the 2013 demonstrations indicate that a transport mode of this magnitude was not seen as a priority for Rocinha residents, who wanted to be heard and taken into account. At the time of the investigation, the cable car in Rocinha had not been implemented.

Figures 18 and 19: Demonstrations against the cable car (*teleférico*) in Rocinha

Source: RioOnWatch (2013). Photo credits: Flavio Carvalho and Felipe Paiva.

At municipal level, the programme Morar Carioca (2010) was developed by the Municipal Housing Department, during the two administrations of Eduardo Paes (Social Democratic Party - *Partido Social Democratico* PSD), as an expansion of Favela-Bairro. The project intended to improve public services, infrastructure, housing and mobility in 253 favelas by 2020 (Santos, 2014a; Legroux, Britto and Benetti, 2019). Morar Carioca's mobility proposals included the improvement of alleys, staircases and ramps and the implementation of funiculars and cable cars. Morro da Providência, known as the first favela of Rio de Janeiro (as introduced earlier in Section 5.4), benefited from the

municipal initiative that inaugurated a cable car[33] (Figure 20) at the locality with three stations and 721 metres of extension in July 2014 (Silva and Rossi, 2013). The favela is located in Gamboa, a region that is part of the municipal government's strategy and public-private partnership called *Porto Maravilha* aimed at transforming the port area, fomenting tourism and improving the image of the city for the mega-events (Santos, 2014a). Similarly to Complexo do Alemão, the project in Morro da Providência has been conflictual as a result of forced evictions, suspicions of corruption and the lack of participation (Silva and Rossi, 2013; Santos, 2014a). The cable car of Morro da Providência has also been out of operation since December 2016 due to the lack of public funding and maintenance (Veloso and Santiago, 2017).

Figure 20: Morro da Providência's cable car

Source: RioOnWatch (2014). Photo credits: JP Engelbrecht

Morar Carioca's initiative was not extended during the subsequent mayor, Marcelo Crivella's mandate (centre-right party, Republicanos, 2017–2020), which only included a few strategies to benefit favelas and Areas of Special Interest (AEIS) until 2020. With the election of Eduardo Paes as Rio de Janeiro's mayor in 2021, the municipal government announced the resumption of Morar Carioca in 2022. The initiative seeks to invest R$500 million in urban

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[33] Morro da Providência's cable car was operated by the Urban Development Company of the Port Region of Rio de Janeiro. The proposal for the locality also included a funicular which has not been implemented due to irregularities in the project (Santos, 2014a).

infrastructure, land regularisation, public lighting, rubbish collection and leisure in 22 localities (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2022). At the time of the investigation, no further mobility and transport initiatives were mentioned.

Overall, 'from invisibility to acceptance, from evictions to urbanism', favelas have travelled a long way to be minimally accepted as an integral part of the city (Santos, 2014a, p.10). Although with 'discontinuous continuity' (Ximenes and Jaenisch, 2019, p.1) and a lack of consistency in public policies (Magalhães and Izaga, 2013), urban improvement and mobility projects developed in Rio de Janeiro sought to improve the connection between the context of mobility at city and neighbourhood scales and the favelas. Nonetheless, some transport projects (as exemplified by the case of Complexo do Alemão, Rocinha and Morro da Providência) were controversial and conflictual, particularly concerning their impact on the populations and limited scope of participation. Based on the analysis of state and municipal transport policies, plans and projects discussed in this section, participation is not a very well resolved issue in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro. As a result, alternative spaces for participation have been mobilised, reacting against transport infrastructures, such as the cable car in Rocinha. This reactive posture raises questions regarding the significance of mobility to central favelas, which are explored further in the following chapters.

Also, the analysis demonstrated that transport initiatives in favelas were undertaken by the state government or municipal housing and social development departments, which have little or no engagement with the municipal mobility and transport units. This potential disconnection is further examined in Chapter 6. Before moving on to the following chapter, section 5.5 introduces the context of mobility planning in Porto Alegre and its favelas.

5.5. Contextualising mobility planning in Porto Alegre

With over 1,409,351 inhabitants (IBGE, 2011a; Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013), Porto Alegre (Figure 21) is the capital of Rio de Grande do Sul state, situated in the south of Brazil (see Figure 10). The city's first settlement dates from 1752. Porto Alegre was founded in 1772 and turned into the state capital one year later (Ferreira and Menezes, 2017). With European

immigration to the region in the following years, the agricultural activities were strengthened, and the population grew considerably between the 1820s and 1890s.

Figure 21: Map of Porto Alegre and its districts

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2016), North and scale by the author.

After intense industrial and population growth in the 1950s and 1970s, Porto Alegre witnessed accelerated urbanisation and state-led attempts to regulate the city's land-use (Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013). Porto Alegre's first master plan dates from 1959, over 40 years before the establishment of the City Statute, becoming one of the first cities in Brazil to have a master plan. With the land use regulations and real estate valuation, urban infrastructure, high-quality residences and services were mostly concentrated in central areas. In consequence, the urban poor were forced to inhabit the geographical peripheries where the land regulation norms and real estate speculation did not reach (Costa, 2001, cited in Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013). This marked

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the beginning of the dichotomy between the centre and periphery, in which the first is well equipped with services and infrastructure and the latter lacks basic infrastructure and is where the poorest segments of society live.

In the state of Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre is the city with the highest number of precarious housing settlements (Lahorgue et al., 2018). These low-income settlements are distributed across central areas and urban fringes and considered in planning regulations as Areas of Special Interest (AEIS), as illustrated in Figure 22. Also, the agglomerations of large low-income areas are commonly referred to as *'vilas'* (villages) in Porto Alegre (Silveira, 2018; Lahorgue et al., 2018).

Figure 22: Areas of Special Interest in Porto Alegre
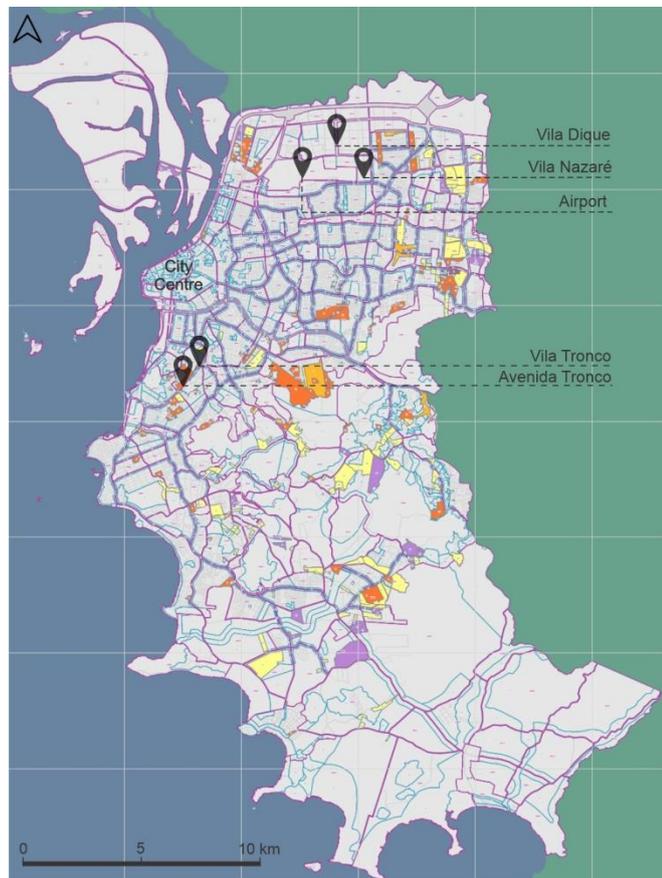
Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2020)[34], annotations by the author.

As mentioned in Section 5.2 earlier in this chapter, Porto Alegre's tradition of participation stands out in the Brazilian context. Porto Alegre was the first city

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in Brazil to have a Participatory Budgeting mechanism due to the city's pioneer associative tradition and favourable political context (Avritzer, 2006). Participatory Budgeting began in Porto Alegre under the Workers Party (PT), in 1989, after a series of social movements, and emerged as an alternative to include popular participation in local governance and redistribute the priority of investment allocation in the city (Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013). The system is still in operation and the population votes for councillors, delegates and the investment priorities for the municipality at regional and thematic assemblies. Currently, Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting is divided into 17 regions and 6 priority themes[35], 'Circulation, Transport and Urban Mobility' being one of them. In this strand, the usual debates and priorities for mobilities encompass road paving, extension, widening and opening of roads, improvement of transport terminals and road safety (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2009 - 2016).

Like Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre was selected as one of the cities to host the FIFA World Cup games. To this end, a set of projects were undertaken to improve the Beira-Rio stadium and to adapt the infrastructures of mobility, airports and ports for the benefit of the sporting event and Porto Alegre's residents (Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013; Oliveira, 2013). The urban projects took advantage of the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC) investments and were under the shared responsibility of the federal, state and municipal governments.

Cities would only receive the credit[36] to carry out the projects after signing the Responsibilities Matrix (*Matriz de Responsabilidades*) endorsed by the federal, state and municipal governments. In 2010, the Responsibilities Matrix was signed and shared the responsibility of the projects considered 'essential' for the 2014 FIFA World Cup (Oliveira, 2013). Urban mobility proposals (Figure 23) were central to public investment projects in Porto Alegre, largely in the form of: the paving and extension of three roads around

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[35] The other themes are: Education, Sport and Leisure; Housing, City Organisation, Urban and Environmental Development; Economic Development, Taxation, Tourism and Labour; Culture; and Health and Social Assistance.
[36] Urban mobility projects received funds from Caixa Econômica Federal and others (such as stadiums) from Banco Nacional de Deselvolvimento (Oliveira, 2013).

the football stadium (*Estádio Beira-Rio*); the renovation of the city airport and coach station, and the implementation of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) and metro systems[37]. PAC projects (Mobility and Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements) were also carried out in the *vilas* of Porto Alegre (see Section 5.5.2).

Figure 23: Map of projects undertaken in Porto Alegre
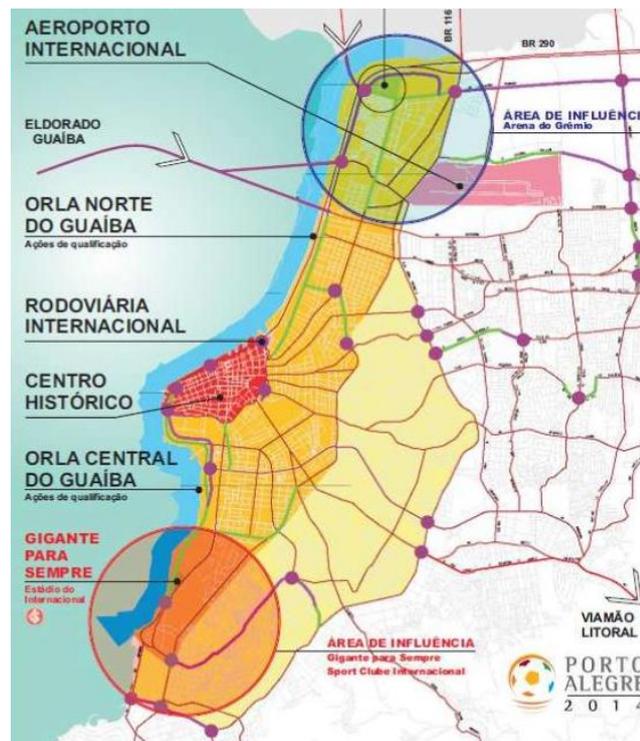
Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011a)

'Community participation was [considered] a premise in the planning of Porto Alegre', as stated in the city's World Cup Legacy Plan (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2014, p.4). As the city is internationally known for its Participatory Budgeting system, the municipal authorities use this 'tradition of participatory democracy' to promote the World Cup projects and 'public policies that value dialogue, respect for differences and solidarity, focusing on the characteristics of territories and communities' (ibid.).

However, participation in Porto Alegre has been the subject of criticism. After 15 years of Workers Party (PT) mandate in municipal government (between 1989 and 2004) and the rise of centre-left state and municipal governments,

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[37] The metro system has not been implemented at the time of the investigation.

the Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre was criticised for shifting from 'popular participation' to 'governance', weakening actors and spaces of deliberation, associating with corporate sectors and functioning as a mechanism for legitimising state-led decisions and policies (Lahorgue et al., 2018; Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013). Unlike the height of Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre in the 1990s, invited spaces for participation became a convenient means to legitimise dominant interests in a neoliberal era (Miraftab, 2009; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Cornwall, 2002). Commentators emphasise that 'participation still exists, but it is subordinate, it is no longer a protagonist' in Porto Alegre (Lahorgue et al., 2018, p. 327).

Against this backdrop, the following sections briefly analyse the articulations of participation in state and municipal plans and policies after the reestablishment of democracy and provide an overview of transport projects in *vilas* in Porto Alegre.

5.5.1. State and municipal plans and spaces for participation

Before the City and Metropolis Statutes were created at national level (Table 11), Rio Grande do Sul already had a legal framework to guide city planning and encourage the 'adoption of popular and community participation mechanisms in the urban development process' (Art. 2, XIII, Governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, 1994). Since 1994, under a centre-left government, the state of Rio Grande do Sul has provided general planning guidelines through Urban Development Law (Law 10.116/1994). A few years later, Porto Alegre's master plan (Complementary Law 434/1999) was reviewed and approved, emphasising the importance of 'popular participation' in urban planning in its first articles (Art. 2, Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 1999).

Table 11: Summary of planning instruments in Porto Alegre (1988 - 2022)

	Urban planning	Mobility planning
Federal government	Constitution 1988	
	City Statute 2001	Brazilian Traffic Code 1997
	Metropolis Statute 2015	National Urban Mobility Policy

		2012
State government	Urban development law (Law 10.116/1994) – PDT (centre-left)	Policy for sustainable urban mobility of Rio Grande do Sul (Law 14.960/2016) – MDB (centre-left)
Municipal government	Master Plan (Complementary Law 434/1999) – PT (left)	Integrated Cycling master plan (Complementary Law 626/2009) – PPS (centre)
		Accessibility Master Plan (Complementary Law 678/2011) – PDT
		Urban mobility plan (Complementary Law Project 001/22) – MDB

Two decades later, in line with the federal guidelines for mobility policy (Brasil, 2012), the state government of Rio Grande do Sul created the Policy for Sustainable Urban Mobility of Rio Grande do Sul (Law 14.960/2016). The policy was launched in 2016 and followed similar instruments of the National Urban Mobility Policy to encourage the participation of civil society in the planning, inspection, evaluation and control of the state mobility policy, such as 'collegiate bodies', 'public hearings, debates and seminars' as well as communication mechanisms (Art. 9, Governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, 2016).

At municipal level, before the National Urban Mobility Policy was implemented in 2012, the authorities of Porto Alegre approved the Integrated Cycling Master Plan (Law 626/2009) in 2009 and the Accessibility Master Plan (Law 678/2011) in 2011, with little participation of civil society (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2009; 2011c). After the PNMU was published, the development of the city's mobility plan began and has gone through three different mayor mandates to date, particularly due to controversies concerning participation.

Porto Alegre's first attempt at a mobility plan was proposed in 2015 by the Municipal Department of Infrastructure and Urban Mobility (SMIM) and the Public Company of Transport and Circulation (EPTC) within the Municipal Department of Urban Mobility. The first mobility plan proposal was signed by

the mayor José Fortunati (Democratic Labour Party - *Partido Democratico Trabalhista* PDT) but was heavily criticised for the lack of participation in the process and refused by the municipal legislative bodies (Barros, 2015).

With subsequent extensions of the deadline for turning the mobility plans into local policies, Porto Alegre's mobility plan went through a process of 'revision' in 2018, during the government of mayor Nelson Marchezan Júnior (*Brazilian Social Democracy Party* - Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira PSDB). In contrast to Rio de Janeiro, the activities and official reports of Porto Alegre's mobility plan did not fully incorporate the concept of sustainable mobility.

In this process of revision, EPTC had support from WRI Brazil (Section 5.3.2). Through technical cooperation agreements, this international NGO with headquarters in Porto Alegre offered training to EPTC professionals on the 'seven steps' to elaborate a mobility plan. Within this methodology developed by WRI Brazil, city authorities were instructed on the pathway to prepare, develop and implement a participatory mobility plan (Oppermann et al., 2017; Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). Following the training facilitated by WRI Brazil, the participatory activities were conducted by EPTC with the assistance of the Municipal Department of Institutional Relations (SMRI)[38], a public entity responsible for organising the Participatory Budgeting and the district councils, also known as Centres of Institutional and Participatory Relations (CRIPs).

Seven years after the first attempt and with a different mayor in charge of the municipal government (Sebastião Melo, centre-left party, Movimento Democratico Brasileiro), the Complementary Law Project that proposes Porto Alegre's Urban Mobility Plan (PMU) was approved (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2022). The law project will be revised, updated and sanctioned by December 2024 (Ferreira, 2022). The challenges in the plan development are analysed further in Chapter 7. Before moving on to analysing the city-

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[38] After the new municipal government from January 2021, in which Sebastião Melo (MDB) was the elected mayor, the department's name was changed to Municipal Department of Local Governance and Political Coordination (SMGOV) and the CRIPs were called District Councils.

scale spaces for participation in detail, Section 5.5.2 presents an overview of the transport projects in *vilas* linked to the Growth Acceleration Programme (Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements and Mobility). These projects are crucial for understanding the complexities around mobility planning and the vilas in Porto Alegre.

5.5.2. PAC's transport projects in vilas

As mentioned in Section 5.5, Porto Alegre and its metropolitan region received funding from the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC) under the Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements and Mobility strand. Compared to other Brazilian cities, the PAC investment budget was considerably lower and diluted between 14 municipalities in Rio Grande do Sul and 24 projects (Lahorgue et al., 2018).

In Porto Alegre, the projects under the 'Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements' strand were associated with the FIFA World Cup games and limited to two precarious neighbourhoods located near the international airport: Vila Nazaré and Vila Dique (Menezes, Augustin and Souza, 2017). Rather than focusing on the complexities of upgrading and integrating the localities into the city, the projects in Vila Nazaré (Figures 22 and 24) and Vila Dique aimed to transfer the residents to housing estates in other regions of the city to enable the expansion of the airport's runway (Lahorgue et al., 2018; Menezes, Augustin and Souza, 2017). As such, these projects follow the logic of expulsion of poor populations to make room for the mega-events' infrastructure. They are also accused of disregarding layers of interventions linked to the Participatory Budgeting demands – such as public health care centres, schools, residents' associations, among others (Lahorgue et al., 2018).

Figure 24: Vila Nazaré

Another project negatively impacting *vila* residents fell under the PAC Mobility strand. Among the mobility projects in Porto Alegre, the one with the highest investment (R$ 133,6 million) was the extension of almost five kilometres of road corridor between Avenida Divisa and Avenida Tronco (Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013; De Araújo, 2015). The project of Avenida Tronco (now called Avenida Moab Caldas) was envisioned in the city's first master plan in 1959 (De Araújo, 2014). With the funding available for the 2014 World Cup games, the project (Figures 22, 25, 26 and 27) aimed to widen the road pavement and add Bus Rapid System (BRT) and bicycle corridors (Porto Alegre, 2013). Conceived as an alternative connection to Beira-Rio stadium, this road infrastructure aimed to expand the link between the city centre and the new developments in the south zone (Oliveira, 2013).

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Figure 25: The project of Avenida Tronco

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011a), annotations by the author.

Figures 26 and 27: Existing avenue (left) and proposed layout (right).

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011a)

As demonstrated by other pieces of research and the local media, the construction of Avenida Tronco has been a long and conflicted process (De Araújo, 2014, 2015). Avenida Tronco's project disregarded the families living in seven *vilas*[40] located within the planned avenue layout and led to the resettlement and eviction of around 1,500 families (De Araújo, 2014; 2015; Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013; Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2011b).

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[40] Vila Cristal, Vila Cruzeiro do Sul, Vila Tronco, Vila dos Comerciários, Vila Gastão Mazeron, Vila Maria and Vila Silva Paez (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2012a).

After four years from the start of the construction and evictions, work stopped in October 2016, due to a lack of resources, and resumed in 2018 (Figure 28) (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2019). The construction was suspended from July 2019 until February 2022, when the project resumed again (Carlosso, 2022). Although the avenue was intended to serve the football event in 2014, it had not been completed by the time of this investigation, almost ten years after the beginning of its construction.

Figure 28: A section of Avenida Tronco's construction

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2018b). Photo credits: Luciano Lanes.

Despite the compulsory displacement of 'irregular occupations' (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2011b), the avenue project was seen as 'the most social project in Porto Alegre' by the mayor Sebastiao Melo (MDB Brazilian Democratic Movement - *Movimento Democrático Brasileiro*) (Rivas, 2021). This statement is tied to the municipal authorities' discourse that Avenida Tronco would benefit the locality, improve housing and the quality of life for residents and leave a 'legacy' to the city (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2018b). However, the project fails to integrate housing and mobility; the first becomes an obstacle for the mobility works and the latter mostly benefits visitors to the city (Lahorgue and Cabette, 2013), rather than the residents of the nearby *vilas*. The municipal government has been accused of violating human rights, evicting the urban poor and not providing adequate

means for the evicted families to resettle (De Araújo, 2014; Lahorgue et al., 2018).

While the municipal government argued that nine thematic meetings with the city and state government involved more than 150 entities representing civil society, and that all investments were submitted and approved by the participatory budgeting mechanisms (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2014), the regional priorities' demands did not include mobility. The review of the priority demands in Cruzeiro (where the avenue is located) shows that the themes related to the Circulation, Transport and Urban Mobility strand were the least voted for from 2009/2010 onwards. This tendency continued, except in 2012 when the avenue works began and paving became the third most-voted theme, while housing, social assistance and sanitation remained the priorities for the region (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2009 - 2016). This evidence from the priorities' records of the Participatory Budgeting suggests that the widening of Avenida Tronco not only disregarded the families residing in the proposed avenue layout but also overlooked the preferences listed in the Participatory Budgeting assemblies.

Despite this, the project progressed and so did the evictions. Within the municipal government's removal policy, affected families could opt for resettlement via social rent (*aluguél social*) or the housing bonus (*bônus moradia*) (De Araújo, 2014). The first refers to a funding option offered to help families willing to move to the housing units of the federal programme *'Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida'* in the locality while these were being built. The latter concerns an indemnity for the purchase of a property with deeds elsewhere, within which the municipal government and the bank Caixa Econômica Federal mediated the negotiations (De Araújo, 2014, 2015; Silveira, 2018). However, the competitive housing market in Porto Alegre and the reduced number of properties with deeds in Grande Gruzeiro made it difficult for the evicted families to resettle within or close to their place of origin. Against this background, community leaders, *vila* associations and residents affected by Avenida Tronco's project joined the demonstrations of June 2013 to contest the forced evictions and inadequate resettlement policies (Figure 29). These movements had support from the Popular World

Cup Committee[41] (*Comitê Popular da Copa*), a social movement that acted in other cities and neighbourhoods affected by evictions and projects associated with the World Cup games.

Figure 29: Demonstration on Avenida Tronco

Source: Mesomo (2014, p.129). Photo credits: Ramiro Furquim.

Shortly after the protests in June 2013, the Avenida Tronco project was withdrawn from the Responsibility Matrix and the Growth Acceleration Programme, meaning that its completion was not considered mandatory for the mega-event the following year (Mesomo and Damo, 2016). This slowed the completion of the avenue project, which remains unfinished after ten years. I discuss further the Avenida Tronco project and its impacts on mobility and participation through the viewpoint of residents of Vila Tronco in Chapter 7, Section 7.4.

5.6. Conclusions

This chapter discussed the context of mobility policy and the articulations of participation in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. With a focus on the democratic period in Brazil (from 1988 onwards), this chapter explained the

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[41] Several organisations and activists were part of this movement, such as the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra, NGO Amigos da Terra, Levante Popular da Juventude, Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana, alongside other prefessionals and residents (Araújo, 2014).

participatory shift in mobility policies in Brazil and began to explore the participatory discourses and spaces in mobility planning at state and municipal levels. The discourse analysis of policy documents demonstrated how the notion of participation, which has been reproduced since the establishment of the City Statute (2001), is propagated as a desirable instrument in planning, development and inspection of urban and mobility policies. Particularly concerning the opening of participation, there is a gap between policy rhetoric and practice. The discourses on participation are embedded in the idea of transparency and communication in state-led planning that does little to consider and tackle the potential conflicts of interest on the ground, power unbalances and knowledge barriers of local populations. The next chapter then expands the analysis of the unfolding of participatory spaces and discourses in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre.

This chapter began to identify the invited, closed, claimed and invented spaces in mobility planning in Brazil. It brought to light that, while spaces for participation have been opened in mobility policy, countermovements and supranational and national mobility-related civil society organisations emerged in parallel, influencing and defending mobility (and immobility) rights. These spaces bring to light the complexities and limits of participation in mobility planning in Brazil. The movements claiming participation or contesting mobility policy and infrastructure indicate the potential inefficiency of state measures and mechanisms of participation.

The different mobility-related NGOs exert a different kind of participation. While some civil society organisations have established partnerships with different units of municipal, state and federal governments, others build awareness or contest against uneven mobilities. On the other side of the spectrum, the demonstrations against the evictions and forced mobility in the favelas and *vilas* of Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre demonstrate that these populations may have mobility priorities that differ from the mobility-related organisations funded by international donors or the others that claim local public transport and active mobility for the peripheries. They also show that an existing tradition of participation (such as the case of Porto Alegre) does

little to prevent conflicts, violations and controversies in state-led projects in favelas.

To deepen the analysis of the spaces for participation concerning urban mobility involving 'consolidated informal urban areas' (using the term in the PNMU), the following chapters interrogate the significance of participation and mobility in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco. Chapter 6 presents the findings in relation to the spaces for participation in urban mobility in Rio de Janeiro and Chapter 7 discuss those in Porto Alegre. Finally, Chapter 8 then provides a cross-case analysis of case study sites.

Chapter 6: The spaces for participation in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro and Favela Santa Marta

'We are citizens, so we always fight for our rights. So what could be fair? It is having the same mobility that the people in the 'asphalt' have.' (Resident of Favela Santa Marta)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the spaces for participation in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro and Favela Santa Marta based on thematic analysis of primary data from interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews and discourse analysis of documentary sources. It draws on the findings from 17 semi-structured interviews with municipal and state government professionals, representatives of non-governmental organisations and academics as well as material from official reports and policy documents (Section 4.4). I also use material from 12 online photo-elicitation interviews with residents and community leaders of Favela Santa Marta.

The purpose of this chapter is to unpack the nature, dynamics, levels and foci of spaces for participation within and outside the state and investigate the significance of participation and mobility to marginalised groups. I also reflect on the meanings attributed to participation and mobility by different stakeholders.

To do so, I use the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter 3, Section 3.5 (page 65) to present and discuss the spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning. Following the national call for participation in mobility policy in 2012 (see Section 5.2), the chapter starts by discussing the spaces for participation at city and neighbourhood levels operating within state-led mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro, which I call 'from above'. I then go on to look more closely at the interactions within spaces for participation emerging outside state-led planning through the work of non-government organisations. Finally, I examine the dynamics of spaces for participation and how mobilities are staged 'from below' in Favela Santa Marta.

6.2. Staging mobilities from above: Invited spaces in mobility planning

As discussed in Chapter 5, the inclusion of participation as a mandatory process in mobility planning has been a legal milestone in Brazilian policy. Since 2012, participation has been consolidated as an instrument of mobility policy, becoming a novelty for mobility planning at city level. The previous chapter has also flagged the emergence of a series of social movements and mobility-related NGOs creating spaces for participation outside the state. Additionally, it signposted a potential disjunction between mobility planning and favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Section 5.4.2).

Therefore, this section explores the nature and dynamics of spaces for participation in municipality-led mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro between 2012 and 2020. It draws on the narratives and experiences of actors creating and engaging with spaces for participation in this time frame, such as municipal government professionals, representatives of NGOs and academics. I also use policy documents and official reports produced by the state and NGOs and the views of residents and community leaders of Favela Santa Marta to understand the reach of those spaces 'from above'.

Based on an initial scoping of spaces for participation in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro, this research has identified a range of plans and projects at city and neighbourhood levels. At a city scale, following the national guidelines for the development of mobility plans by municipalities with over 20,000 inhabitants, the Municipal Transport Department (SMTR) developed Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (PMUS). Simultaneously, at a neighbourhood level, a series of small-scale and temporary projects have been implemented in coalition with local and international NGOs and academic institutions aimed at balancing opportunities for pedestrians, cyclists and automobiles.

Following the definitions in the literature, I call these initiatives 'invited spaces', as in them, public participation is encouraged by public authorities (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005; Miraftab, 2009). I investigate the

motivations, actors involved, mechanisms of engagement, outcomes and reach of such spaces in the following subsections.

6.2.1. Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan

By seeking to meet the national policy's requirements of democratic management and the inclusion of civil society in the planning, inspection and evaluation of the National Urban Mobility Policy (Section 5.2.2.2), spaces for participation were enabled as part of the mobility plan development. Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan was developed by the Municipal Transport Department (SMTR) between 2014 and 2019, as introduced in Section 5.5.1 (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2019b).

As part of the development of Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan, a series of in-person events and digital tools were carried out in 2015 to comply with the national requirement for participation in mobility policy. To investigate the dynamics of these invited spaces for participation, in what follows, I present and discuss the processes for opening participation in mobility planning, the mechanisms of engagement, outcomes and their reach.

6.2.1.1. The opening of invited spaces

As discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.2.2), participation became a key aspect of municipal mobility plans. During the interviews, the opening of what can be seen as 'invited' spaces for participation had a reputation from municipal government professionals for being a challenging and time-consuming activity. Two reasons were given for this: the difficulties in reaching different societal actors and opening participation. Regarding the first, a former member of the Municipal Transport Department mentioned that some social groups that do not usually engage in mobility discussions, such as pedestrians and public transport users, as illustrated by the quote below.

> 'Car users are very active on social media. Cyclists, another niche group, are very active on social media and any sort of participation quickly spreads. However, the public transport users are not, so we don't reach this public. In any initiatives we do, this public do not

attend. Not even the pedestrians; they do not go either. So, we have to do it and make an effort, but despite all the initiatives that we have done, it is very difficult to escape from these niches.' (Former member of the Municipal Transport Department)

Also, the imprecision of the National Urban Mobility Policy general guidelines in opening participation at municipal level was referred to as a hindering determinant in the development of mobility plans by municipal professionals, as explained by a former member of SMTR.

'It is very interesting because the federal law says that you have to have participation, but it does not say how. Then you, a manager, trained as an Architect, Urbanist, Engineer, have to cope with this.' (Former member of the Municipal Transport Department)

Even though the national regulation mentions the need for participation and refers to some mechanisms for promoting it – such as collegiate bodies; ombudsman services; public hearings and consultations; communication; satisfaction evaluation, and accountability procedures (Brasil, 2012) – as discussed in Chapter 5, the policy lacks clear structure and information on what exactly civil society's input into mobility policy and planning should be. Participants highlighted the difficulties in promoting participatory processes due to the lack of familiarity in transport planning with the opening spaces for participation and the general scepticism of some professionals in the field.

Despite the difficulties exposed by the municipal authorities, participation was considered an important element of urban mobility, particularly as a means to understand people's needs, expectations, demands and opinions; to guide projects and infrastructure, and to unpack perceptions that the authorities did not originally identify (Appendix 4). This collaborative perspective recognises society's local knowledge and inputs, but it also implies the public authorities hold the decision power. These meanings are discussed further in Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1.

Additionally, in the eyes of those planning mobilities from above or engaging with these participatory spaces, the absent 'tradition' and 'culture' of participation in Rio de Janeiro and mobility planning (Section 5.4) posed

some internal and external challenges for opening spaces for participation where before these were scarce. Even with all these challenges, the spaces for participation enabled during the development of Rio de Janeiro's mobility plan extrapolate the general guidelines in the national policy and the conventional public hearings previously mentioned. In the interviews, this has been attributed to the fact that key actors that supported PMUS' participatory channels came from other public departments and local and international NGOs.

According to the interviews, the demonstrations of 2013 (Section 5.3.1), coupled with a political posture favourable to the opening of spaces for participation formed the basis for the implementation of alternative frameworks for the participatory activities of Rio de Janeiro's sustainable mobility plan. After the social movements of 2013 in Rio de Janeiro, the mayor Eduardo Paes (PSD) announced a series of interactive platforms seeking to bring civil society closer to public policy and governance discussions, including the creation of the Laboratory of Participation of Rio de Janeiro (Lab.Rio). Lab.Rio was created in 2014 as a result of political interests seeking to defuse manifestations and incorporate civil society into public policy and governance discussions. The group developed a collaborative virtual platform called Ágora Rio (Romar, 2014), initially designed to debate the legacy of the 2016 Olympic Games. This digital tool was incorporated into the development of Rio de Janeiro's mobility plan in the following year (the virtual and in-person mechanisms of engagement are critically analysed in Section 6.2.1.2).

Meanwhile, local and international NGOs, such as Casa Fluminense and ITDP Brasil, not only joined the invited spaces but also supported the Municipal Transport Unit throughout the participatory events. ITDP, for instance, participated in these spaces for participation and produced three reports on the face-to-face workshops (ITDP, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c). The interviews show that their forms of engagement and 'networks of trust' are initiated either by the state or the NGOs. These state-NGO articulations extrapolate the sporadic invited spaces for participation opened to wider civil society and indicate that some NGOs enable further spaces for participation

with the state apparatus (this is discussed further in Section 6.3). These spaces mobilised by NGOs precede the preparation of Rio's PMUS, as in the case of ITDP, which has been establishing technical cooperation agreements (Section 5.3.2) with the municipal government since 2009.

Among the participatory spaces developed, the plan featured a series of virtual and in-person events, which are discussed in further detail below.

6.2.1.2. Mechanisms of engagement

According to the interviews and documentary sources, the invited spaces for participation consisted of in-person events and virtual tools. To better understand the dynamics of the spaces and the actors involved, this section explores the virtual and in-person mechanisms of engagement created for the development of Rio de Janeiro's PMUS.

a) Virtual spaces

The findings from the interviews and documentary sources demonstrate that among the virtual platforms developed for the mobility plan there was: a website containing information, complaint platforms and a document submission section; the online space Ágora Rio which gathered mobility proposals and opened them to the public vote, and the digital mapping tool *Mapeando* (Da Silva, Mello and Amaral, 2016). Lab.Rio played a crucial role in promoting these invited spaces for participation, particularly the virtual ones. Drawing on the group's knowledge of using digital platforms to approximate civil society to public policy and governance discussions, the virtual spaces created for the mobility plan opened room for consultations and gathered 400 proposals and 1,205 mobility suggestions from 2,775 people.

From January to August 2015, Ágora Rio Urban Mobility was made available for engagement, discussion, proposition, curation, poll and evaluation, and gathered about 400 proposals within four categories: public transport, displacement on foot, individual motorised transport and non-motorised transport. These proposals were analysed by 'urban planning and mobility specialists' from civil society and the municipal government. According to the

official report, the municipal government 'experts' worked within the departments of transport, environment, conservation and urbanism while the ones from civil society came from universities, architects' associations and international and local NGOs, such as ITDP and Transporte Ativo (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2015b). These actors could then select and 'validate' 20 proposals, which were subsequently opened for voting, resulting in ten priority projects voted for by 2,775 people.

Among the most voted-for proposals, the majority consisted of claims for improvement of public transport, cycling and walking infrastructures. Following these categories, between March and May 2015, a georeferenced online tool called Mapping (*Mapeando*) gathered 1,205 mobility suggestions within the five planning areas of Rio de Janeiro (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2015a). The final delivery consisted of a videoconference with the mayor Eduardo Paes, who talked about the most voted-for proposals and responded to some demands arising from the PMUS process.

According to the interviews, the online engagement tools were organised to gather information and promote a space for discussion of public policies, rather than a process of deliberation. As explained by a former member of Lab.Rio, there is the recognition from the professionals that, under the political circumstances at the time and the type of invited spaces that were being promoted, public participation was limited and would not reach a level of 'direct deliberation', also called 'Level Five'[42].

> 'We were under a lot of pressure from our friends, from new people in the political fields where we circulate that said "hey, how are you going to do a participatory process in a municipal government that is not participatory?" […] And we understand that in this administration of Eduardo Paes, there was a political limitation that no project will be "Level Five", he will never accept a project that has this degree of direct deliberation by the population.' (Former member of Lab.Rio)

The virtual consultation and communication mechanisms were envisioned as platforms for discussion on mobility, as the quote below indicates:

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[42] According to the interviews, Lab.Rio used a 'ladder of participation' in which Level Zero was considered non-participation and Five, deliberative participation.

'We made it clear from the beginning that, as it was not a deliberative process, it was not as if the person was going to propose 'oh, I want a line connecting Meir to Laranjeiras' and if there were a lot of votes in this line that would be implemented. We never promised this. What we promised from the beginning is that it would be a platform for discussing public policies.' (Former member of Lab.Rio)

Although digital technologies may carry the potential to facilitate and engage more citizens in planning processes (Wilson, Tewdwr-Jones and Comber, 2017), these digital spaces could be exclusionary for older adults or low-income groups who may be unable to afford technological gadgets or have limited access to the internet (Comelli and Amorim, 2019). Also, digital and in-person spaces for participation are costly and time-consuming tasks that may not encourage the engagement of groups who are not familiar with mobility debates and policies. The investigation with residents of Favela Santa Marta reveals that PMUS' virtual (and in-person) invited spaces went unnoticed by them, as illustrated in the quote below. The disjunctions between mobility planning and favela territories are discussed further in this chapter.

'No, I do not know. […] I do not know where and I have never heard of it. They say: "we did research". Research where and with whom? Because those who live in Copacabana will think that everything is great'. (Sisi, Favela Santa Marta)[43]

b) In-person spaces

In addition to the virtual spaces, SMTR conducted three in-person events for the development of the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (PMUS): one testing event; a diagnosis workshop, and a final presentation. According to the interviews and official reports, the first participatory workshop (Figure 30), called the 'Planning Area 3 Workshop' (*Oficina AP3*), took place in July 2015 at Nave do Conhecimento in Madureira, in the Northern zone of Rio de Janeiro. Among the 40 people invited to this event through an invitation letter, there were municipal professionals as well as representatives of NGOs,

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[43] The participants of Favela Santa Marta and the history of the locality are introduced in Section 6.4.

residents' associations, academic institutions and transport companies. Organised in structured meetings and workshops, the participants developed a 'problem tree' and an 'objectives tree' around discussions on the inadequacy of mobility infrastructure in the locality (ITDP, 2015a). Considering that Madureira situates in Rio's peripheries, the workshop at this location indicates an attempt of the municipal authorities to promote discussions on mobility beyond central and wealthy areas of the city.

Figure 30: Workshop in Madureira

Source: ITDP (2015a).

Later in July 2015, another participatory activity was conducted, this time in the central area, at Centro Administrativo São Sebastião, in Rio de Janeiro's City Hall. People were invited to participate through dissemination on social media by Lab.Rio as well as via invitation letters and emails, and about 80 participants attended this workshop. The second workshop (called General Workshop) was structured around the city's five planning areas and the metropolitan region. The discussions were divided into three themes: public transport, non-motorised transport and road infrastructure (ITDP, 2015b). As part of the group exercises, 'problem trees' were developed for each strand, serving as subsides for further studies and proposals by the Municipal Transport Unit (ITDP, 2015c).

As the interviews and official reports demonstrate, both workshops concentrated on discussions around transport modes and mobility infrastructures. These themes chime with the views of the municipal government professionals on mobility (Appendix 4), which mainly focus on the technicalities of urban accessibility, active mobility and mobility infrastructure. As mentioned by a former member of SMTR in Section 6.2.1.1, invited spaces in state-led mobility planning rarely attract societal actors unfamiliar with mobility debates. The scope of PMUS' invited spaces could be one factor that distances these individuals and undermines less technical contributions, as Pløger (2001) suggests.

Lastly, the third participatory event was called 'Seminar for the Presentation of Diagnosis and Proposals for the Structural Transport Network' and aimed to collect feedback and present the development process of PMUS, the proposed transport networks as well as the results from the in-person and digital participatory activities. More details on the outcomes of invited spaces are presented below.

6.2.1.3. Outcomes

A few years after the participatory activities, the policy document was approved in 2019. Decree 45.781 establishes the main principles for the mobility policy in Rio de Janeiro and the need for reviewing the plan after ten years of its implementation.

As discussed in the previous section, the spaces for participation created for the development of Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Mobility Plan, which ranged from digital platforms to in-person meetings and workshops, were seen and conducted as a means to discuss mobility and transport, rather than a deliberative process. The interviews demonstrated that these invited spaces remained largely a 'closed field for deliberations' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.157).

Also, the policy document indicates that the participatory activities may have only tinkered with 'the margins of already-decided solutions' (Cornwall, 2002, p.18). The decree contains the 17 proposed transport networks and general

guidelines for the development, implementation and review of the mobility policy. Within the 17 projected public transport networks, six of them were attributed to proposals deriving from the digital participatory spaces (ITDP, 2015c). However, looking at Table 12, all proposed connections already existed among the Municipal Transport Unit (SMRT), Traffic Engineering Company (CET-Rio) or other strategic plans in Rio de Janeiro. This table, coupled with the limiting room for deliberation disclosed by the interviewees, raises some important questions: was participation a means for influencing decisions and addressing uneven mobilities and power imbalances (Sheller, 2018)? Was it used to legitimise and achieve state objectives and hegemonic interests (Miraftab, 2009; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Chambers, 1997; Cooke and Kothari, 2001)?

Table 12: Proposed transport networks

Technology	Transport networks	Source of proposals		
		SMTR /CET-Rio	Digital mapping tool/Ágora Urban Mobility	Strategic plans and other plans
BRT	Transbrasil - Deodoro – Santa Cruz	✓	✓	
BRT	Anél Viário - Santa Cruz – Guaratiba	✓		
BRT	Second connection between AP4/AP5	✓		✓
BRT	Sepetiba – Av. Brasil	✓		
BRT	Sepetiba – Anél Viário - Estrada da Pedra	✓		
BRT	Piaí – Magarça – Campo Grande – Av. Brasil	✓		✓
BRT	Matriz – Mato Alto – Cachamorra – Av. Brasil	✓		
BRT	Jd. Oceânico – Freguesia – Tanque / Taquara – Transolímpica	✓		
BRT	Alvorada – Linha Amarela – Fiocruz – Fundão		✓	✓
BRT	Sulacap – Av. Dom Hélder Câmara – Leopoldina	✓	✓	
Metro	Estácio – Praça XV			✓
Metro	Gávea – Uruguai – Del Castilho	✓		✓

VLT	Jd. Oceânico – Av. Lúcio Costa – Alvorada	✓ ✓	
VLT	Rodoviária – Praça Barão de Drummond		✓
VLT	Gávea - Centro		✓
BRT	Extension of BRT Transcarioca – Ilha do Governador	✓ ✓	
Waterway system	1) Península -Barra Shopping – Downtown – Metro Jd. Oceânico 2) Rio das Pedras – Downtown – Metro Jd. Oceânico	✓ ✓	

Source: Translated and adapted from ITDP (2015c).

With the policy now approved, a 'technical permanent committee', coordinated by SMTR and other related public units, was established to monitor and support the development of Rio de Janeiro's PMUS. According to the policy document, this committee is open to 'representations of civil society with activities related to the Sustainable Urban Mobility Policy and related themes' (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2019b). This condition could then reinforce the exclusion of organisations and individuals who may not be familiar with a committee's format, urban mobility and correlated topics.

Additionally, the policy does not mention specific mobility principles for 'consolidated informal urban areas' as required by the National Urban Mobility Policy (Brasil, 2012; 2017). The 'informal areas' are not in focus on the city-scale map containing the proposed transport links in the policy (Figure 31) and the figures presented in the official reports (Figure 32). Considering that 'informal areas', such as the favelas, have received little attention from the municipal transport departments, as explained in Section 5.4.2, Rio de Janeiro's mobility plan perpetuates this disconnection.

Figure 31: PMUS' proposed transport links. Figure 32: Rio de Janeiro in the official reports.
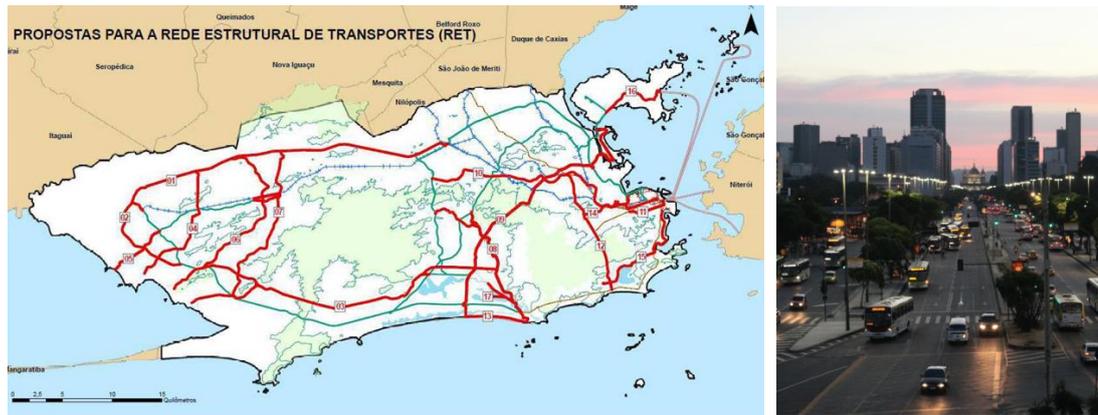
Source: Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (2019b; 2015b).

Alongside the invited spaces at the city scale, spaces for participation were created by the municipal authorities at neighbourhood level. To understand the nature and dynamics of these spaces, the following section briefly analyses the Tactical Urbanism interventions taking shape in Rio de Janeiro.

6.2.2. Tactical Urbanism interventions

At neighbourhood level, Tactical Urbanism interventions have been implemented by the municipal Transport and Urbanism departments and the Traffic Engineering Company of Rio de Janeiro (CET-Rio), with the support and incentive of non-governmental organisations (ITDP) and academic groups, such as the Laboratory of Temporary Interventions and Tactical Urbanism (LabIT) of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

In Rio de Janeiro, local authorities, academic groups and NGOs have been involved in two projects of this nature in middle class areas, one in Tijuca and another in Botafogo. Both projects have incorporated participatory workshops as part of the process. The former represents the first Tactical Urbanism intervention in the city that took place on Rua São Francisco Xavier in Tijuca for two days in November 2018 (Figures 33 and 34). According to the interviews with key actors, this small-scale temporary project sought to reduce space and speed for motorised vehicles and improve safety and comfort for pedestrians on a busy road around a metro station. Nonetheless,

participation was seen as a means to collect opinions and evaluate the success of such temporary projects, as explained in the quote below:

> 'The design of the intervention was not done with participation. We kind of communicated and did the evaluation surveys with those who were passing by, and it was very positive.' (Former member of the Municipal Transport Department)

Figures 33 and 34: Tactical Urbanism intervention in Tijuca

Source: ITDP (2018)[44]. Photo credits: Ila Ruana and João Pedro Rocha.

Unlike the previous initiative, the temporary project envisioned for Rua General Góis Monteiro in Botafogo was driven by the members of LabIT, rather than by public authorities. Interviews show that this project aimed to expand spaces dedicated to pedestrians, improve road safety and reduce on-street parking. With support from the Urbanism department (SMU) and CET-Rio, several workshops and meetings with residents were held in 2019 and 2020, but the project was interrupted due to the pandemic. Therefore, I consider this initiative a 'claimed space' in city-making that integrates the state apparatus and creates 'invited spaces for participation' within.

These temporary projects operate as both invited and claimed spaces for participation. While consultations and spaces for discussion with civil society have been enabled, NGOs and academic groups integrate these spaces, not as mere participants but as active enablers. Although invited and claimed spaces for participation seem well defined, following the indications in the literature, the investigation demonstrates the existence of some blurred

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boundaries between them (Cornwall, 2002; Thorpe, 2017). This dynamism was identified mainly through the spaces mobilised by NGOs, which extrapolate the examples presented here. The following section discusses this further.

Before analysing the findings from the interviews with members of NGOs, it is important to flag once more the disconnection between the temporary projects presented in this section and the 'informal' areas of Rio de Janeiro. Although projects of this nature have been considered by Mimi Sheller (2018) as one principle of infrastructural justice, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2, the examples from Rio de Janeiro demonstrate that Tactical Urbanism interventions have been concentrated in central and 'formal' areas of the city. Considering that more than 22% of Rio de Janeiro's population lives in favelas, as mentioned in Chapter 5, this approach may be insufficient to solve the mobility issues in these territories and fully redress mobility injustices.

Furthermore, interviews have demonstrated that the public structure in Rio de Janeiro has not helped to combine these debates. The lack of unity in dealing with urban and mobility issues, the miscommunication among public departments and the fact that informal and formal areas of the city have been approached as separated and different realities reveal some of the limitations embedded in public management. When asked specifically about the favelas, a member from the Urbanism Department described their experience working with favelas as hard, frustrating and challenging.

> 'Who takes care of the projects in the favela, in the community, is the Housing Department, because it is another approach, right? So, I do not have this experience of working within the community. I have experience in working on the formal streets; even so, it is already difficult. In the informal ones, I find it really, really, really difficult. I do not even have… well, I do not say either trust or will, it is something else. It is a very big challenge; it is very frustrating. Very frustrating.' (Member of the Department of Urbanism)

With the disjunctions between mobility planning and 'informal' areas of the city, having demonstrated through the examples at city and neighbourhood scales, and the complex interactions between invited and claimed spaces, the following section explores the dynamics and reach of mobility-related spaces for participation mobilised by NGOs.

6.3. Spaces for participation mobilised by non-governmental organisations

This section investigates the dynamics of non-governmental organisations in spaces for participation within and outside the state. This investigation draws on the results of semi-structured interviews with nine members of eight NGOs in Rio de Janeiro. Most of the NGOs in this study work with a direct or indirect focus on mobility, as illustrated in Box 1. The aim of the interviews was to (1) understand how different organisations create and/or engage with existing spaces for participation; (2) ascertain whether/how they have conducted activities in favelas, and (3) grasp the meanings associated with participation and mobility.

Box 1: NGOs interviewed in Rio de Janeiro

NGO 1 is an 'international non-profit organisation' funded by international donors with headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. NGO1's works vary from offering policy recommendations, consulting, data, workshops and technical support to public authorities, to implementing a series of local projects and small-scale temporary interventions in Brazil. It also supports other NGOs through providing methodologies and funding and offers online courses to society.
NGO 2 is a 'non-economic organisation' focused on active mobility, particularly cycling. Funded by a national bank, the organisation provides information, data, and technical support to public authorities, civil society and media. It creates proposals for plans and projects in partnership with academic institutions, public authorities and civil society. It also connects and supports other NGOs through providing methodologies and funding.
NGO 3 represents an 'organisation of civil society' aimed at collectively creating and influencing public policies for the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro. NGO 3 offers courses on public policy and policy recommendations and monitors political agendas. Mobility, especially public transport, is one of their main work strands.
NGO 4 is a 'non-profit civil society organisation' founded in Rio de Janeiro's metropolitan region and focuses on sustainable urban mobility. It provides incentives for cycling, with a focus on reducing inequality, promoting citizenship and generating work and income.
NGO 5 represents a 'social movement' focused on walking advocacy and the monitoring of public policy and actions. It creates and supports campaigns for pedestrians and monitors mobility agendas.

NGO 6 was an 'association' for active mobility that was involved in several educational campaigns and workshops advocating traffic accident reduction and safety for active means of transport. Due to the lack of engagement among its members and attention from public authorities, it is no longer active.
NGO 7 is an 'association' that gathers a network of cyclists seeking to create a bicycle culture as a means of transport and teach individuals how to ride a bicycle for free.
NGO 8 is a 'non-governmental organisation' aimed at supporting Rio's favelas through connecting community groups and projects, network building, online information sharing and most recently, policy recommendations.

With diverse agendas and foci on urban mobility, the NGOs in this study were created between 2000 and 2017. Situated in different regions of the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro, the mobility-related organisations (NGOs 1 to 7) have been involved with: self-led walking, cycling and public transport advocacy and proposals, traffic accident reduction and safety campaigns, policy recommendations in defence of mobility rights in geographical peripheries, publications on the mobility injustices suffered by ethnic minorities, women, disabled people and the elderly, and/or state-led mobility plans, transport projects and small-scale interventions. NGO 8, on the other hand, does not have a specific focus on urban mobility like the other organisations but works with supporting community development in favelas.

The interviews with representatives of NGOs demonstrate more encompassing notions of participation and mobility than the ones shared by the municipal authorities. Among participants, participation was seen as a means to influence mobility policies and decisions from below and 'mediate' state and civil society interests (see Section 8.6 for more reflections). Their views on mobility extrapolate notions of accessibility and transport infrastructure to include class, gender, ethnicity, age and disability issues impacting mobilities. These views are carried into the spaces for participation mobilised by them.

The findings show a constellation of actions being undertaken within and outside state-led planning. These NGOs in themselves configure 'new spaces for participation' (Cornwall, 2002, p.13) and navigate between invited and claimed spaces for participation. Unlike the invited spaces for

participation available to the general public, some local and international NGOs funded by 'institutions of power' (Miraftab, 2020, p.437), such as international donors and banks, collaborate with the state apparatus through cooperation, partnerships, coalitions and technical cooperation agreements. With technical skills and the status of members of society, they take the role of 'expert-citizens' (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018, p.142) and navigate between civil society and public authorities, stretching the boundaries of invited and claimed spaces for participation. Within these articulations and forms of 'expertise', some participants see their NGOs as 'bridges'; mediators between public authorities and civil society, as illustrated by the comment below.

> 'Our work consists of promoting urban mobility through partnerships with the government, sometimes with the private sector, but it is, in fact, a bridge for dialogue between civil society and public authorities.' (Representative of NGO 1)

These 'bridges' have been built upon knowledge building and exchange that influences and directly impacts public decisions, especially through consultation, data collection, cycling plans and projects, proposals, workshops and cooperation in city-wide transport projects, plans and small-scale interventions. While some of them are sporadic, others establish durable connections with the state apparatus and can navigate global, national, city and neighbourhood scales. Beyond policymaking spaces, they reframe the 'circuits of knowledge' (Keblowski and Bassens, 2018) and are validated by those staging mobilities from above. These visible and invisible forms of power are established through a 'toned-down language', cooperation and propositional approaches (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018, p.138; Vasconcellos, 2014), as exemplified below.

> 'So there is always this vision: to seek a partnership, seek to understand the other side and pass to our side to try to add some value. Once again, the same way that we try to add to public authority instead of going against it and creating conflict, with everyone around us, too.' (Representative of NGO 2)

'For you to gain the trust of these people [the municipal authorities] and work together, you cannot spend the whole time "throwing rotten tomatoes". Sometimes we rot some tomatoes and give them to others to throw. That's why we work with other civil society organisations, each one with their own strategies.' (Representative of NGO 1)

However, these blurred boundaries between invited and claimed spaces are not experienced by all organisations in this study. The interviews disclosed a wide range of claimed spaces for participation that do not necessarily connect with the state apparatus. Instead of participating 'in planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019), some NGOs exert participation through raising awareness of the inadequacy of mobility planning, nourishing horizontal networks among other civil society organisations and shedding light on the vulnerabilities of women, ethnic minorities, the elderly, people with disabilities and poor populations in the geographical peripheries.

The claimed spaces for participation 'against' and 'despite' the state were identified when participants reflected on the monitoring actions, campaigns and discussions that they get involved with in defending mobility rights. In this regard, participants have highlighted the need to democratise discussions of mobility and include segments of society (beyond mobility-related civil society organisations) that usually do not participate in these debates, as explained below.

'We need to get out a bit of the bubble of the bicycle activism to be able to talk to people who are going through the problems that we already understand are problems, but that for them it is not impossible to be resolved. So, we had this intention to open this conversation to explain: 'look, mobility is this. Within mobility we have bicycles, we have pedestrians, we have accessibility, in short, a number of things.' (Representative of NGO 6)

'More and more we try to get out of that idea of mobility, right? Because the bicycle permeates health, economy, quality of space, quality of life, and social inclusion. A lot of things that are often not talked about.' (Representative of NGO 2)

Additionally, the interviews have demonstrated that these groups establish horizontal networks with social movements and other NGOs at city, national and international scales. These spaces are not aimed at claiming participation in planning but at catalysing actions and nourishing networks on the ground. Some of these horizontal networks include courses and workshops for civil society as well as technical, educational and financial support to organisations and initiatives in low-income neighbourhoods, particularly those in the geographical peripheries.

However, the interviews also demonstrate that the spaces for participation outside state-led planning could be excluding some territories. Little evidence on mobility-related organisations working with or based in favelas, particularly those in central areas, led the research to investigate a further question: are there spaces for participation in urban mobility engaging with and/or emerging from central favelas in Rio de Janeiro? The initial approach to explore this was through consulting with the state and existing NGOs to ascertain whether they have conducted activities in consolidated informal urban areas and how mobility has been tackled in different contexts.

The lack of organisations and social movements on urban mobility deriving from Rio de Janeiro's favelas puts into question the reach of these spaces for participation and the relevance of the debates on mobility in these territories. One point that has been raised by the participants as a possible reason that favela organisations have been less mobilised regarding urban mobility, is priority. Although interviewees have mentioned the mobility issues related to public transport and the possible connections between mobility and violence in favelas, some participants have suggested that mobility may be considered an unimportant or too extensive agenda in these contexts, as exemplified by the comments of representatives of NGO 5, NGO 7 and NGO 8.

> 'Of course, accessibility is also one of the essences of our work, but I do not know if it would make sense for us to go… because that is how I am explaining to you, within the community, there are other problems that are the priority. The issue of basic sanitation, the issue of access to basic services.' (Representative of NGO 5)

'So, I see it [mobility in low-income neighbourhoods] in a kind of worrying way. Things do not work out on their own, but they kind of adjust. So, in places of low income and peripheries, suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, for example, and everything else, as much as the issue of mobility is very critical, people find their way. And despite not having any incentive for that, they end up having to adapt.' (Representative of NGO 7)

'This pedestrian and the bicycle thing inside the favelas maybe it is something that has no movement because it is kind of natural, you know? So, something that is happening and people, not necessarily… I do not know… see that something is missing there. Sometimes there is a lack of sanitation and education, right? Except when violence prevents it, but this is also another aspect of mobility within favelas: the impact of violence, especially when there is a confrontation with the state.' (Representative of NGO 8)

In the interviews, walking and cycling are perceived as common and natural practices in low-income neighbourhoods but not as a matter of choice (Priya Uteng and Lucas, 2019) or social mobilisation. The interview with NGO 8, in particular, exposes the fact that the mobility issues in the favelas extrapolate the focus of mobility-related civil society organisations. They go beyond the ideas of the right to the city (accessibility to rights and affordability of public transport), low carbon mobility (the need to reduce the dominance of private motorised vehicles and improve walking, cycling, health and air quality), security (accident reduction and urban lighting improvement) and comfort (shorter commuting times), to include the impact of violence generated by the state.

However, mobility-related spaces for participation often exclude the favelas and do not promote a more accessible understanding of the broad meanings of mobility, as explained by a former member of Lab.Rio. This may perpetuate epistemic inequalities hindering the ability of certain groups to make sense of their mobility experience. This is further discussed in Section 6.4.

'So, evidently, in a prioritisation scale, health, education, the lack of access to daycare centres are problems that will always be highlighted

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more urgently by the population. But the issue is that mobility is a right and means, right? For you to go to a health centre you need transport and mobility. For you to go to work you need mobility. For you to go to the cinema you need mobility. So, I think that there is also a lack of a culture of debate on mobility.' (Former member of Lab.Rio)

The research in Favela Santa Marta (see Section 6.4) shows that residents have little familiarity with those mobility-related non-governmental organisations. The interview with NGO 8 also highlights that, instead of engaging with the spaces for participation created by the state or mobility-related NGOs, favela populations may be mobilising participation independently from the state apparatus, as explained below.

'That is what is one of the very incredible qualities of the favelas: the moments that people look and say: "I will not wait for the public authorities to do it, I will do it, you know? Because if I am waiting to do it in the formality, in the process, etc, it will not happen. So I better do it". So I think that, in some way, it is not citizen participation exactly in the typical way, but somehow it is, of you taking it and doing it, right? You are not being… you are not participating in a formalised thing, but you are participating in the construction of the city, you know?' (Representative of NGO 8)

In this context, participation in city-making (Thorpe, 2017; Frediani and Cociña, 2019) is perceived as an informal but genuine way that low-income communities in favelas find to solve problems that affect their own lives. This type of participation is less about being engaged to influence policies and projects, but as an alternative 'realm of participation, rights and citizenship' (Holston, 2009, p.6) that denounces social exclusion, the limits of state actions and the lack of attention given to the problems they face. These represent informal or illegal (Roy, 2005) everyday practices that are constantly produced and reproduced by the state itself (see Section 6.4). In this sense, the representative of NGO 8 calls attention to the self-help practices in favelas that Holston (2009) would frame as 'insurgent citizenship', or 'participation as planning' by Frediani and Cociña (2019); and

acknowledge the everyday practices of survival and resistance (Watson, 2009).

Overall, the interviews have demonstrated that, in some cases, the boundaries between invited and claimed spaces are more blurred than expected, especially due to the partnerships and coalitions between public authorities and non-governmental organisations funded by 'institutions of power' (Miraftab, 2020, p.437). On the other hand, the borders between the informal and formal cities have become clearer as the mobility paradigm has been perceived as a priority in certain parts of the city and not in others. Using Favela Santa Marta as the main case study, the next section interrogates the significance of mobility and the spaces for participation in the locality.

6.4. Staging mobilities from below: Mobilities and spaces for participation in Favela Santa Marta

As a way to unpack the spaces for participation and the significance of mobility in contexts of marginalisation in Rio de Janeiro, this research focused on Favela Santa Marta (Figure 35). Unlike marginalised territories situated in geographical peripheries, Favela Santa Marta is located in Botafogo; a central wealthy district supplied with a wide range of public transport options (Appendix 9), pedestrian infrastructure, bicycle-sharing lanes and stations. Together with transport distribution factors, its geographical location and the recent implementation of a slum-upgrading project and funicular connecting the favela with the 'formal city' could suggest that mobility issues are rare in Favela Santa Marta.

Figure 35: Location of Favela Santa Marta

Source: Google Earth (2021) and SABREN (2022), edited by the author.

Favela Santa Marta is widely known for being the first 'pacified' favela of Rio de Janeiro and for the implementation of a 340-metre funicular connecting the city's steepest favela from top to bottom, both initiatives conducted by the state government. In terms of mobility, the favela is also acknowledged for being in a central area of the city where the public transport system is abundant. Internally, its steep topography creates a series of mobility challenges that could impact several dimensions of residents' everyday life (Lindau et al., 2011). Despite this, little is known about mobility experiences from the perspective of Favela Santa Marta's residents.

Additionally, as the initial findings presented in the previous section of this chapter suggest, the lack of mobility-related movements emerging from favelas, coupled with their exclusion from state-led invited spaces for participation, could lead to assumptions that mobility is not a priority in these territories. Therefore, this study aims to uncover the significance of mobility in Favela Santa Marta and understand whether and under which conditions spaces for participation are enabled.

To do this, 12 in-depth online photo-elicitation interviews were conducted (Chapter 4, Section 4.4) to explore what influences people's movement within and outside the favela as well as the meanings, perceptions and feelings

associated with mobility (Jensen, 2014). The online interviews were supplemented with photographs and videos taken by the interviewees to illustrate the essence of their mobility practices. Through the narratives and lenses of current and former residents of Favela Santa Marta, research participants disclosed how mobility is circumscribed in their everyday life and the tangible and intangible components of their mobility experiences. Moreover, the exploration was aimed at scoping the spaces for participation within whch Favela Santa Marta's residents seek to cope, resist, survive and improve mobilities from below over time. In the interviews, participants were also asked to reflect on whether mobility is seen as a matter of collective demand and if participation (together with, despite or against the state) is exercised or not.

Before analysing the primary data collected in this research, the next sections present a brief history of Favela Santa Marta and introduce the participants. The following sections then explore the mobilities and the spaces for participation in Favela Santa Marta, based on the online photo-elicitation interviews.

6.4.1. History of Favela Santa Marta

Favela Santa Marta is one of the 763 favelas of Rio de Janeiro (IBGE, 2011b), situated about 6.7 km away from the city centre in the wealthiest area of the city, the South Zone (Planning Area 2). The favela was named after a saint's image placed inside the chapel at the top of Morro Dona Marta in Botafogo district (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2007). Morro Dona Marta names the hill that accommodates the steepest favela of Rio de Janeiro (Freire-Medeiros and Menezes, 2020) in honour of Dona Marta Figueira de Mattos, mother of Dom Clemente who owned a vast area in Botafogo (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2007). Favela Santa Marta encompasses 1,176 domiciles and a population of 3,908 inhabitants (IBGE, 2011b).

The origin of Favela Santa Marta can be traced back to the 1920s, when Jesuit priests allowed industry workers to construct housing on the former land of Colégio Santo Inácio (Gusmão, 2014). Attracted by the work opportunities

arising from the construction of Colégio Santo Inácio in 1924 and the lands offered by the church, the first residents, mostly from the North and Northeast of Brazil, built their houses within the thicket of Morro Dona Marta (Silva, 2015; Cunha and Mello, 2012). By being a hillside favela, housing was mostly built in risky areas and mobility depended upon self-built staircases and narrow alleys with difficult accessibility, due to Santa Marta's high construction density (Figure 36) (Santos, 2014b). With the subsequent migrant movements from rural areas to Rio de Janeiro due to the Brazilian coffee crisis in 1929, the expansion of Botafogo and the increasing job market in the South Zone, Favela Santa Marta's population was further expanded, becoming the largest favela of Botafogo (Cunha and Mello, 2012; Silva, 2015). In spite of the eviction processes that removed several favelas in Botafogo in the 1960s, such as Pasmado and Catacumba, Favela Santa Marta remained in place and escaped real estate speculations as the land was owned by the Jesuits (Silva, 2015; Gusmão, 2014).

Figure 36: Favela Santa Marta
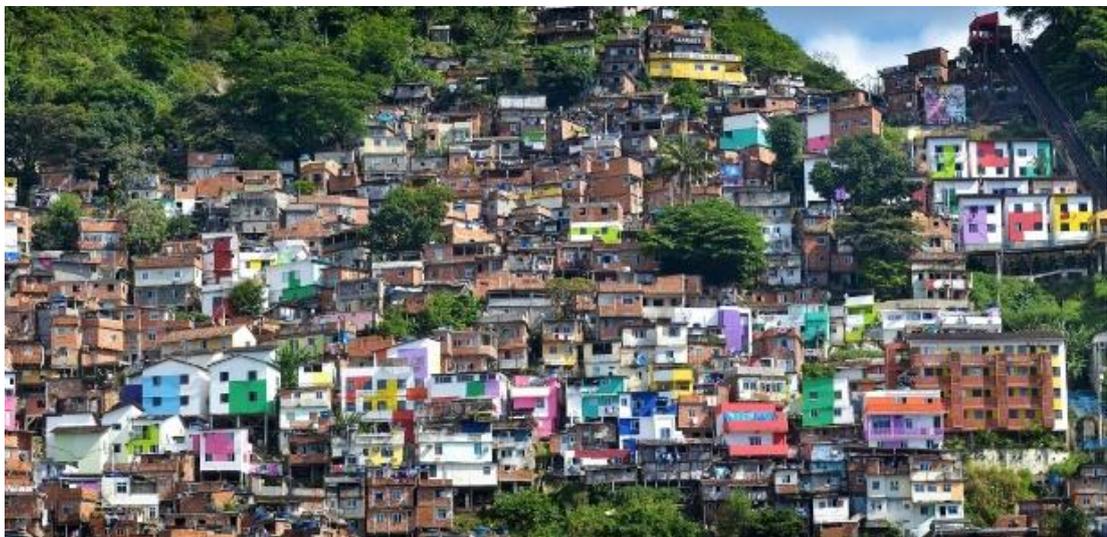
Source: Agência de Notícias das Favelas (2019).

The 1960s were also marked by the emergence of a series of resident associations being created by the municipal government to help it deal with multiple requests, basic services and social and spatial control (Perlman, 2010; Rocha, 2012). Favela Santa Marta's residents' association was founded in 1965 and continues to be involved in several communitarian actions. The

history of Santa Marta is rooted in a series of social initiatives supported by the Catholic Church through Colégio Santo Inácio (Fleury, 2012) and residents' collective task forces (*mutirões*) engaged in building houses, staircases and roads to access the favela. Santa Marta also witnessed the creation of Grupo Eco, a local non-government organisation founded in 1976 aimed at strengthening its internal organisation and solidarity, seeking the full exercise of citizenship and valuing the culture and everyday life in the favela (Rocha, 2012).

With the rise of drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro in the 1980s, the favelas became strategic sites (out of state sight) for the occupation of drug dealers and outlets (Silva, 2015) and the dominance of a 'parallel power' (Formicki, 2018). The lack of visibility of the favelas was the focus of the North American singer-songwriter Michael Jackson's pop video 'They don't care about us' in 1995 filmed partly in Santa Marta. Michael Jackson was honoured after his death with a statue at the place where the clip was recorded. After a succession of evictions in the South Zone and the increasingly favourable governmental measures to the permanence of favelas coupled with the nation's democratisation period in the 1980s, Favela Santa Marta was incorporated into the state government's scope of social control and 'darning' the city (Rocha, 2012).

The state's strategies to regain control over Favela Santa Marta began in 2000. During the mandate of Luiz Paulo Conde (MDB), the municipal government sanctioned Law 3.135, considering Favela Santa Marta an Area of Special Social Interest (AEIS) for purposes of regularisation and urban improvements (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2000). A few years later, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the sport's mega-events of 2014 and 2016. This fact stimulated the government to seek violence reduction and exercise control over the favelas' territories (Fleury, 2012; Nogueira and Moraes, 2020). In 2008, Favela Santa Marta was the site of slum-upgrading and safety projects led by the state government of Rio de Janeiro.

Although the federal government announced the Growth Acceleration Programme in 2007, which included the Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements, Favela Santa Marta was not incorporated into the scope of the state government of Rio de Janeiro for the interventions of PAC Favelas (Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.4.2). Despite this, in May 2008, the state government, through the Public Works Company (EMOP), inaugurated 340 metres of the funicular (known as *Plano Inclinado* or *Bondinho*) and internal urban improvements in Santa Marta (see Section 6.4.4 for reflections on participation in the process). Divided into two independent routes, Santa Marta's cable-propelled transit encompasses five stations along the hill (Lindau et al., 2011; Santos, 2014b). During the upgrading projects led by the state government, the top area of Santa Marta, known as Pico, was marked to be evicted with the argument that the houses were at risk of collapse (Fleury, 2012). As a result of residents' resistance, the houses in the highest area in the favela remained untouched by the internal urban improvements.

In December 2008, without any input from the residents, the state government also implemented the first Peacekeeping Police Unit (*Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* – UPP) of Rio de Janeiro in Favela Santa Marta. Santa Marta became not only the first 'pacified' favela of Rio de Janeiro, but it was also the first favela to be fenced in, as an additional measure to promote control and limit its growth (Perlman, 2010; Nogueira and Moraes, 2020). As a result of the urban interventions and pacification, Santa Marta was considered by the authorities as a 'model' in the context of the implementation of public safety and social projects (Cunha and Mello, 2011). The state government's urbanisation and pacification expose the contradictory nature of the state activity in the locality, which is discussed further in Section 6.4.4.

A few years later, an Urban and Social Guidance Centre (*Posto de Orientação Urbanística e Social*) was implemented by the city authorities in Santa Marta to assist the residents with the new land-use regulations and control its growth. In 2009, Santa Marta's streets and alleys were mapped and signalled by the private electricity provider Light. With this, buildings were numbered, and residents could have addresses to receive electricity bills (Cunha and Mello, 2011). In the following year, through Decree 32.398/2010, Santa Marta's

streets, alleys, squares and staircases were recognised by the state as public spaces (Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2010).

Against this scenario, the following sections explore the spaces for participation that have emerged in Favela Santa Marta in relation to mobility and the significance of mobility to its residents. I start by introducing the participants and sharing a brief overview of where they reside in Favela Santa Marta and how they came to live there. Following this, the chapter presents the findings of the online photo-elicitation interviews, shedding light on how mobilities are experienced in the locality and the meanings and forms of participation over time.

6.4.2. Introducing the participants

Among the 12 interviewees selected through snowball sampling, ten resided in Santa Marta, one was a former resident, and one was a resident of Botafogo who worked in a favela organisation at the locality. Half of the participants declared themselves members of local community associations. There were a balanced number of female and male participants whose ages varied from 24 to 59. Living in different areas of Santa Marta, most of the participants were born or have lived in the favela for a long time. The following box briefly introduces the participants; their chosen pseudonyms; the stories of how their families migrated from other states in Brazil and came to live in the locality, and the main ways in which they move around within and outside Santa Marta.

Box 2: The participants of Favela Santa Marta

Senhor das Lutas is 59 years old and a leader in one of the local community associations in Favela Santa Marta, as his chosen pseudonym suggests (The Lord of Struggles). He usually moves within the favela on foot and rarely uses the funicular. He laments the lack of accessibility for disabled people and the problems with waste disposal, which affect mobility inside the favela. Outside Santa Marta, Senhor das Lutas is pleased with the public transport, taxis and ride-hailing app options to move within the city. He also uses a bicycle and criticises the lack of bicycle racks in the favela.

Mônica is 36 years old and married. She has lived in Favela Santa Marta for 24 years and has been involved in several sports and social projects and campaigns in the locality. She used to live in the top area of Santa Marta and struggle to walk up the favela's 788 steps. She appreciates the funicular and the central location of Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro. In the city, she usually uses public transport (bus,

metro) as well as taxis and ride-hailing apps to move around. Mônica sees mobility justice as the ability to move regardless of any disabilities and accessibility constraints.

Juju is 50 years and has resided in the top area of Santa Marta all her life. She has been involved in several social projects and collective task forces in the favela and mediations between the members of the community and the Peacekeeping Police. Juju works in Botafogo and usually travels by car with her husband. She barely uses the funicular. She considers sustainable mobility as the security to move within and outside the community.

Aquiles is 27 years old and a university student who has lived in Santa Marta all his life. The history of his family in Favela Santa Marta starts with his grandmother who moved from Espirito Santo state to the locality. She was one of the first residents of Santa Marta, who worked as a housekeeper elsewhere. As Aquiles resides at the top of Favela Santa Marta, he prefers to use the funicular to move inside the favela and access the public transport options outside Santa Marta to go to university. He laments the lack of maintenance, racism and the police's arbitrary behaviour affecting everyday mobility.

Bianca is 24 years old and a university student. She is the second generation of her family to be born in Favela Santa Marta. Her grandparents moved from Rio Grande do Norte, Minas Gerais and Ceará states to the locality. She usually walks within Santa Marta and laments the difficulties in moving around on rainy days and the funicular's long queues, especially when carrying shopping bags, her family prefers to use their car to access their house. They park the car at the top of the hill and walk down to their residence around the funicular's third station. Outside the favela, she usually uses public transport, bicycle and ride-hailing apps.

Catarina is 25 years old and studies and works within a short distance from Favela Santa Marta. Her grandparents moved from Ceará state to the locality and since then her family has settled in Santa Marta. After living in another city in Rio de Janeiro State, Catarina, her mother and her sisters are now back living in Santa Marta. She is grateful for the resident-built staircases that assist in their daily mobility. Catarina laments the problems with waste disposal and the lack of bicycle racks in Santa Marta. She avoids using the funicular and criticises its management issues. Outside the favela, Catarina uses public transport, ride-hailing apps and Rio de Janeiro's shared bicycle service.

Sisi, 45 years old, is a former resident of Favela Santa Marta and a member of one of the local community associations. Despite the benefits brought by the funicular, she avoids using it. Due to the funicular delays, she prefers to walk within Santa Marta but laments the waste disposal in the community affecting mobility in rainy seasons. Outside the favela, Sisi uses public transport (preferably metro) and ride-hailing apps.

Willian is 57 years old and a member of a local community association. He has been involved in several projects and collective task forces in Favela Santa Marta. His parents moved from Minas Gerais state to the locality and he was born in one of Santa Marta's wooden shacks. Having lived in the community all his life, Willian usually walks within Santa Marta and uses the funicular to visit his family at the top area of the hill. He works in the Northern area of Rio de Janeiro and complains

about the low quality of public transport service and long journey times.
MauMau, 25 years old and a university student, was born and raised in Favela Santa Marta. His family moved from the Northeast of the country to the locality over 30 years ago. Within Santa Marta, MauMau often walks or uses the funicular. Outside, he uses public transport, ride-hailing apps and shared bicycle services. He appreciates Santa Marta's central location but laments the lack of basic infrastructure inside the favela.
Bruna is a member of a local community association, 29 years old, born and raised in Favela Santa Marta. As she lives on the lower part of the hill, Bruna rarely uses the funicular and prefers to walk within the favela. She also walks to go to work in Botafogo and uses public transport, ride-hailing apps and shared bicycle services to move around the city. She believes that the lack of basic sanitation and inadequate waste disposal affect mobility within Santa Marta.
Livia, 33 years old, has two children and has lived in Favela Santa Marta for over 30 years. Since moving from São Paulo, she lives and has a small business in the top area of the favela. To prevent delays in her busy routine, Livia rarely uses the funicular and walks up and down the favela daily. She laments the funicular delays and the lack of universal accessibility inside the favela. Alternatively, she often uses ride-hailing apps to get home going through the top of the favela, especially at nighttime when the funicular is out of service. In the city, Livia feels unsafe riding a bicycle and uses public transport (mostly the metro).
Patricia is a resident of Botafogo and a member of a favela association. She is 35 years old and has frequently visited Santa Marta since a few years after the implementation of the UPP in the favela. She has been involved in several social projects in the favela. As a resident of 'the asphalt', Patricia finds it very difficult to climb the steep stairs of Santa Marta. She also complained about the progressive abandonment of the favela over the years.

6.4.3. Mobilities in Favela Santa Marta

In the online photo-elicitation interviews, participants residing in different regions of Favela Santa Marta were asked to reflect on and provide photographs that represented their everyday mobility, motility (potential movement), the positive and negative aspects of their experience of moving within and outside the favela, and their understandings of sustainable and just mobilities (Section 4.4). A crucial part of the interviews also focused on how participation was understood by the participants and how they framed the role of participation in promoting just mobility. The narratives and images provided by the participants revealed the various ways in which mobilities have been impacted in the neighbourhood and the multiple understandings attributed to mobility and participation.

In the first contact with the interviewees, I initially avoided using the words favela, community or hill and referred to the area of study as district or neighbourhood in order to prevent negative connotations, stigmatisation and the longstanding dichotomy between urban informality and formality. To some extent, this caused confusion, especially when the participants were asked about their mobility experience within and outside 'the neighbourhood'. The words 'favela', 'community' and 'hill' were brought up by the interviewees to represent the place where they inhabit (favela) and its location in the city (district), while 'asphalt' speaks for the 'formal' city, as illustrated by Mônica's comment:

> 'When you say neighbourhood, is it inside the favela or on the street, on the asphalt?' (Mônica)

The historical opposition between the 'asphalt' and the 'favela' (as illustrated in Figure 37) represents the symbolic distance that has been established between the 'formal' and 'informal' city (Cunha and Mello, 2012). The above statement from a resident of Santa Marta is a reminder that this division remains, and the favela is still 'close, yet far from the rest of the legal city' (Magalhães and Izaga, 2013, p.43). Considering the different physical and symbolic ruptures between different urban, constructive, class and ethnic patterns, Santa Marta, like other central favelas in Rio de Janeiro, represents morphological and social enclaves within the immediate context where they are situated (Izaga et al., 2019).

Figure 37: The favela (foreground) and the city (background)

Source: Mau Mau (2021)[45].

In the view of residents, the reference points linking these 'two different worlds' (Cunha and Mello, 2012, p.468) are attributed to (1) the streets leading to Santa Marta's entrance from the bottom of the hill and (2) the road connecting Laranjeiras to the top (Figure 38). These 'entrances' delimit the boundaries 'where the asphalt meets the favela' (Perlman, 2010) and where the streets cease to exist. Internally, motorised vehicles and bicycles do not have access and pedestrians are restricted to steep staircases, narrow alleys, a few ramps and the funicular (Appendix 8).

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[45] The photographs taken by MauMau in 2021 resulted from the exercise for the digital photo competition mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2.

Figure 38: Access points in Favela Santa Marta
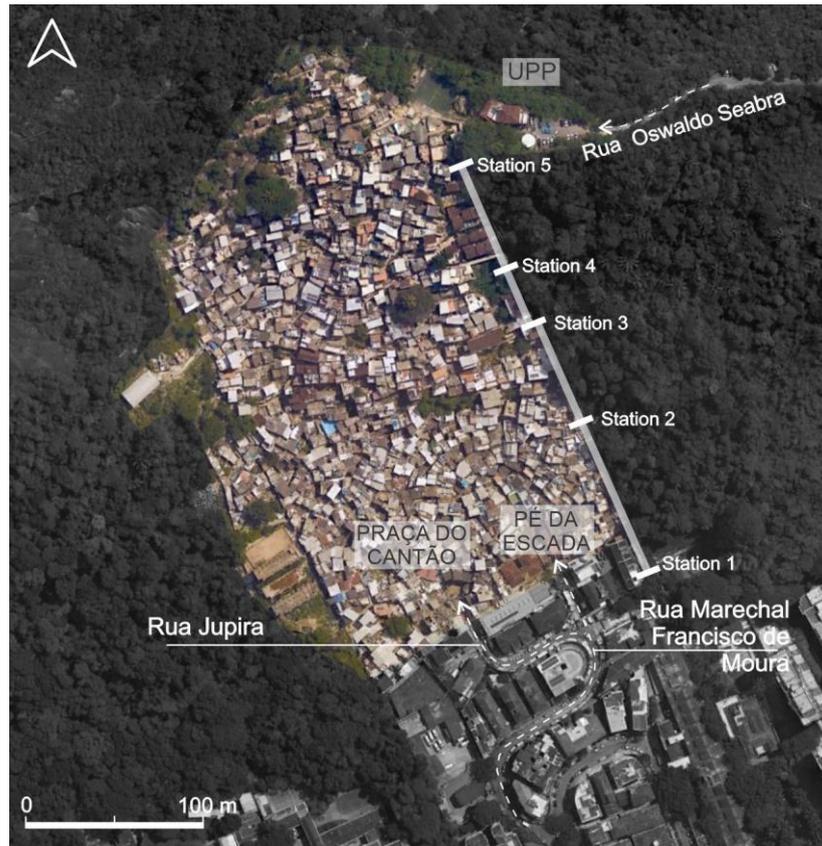
Source: Google Earth (2021), edited by the author.

At the bottom of the hill, two streets give access to Favela Santa Marta. One is Rua Marechal Francisco de Moura, which leads to the first station of the funicular (*bonde*) and the so-called *Pé da Escada* (Figure 39). The latter refers to the staircase known as the main way to go up the favela before the implementation of Santa Marta's funicular (Cunha and Mello, 2012). The funicular is free of charge for its users and operated by RioLuz (Municipal Energy and Lighting Company), a municipal agency responsible for licensing and inspecting funiculars in Rio de Janeiro. Internally, the five stations of the funicular became the reference points for situating where people live and a way to 'measure' how far people and places are from the 'asphalt'. Another alternative to accessing the favela from the bottom up is through Rua Jupira where the Cantão Square (*Praça do Cantão*) is situated (Figure 40).

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Figure 39: Pé da Escada. Figure 40: Praça do Cantão

Source: Agência de Notícias das Favelas (2020). Photo credits: Tandy Firmino (left); Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (2011, p.15). Photo credits: Pedro Serra (right).

The top of Santa Marta, known as *Pico*, encompasses the highest point of the favela where the Peacekeeping Police Unit, parking lot (Figure 41), sports court and most precarious houses are located. This area can be accessed by individual motorised vehicles via Rua Oswaldo Seabra and by pedestrians through the interior alleys, staircases and funicular.

Figure 41: Santa Marta's parking lot

Source: Juju (2020).

At the beginning of the online photo-elicitation interviews, notions of mobility were mostly associated with transport at city scale. In this regard, Santa

Marta's geographical location (Figure 35) – in Botafogo and close to the city centre – was seen by all participants as a positive factor for moving around the city and accessing transport infrastructure, jobs and leisure activities. Despite the high fares, low quality and confusing networks of public transport systems in Rio de Janeiro, the physical proximity to a wide range of bus lines, metro and bicycle routes are beneficial for Santa Marta's residents, as exemplified by Mônica's comment:

> 'We live in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, so we have a lot of social attractions. We have public transport, a metro system, buses, Uber [ride-hailing app], and taxis, and you can go anywhere in Rio because we live in Botafogo, in the South Zone. So, we have it, we have theatres, cinema, shopping centres, there are beaches close by, so the residents use the neighbourhood a lot.' (Mônica)

This statement could leave the impression that few mobility challenges are experienced in Favela Santa Marta and that mobility *per se* would not be a priority in the locality. However, the exercise of the 'possibility to come and go', as mentioned by MauMau, is dependent on the mobilities inside Santa Marta which could enable or hinder its residents' accessibility to the rest of the city.

> 'I think that the fight today in Santa Marta is for the funicular, essentially the funicular, there is no other question. Our access, our possibility to come and go from the moment you are on Rua Jupira and no longer in Santa Marta is very easy. So, I think that the issue nowadays, as in Alemão, the issue is about the movement within the community itself. […] Public transport is not good in the South Zone because of the favela, but because of the South Zone itself, you know? And I am somehow slipping away what is left for me.' (MauMau)

Figures 42 and 43: The inner alleys of Favela Santa Marta


Source: Sisi (2020) and Mau Mau (2020).

It is no coincidence that the most prominent narratives on mobility beyond transport at the city scale emerge from the participants who live or have lived in the top areas (*pico*) of Santa Marta. In this case, notions of mobility encompassed to the right and 'security to enter and exit the favela'. Between the 788 steps and 340 metres of funicular linking the bottom and top of Santa Marta, there is a favela that is not homogeneous and presents different degrees of mobility and accessibility struggles depending on the distance from the 'asphalt'.

The reflection on everyday mobility evoked a succession of feelings associated with the past of Santa Marta before and after the 'urbanisation' projects and the challenges faced for living and moving around in this territory. As mentioned by Mônica, 'Santa Marta is divided into two periods: a period before the urbanisation and after the urbanisation'. To investigate the everyday mobilities and the openings/closures of spaces for participation the following sections focus on participants' perceptions over time: before, during and after the urban improvements of 2008, commonly known as the 'urbanisation project'.

6.4.4. Spaces for participation before, during and after the 'urbanisation project'

This section looks at how residents of Favela Santa Marta experience their everyday mobilities and the meanings and forms of participation over time, based on the findings of online photo-elicitation interviews. The first part focuses on the period before 2008 when the funicular and the UPP were implemented by the state government. The following section concentrates on the period between 2008 and 2020. The timeline below summarises the key events affecting Favela Santa Marta that are discussed in the following subsections.

Figure 44: Timeline of key events in Rio de Janeiro and Santa Marta
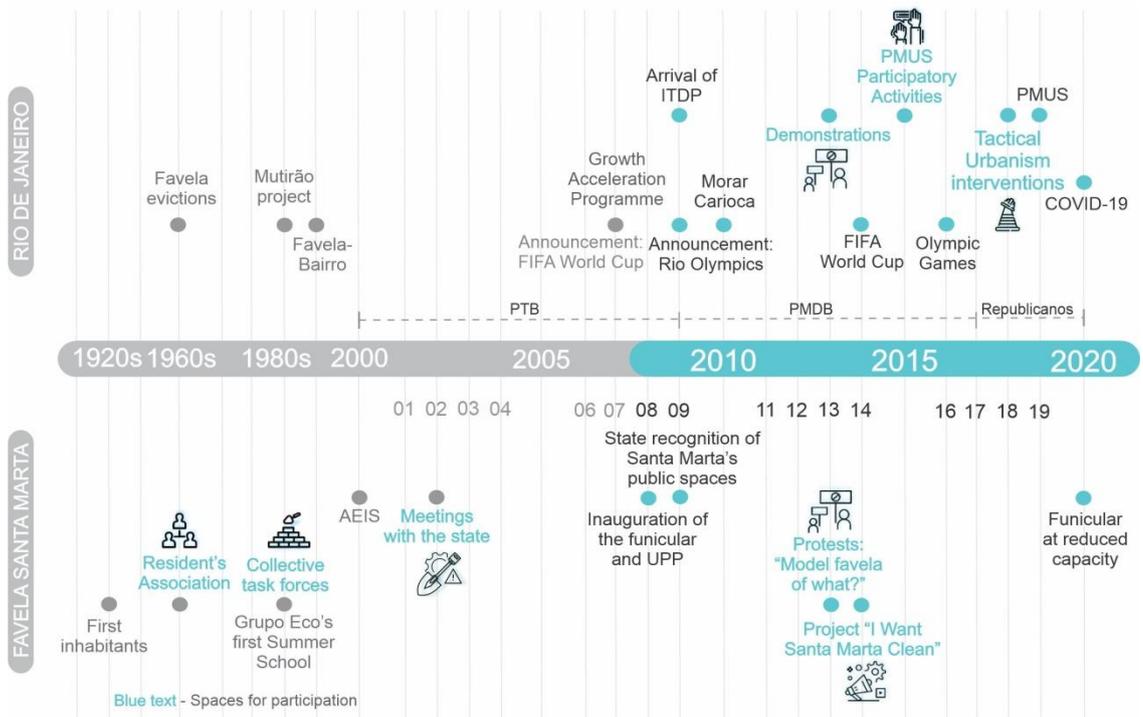
6.4.4.1. The claimed and invited spaces before and during the 'urbanisation project'

During the interviews, all participants mentioned and considered the implementation of the funicular (*bonde*) and the internal urban improvements in 2008 as the turning point for their mobilities and for obtaining rights, quality of life and dignity. As illuminated by the interviews with Livia, Bianca and Senhor das Lutas, as shown below, before 2008, the low-quality staircases, wooden

bridges, open sewers, accidents and immobility rates represented the mobility conditions of humans and objects in Santa Marta.

> 'This urbanism project was the best thing that happened here, because people who have lived here for a long time like me, we didn't have decent paths, we didn't have stairs, there was a place where we had to go through little wooden bridges, so now everything is fine. We used to go over the sewer, the sewer was open-air. So, this part of the urbanisation of the community that brought the funicular was for me the best thing that happened in Santa Marta so far.' (Livia)

> 'Until 2008 we didn't have the funicular, so we had to do everything by foot. From getting up from work, going up from school, carrying materials and shopping. If someone got sick, like my grandmother sometimes got sick, we had to carry her on our laps to take her to the doctor, so it was much more complicated.' (Bianca)

> 'Santa Marta is a very steep community. It has a very big inclination and there are more than 800 steps for people to move. So, at the end of 2008, we inaugurated Santa Marta's funicular, which is accessed by people who live in the highest parts of the community and access Santa Marta in its entirety. And with that, it [the funicular] made it easier for people who have morbidities, people who have knee problems and sick people to have access to the formal area of the city. Because there are people who didn't go down, didn't leave the house, because, on the way back, they had to go up many steps, then preferred to stay at home. And the funicular brought this opportunity and gave dignity to these people to move around and have their right to come and go respected.' (Senhor das Lutas)

The implementation of the funicular (Figures 45 and 46), allocation of ramps and stair and path upgrades made by the state government were considered responsible for improving the liveability, mobility and dignity of the people in the favela. Translated as the right to come and go, known as *direito de ir e vir* in Portuguese (Section 5.2.2), this term is a constitutional right in Brazil that carries a vivid semantic value among the participants' narratives (Schwanen and Nixon, 2020). The significance of the funicular in Santa Marta was captured by Catarina's photographs below.

Figures 45 and 46: The funicular of Favela Santa Marta
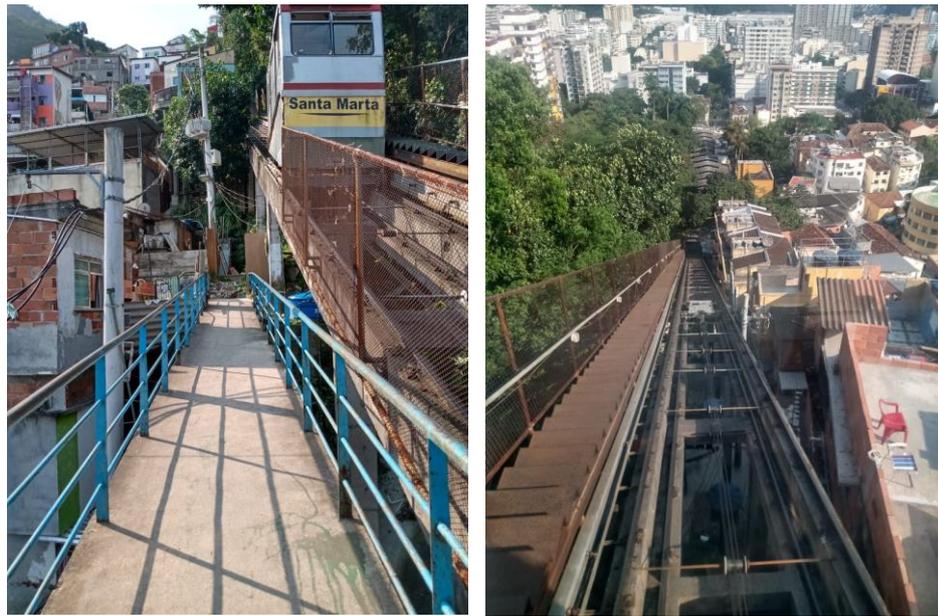
Source: Catarina (2020).

By comparing mobility experiences before and after Santa Marta's urban improvements, diverse feelings and perceptions of participation emerged. Looking back to the period prior to 2008, participants reflected on the construction of staircases and internal paths by collective task forces and acknowledged the residents' contributions to the liveability and mobilities in the favela. Despite the poor living and mobility conditions before the state government's initiatives in Santa Marta, participants, whether directly involved or not in the construction of staircases, demonstrated a sense of recognition and pride for the community's input, as noted by Bianca below.

> 'Most of the stairs were built by the residents themselves. So, to some extent, if we manage to get here at our house today it was due to the work of people who joined task forces (*mutirões*) and improved the situation. And, obviously, after the pacification, some sort of infrastructure arrived.' (Bianca)

These forms of material activism symbolise claimed spaces for participation that, despite the state, sought 'to break the distance and isolation to which the favela and its residents were destined, as well as the manner they found to access basic services' (Cunha and Mello, 2012, p.468). After the series of favela evictions in Rio de Janeiro, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Santa Marta's

residents gained confidence that they could remain in the locality and improve their living and mobility conditions through forms of 'participation as planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019). In the locality, participatory efforts mobilised by the residents planned and executed basic spatial improvements that were not offered by the state. As explained by Willian, the collective task forces had support from the Catholic Church through Colégio Santo Inácio and the residents themselves.

> 'I don't know if it was our organisation or luck that these eviction processes of the favelas in the South Zone didn't work out and Santa Marta remained here. So, from then on, along with the school [Colégio Santo Inácio], people started to believe more, they started to invest more, because there was no investment because of fear. "Why am I going to invest if I am leaving soon?" And from the moment that you believe you will stay, you start investing. Along with the school, there is an alumni association that managed to raise money, and construction materials through the parents. The residents' association building itself was all donated by them. […] We bring the residents together, see what they want to improve on the paths, housing and with that, you form groups, and this group is obliged to build my house, then yours, then the others'. Always at weekends in a way of a task force (*mutirão*). […] And Santa Marta begins to give a different shape for the wooden shacks to masonry houses. This goes from the 80s and 90s to the urbanisation that everyone knows today and brought the funicular and so on.' (Willian)

After years of living at the margins of state-led planning, Favela Santa Marta was incorporated into the scope of the 'urbanisation projects' of the state government. According to Willian, a member of one of the community associations in the locality, the urban improvements in Favela Santa Marta resulted from the residents' collective efforts to establish dialogue channels with municipal and state governments in the 2000s.

> 'It [the project] started in the city, but it ends in Sérgio Cabral's [state] government. And I think it was the most democratic process I have ever seen in my life, because we had all the representatives of Santa Marta in terms of leadership, both political and religious, and they listened to us.

> We sat at the table and talked; we could talk about what we wanted and what we thought about Santa Marta. When they implemented the project and the companies finally started to propose projects, we selected some people in Santa Marta to be able to accompany the companies to set up the project. So, we walked with the architects and engineers and talked with many of them. […] But it was with a lot of discussion and effort that we got it.' (Willian)

The previously closed spaces (PAC projects) were opened through dialogue between community leaders and state government professionals (claimed spaces), which enabled a series of invited spaces for the execution of the project in 2008. A member of the public company responsible for conducting the urbanisation projects in Rio de Janeiro, EMOP, interviewed in this study confirmed that Favela Santa Marta was included in the PAC scope as a result of residents' requests.

> 'The state government's PAC was a request of all communities. We received requests from various leaders to have PAC in their communities. […] And Santa Marta was one of those communities that managed to achieve this framework even with the state resources because it was a smaller project; at a smaller scale and it was really a desire.' (Member of EMOP)

The possibility of engaging with seemingly closed spaces for participation and affecting decisions and projects in the community was translated as 'the most democratic process' witnessed by Willian. Especially regarding the proposed evictions, other community leaders and residents mentioned the efforts made to prevent the expulsion of the residents living at the top and right side of the favela where the funicular was going to be implemented. The participatory processes were marked by a series of meetings (invited spaces) with residents; community leaders associated with residents' associations and drug trafficking at the UPP, and the local samba hall, as explained by a professional of EMOP. The presence of a parallel power (Formicki, 2018), such as the drug dealers, in these meetings, exposes a complicating factor when thinking about participation in the Global South.

'Within the participatory process, we mapped who the local actors were, not just in terms of leadership because often these leaders were associated with drug trafficking. They were indicated by drug traffickers, but there were other community-based organisations that had initiatives in the area of education, social assistance, culture and tourism. [...] We chose easily accessible, strategic places to hold meetings. There were meetings with the residents to discuss the project, explain how the resettlement process would be, elect representatives to monitor the works and disclose where our "social worksite" [where the state provided assistance and information to the residents] was so that they could be sure of being served in these places.' (Member of EMOP)

Despite the sense that residents of Santa Marta have participated and helped to reshape their neighbourhood, in terms of the project itself, the official documents do not refer to the project as a participatory process. The invited spaces were mostly arenas for discussion, as the residents were not offered the possibility to contribute to the project, as illustrated by the quote below.

'In the case of Santa Marta no, they already received the project like this, what would be done, the community received it practically ready' (Member of EMOP)

However, after years of living at the margins of the state's attention, the opportunity to dialogue with the state authorities, see material improvements to living and mobility conditions and guarantee people's right to remain in the favela were enough to generate a sense of participation in the urbanisation process. The question that remains is: have mobility and views on participation changed after 14 years of the urbanisation projects? The next section explores this in more detail.

6.4.4.2.   The claimed spaces after the 'urbanisation project'

After the peak of the mega-events ended (Izaga et al., 2019) and more than ten years of the state interventions in Santa Marta, the funicular was still acknowledged as 'the best thing that has happened in Santa Marta' and the mobility infrastructure that provided quality of life for its residents. However, most participants criticised the progressive lack of attention from the

authorities and the increasing funicular maintenance issues, as explained by Aquiles.

> 'Of comfort itself, the funicular brings a significant comfort compared to what we had before. Also, time-saving, as I said, I used to take 45 minutes, resting and breathing, and the funicular takes around 20, 30 minutes to reach the highest point. But it depends on maintenance too. There is the issue of maintenance. So, if the maintenance is up to date, it takes 30 minutes to arrive. With delayed maintenance, it increases by about 15 minutes because it starts to slow down. So, several factors interfere with this mobility issue. Maintenance days are out of the question. Our routine is also planned on top of the maintenance days. Sometimes, when we are caught up by surprise, it is the saddest thing because we are coming back and, sometimes, we go shopping and its maintenance day or something happens with the machinery, then you have to plan it again and try to get a ride-hailing app, a ride or some way to drive to Laranjeiras. So, as I said, throughout history, we changed a lot due to the funicular. It transports rubbish, construction material, goods, it transports the shopping itself, so it somehow created a certain dependence on our way of locomotion' (Aquiles)

When the funicular is out of service, some participants mentioned the occurrence of protests in Botafogo mobilised by Santa Marta's residents campaigning for it to be fixed: 'when the funicular stops, we go down to Rua São Clemente, we protest' (Bruna). For instance, within the Movements of 2013, residents of Santa Marta protested and questioned the label of a model of pacification with posters asking, 'model of what?' (*modelo de que?).* These manifestations reacted against the police's arbitrary behaviour, forced evictions, lack of attention from the state as well as the flaws in the urbanisation project, such as the funicular maintenance issues and open-air sewers (Nobrega and Daflon, 2013). These claimed spaces sought visibility from the state to the favelas and to change the narratives concerning Santa Marta.

With the mobility issues related to the speed and quality of the funicular (Figures 47 and 48), participants stated that there is a 'collective conscience' to avoid it, only use it when necessary and give priority to the elderly, people

with disability and residents carrying goods. The growing use of ride-hailing apps was also mentioned as a preferred possibility for accessing the top area instead of the funicular, generating extra costs and affordability issues for Santa Marta's residents. This became more evident during the COVID-19 pandemic when the number of funicular passengers was drastically reduced to comply with health and safety measures, as illustrated by Livia's comment.

'So, the positive thing for me, as I live at the top of the hill, is this part of having this possibility to come over the top. […] So, this is the downside, it is just stairs, stairs and funicular. For example, it can only carry five people at a time now, during the pandemic, so there are people who spend two hours in a queue to take the funicular. I prefer to go up on foot, precisely because of this, it is time that I would waste there in the queue, it is time that I could enjoy doing other things at home or even getting ready to go out and do something else.' (Livia)

Figures 47 and 48: The funicular

Source: MauMau (2021), edited by the author

As a result, most participants reported that they rely on walking as the main mobility mode due to the funicular's lack of maintenance, long journey and waiting times, disclosing a series of challenges for everyday mobilities and additional spaces for participation. The importance of the staircases in the everyday mobilities in Favela Santa Marta and the role of participation in improving urban mobility were also reflected beyond spoken words in the photographs and videos taken by the participants (Figures 49, 50, 51 and 52). This became even more evident when participants reflected on the

staircases being built at the time of the investigation at the top of Santa Marta (*Pico*), an area where the urbanisation project did not intervene. Most images frame the staircases made and/or maintained by the residents themselves.

Figures 49, 50, 51 and 52: Staircases in Favela Santa Marta
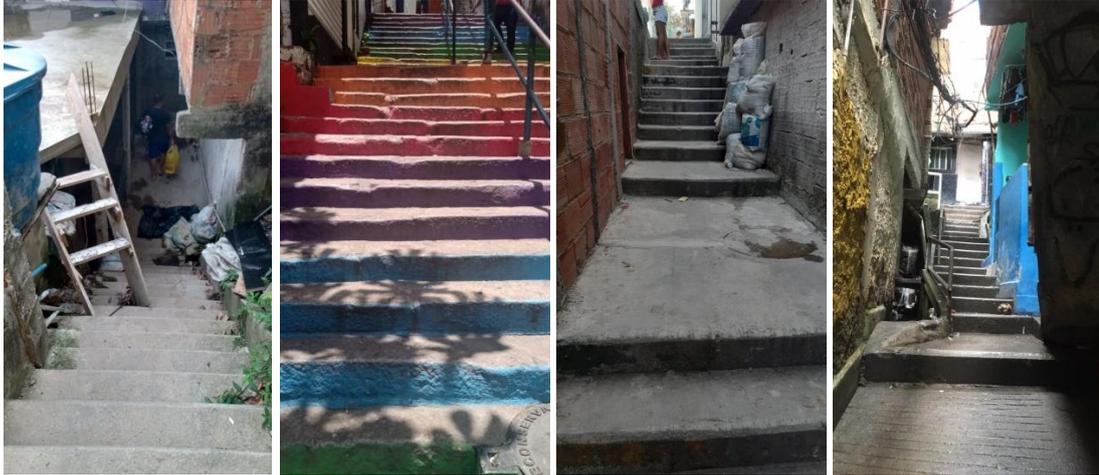
Source: Catarina (2020); Bruna (2020); Juju (2020); Sisi (2020).

'And the stairs are still your means of locomotion, regardless of anything; you still have this place to walk. I can even say that it will end up turning into… not end up, because it turned out already and it's not new, but with the [stairs] revitalisation it ends up becoming the postcard of the hill. Before the postcard of the hill had been the funicular, it was a source of pride for everyone and today people don't see it that way anymore. Its use is of pure and extreme necessity. It is for those who are very tired and have already made several journeys, several transfers from home to work and just want that little time to be able to rest and get home.' (Catarina)

In spite of the mobility improvements promoted by the 'urbanisation projects', walking is the prevalent mode of moving around Santa Marta for the participants. However, walking in the steepest favela of Rio de Janeiro is not an easy task. Among the everyday mobility obstacles disclosed by the participants, lack of accessibility and issues with rubbish collection, rain drainage and safety were referred to as key factors compromising their 'right to come and go'. In the course of the in-depth interviews, mobilities, in the views of the participants, were further expanded to encompass the accessibility and freedom to circulate within the favela. Concerning

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accessibility, due to the length and gradient of concrete staircases (Figure 53) and coupled with the lack of connected streets inside Favela Santa Marta, participants reflected on how much everyday mobility and motility (potential movement) are deeply affected by the inadequacy of universal accessibility and the impact of topography on personal energy expenditure (Kölbl and Helbing, 2003). Even with the installation of the funicular, the long journey times and fatigue were mentioned as some of the impacts on the daily routine of residents living in the higher and western parts of the hill. The physical and social distances from the 'asphalt' – the city's streets and road networks – pose a series of challenges for mobilities within Santa Marta and capabilities to access rights outside it in terms of the draw on personal energy levels when conducting everyday lives, as explained by Mônica and Senhor das Lutas.

> 'If you go up the favela on foot – we say, "on foot", without the funicular – it takes 30 to 40 minutes to get there at the peak where my house used to be. So, if you have this time, you arrive tired, exhausted, then you usually want to do something, we have to wash the dishes, cook food and you are already very tired. If you are going to work, you have to calculate the time it takes to leave the house, to go down the favela, to be able to get to the bus stop and catch the bus. So, you have to calculate the time and I think that is the whole difficulty.' (Mônica)

> 'So here, in Santa Marta, the negative is this. It's having difficulty walking as well as the residents who have some difficulty, who are disabled, who are very elderly; walking through the favela is complicated. Also, because the funicular is on the right side of the favela, it is complicated for those who live on the left side; you have to go up walking anyway.' (Senhor das Lutas)

Figure 53: Steep staircases in Favela Santa Marta

Source: Mau Mau (2021).

The lack of accessibility is an obstacle to accessing work opportunities, education, leisure and health care services, especially for people with disabilities and the elderly. Particularly in a pandemic context, participants' mobility narratives encompassed accounts of the challenges of accessing health care centres during emergency circumstances. Against this backdrop, the residents establish continuous networks of solidarity that support and, sometimes, carry people with disabilities or in need of emergency health care, as illustrated by Livias's and Bianca's comments.

> 'But I think that there could be more ramps; we have wheelchair users who live in Station 3 and when it is not working, they have to find a way to get down on foot, people have to carry them on their backs.' (Livia)

> 'I think that this issue of accessibility is really missing because we have people who are wheelchair users on the hill. […] My grandfather is now older, and he has to use a wheelchair. And for us to take him to the hospital we have to carry him to the station and then put him in a wheelchair. So, this issue of accessibility is very bad, there is no cleanliness, no rubbish cans around or signposts signalling where you are.' (Bianca)

The limited accessibility also affects the procedure and regularity of public rubbish collection inside Santa Marta. Participants noted that due to the lack of rubbish disposal points and difficulties in moving up and down, rubbish bags end up being thrown into open sewers, staircases and alleys around the favela. This condition was highlighted by most participants' images as having a negative impact on their lives and daily mobilities (Figures 54 and 55). One consequence of the inadequacy of rubbish disposal is the constant rainwater overflow resulting from the clogged sewers and the inadequacy of drainage systems. The feeling of being 'isolated', as explained by Catarina, and immobile during rainy seasons was shared in videos and photos and mentioned in the interviews as another negative effect on the residents' everyday routine.

'Before I moved to the house I am in today, which I have lived in for almost three years, I ended up living in another smaller house. And when it rained it was impossible to leave the house, because the ditch on top of it was completely full of rubbish and as the rain rained, it used to overflow and there was practically a ditch at my door. There was no way out, it was impossible to go out to work, go to university, or do anything else. I used to get completely isolated, me and my entire neighbourhood. Santa Marta is a steep favela, so you go downhill and until you reach the street you leave many other people isolated, unable to leave the house. The fact that you can't get around on a rainy day has a huge impact. […] For example, if we have a whole week of rain, there could be a person that stays a whole week without being able to leave the house or a whole week without being able to return home, because there is a risk of accident, falling and hitting your head, going down or falling into a ditch.' (Catarina)

Figures 54 and 55: Rubbish and open sewers in Favela Santa Marta

Source: Sisi, 2020; Catarina, 2020.

In this respect, participants mentioned an educational campaign mobilised by residents and local community associations seeking to contribute to the general cleaning of Favela Santa Marta and reduce the misplacement of rubbish spots and the clogged sewers. Besides the project created in 2014, called 'I want Santa Marta clean' (*Eu Quero o Santa Marta Limpo)*, participants reflected on the transition of forms of participation from collective task forces seeking housing and urban improvements to immaterial, educational and social projects, particularly with a focus on children and young adults, as explained by Willian.

> '[The local community associations] work hard to have more young people involved in school, education, and leave this area of collective task forces and constructions. Because we also do not have the momentum for this anymore and today is another reality. We do not need that so much today.' (Willian)

These community initiatives not only seek to improve the internal organisation and physical mobility of Favela Santa Marta residents. In fact, they also promote political and social discussions and activities indirectly promoting 'the right to the city'. One example is Grupo Eco's Holiday Camp (*Colônia de Férias*), a project that commenced over 35 years ago, and is

aimed at promoting leisure activities for children outside Favela Santa Marta and reminding them of their right to be anywhere in the city.

Against the limited accessibility in Santa Marta, participation was mostly perceived as independent of the state (Appendix 4). In this regard, participation in city-making was perceived as a genuine way that favelas find to solve problems that affect their own lives. This type of participation is less about being engaged in influencing policies and projects, but an alternative avenue to cope with social exclusion, the limits of state actions and the lack of attention given to the problems they face, as explained by Bianca. It relates to the long-experienced legacy of horizontal governance of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019) and internal bonds of solidarity (De Carli and Frediani, 2016).

> 'I would like to show, perhaps, what the community contributed. Sometimes there is an elderly person who lives here, and his stairs need a handrail, so people go there and put the handrail to help the mobility of certain elderly people. There is a hole that has been open for a thousand years and, as the City Hall is not going to fix it, then people get together and fix it. At the parking lot, there was a task force of the residents who gathered, made crowdfunding initiative and covered the holes. Because we know that the city hall service doesn't reach here, so we have to do things for ourselves.' (Bianca)

The solidarity networks mentioned by Bianca translate into continuous internal cooperation and improvements that seek to assist people's daily mobilities and overcome the limited accessibility inside Santa Marta, such as maintenance works and implementation of handrails, constituting another type of claimed space for participation despite the state. Participation is also about 'getting together', as Illustrated by Mônica's quote. It demonstrates that the state is not the only enabler of participation, and that claimed or invented spaces can encompass more than what the literature suggests.

> 'We have a saying here: "together we are strong". When we get together for a cause or greater good for the community it works.' (Mônica)

The aforementioned enduring or episodic strategies operate as silent individual and collective actions, sometimes 'not as conscious political acts; rather they are driven by the force of necessity – the necessity to survive and live a dignified life' (Bayat, 1997, p.58). Therefore, participation extrapolates the commonly-known invited spaces and claimed spaces in relation to urban mobility as they could also refer to self-built strategies, social campaigns and networks of solidary as practices of 'participation as planning' from below (Frediani and Cociña, 2019). They also redefine mobility and mobility rights. These claimed spaces for participation despite the state also disclose perspectives on mobility that are not conventionality captured in prevailing knowledge, planning mechanisms and actions animated by non-governmental organisations.

Whilst participation was understood as 'despite the state', participation 'with the state' was also seen as a possible solution for understanding 'the reality' and promoting more just mobilities. In the interviews, the state apparatus was represented in two ways: the professionals planning and creating mobility policies and the police. In regard to participation in mobility planning and policy, participants note that this would require open spaces; the political will to engage with marginalised realities; the recognition of mobility injustices and other ways of knowing on the ground, and some degree of knowledge of the state apparatus and language. Despite this, the idea of interacting with the state and impacting public decisions and policy seems distant for the participants, especially regarding transport and mobility issues. Feelings of distrust and distance from public institutions could also be linked to the disconnection between favelas and municipal transport and urbanism units (and their invited spaces for participation), as discussed in Sections 5.4.2 and 6.2.

Considering the tangible and intangible components of mobility previously discussed, participants reported a tendency of residents to normalise precarious services, be unaware of the pathways to claim mobility rights and have less time to participate and 'fight' for issues that affect their lives, as noted by Willian and MauMau.

'We must participate to contribute because everyone, especially those who feel on their skin, thinks that they can contribute much more than those who are thinking in an office, who are sitting there thinking that they know everything and have the magic formula. But those who suffer from the floods, the lack of buses, violence, the lack of jobs, those who suffer from all this can say what is best for them. So, these people should participate, but these people are waking up at dawn to go to fight and they are unlikely to participate in anything, especially when it is a weekday.' (Willian)

'When it comes to urban mobility it involves public policies, right? Because there is no way that I alone can solve an urban mobility issue with public policy.' (MauMau)

On the other side of the spectrum, the spaces for participation that articulate with the police concern a more intangible way of perceiving mobility. It refers to episodes of violence and racism in Favela Santa Marta, which I describe here as the freedom to circulate. With the presence of the state through the Pacifying Police Units and armed confrontations between the police and drug gangs, occasional arbitrary police behaviour and exposure to violence, urban mobility represents more than the movement from A to B. Mobility and the 'right to come and go' is perceived as the freedom to circulate and 'right to exist' (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021) that are constantly violated, as illustrated by Senhor das Lutas' and Bruna's comments.

'If there is a police operation in the community I stay where I am until things calm down and I have my right to come and go again.' (Senhor das Lutas)

'When there is gunfire, nobody leaves. Everyone stays indoors, there is no way to go down to work, and everyone waits for the gunfire to stop before they can leave. Until then, everyone stays inside the house; we tell the boss: "look, there is no way to leave because there is gunfire". You are not going to put the body in front of the bullet, right? You have to wait, you have to be patient, you can't do anything.' (Bruna)

Although Santa Marta is located in a central area of Rio de Janeiro, the temporary or permanent inability to exercise 'the right to come and go'

consists of an aspect of social exclusion. In this context, the social exclusion resulting from 'being prevented from participating in the normal activities of the society in which they live' is not directly attributed to spatial distances, long journey times and transport issues (Atkinson, 1998, cited in Ureta, 2008, p.270).

Beyond the 'idea of a divided city' and the dichotomy between the favela and the city, informality and formality, legality and illegality, the notions of proximity and distance are not limited to physical and tangible barriers (Magalhães and Izaga, 2013; Roy, 2005). The immobility caused by exposure to violence requires routine manoeuvres that affect several dimensions of everyday life. Entangled with racism and ethnic issues, black minorities disclosed how much the police's unequal treatment and oscillating 'right to come and go' represents an invisible barrier to their daily mobilities.

> 'So, in terms of mobility, it gets in the way in this regard, because as we already know, all those studies, the majority of the population in the favela is black […] Black people dress that way, they have these characteristics, they have to be separated, they have to be searched to see if there is anything illegal. So, when you run inside a community it's different than when you run outside it, so I can run on the seafront of Botafogo and Copacabana because it is normal. Now, if I run inside the favela, I am either a criminal or… it is never going to cross a policeman's mind that this guy is late for university, but he is running away from something, someone, in the matter of the police operation itself.' (Aquiles)

Although Favela Santa Marta is often considered the 'model favela' for being the first pacified favela in Rio de Janeiro (Section 6.4.1), the process of pacification is seen as an imposition by the state that, after more than ten years of its implementation, still disturbs its population, as explained by Bianca and Catarina.

> 'The pacification was envisioned by outsiders who do not understand the reality and implemented it seeking improvements but not necessarily heard people.' (Bianca)

'After the pacification, we still had some stress about police brutality and operations without previous notice. We grew up with our rights denied; we were raised that way, so we knew how it worked'. (Catarina)

The negative impact of the police was made evident by residents' narratives and strategies to overcome forms of oppression and to 'turn invisible' during armed confrontations. Also, Juju's comment illustrates that residents negotiate with the police to agree police operation periods and minimise the effect of violence in their lives.

'Social participation is what we do every day. It is about getting integrated and having meetings with the Police Unit. […] For example, the captain there now has schedules for operations that were not very suitable for the children. […] To avoid shootings during the children's entry and exit times, there was a meeting with the captain so that he could rearrange the times so that the children were safer and he agreed.' (Juju)

The tangible (impact of topography, personal energy expenditure, accessibility within the favela, rubbish, rain drainage and sewage) and intangible (race, violence, disabilities and age) issues and meanings of mobility discussed in this section are not usually the focus of policy-making debates or are overlooked by those planning mobilities from above (see Chapter 5 and Section 6.2). Mostly despite the state, mobilities are experienced beyond the scope of conventional transport planning that focuses on instrumental rather than learning from the experiential, while possibilities for change are constantly invented from below.

The key findings indicate that the meanings attributed to participation were threefold: (1) a means to collectively develop the community despite the state, (2) a mechanism to claim rights and attention from the state and (3) a channel for the state to understand 'the reality' and people's demands. Firstly, most participants in Santa Marta referred to participation as a means to 'get together' (Mônica) and 'do what the government does not do' (Juju). In this respect, participation performs as 'mechanisms of survival or coping strategies' (Miraftab, 2004, p.3; Watson, 2009) that seek to improve mobilities from below despite the state (Souza, 2006). By building staircases;

maintaining roads; managing the parking lot; promoting educational campaigns and projects, and organising waste disposal residents and community leaders 'exercise planning through participation' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.157). These examples expose what is considered important by people in terms of participation and mobility planning, in which the latter goes beyond transport and the simple movement from A to B (Cresswell, 2006; Jensen, 2013). They show that 'dignity' and the 'right to come and go' and exist (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021) are crucial components of mobility justice (see Chapter 8, Section 8.4 for more reflections on this).

On one side, by participating in 'city-making' (ibid), these spaces carry notions of pride and the sense that the residents contributed to everyday lives and mobilities in Favela Santa Marta (see Bianca's quote on page 202). On the other hand, these autonomous and 'silent repertoire of individual direct action rather than collective demand-making protests' are a reflection of enduring injustices in these territories (Bayat, 1997, p.58) and the distrust in public institutions. In the view of the participants, these claimed (Cornwall, 2002) or invented spaces (Miraftab, 2004) for participation were attributed to the continuous absence of state actions and neglect of rights in the favelas (Catarina, page 206).

However, mobility extrapolates the scope of neighbourhood-scale efforts. For the participants, mobility is also a matter of infrastructure and public policy, which they feel unable to resolve by themselves (Lucas, 2021). In this vein, participation undertakes the role of contestation or dialogue with those responsible for planning mobilities from above (government professionals) or impacting everyday mobility (police). This indicates the recognition of the gap between staging mobilities from below and from above within which mobility decisions and policies were accused of not being designed based on the needs and realities of people living in favelas. The differences between those thinking mobilities 'inside an office' (as mentioned by Willian on page 204) and the ones living them on the ground as well as the lack of diversity of views and democratic spaces for participation were perceived as limiting agents leading to exclusionary transport and mobility measures (Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Vasconcellos, 2014).

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter demonstrated a multiplicity of spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro and shed light on the complexities of participation in Global South contexts, particularly in the context of mobility planning.

Drawing from the experiences of the staging of mobilities 'from above', the invited spaces, despite their historical opening and genuine attempt to allow contributions from below, still reveal some limitations of what is at stake for participation and who can fully access these spaces. This chapter also brought to light the blurred boundaries between spaces animated by non-governmental organisations funded by institutions of power, and the disjunctions between mobility planning, mobility-related NGOs and the favelas.

The investigation of mobility experiences and spaces for participation in Favela Santa Marta deepens the understanding that these invited and claimed spaces are disconnected from the mobility challenges affecting marginalised groups and territories. This chapter indicates that other facets of participation can become more meaningful for people on the ground as these fill gaps left by the state and shape people's relationships, lives and mobilities from below. The residents and community leaders in Favela Santa Marta put the claimed spaces invented to survive, resist and improve mobilities on the 'map' of participation. These claimed spaces deal with the tangible and intangible aspects of mobility – accessibility and freedom to circulate – and bring to light the forms of oppression and racism impacting mobilities in these territories.

To understand the similarities and differences in the nature, dynamics and significance of spaces for participation in mobility planning in another case study site, the following chapter presents and discusses the findings from the research in the context of Porto Alegre and Vila Tronco.

Chapter 7: The spaces for participation in mobility planning in Porto Alegre and Vila Tronco

'Yes, mobility is important, accessibility is important, yes, the place's lighting is important, and all spaces and environments are treated with dignity. With proper hygiene, with the presence of all the development actors involved, citizenship may occur in that environment.' (Resident of Vila Tronco)

7.1. Introduction

After analysing the spaces for participation in mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro, this chapter uses the same framework adopted in Chapter 6 to conduct the investigation in the context of Porto Alegre. As in the previous chapter, what I am presenting here is not an exhaustive mapping but an in-depth investigation of the participatory scenario in mobility planning within and beyond the state apparatus in Porto Alegre. Considering Porto Alegre's reputation for participatory governance in Brazil, this chapter explores whether this 'tradition' strengthens the participatory experiences in mobility planning.

This chapter analyses how mobilities are staged from above and from below (Jensen, 2013; 2014) and the interrelations between spaces for participation (or the lack of them) in Porto Alegre. I start by discussing the nature, dynamics and reach of invited spaces in state-led mobility planning at city and neighbourhood scales, such as Porto Alegre's Urban Mobility Plan and Complete Streets projects. Following this, I move on to investigate the spaces for participation mobilised by non-governmental organisations and the significance of participation and mobility in contexts of marginalisation, using Vila Tronco as the case study site.

For this analysis, I use material from official reports and the findings from 13 semi-structured interviews with transport professionals, academics and representatives of NGOs involved in the spaces for participation and 11 online photo-elicitation interviews with residents and community leaders in Vila Tronco (Section 4.4). I also developed knowledge of the local situation through consulting digital media news.

7.2. Staging mobilities from above: Invited spaces in mobility planning

This section investigates the invited spaces for participation in mobility planning in Porto Alegre. Among the spaces for participation created by the actors staging mobilities from above (within state-led mobility planning), the research has identified similar initiatives to those found in Rio de Janeiro. The spaces that I refer to are the municipal mobility plan and temporary small-scale projects. To analyse the nature and dynamics of these spaces in detail, this section starts by investigating Porto Alegre's Urban Mobility Plan. Then, I move on to explore the spaces for participation enabled through the Complete Streets projects in Porto Alegre. This analysis offers an initial endeavour to understand the role of participation in mobility planning; the reach of spaces for participation; their durability; articulations among actors, and the extent to which these engage with low-income neighbourhoods (also called '*vilas*' in Porto Alegre).

7.2.1. Porto Alegre's Urban Mobility Plan

As mentioned in Chapter 5, after a longstanding tradition of limited spaces for wider participation from civil society in transport and mobility matters, the National Urban Mobility Policy established participation as one of the main guidelines for urban mobility policy in Brazil. Following the national guidelines, which required municipalities with over 20,000 inhabitants to create mobility plans, the authorities of Porto Alegre began to develop activities for this purpose.

The development of Porto Alegre's Urban Mobility Plan (PMU) has not been as straightforward as Rio de Janeiro's experience. It has been a process with turbulences and interruptions, making the approval of the mobility plan difficult. As the mobility plan had not been approved at the time of the fieldwork investigation, the research explored the challenges and favourable circumstances for incorporating participation into mobility planning in the context of Porto Alegre. To begin this discussion, in what follows, I present the opening of participation in the development of the mobility plan and move

on to analyse the mechanisms of engagement made available by the municipal authorities.

7.2.1.1. The opening of invited spaces

According to the PNMU guidelines, mobility plans were required to be developed and approved by municipalities within a maximum period of three years. As introduced in Section 5.5.1, within the Municipal Department of Urban Mobility framework, Porto Alegre's first mobility plan was proposed in 2015 by the Municipal Department of Infrastructure and Urban Mobility (SMIM) and the Public Company of Transport and Circulation (EPTC). Despite Porto Alegre's reputation for participatory governance, this initial plan was heavily criticised, particularly due to the lack of spaces for public participation in the process, and had to be revisited a few years later, as explained by a member of EPTC.

> 'We have this history of the 2015 plan that ended up using other studies as a reference, but then there was this criticism of this need to expand participation, maybe due to this history, this historical process of participation. So, this ended up requiring even more participation.' (Member of EPTC)

To comply with the national guidelines, the proposed mobility plan went through a 'review' process in 2018. At this stage, participation emerged more as a response to national regulations and local criticisms rather than a 'natural' feature of Porto Alegre's tradition of participatory governance. So, instead of promoting spaces for participation aimed at achieving public acceptability or behaviour change as in the sustainable mobility paradigm (Banister, 2008), according to the interviews, the new plan adopted participatory channels to comply with the national regulations.

EPTC organised a series of internal meetings with transport operators and city officials, which also had the attendance of members of the World Resources Institute (WRI Brazil) (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). Although closed to wider society, the interstitial spaces were occupied by the 'expertise' and technical skills of a group of 'expert-citizens' (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018, p.142), which integrated the politics of invited

spaces. According to the interviews with members of EPTC, the voluntary and technical support from these actors had a great impact on the course of Porto Alegre's mobility plan. They offered the methodological base through which EPTC developed the new mobility plan and encouraged the department to create a series of in-person and digital spaces for participation.

Following seminars and training facilitated by WRI Brazil, the participatory activities for wider society were conducted by EPTC with the assistance of the Municipal Department of Institutional Relations (SMRI), the public entity responsible for organising the Participatory Budgeting. With a combination of meetings, in-person and virtual tools, eight workshops, one public consultation and a survey were developed between August and November 2018 (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). These initiatives integrated the diagnosis of mobility in Porto Alegre and were conducted as a possibility for collecting society's account of the mobility challenges in each planning region (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). More details on the virtual and in-person participatory mechanisms are discussed below.

7.2.1.2. Mechanisms of engagement

Virtual and in-person spaces for participation were created for the development of Porto Alegre's mobility plan in 2018. To understand the nature, dynamics and reach of these spaces, this section unpacks the rationale for choosing these mechanisms of engagement and the challenges faced by the municipal authorities.

a) Virtual spaces

Unlike the experience in Rio de Janeiro, only one virtual space was developed in the process of Porto Alegre's PMU. The municipal government launched a public consultation to collect information on travel behaviours in Porto Alegre. This consultation was part of a pilot study for the Municipal Department of Institutional Relations to test a digital platform for Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting, as explained by one of its members.

> 'It was a pilot moment for us to understand the platform but, at the same time, we could contribute to the development of the mobility plan. In

2019, then yes, the digital PB platform began to have Participatory Budgeting votes'. (Member of SMRI)

This virtual space was opened between August and September 2018 and focused on capturing the travel patterns of the local population, particularly regarding public transport. The survey inquired about respondents' main transport modes, travel purposes, journey length and reasons for choosing public transport (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). According to the official reports and the interviews with members of the municipal authority, 90 people responded to the consultation, which had no statistical or deliberative purposes.

In addition to this, the transport department created remote communication channels to receive demands from civil society and a monitoring group with civil society organisations to publicise the mobility plans results. In parallel, in-person spaces for participation were carried out by EPTC and SMRI with support from WRI. More details on these spaces are analysed in the following section.

b) In-person spaces

The in-person participatory activities consisted of a survey and eight workshops. EPTC carried out a quality survey (*Pesquisa QualiÔnibus*) that gathered the personal information, perspectives and travel behaviour of 1,600 boarded bus users. This survey had support from WRI Brazil, which was responsible for developing the programme and assisting in the analysis of the results (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date).

The participatory workshops were coordinated by the Municipal Department of Institutional Relations and supported by the Centres of Institutional and Participatory Relations (CRIPs), which works as a local district council. The workshops were held in eight of the 17 planning regions of the Participatory Budgeting that combined two or more areas per meeting[46] (Figure 56). These spaces for participation brought mobility debates to different geographical

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[46] The workshops were held in (1) Glória, Cruzeiro, Cristal; (2) Norte, Noroeste; (3) Extremo Sul, Restinga; (4) Partenon, Lomba do Pinheiro; (5) Centro, Leste; (6) Humaitá, Ilhas; (7) Centro-Sul, Sul; and (8) Eixo Baltazar, Nordeste (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date).

regions with the intention of 'listening to the demands and perceptions of certain social groups about the ease and difficulties faced in mobility and the main expectations for the future of mobility in Porto Alegre' (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date, p.8).

Figure 56: PMU's regional workshop

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2018a). Photo credits: Eduardo Beleske.

According to the interviews and reports developed by the Municipal Department of Infrastructure and Urban Mobility (SMIM), these regional workshops adopted the group dynamic approach presented by WRI Brazil, named 'Word Café', aimed at promoting a space for discussion on the mobility challenges in Porto Alegre (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, no date). The events brought together around 200 people, including the Participatory Budgeting councillors and community leaders. The challenges for walking, cycling, using public transport and individual motorised transport, and for people with disabilities were topics of debate. When categorising the most common problems by planning regions, the majority of mobility challenges relate to public transport infrastructure and service provision (ibid.). As a result, mobility authorities could get an overview of recurrent problems for each transport mode and the most prevalent mobility issues in the city and each planning region experienced by participants.

In the interviews, the municipality's professionals appreciated the assistance and technique introduced by WRI, particularly for innovating the existing mechanisms of participation created by the state, such as public hearing formats. Nonetheless, the comment below exposes a tokenism issue inherent to these invited spaces. It brings to light a notion of participation as a conflict-less 'playful' discussion where demands are controlled and have no intention of devolving power.

> 'Their help was very important. They [WRI] gave us this technique that we applied to carry out the workshops there with the communities. It was very rich; it was a very easy technique to learn and apply. It had a great effect. We are very used to being with communities, holding meetings in that format that has an agenda, the government makes an explanation, people ask, and we answer. This is a format that is already somewhat saturated, and it is a format that also generates moments of tension when the community questions the government, and the government has to give answers that are not always the expected ones. So, the format of the workshop and the practice there made that moment very playful, and, from the information point of view, it was very useful because the information that EPTC needed was there. So, the technique that we applied in this workshop was great.' (Member of SMRI)

Like in Rio de Janeiro, the members of EPTC and SMRI reported difficulties in conducting these events, reaching populations that are not usually familiar with mobility debates and dealing with the results of participatory spaces. They reflected on the (1) extent of spaces for participation and (2) the institutional barriers to incorporating civil society's account into mobility decisions and policy. Firstly, members of EPTC questioned the extent of the workshops in terms of the number of participants as well as the technical content of the discussions. The interviewees reflected on the difficulties in making the spaces for participation attractive to audiences that are not familiar with mobility debates and the epistemic obstacles to making this interaction genuine and possible, as illustrated below.

> 'If we were criticised in 2015 because the process of the mobility plan at that time had been totally technical and carried out "in the office", which not even other departments knew it was happening, in this one [the

review in 2018] perhaps my biggest criticism is that the participation was very small.' (Member of EPTC)

'There is the issue that the urban mobility plan is a very technical thing. Of course, we tried to talk a lot with them like: "look, we are going to talk about mobility; how do you move around the city? How are you leaving work and going home?" But, of course, we have to talk about technical things and deal with the urban mobility plan and its technical issues with the community. But these are not their daily agenda. Their day-to-day is taking the bus, staying in traffic in their cars, riding a bicycle, moving on foot, but from a technical point of view, it is not an agenda that has a super attraction for the community.' (Member of SMRI)

These spaces perpetuate the expert view and technocratic content of transport and mobility discussions and deepen epistemic obstacles that could constrain marginalised populations' 'ability to understand their own experience' and fully participate in mobility-related invited spaces (Fricker, 2007, p.147). As noted by a member of EPTC, the spaces for participation are usually navigated by the middle class and traders. So, there are practical and epistemic disadvantages that make participation difficult for low-income groups in transport and mobility debates created by the state.

'This is very difficult because, depending on the places, the communities we were in, also the people: "Oh, I don't know if that counts". The person had a huge difficulty walking from their home to the bus stop. Yes, it counts. That's what we want, that's what we need to know. That your infrastructure is precarious in many cases and that the displacement that we consider "Oh yes, transport is the qualified transport, with stations, air conditioning, I don't know what", but a person can't cross a stream that fills up on a rainy day and they don't have access to a bus stop. […] Maybe we would never have heard that if we had not gone there to talk to them. While a trader says they don't want a bicycle path in front of their shop and that it will get in the way, this one is well heard. […] It is much easier for us to reach some groups: "Oh, do an online survey" and if well publicised it reaches a group. But others don't, you need to meet in person, and it is difficult. Who is willing to leave to go to a place at a certain time and meet the City Hall staff who have come a thousand

times to talk about the problems?' (Member of the Public Company of Transport and Circulation)

The research in Vila Tronco, which is presented in Section 7.4, also reveals that, despite governmental efforts to approach different areas, marginalised groups may have been excluded from these invited spaces. The quote from Maria, a community leader in Vila Tronco, illustrates the little familiarity with Porto Alegre's mobility plan and participatory events.

> 'No, I did not participate and I have not heard about it either' (Maria, Vila Tronco)

Moreover, the interviews also disclosed the institutional barriers to incorporating accounts from society and revealed certain unfamiliarity with the role of participation in mobility matters. Although the experience of the mobility plan demonstrated an advance in including civil society's participation in planning and policymaking, power and knowledge barriers remain in perceiving non-scientific, non-academic and non-technical inputs as credible sources of knowledge. These boundaries also impact how the outcomes from participatory exercises are digested and translated by the actors planning mobilities from above, as explained by the comments of members of EPTC and SMRI.

> 'In general, in the company, we have a retrograde vision of "those who know what is best are those who studied, who knows what is best is the technician who has the knowledge of engineering or technical knowledge to determine what is best for the population"; and not the population deciding.' (Member of EPTC)

> 'Because there is that "ah, but how are we going to use it? Is this valid? Ah, people will say what they want and will we consider it? What are we going to do with it later? Are we going to change the project?" […] There was disbelief both on the part of the people we were trying to get opinions and information from and on the part of our colleagues.' (Member of EPTC)

> 'The first difficulty is that not necessarily the administrations and the government will have a genuine intention to open this dialogue. […] Another issue is to be able to bring a large portion of the population to

these dialogues. […] We that, sometimes, are a model of participatory democracy for other places, have difficulties doing that.' (Member of SMRI)

Although these challenges could be associated with the novelty of participatory channels in mobility planning in this specific context, knowledge and power imbalances are recurrent issues in the planning literature. Although valuing local knowledge has been seen as a desirable principle in urban (Sandercock, 1998) and mobility planning (Sheller, 2018), the interviews expose a tendency of invited spaces for participation to limit themselves as spaces for discussion rather than opportunities for deliberation from below. This fact resonates with a shared view across members of EPTC of participation as a conflict-less and consensual collaboration between transport professionals and users (see Appendix 4).

Additionally, as transport infrastructure projects were being implemented with limited participation, in parallel to the development of the mobility plan (Section 5.5), some questions remain open: what is participation for? Is it just to promote conflict-less discussions? Is it to validate and legitimate a project, policy or plan? Considering the legal requirement for participation in mobility policy, is it just 'a box to be checked' (Thorpe, 2017, p.569)? The quote below demonstrates that these questions have not yet been resolved among municipal professionals: 'what should have participation and what should not?'

'I would say that we still have a long way to go in thinking about how people participate and how this can be more efficient, as there are some actions that need to be implemented because that is what we have to do. What should have participation and what should not?' (Member of EPTC)

A few years after the fieldwork investigation, Porto Alegre's City Council conducted a series of public hearings and internal meetings to discuss the mobility plan, including one in July 2022 that approved Complementary Law Project 001/22 that proposes Porto Alegre's PMU (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2022). Nonetheless, the content of the mobility plan will be revised and only have a normative effect by December 2024 (Ferreira, 2022),

as introduced in Section 5.5.1. Therefore, this study was unable to examine whether/how the invited spaces for participation influenced the content of the law instituting Porto Alegre's mobility plan.

Despite this, the research identified the challenges of enabling invited spaces for participation in urban mobility in a city widely known for its participatory governance. It also recognised the articulations of a NGO and its influence on the development of the mobility plan. The articulations between municipal government and civil society organisations in staging mobilities from above extrapolated the mobility plan's spaces and also reached temporary and small-scale projects in Porto Alegre under the name of Complete Streets. More details on this initiative are presented in the following section.

7.2.2. Complete Streets projects

In a similar way to the temporary interventions in Rio de Janeiro (Section 6.2.2), the municipal authorities of Porto Alegre opened spaces for participation in city-making through the so-called Complete Streets projects. Based on international approaches, Complete Streets projects use temporary and easy-to-execute materials to modify road segments and promote wider and safer spaces for pedestrians, cyclists and/or public transport (as introduced in Section 3.4.2).

According to the interviews, these temporary small-scale projects were initiated with the support of WRI that, in 2017, organised a series of workshops to teach the concept of Complete Streets to municipal authorities across Brazil. In the same year, Porto Alegre's municipal mobility departments selected Rua João Alfredo (Figure 57), situated in the city centre, to be 'the first Complete Street of Porto Alegre' (Uzejka, 2021). The street was chosen for its historical, commercial and tourist importance, in addition to being a street with accessibility and security issues. The project sought to reduce the number of car accidents and widen spaces for pedestrians and cyclists.

Figure 57: Before (left) and after (right) of the Complete Street of Rua João Alfredo

Source: Santos, Samios and Batista (2021, p.64). Photo credits: Apple Maps (left) and Daniel Kener Neto/WRI Brasil, 2019 (right).

The project began in 2017 with meetings and workshops conducted by EPTC and WRI discussing the challenges and possibilities for Rua João Alfredo (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2017). The project was divided into two stages: a temporary phase where design ideas were tested and a permanent one to implement the final design.

Before the first stage, a participatory workshop (Figure 58) with around 50 participants was held by EPTC and WRI in 2018 to discuss the project and the opinions of residents, users and traders in the locality (Santos, Samios and Batista, 2021). As mentioned by a representative of a NGO, 'tactical' actions carry a promise of generating 'greater participation of the population' before the permanent phase. According to the interviews, participants could express their opinions on the main problems related to road safety, comfort and urban furniture and suggest solutions for the area.

Figure 58: Participatory workshop

Source: Santos, Samios and Batista (2021, p.59). Photo credits: WRI Brasil.

In 2019, the temporary phase incorporated a Tactical Urbanism approach (Sections 3.4.2 and 6.6.2) to test the project and collect public opinions. The temporary project had positive feedback from the public authorities, particularly for demonstrating design possibilities at the human scale, as illustrated by a member of EPTC.

'I think it is a very positive aspect. It is a change, almost like a provocation to change the way of thinking about the configuration of urban space. Sometimes, with small interventions, you can create another environment.' (Member of EPTC)

A few years later, the municipal government conducted opinion polls with users and residents and presented the permanent project to the residents in 2021 (Uzejka, 2021). Nonetheless, the invited spaces presented here remained as arenas for consultation and discussion only, rather than opportunities for deliberation.

Also, Porto Alegre's Complete Street followed the same tendency shown in Section 6.2.2 of using central areas for this type of project. Standing back and looking at other projects of this nature in Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro, both a representative of an NGO and an academic acknowledged that Complete Streets and Tactical Urbanism interventions have been concentrated in the 'formal areas', as explained below. The project in Porto

Alegre shows once more the limitations of Complete Streets' interventions in practice, particularly concerning the extent to which they can reach 'informal' territories and address mobility justice (Sheller, 2018).

> 'Within Ruas Completas, the streets that cities ended up choosing were more central, thus, streets with a great flow of pedestrians. There have not been any, so far, that have been done in a very vulnerable area. […] Public authorities end up not being able to make some interventions there because it is not even considered a street there. So, this is not formally the "formal city".' (Representative of a NGO)

> 'I keep provoking: "let's make a Complete Street in the *vilas*, in the peripheries, in Tronco". Itau's [shared] bicycle is not there, the scooter is not there, this is so obvious that I do not need to tell you. So, in short, my view is a little pessimistic.' (Academic)

Overall, this section has demonstrated how participatory mobility planning is staged from above based on the spaces for participation examined in this research. The materials from the interviews and the retrospective analysis of documentary sources on the spaces for participation investigated in this section have shown the dynamics in the incorporation of participation into the 'rules' of mobility planning (Martens, 2005). An NGO undertook a crucial role within the invited spaces created by the municipality for Porto Alegre's mobility plan and Complete Street projects. These examples highlight the blurred boundaries between NGOs and the state. To understand better the dynamics of these NGOs in the context of Porto Alegre, the following section explores how civil society organisations interact in spaces for participation within and outside the state.

7.3. Spaces for participation mobilised by non-governmental organisations

This section investigates the landscape of mobility activism in Porto Alegre, the dynamics within spaces for participation mobilised by non-governmental organisations and the articulations between them and public authorities. Based on the findings from semi-structured interviews with members of four NGOs working directly or indirectly with mobility-related topics (Box 3), this

exploration begins to identify the connections and disconnections between their actions and favelas in Porto Alegre.

Box 3: NGOs interviewed in Porto Alegre

NGO 9 is an international research institute, with a focus on the sustainability of cities, climate and forests, which has its headquarters in Porto Alegre.
NGO 10 is a multidisciplinary group focused on urban education and activation projects.
NGO 11 is an association composed of volunteers concerned with improving cities and urban mobility, particularly for cyclists and pedestrians.
NGO 12 (like NGO 7 in Rio) is an association that advocates for better cycling conditions and teaches the public how to ride a bicycle. It is part of the network of associations with headquarters in several cities in Brazil.

These NGOs emerged in Porto Alegre between 2010 and 2014, a period marked by mobilisations of civil society reacting against political structures, the mega-event projects and the mobility crisis in Brazil, as discussed in Chapter 5. With different missions, scales and forms of action, the mobility-related NGOs, associations and groups in this study navigate building local, national and international networks with activists, funders and, in some cases, public authorities.

In Porto Alegre, 2011 was a turning point in mobility activism after a motorist intentionally drove through a crowd gathering for a Critical Mass[47] event, injuring nine people. Since then, Porto Alegre has witnessed the emergence of actors and NGOs engaged in mobility advocacy, as exemplified by the comments below.

> 'In 2011, there was this multi-cyclist vehicle collision where we started to demand more visibility, more traffic safety and everything else.' (Representative of NGO 12)

> 'It was from this perspective that the association emerged, to have legitimacy *vis-à-vis* the public authorities and, in a certain way, the society and the media.' (Representative of NGO 11)

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[47] Critical Mass is an international bicycle-ride movement that began in San Francisco, United States, in 1992. With no formal representatives or leaders, Critical Mass' events highlight the potential of cycling to the public and demand better conditions and policies by local governments (Jones and Azevedo, 2013).

By claiming visibility, traffic safety and legitimacy from public authorities, civil society associations sought to defend mobility rights, discuss mobility, develop campaigns, influence decisions, propose alternatives and mediate mobility discussions.

> 'It is a characteristic of this type of movement; you have to talk as if there were two poles: you have to talk to the general population and try to convince them that the way that the car is used is excessive, that you have to democratise access and that has to encourage the use of bicycles as an alternative to trying to transform this. At the same time, you have to dialogue with the public authorities, represented in the figure of the city hall to be able to claim conditions for this to happen.' (Representative of NGO 11)

As exemplified by the above comment from a member of NGO 11, the transformative potential of mobility-related organisations lies in their dual action: sometimes mobilising sustainable mobility for civil society audiences or pressuring, discussing and joining board memberships with the state apparatus. At the same time that these actors claim spaces for participation with or without the authorities, they also engage with invited spaces from above.

Similarly to the case in Rio de Janeiro (Chapter 6), some NGOs studied in Porto Alegre see themselves as 'mediators' between the state and wider civil society. For them, participation also means representing civil society and influencing decision-making (see Appendix 4 and Section 8.6). These views are carried into the spaces within which they operate.

As flagged in Section 7.2 and explained by a member of NGO 9, some integrate the state apparatus through technical cooperation agreements. As discussed in this chapter, these actors use their 'expertise' as power and an advocacy tool to articulate and integrate the state apparatus. NGO 9 is funded by international donors and has several offices across the globe, attributing value to their actions before the authorities.

> 'We develop a technical cooperation agreement with no transfer of resources where we specify the work plan and the objectives. It is very

important that, when we work with cities, the city commits to the cause, otherwise, our effort is thrown away.' (Representative of NGO 9)

However, the seemingly desirable legitimacy towards public authorities and influence in decision-making are not experienced by all non-governmental organisations in this study, as exemplified by the quote below. NGOs 10, 11 and 12 end up navigating mostly outside the state apparatus, promoting projects, research, cycling campaigns, bicycle riding instructions and networks to the general public, despite the state.

'I feel that there is a big gap there. The big problem is that when the municipal professionals do this [promote dialogue], it is much more to notify than to actually get an opinion from us. So it ends up discouraging us and we cannot create this dialogue.' (Representative of NGO 12)

Considering the actions mobilised by NGOs in Porto Alegre, integrating the state apparatus or not, this study raises the following questions: who has an interest, time and knowledge to debate, demand and discuss mobility? Are there spaces for participation engaging with or emerging from low-income populations concerning mobility?

In this study, only a few NGOs have mentioned that they have been involved with or supported small groups within low-income neighbourhoods on the urban fringes or in central areas in Porto Alegre. Despite this, there is little evidence available demonstrating similar actions emerging from these territories.

The interviewees' perspectives reveal a general understanding that mobility challenges exist in low-income areas in Porto Alegre, particularly in regard to walking and cycling infrastructure, accessibility, and affordability and quality of public transport systems for those in the geographic peripheries. However, often based on accessibility parameters and compared to geographical peripheries in the city, the interviews indicate a tendency of mobility *per se* not to be perceived as a priority issue, particularly for central *vilas*. The reason for the low priority was primarily linked to the *vilas*' central location in the city (accessibility, public transport supply) and, secondly, poverty, levels of informality and many deficiencies in basic infrastructure supply (no paths,

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water supply, basic sanitation, etc.). In this respect, representatives of NGOs reflected on the limitations in expanding their actions and debates to these territories as an attempt to avoid 'colonising' mobility debates and actions, as explained below by members of NGOs 9 and 11.

'I think that a big challenge is the cost of transport and the transport offered, but there are also challenges within these communities. […] And within the communities, it is more the question of infrastructure.' (Representative of NGO 9)

'There are neighbourhoods here in the city that have been complaining about problems with water supply for years. You will not get there and talk about bicycle lanes, you know? So, sometimes, it is not a priority demand, but that does not mean it is not for these people too. We say this because people usually think that bicycles are something for naughty bourgeois and the upper-middle class. It is interesting how this is often used to delegitimise the movement, condemning it as elitist, but when demand is met, it is met in the central area where it ends up serving precisely the richest people in the city.' (Representative of NGO 11)

These statements evidence a potential disconnection between mobility agendas (and spaces for participation) and central *vilas* in Porto Alegre. To investigate this disjunction further, the research uses Vila Tronco as a case study site. As the locality has been going through a conflictual avenue project (as mentioned in Chapter 5), the following section investigates the significance of mobility and the spaces for participation in Vila Tronco.

7.4. Staging mobilities from below: Mobilities and spaces for participation in Vila Tronco

This section presents and scrutinises the results of 11 in-depth online photo-elicitation interviews with current and former residents, community leaders and members of residents' associations in Vila Tronco. The interviews sought to understand how everyday mobilities are seen and experienced, and whether spaces for participation in urban mobility emerge in Vila Tronco. As the literature suggests, the lived experiences on the ground are essential for

understanding mobility and immobility beyond the limited scope of transport planning at macro-scales (Raje, 2007b).

The strategy for overcoming the lack of co-presence in the field, anchored by the participants' stories, photos and videos, brought some colour, liveliness and depth to the narratives. The online photo-elicitation interviews explored how each participant lives and perceives their everyday mobilities within and outside Vila Tronco as well as the mechanisms and strategies to overcome any shortcomings related to mobility.

Before delving into the stories, mobility experiences and spaces for participation shared by the participants, I start this section by presenting a brief history of Vila Tronco and introducing the participants in this study. Following this, I then move on to analyse the mobilities in Vila Tronco and the spaces for participation over time, based on the research findings.

7.4.1. History of Vila Tronco

Vila Tronco is one of the 40 *vilas* of Grande Cruzeiro, located in the South zone of Porto Alegre, see Figure 59. Without a clear geographical delimitation, Grande Cruzeiro encompasses several districts such as Santa Tereza, Cristal, Glória, Medianeira, Teresópolis and Nonoai which constitute Planning Regions 5 and 6 (Ávila et al., 2006; Barbosa, 2015). With over 200,000 inhabitants, Cruzeiro represents 15% of Porto Alegre's population (Ávila et al., 2006) and 31.59%[48] of the city's total black population (Observa POA, 2010).

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[48] Grande Cruzeiro is also the fourth region of Porto Alegre with the largest black population in Porto Alegre (Observa POA, 2010).

Figure 59: Location of Vila Tronco

Source: Google Earth 2021 edited by the author.

Vila Tronco is located in the Santa Tereza district, with the first inhabitants dating from 1959 (Ávila et al., 2006). The locality is situated within the consolidated fabric of the city, about 5 km away from the city centre. The region is served by bus lines (Appendix 11), day care centres, schools and the health facility *Centro de Saúde Vila dos Comerciários*, popularly known as *Postão* (De Araújo, 2015; Silveira, 2018). However, Vila Tronco (Figure 60) and other *vilas* of Grande Cruzeiro experience high levels of social inequalities within its immediate context. They are commonly associated with their 'irregular' urban occupation and morphology (Appendix 10), high levels of social vulnerability, precarious living conditions and crime and violence generated by drug trafficking (Barbosa, 2015; Silveira, 2018).

Figure 60: Vila Tronco

Source: Loth (2015). Photo credits: Ana Rita Mayer.

Vila Tronco lies in a region where several resident associations have operated, seeking fundamental human rights and promoting solidarity networks. These resident associations mainly emerged after Porto Alegre's second master plan in 1979 (Ávila et al., 2006). As a type of 'solidarity governance', historically, residents and community leaders have been engaged in seeking to survive the vacuum of the state and eviction mechanisms orchestrated in the name of urban planning and landscape preservation (Ávila et al., 2006, p.57; De Araújo, 2014). This mode of living operates through the exchange of information and favours, mutual protection and claims for water, health centres, electricity, sewer, transport and day-care centres (Ávila et al., 2006).

With oscillating land tenure regularisation measures, the districts that form and surround Grande Cruzeiro have been facing growing disputes over the urban land (De Araújo, 2014; Silveira, 2018; Oliveira, 2013). In the last decades, the locality has been the stage of real estate speculation with the implementation of shopping centres, large commercial buildings and luxurious residences. Additionally, since 2012, Vila Tronco and other *vilas* of Grande Cruzeiro have also been through the construction of over five kilometres of transport corridor, which is 42 metres wide, crosses public

areas and several residences (De Araújo, 2015) (Section 5.5.2). With investments from the federal initiative Growth Acceleration Programme, the widening of Avenida Tronco (now called Avenida Moab Caldas) was one of the sets of projects proposed by Porto Alegre's authorities in preparation for the 2014 FIFA World Cup. According to Mesomo and Damo (2016), the justification for the avenue project was based on three reasons: the avenue was considered a priority connection for the mega-event; it was an important 'legacy' for urban traffic and mobility at the city scale, and it would be a valuable project for improving the 'precarious' housing conditions in the area.

The project of Avenida Tronco, envisioned in the city's first master plan in 1959, coincides with the arrival of residents in the locality. As discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.5.2), the project has been the driver of forced evictions, inadequate resettlement policies and protests by residents, community leaders and activists seeking reparation and appropriate resettlement conditions. Vila Tronco is one of the *vilas* negatively affected by this unfinished road infrastructure project and the displacement associated with it, as illustrated in Figure 61.

Figure 61: Houses removed (in red) around Vila Tronco: before (left) and after (right)

Source: Google Earth (2021) and Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2011b), compiled by the author.

To investigate how mobilities are viewed and experienced in a context of vulnerability generated by mobility infrastructure and capture the spaces for participation over time, the following sections analyse the findings from documentary sources and online photo-elicitation interviews. Before, exploring these in detail, the next section introduces the participants from Vila Tronco.

7.4.2. Introducing the participants

My arrival in the field was made possible by Cristina[49], the first participant in Vila Tronco contributing to this research. Consecutively, by adopting a snowballing technique and relying on the primary informant's networks on the ground, other participants conducted me on a journey to understand how everyday mobilities are experienced in the area. As these networks expanded, the investigation of daily mobilities was the main means to unpack any spaces for participation that the participants were or are involved in.

Of the 11 participants in this study, there are a balanced number of female and male participants with ages ranging from 26 to 50 years old, though the majority were within the higher range of this age group. Seven participants declared themselves members of local community associations and three considered themselves community leaders (Section 4.4.3 for more reflections on this). Before analysing everyday mobilities in Vila Tronco, I present a brief introduction of participants in the box below (Box 4).

Box 4: The participants of Vila Tronco

Cristina is 40 years old, married and has two daughters. She was born and raised in Vila Tronco, studies at a higher education institution and works at one of the local community associations. Around 2 or 3 times a week, she stays with her elderly parents in Vila Tronco, and, for the rest of her week, she lives at another address in Porto Alegre. Cristina mentioned that she used to walk more in the past, but she feels more comfortable using her private vehicle, public transport and ride-hailing apps to move around the city. Walking in Vila Tronco is not seen as a comfortable task for her, especially in the evening. She complains about the low-quality paths, roads, alleys and public lighting as well as increasing drug trafficking in the neighbourhood. Cristina laments the absence of the state, the social vulnerability in the neighbourhood and the lack of support and attention given to Vila Tronco's

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[49] All names disclosed in this chapter are pseudonyms and most of them were chosen by the participants.

territory and residents.
Yuri is 39 years old, married and has two daughters. Originally from the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, he moved to Porto Alegre in 2003 and has lived in Vila Tronco ever since. He works at some local community associations and usually walks within the neighbourhood. Yuri appreciates the proximity to his neighbourhoods and the bonds of solidarity in the community. However, he laments the precarious living conditions and the gang rivalry in the area that prevent young residents from accessing other territories. Yuri often uses public transport and ride-hailing apps to move around Porto Alegre. Due to the high violence rates in Vila Cruzeiro, he laments the fact that some ride-hailing drivers refuse to enter the community. Yuri dreams of having a car and having more certainty regarding his daily journey times.
Augusto is 42 years old. Having lived in Vila Tronco all his life, he is a founder and member of a local community association. He also has a job in a public institution outside the neighbourhood and uses private motorised vehicles – car and motorcycle – to go to work and take his family away on weekends. Augusto walks in his neighbourhood but complains about the presence of drug gangs and the lack of freedom that young residents face in accessing different areas in Vila Cruzeiro. He also laments the mobility and transit difficulties, evictions and lack of public spaces for the community engendered by the ongoing widening of Tronco Avenue.
João is 42 years old and a former resident of Vila Tronco. Having lived there since when he was born, João moved out from Vila Tronco in 2010, seeking a better place to live with his wife and children. He frequently visits the area for work purposes; João owns a business in the area and is a community leader and member of a few local community associations. He uses his car as the main mode of transport and wishes that public transport was better for everybody. João believes that Avenida Tronco is an important measure for urban mobility and the promotion of housing opportunities for the community.
Dandara[50] is 32 years old and has lived in Vila Tronco all her life. She is a member of a local community association and usually moves around the neighbourhood on foot. She dreams of having a bicycle and using it as a mode of transport. Despite this, to be able to travel with her family and children, she currently uses her car to circulate in the city. Dandara complains about the lack of basic infrastructure and universal accessibility in the neighbourhood and denounces the lack of attention from the local authorities to the community. She laments the evictions and right violations before and during the extension of Avenida Tronco but believes that this transport infrastructure is important for urban mobility and the community.
Edinho is 26 years old and has lived in Vila Tronco for almost all his life. With the pandemic, he stopped working and stayed at home most of the time. He has used a wheelchair since his childhood and relies on public transport to move around the city. He faces long waiting times to get a bus for his doctor appointments and goes through several challenges to circulate in Vila Tronco, especially after the avenue project. To avoid the holes, rubbles and uneven paths, Edinho usually moves through the middle of the road, putting himself at risk.

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[50] Dandara chose this name in honour of a black warrior from the Brazilian colonial period.

Malcom[51] is 41 years and a community leader who is involved in a series of social projects in Grande Cruzeiro. After living in other districts in Porto Alegre, he lived on the borders of Vila Tronco for more than 30 years. His house is located in one of the areas affected by the extension of Avenida Tronco and his family still resists the possibility of eviction. Malcom laments the violation of rights, evictions and the removal of public spaces that were used by the community. He believes that this avenue only benefits the government and urban mobility at a city scale, not the community itself. Malcom's experience of walking in the neighbourhood is marked by low-quality paths, open sewers, holes and rubble. Due to cost-benefit purposes, he uses a private motorised vehicle and ride-hailing apps to move around the city.

Maria is 50 years old. She has lived in Vila Tronco for almost 30 years and is a community leader and a member of a local community association that fights for basic rights at Grande Cruzeiro. In regard to urban mobility, she advocates for the conclusion of Avenida Tronco and the improvement of infrastructure for pedestrians and people with disabilities. She usually walks or uses public transport to move around the *vilas* in Cruzeiro and prefers to use ride-hailing apps to go to the city centre and other areas in Porto Alegre with her daughter. Due to the high bus fares, Maria avoids public transport whenever possible and goes on short trips with her son on his motorcycle.

Monique is 40 years old and lives in Vila Tronco with her husband, children and mother-in-law. Because she has lived in the locality for more than 35 years, she feels safer walking around the neighbourhood than in any other place in Porto Alegre. Her family runs a small business in the locality, and she also works full-time in a public institution nearby. Due to her busy daily routine, she prefers to use her car to go to work and drive her children to school. Since her childhood, the extension of Avenida Tronco was a dream for Monique. After witnessing several evictions, violations of rights, the avenue's endless project and the lack of dialogue with the residents, her expectations have been replaced by revolt.

Roberta is 41 years old and has lived in Vila Tronco all her life. Her grandfather moved from the interior of Rio de Grande do Sul and built one of the first houses in the neighbourhood. She lives with her son who has been displaced from his home as a result of the Avenida Tronco project. Despite her initial idea that a new avenue would improve the quality of life of those living in Vila Tronco, the violation of rights before and during its implementation mobilised her and other residents to fight for people's housing rights. Roberta works full-time in a public institution nearby and usually takes public transport to get around. She complains about her fear of moving around the neighbourhood at nighttime and the low-quality infrastructure for walking in Grande Cruzeiro.

Matheus has worked at one of the local community associations in Vila Tronco for more than one decade. He is 39 years old and resides in the East zone of Porto Alegre. Matheus usually drives his motorised vehicle to work and walks inside Vila Tronco to visit his students. He laments the inadequate resettlement measures and the fact that the Avenida Tronco project passed over the residents' homes.

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[51] Chosen in respect of the African-American human rights activist Malcolm X.

7.4.3. Mobilities in Vila Tronco

At the beginning of the interviews, participants demonstrated some familiarity, pre-established engagement and interest in the topic of mobility. In contrast to the research in Favela Santa Marta, urban mobility was a familiar topic to the participants in Vila Tronco, particularly for the community leaders and active members of residents' associations involved in meetings of the Participatory Budgeting and/or movements and discussions on the avenue project. Mobility undertook a very mundane role in the narratives and was mostly associated with the 'Circulation, Transport and Urban Mobility' theme of Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting. In this strand, the usual debates and priorities encompass road paving; extension, widening and opening of roads; improvement of transport terminals, and road safety, as explained in Section 5.5.

In the online photo-elicitation interviews, the participants started by describing their daily mobilities and highlighting their views on the positive and negative mobility aspects within and outside Vila Tronco. Unlike the majority of Favela Santa Marta's residents who mentioned their geographical location in the city as a positive aspect of mobility, Vila Tronco's central location was recognised in only a few interviews, such as Malcom's.

> 'The positive thing is that you can go anywhere in the city. You go to the centre, to the South Zone, to the North Zone, to the East Zone. I think that the positive is to have the possibility to be close to other communities. The location that is positive in the city today, because the rest is chaotic.' (Malcom)

Despite the short distance to Porto Alegre's city centre (Figure 59), the little appreciation given to Vila Tronco's centrality, coupled with the feelings of invisibility, social vulnerability and issues of land irregularity, indicate how much this centrality has a 'high price' for its residents. It is precisely the proximity to the centre and other consolidated areas of the city and *vilas* that makes them more vulnerable to removals, relocations and projects that disregard their realities. Therefore, Vila Tronco behaves as a social enclave. It is not geographically far from central and other consolidated areas

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(Silveira, 2018), but is socially distant and isolated from its immediate context.

Throughout the interviews, participants spontaneously incorporated their experiences and views on mobility and participation before and after the beginning of Avenida Tronco's extension works. Through the images and narratives, participants revealed the various ways in which their mobilities have been impacted in the neighbourhood and the multiple lenses attributed to mobility and participation. Initiated almost a decade ago and envisioned to improve urban mobility at the city scale, the Avenida Tronco project acts as a turning point in the narratives. This conflictual project, mentioned in all interviews, evoked mixed opinions and feelings related to mobility among participants. Following these themes, the next sections present and examine the everyday mobilities in Vila Tronco and the dynamics of spaces for participation over the period before and during the construction of Avenida Tronco.

7.4.4. Spaces for participation before and during the Avenida Tronco project

Following the themes emerging from the online photo-elicitation interviews, I start by analysing the claimed and invited spaces for participation before the road constructions in 2012 and move on to explore the claimed spaces that have emerged since then until 2020. In this section, I also look at the meanings and significance of mobility in the locality. The timeline below summarises the key events affecting Vila Tronco that were introduced in Chapter 5 and are discussed in the following sections.

Figure 62: Timeline of key events in Porto Alegre and Vila Tronco
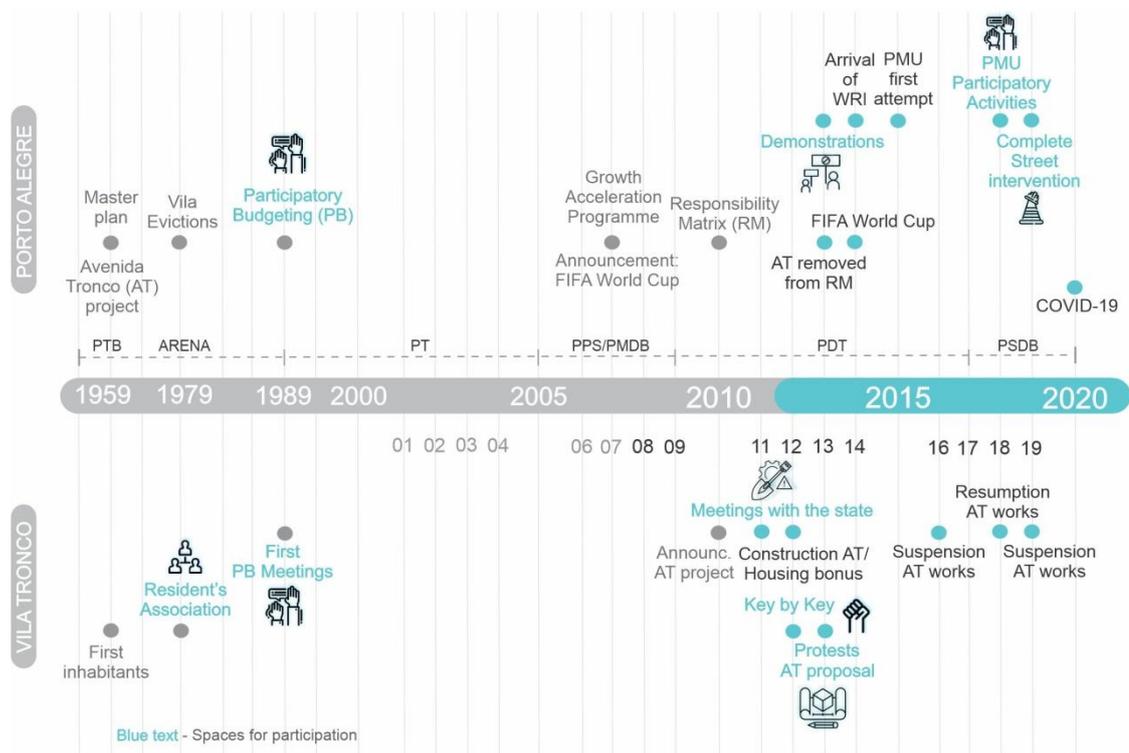
7.4.4.1. The claimed and invited spaces before the Avenida Tronco project

Before the preparations for the FIFA World Cup 2014 began in Porto Alegre and the widening of Avenida Tronco was announced in 2010, participants reflected on the precarious infrastructure in Vila Tronco and, particularly, of Avenida Tronco, as illustrated by Matheus' comment.

> 'I am sure several people have already told you this, but in 2008 when I started to attend the institution here, to do my work here, we had a very precarious avenue, where it was a two-way street, there were no paths, and it was very dangerous for children to cross from one side to the other.' (Matheus)

As mentioned in Section 5.5.2, the extension of Avenida Tronco was not a persistent demand of local people. Nonetheless, when the avenue project, envisioned in 1959, moved from paper to practice, participants stated that the avenue was seen as an opportunity for the community members to reach a better quality of life and 'leave the *vila* situation', as explained by Roberta and Monique. This expectation to 'become less informal' relates to the idea that a new transport corridor would not only benefit local mobility but would

bring 'dignity', urban improvements, progress and organisation to the neighbourhood, and better integrate it into the rest of the city.

> 'Since I was little, I heard that one day this avenue would exist, it was a dream, it has always been a dream because it could improve everyone's life; that was the idea, and we had a lot of expectations. […] An avenue will bring dignity, it will bring access to light, a more stable electricity network, it will bring access to water and sewage networks in the right way.' (Monique)

> 'And in the beginning, it was a thousand wonders: "we are going to remove your residence; there will be a wonderful work, where you will be able to have peace of mind". People were like "oh, we will leave this *vila* situation and improve our situation with this avenue layout".' (Roberta)

In this process, the municipal authorities (Municipal Department of Construction and Infrastructure) developed the project to comply with the preparations for the World Cup within closed spaces for participation. The participation of stakeholders only materialised when the project advanced (Fundação Heinrich Böll Brasil, Ong Cidade and Amigos da Terra Brasil, 2015). The research has identified that several meetings were held between 2010 and 2012 between municipal authorities, residents and community leaders to discuss the impacts of the project. In March 2010, for instance, a meeting was organised by community leaders and local community associations with members of the City Council to share the community's concerns and desires to participate in the projects that affect the locality (Madeira, 2010). In the same year, the *vilas* of Grande Cruzeiro witnessed visits of the mayor José Fortunati to present the project to the local population (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2010). In 2011, the municipal government began to draw a profile of the affected populations and estimate the costs of resettlements (Mesomo and Damo, 2016). In parallel, community leaders used institutional spaces, such as the Popular Tribune, to claim adequate resettlement conditions from the City Council (Barcellos, 2011).

A former resident and community leader argued that there were enough invited spaces for participation and dialogue with the public authorities.

Resonating with the local authorities' discourse (Rivas, 2021), João perceived the avenue as 'a social work' and acknowledged the benefits of this road infrastructure for urban mobility and housing, as illustrated below.

'This widening of Avenida Tronco is much more than the opening of a road that will connect two regions of the city, it is, without a doubt, a social work. A social work that provides the opportunity for more than 1,600 families to have their housing unit. […] We had a meeting with the mayor and his commissioners with more than 700 people in which we presented the document[52] that we drafted, and all these claims were put forward and received by him. So, there was no lack of dialogue. I tell you that, I don't think it is an exaggeration, we had, up until we received the works here, at least 200 meetings with Porto Alegre City Hall and the communities.' (João)

However, João's view was not widely shared among the participants. Most interviewees, particularly those affected by the avenue construction, shared their dissatisfaction with the injustices and lack of transparency during the avenue's design process. An example is Monique's comment on the lack of spaces for participation and the procedural and epistemic injustices that constrained the residents' ability to fully access the content of the project and understand the consequences to their lives.

'It [Avenida Tronco] costs a lot for people to move out without any dialogue and respect for the things that are important to the community. We didn't even have a presentation of the project. We didn't even know exactly where it was going to pass on the street; is it going to pass over my house? […] Where will this street go? Will this street cut my house in half? Will this street pass here? Will it pass there? There was no project, no conversation with the community. […] I think that there was a lack of dialogue with the community, explaining what is going to be done, explaining where this street is going to pass. Of course, you can say 'but there is a project, go to the City Hall'. There is a way for you to find it, but

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[52] The document that João refers to is the law project that proposes the so-called 'housing bonus' (*bônus-moradia*) to compensate and resettle the families displaced by the urban infrastructure works (Barcellos, 2011). The housing bonus was instituted through Law 11.229 in 2012 (Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre, 2012a). The value of the housing bonus was readjusted several times (in 2017, 2018 and 2022) after the law was sanctioned.

it is a complex way and most people in a poor community will not even know where to start looking.' (Monique)

With the uncertainties around the project and the proposed evictions, invited and claimed spaces emerged, seeking to negotiate the resettlement policies with the municipal authorities. Meetings held at the City Council and public hearings promoted by the Public Ministry were used to share the concerns and dissatisfactions of the affected populations with the governmental actions (Mesomo and Domo, 2016). Noting the mismatch between the timings of the road construction and the execution of the housing units, residents of Grande Cruzeiro, community leaders and the Comitê Popular da Copa created the campaign 'Key by Key' (*Chave por Chave*) in April 2012 (Mesomo and Domo, 2016; De Araújo, 2014; Fundação Heinrich Böll Brasil, Ong Cidade and Amigos da Terra Brasil, 2015). Adopting legal language as a resource for political interaction in the negotiation with the state and fight for housing rights, the movement (Figure 63) reacted against the Social Rent and demanded the construction of housing units in the locality (De Araújo, 2014). The campaign expressed that the affected families would only hand over their 'keys' when they received the new ones (Fundação Heinrich Böll Brasil, Ong Cidade and Amigos da Terra Brasil, 2015), as explained by Roberta.

> 'We created another movement at the beginning which was "key by key" so that the government would build and deliver our houses, and then we would have a certainty that we would benefit from this urban work. But the government ran over it, started to deconstruct it, call out people and play terrorism, inducing people to give up their homes. So, it was a very wrong process from its beginning.' (Roberta)

Figure 63: Posters of the 'Key by Key' movement

Source: Comitê Popular da Copa 2014 (2012).

Although the campaign was a way of uniting the residents to defend their right to remain, information, participation, housing and immobility, Roberta's comment highlights the fragile agreement between the residents. However, these invented spaces (Miraftab, 2009), which were very emblematic among the participants, became opportune moments to challenge the status quo and react against the uncertainties and vulnerabilities caused by the mobility project. They were deepened through internal discussions, protesting and sharing of photos and videos on social media to denounce the ongoing evictions and publicise the violation of rights (De Araújo, 2014).

With the dissatisfaction of residents and community leaders with the invited spaces that were made available to them, participants noted a decay of participatory governance in Porto Alegre, particularly in terms of the Avenida Tronco project. They also recognised a progressive distrust in spaces for participation with the state apparatus through the Participatory Budgeting due to growing corruption, co-option, political control and change of mayors and parties in power. Against this backdrop, participants do not feel that they have 'a voice' in macro and micro-scale decisions anymore, including Vila Tronco's mobility demands such as street openings and paving, as illustrated by Malcom's and Cristina's quotes.

'Unfortunately, right-wing governments used the Participatory Budgeting apparatus to win the community. […] In the past, when it was a left-wing government, it was 'really' participatory budgeting. People participated and demanded asphalt, street openings and basic sanitation; and this all happened before Fogaça's government, almost 20 years ago. […] Today, nothing works anymore, today you demand asphalt, but you don't have it. People claimed community day-care, but there is no more. They demanded street openings, asphalt, everything, there is nothing today.' (Malcom)

'Our community here is unassisted because, before, there was something called Participatory Budgeting. It could not even work, but it was a medium where society believed it had a voice, where people in their citizenship rights used to mobilise and were there to speak. Today the House of the People is no longer the people's.' (Cristina)

The statements shared in this section provide an overview of the expectations of Vila Tronco's residents regarding the avenue project and signpost the weakening of spaces for participation in articulation with the state apparatus and a transition to social movements against the state. This section presented the context before the widening of Avenida Tronco and discussed the invited spaces as well as the community's efforts seeking to influence the decisions and hold back the violations of human rights. The next section then focuses on the unfolding events, spaces for participation and significance of mobility amidst the enduring Avenida Tronco project.

7.4.4.2.   The claimed spaces during the Avenida Tronco project

Despite the municipal authorities' initial plans to have the widening of Avenida Tronco completed by 2014, the project has been under construction for ten years. The construction stopped for two years, resumed in 2018 and was suspended again in 2019 (Carlosso, 2022). When the works paused in 2016, community leaders used the spaces of the Popular Tribuna of the City Council of Porto Alegre to ask for the resumption of the construction and compensation for residents waiting for reparation and housing (Egidio, 2017).

With the avenue still unfinished at the time of the investigation, Avenida Tronco represented an open wound unable to heal the violation of rights and

the evictions of more than 1,500 families still fighting for their housing rights, indemnities and permanent homes (De Araújo, 2014). The photographs shared by Monique and Augusto (Figures 64 and 65) convey their feelings of abandonment and revulsion concerning Avenida Tronco, which resembles a 'war zone' (Silveira, 2018, p.55) and deeply affects mobilities in Vila Tronco.

Figures 64 and 65: Sections of Avenida Moab Caldas in 2020

Source: Monique (2020) and Augusto (2020).

When participants reflected on their embodied mobility experiences within and outside Vila Tronco, the physical obstacles and the low quality of the public transport services and road infrastructure prevailed. Especially in regard to the mobility realities inside Vila Tronco, through the stories, photos and videos participants shared the recent evictions as well as the lack of infrastructure and daily obstacles for navigating through rubbish, low-quality paths, and construction rubble, holes on the pavement. The comments of Edinho, Yuri and Malcom illustrate this.

> 'It is very sad; it is very complicated to move. Path? There are times that for me to be able to leave the place where I am, I go through the road, in the middle of the cars.' (Edinho)

> 'The issue of being run over by motorcycles and by cars, because people are forced to walk on the road, on the curb, as the pedestrian paths are not in proper condition for use.' (Yuri)

'In this sense of infrastructure, no, there isn't. People walk between the *vilas*. It is open sewers, blown pipe, potholed asphalt; it is a general abandonment of the community.' (Malcom)

In the interviews, Avenida Tronco's project was mostly seen as a negative aspect of Vila Tronco's daily mobilities, particularly for the infrastructural problems that it created during its construction period. In the quote and figures below, Cristina brings to light that the avenue is a symbolic reminder of how much Vila Tronco residents and its internal issues are neglected by the state. The photographs taken by Cristina (Figures 66 and 67) show the infrastructural issues on the streets within Vila Tronco that have been overlooked by the authorities.

'I would take a picture of the avenue into the community as a negative thing. This leads to this question: how far does the municipal manager, the City Hall, see the community? And also trying to demonstrate that wherever the "king" goes everything is fine.' (Cristina)

Figures 66 and 67: Infrastructural issues within Vila Tronco

Source: Cristina (2020).

Also, Monique, João and Malcom noted that the avenue project not only disregards the community and its residents but also imposes a new mode of living and moving in the neighbourhood. Through the interviews and photographs, they denounced the conflict of uses engendered by the new avenue and argued that mobility also encompasses aspects of playability[53] and liveability. One example is Monique's photograph (Figure 68), which

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[53] Playability refers to the capacity that built and natural environments have to facilitate 'play and independent mobility' (Han et al., 2018, p.197).

frames children playing in the middle of the avenue and construction rubble. Her photograph also portrays a group of people using the avenue as a sitting and gathering space, reinforcing the absence of adequate public spaces in the locality.

> 'Where is a small square project for our children? Where is the project? Because for a *vila* child the courtyard is the street.' (Monique)

Figure 68: Children playing on Avenida Moab Caldas
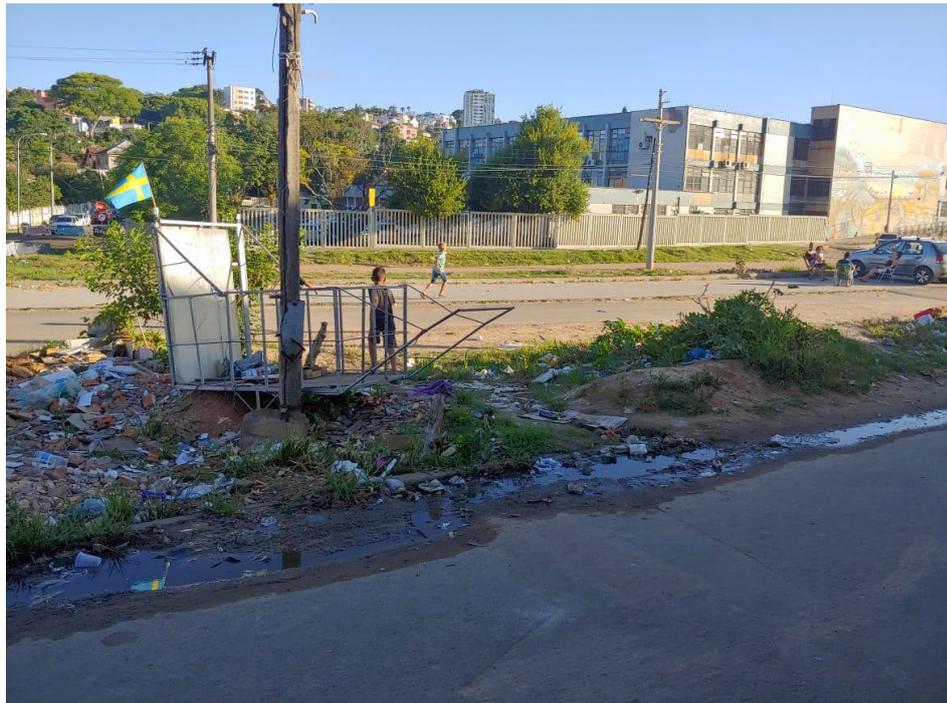
Source: Monique (2020).

> 'People make the street as if it was the extension of their residence: children two, three years old, babies playing, fighting for space with vehicles. These people seem, in fact, that they don't have this culture of coexisting with a new avenue, a street. Many lived in the back of an alley.' (João)

> 'I think that we see it [the avenue] as negative because you see the works there today, almost 13 years of work and it has not brought any benefit to the community. "Oh, it got a little prettier", fine, that's it because in fact there is no benefit for us residents, there wasn't any, there was only loss. They removed a football field, removed leisure squares from the community. Today you don't have any space for you to

sit. In the past, there were two squares and three football fields where the children played football. Today you go through this widening of Tronco and there is no space for leisure activities for the community. What we really saw was an attempt to benefit the Beira Rio games, the football games and the people who want to go to the South Zone; it would be faster for those who have a car to take the community as a detour to go to your house in the South Zone. So, we see benefits for the government, for urban mobility, not for the community; for the community itself, there was no benefit.' (Malcom)

As the quotes state, the faster speed achieved on the new avenue clashes with the original modes of living, in which residents considered the streets as the extension of people's homes, a public space for gatherings and a play spot for children. Together with the infrastructural issues, violations of rights, the loss of public spaces and the sentiments of the invisibility experienced in Vila Tronco, the project designed to offer an alternative route in the city was largely identified as a contribution to urban mobility only, instead of being a benefit for the community.

Given the loss of these public spaces, according to Matheus, claimed spaces for participation emerged during the first few years of the avenue construction. As the new avenue layout removed sports courts and public spaces that were used by community members, an initiative was developed by one of the residents' associations, together with local children. The project developed in 2013 was envisioned as an educational exercise to gather children's desires for the avenue and develop a physical model with them to communicate their ideas and wishes. By adopting a design and planning language, the project, which included bicycle lanes, sports courts and a skate park was presented to the mayor José Fortunati, as illustrated in Figure 69, but none of their proposals was incorporated into the original proposal.

'We did an activity with our children and teenagers that they built a 3D model, and, in this model, they designed the Avenida Tronco that they wanted. There was a bicycle lane that is not in Avenida Tronco; there was a skate park that is not in Avenida Tronco; and a sports court that could be in the project but was also not included. […] This project that I mentioned

to you was very nice; the City Hall even became aware of this project. We forwarded these needs, but we did not even get a response from the public authorities on it. So, nothing was done about it.' (Matheus)

Figure 69: The mayor José Fortunati and the avenue project designed by children in Vila Tronco

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2013). Photo credits: Luciano Lanes.[54]

This example illustrates a type of claimed space for participation aimed at improving urban mobility, cycling infrastructure and the residents' liveability in Vila Tronco, particularly concerning the Avenida Tronco project. Despite the interest in 'participating in planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) and having a voice in the mobility decisions that impact the neighbourhood, this claimed space did not open up room for cooperation or deliberation.

Another dimension of mobility exposed in the online photo-elicitation interviews was the intangible barriers of immobility in Vila Tronco. As argued by Monique, there are invisible barriers in the locality preventing residents and young adults from exercising the right to the city and accessing other territories within Grande Cruzeiro. Beyond accessibility, mobility also encompasses the freedom of movement and belonging.

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[54] According to the legislation in force, the use of photos produced by Agencia Porto Alegre is free.
http://bancodeimagens.procempa.com.br/visualiza.php?codImagem=113658&fbclid=IwAR0 SuIGozA7DR1KBRYcqC2ZkZ_7oUVl0X5D6RHyeoH4VQVshhJId9QX_4Ho

'These children, teenagers don't leave the *vila* anymore, because they can't leave. The moment they get involved with [drug] trafficking, they can no longer leave the community. […] I think that when we talk about urban mobility, if we don't see what immobility is, what it limits, which is not physical, it is not a physical grid, but there is a social grid, an exclusionary grid within that community.' (Monique)

In this context, participants disclosed that everyday life and (im)mobilities are constantly affected by drug factions' territorial domination and arbitrary police behaviour. While the first constrains the movement of people within the various *vilas* in Grande Cruzeiro, the latter is usually marked by fear and traces of racism, as exposed by Roberta. Therefore, accessibility and motility (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006) are not only influenced by large and small-scale mobility infrastructures and the built environment. In fact, over and above resources, competencies and infrastructures available (functioning), social factors determine mobility capabilities in Vila Tronco (Schwanen and Dixon, 2020; Sen, 1999).

'The racial issue does impact [mobilities] in a certain way because there are more black people than white ones where we live. So, we respect each other as residents, as for our skin colour, but if you go out on the avenue and there is a policeman there, who is doing their job sometimes in a very stupid way, we already feel cornered, we already feel scared. What is going to happen? What won't happen?' (Roberta)

Roberta's narrative is an embodied ethnic perspective that emphasises how mobility is not equivalent to freedom (Sheller, 2018) and how racialised groups endure internal barriers, violence and power structures that may be invisible to outsiders. Here, what is at stake is not only the capability to be mobile but also the right to move, exist and survive (Heyney, 2009; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Petrone, 2021). In this regard, participants reflected on the embodied strategies (Itaoui, Dufty-Jones and Dunn, 2021) to 'turn invisible', find protection and survive daily mobilities across racialised landscapes. The 'strategy of tactical avoidance' (Alderman and Inwood, 2016, p.607) illustrated by Yuri highlights how much a focus purely on transport infrastructure or mobility modes could disregard the valuable

significance of 'the trips that were suppressed, postponed or re-routed' (Levy, 2013b, p.26).

> 'If there is a police operation you have to think whether you will go out into the street because you could be mistaken and taken to a certain situation that is not yours.' (Yuri)

Considering the tangible and intangible aspects impacting everyday mobility in Vila Tronco, participants recognised that the right to mobility is important to them. It involves the fair distribution of transport and mobility infrastructure, the freedom of movement, the exercise of citizenship and the recognition of community members as credible agents, as explained by Cristina.

> 'Yes, mobility is important, accessibility is important, yes, the place's lighting is important and that all spaces and environments are treated with dignity, with proper hygiene; with the presence of all the development actors involved, citizenship may occur in that environment.' (Cristina)

Participants challenge what is meant by mobility and how policy ignores it. Malcom's statement, for instance, highlights the desire to have the right to dwell and immobility respected (Ritterbusch, 2019) and the harms caused by the avenue construction restored and repaired (Sheller, 2018).

> 'It [mobility] would not be essential because mobility here is just about fixing the issue of the [avenue] work. Only this, because, here, you can move around easily. Excluding the part of the work, mobility is very good. And for us here, honestly, generally speaking, it [the priority] would be housing.' (Malcom).

Unlike the residents of Favela Santa Marta, significant parts of the interviews in Vila Tronco were marked by the perception of participation as a mechanism of integration with the state and an important means for claiming demands and promoting partnerships and dialogues with public authorities (see Appendix 4 and Section 8.6 for more reflections on these meanings). Mostly linked to Porto Alegre's history of 'popular participation' and community leadership, Monique and Edinho see the mediation of community

leaders as one of the few and limited ways of exercising citizenship and participation in mobility decisions.

> 'If there isn't a community leader there to mobilise, citizenship doesn't exist. People don't even know what it means in practice. How to exercise it they don't know; it is very complicated.' (Monique)

> 'It [participation in urban mobility] would have to be the community leaders. They do the intermediation with the City Hall, but we know it is not of much use. So, we don't even try, because it is a waste of time.' (Edinho)

As Asef Bayat (1997, p.68) argues, 'the more democratic and efficient the state is, the less ground for the expansion of highly autonomous movements' and therefore, less recognition of participation as independent of the state apparatus. However, the injustices led by the state during the implementation of Avenida Tronco and the uncertainties around the Participatory Budgeting mechanisms exacerbate the disbelief that formal spaces for participation could bring justice and dignity to marginalised territories and improve mobility conditions. Malcom and Cristina indicate a scenario of demobilisation and growing distrust in public institutions and official spaces for participation in urban mobility.

> 'On the issue of mobility, it escapes from us having this power to fix things. What we can do is to try to organise the community for the fights, to claim; we gather the residents to try to claim everything that the government has the obligation to do. […] This situation is beyond our power as community leaders because the government has the "pen" [the decision power] and today the government does not want to talk to us.' (Malcom)

> 'Today? We are unable to believe it. People don't want to participate. Today, they are not heard; today they don't have the respect to be heard. People have given up; many people are discouraged from being in these spaces. They don't want to participate; they just want to survive.' (Cristina)

Cristina's statement 'people don't want to participate; they just want to survive' confirms that little is expected from spaces for participation that articulate with the state. Concerning this, the interviews demonstrate that the state itself violates the right to dwell and to move freely and fails to promote equitable urban conditions and support marginalised populations. Also,

Monique and Roberta reveal the epistemic injustices faced by marginalised communities in being discredited 'in their capacity as a giver of knowledge' (Fricker, 2007, p.7) by the state. This also links back to the tensions between formality and informality in planning and the devaluation of informal communities' knowledge and experience by the dominant power structures.

> 'I also think there is a lack of dialogue with the community: the lack of listening, the lack of thinking together. 'So, because it is a community people have nothing to tell us.' (Monique)

> 'This [the misplacement of rubbish in the community] brings to outsiders the idea that we do not wish to transmit of "ah, in a community, they live among the rubbish, they do not know anything, let's do what we want with them".' (Roberta)

Against this background, the interviews have shown an approach to participation beyond the state. Understood within the spectrum of social participation, as explained by Augusto, horizontal networks and forms of 'resistance outside the confines of formal protests' have been strengthened to improve survivability (Alderman and Inwood, 2016, p.597) and fill gaps where the state apparatus is falling short (March and Moore, 2020). In this context, social and educational mechanisms are developed by residents, community leaders and local associations seeking to share tactics for survival, discuss human rights and tackle structural social problems that, to some extent, impact their freedom of movement and right to exist.

> 'Social participation is what I see there, what the institution and other organisations do. It is an orientation; it is for the well-being of the population in general, children and adolescents in the periphery. Children and adolescents have to be part of society.' (Augusto)

Rather than seeking to improve accessibility and participate in wider mobility debates and decisions, these spaces of immaterial activism are aimed at subverting unequal social structures that could potentially prevent one from belonging in society, knowing/claiming their rights and having their freedom of movement. These claimed spaces despite the state, coupled with the decrease in trust of invited channels of participation, demonstrate the gradual transition from the understanding of participation as the direct dialogue and

integration with the state apparatus to a form of establishing their agency and enforcing citizenship rights.

7.5. Conclusions

By unpacking the invited and claimed spaces for participation concerning mobility in Porto Alegre, this chapter identified the multiple avenues within which mobility is mobilised by the municipal government, non-governmental organisations, residents and community leaders in Vila Tronco.

Porto Alegre's participatory tradition and the inclusion of participation as a legal requirement in the National Urban Mobility Policy do not seem to guarantee that all levels of society are involved in state-led mobility policy and planning. The examples in this chapter shed light on the disconnections between the spaces for participation mobilised by the authorities, at city and neighbourhood scales, NGOs and residents in marginalised and informal territories. While some invited spaces for participation were enabled in policymaking, claimed spaces, initiated by NGOs and residents in Vila Tronco, operate with distinct mobility agendas and intentions. They demonstrate the multiple roles of participation in urban mobility and the meanings attributed to mobility.

The significance of mobility found in Vila Tronco exceeds the confines of current participatory and mobility planning mechanisms. Mobility, as the freedom of movement, belonging and dwelling, was a strong component in the narratives and claimed spaces for participation outside the state. These meanings vary from the ones found in the research in Favela Santa Marta and show how the understandings of participation and mobility are contested and context-specific. They may differ according to the histories and traditions of participation, political structures in power and levels of engagement with mobility decisions at the locality. These findings are discussed further in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Comparing spaces and meanings of participation and mobility

'Social participation is exactly about occupying all possible spaces. I think that it is about getting involved, making spaces your own and then being able to positively intervene and dialogue in all spaces.' (Monique, Vila Tronco, Porto Alegre)

8.1. Introduction

After analysing the spaces for participation in mobility planning in the context of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, this chapter provides a cross-case analysis and compares the research findings. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the similarities and differences between the cases and reflect on the thesis' objectives. I review the value of the conceptual and methodological frameworks adopted in this thesis to understand the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South (Objective 1). I also reflect on the emergence, nature and dynamics of spaces for participation at national, city and neighbourhood scales (Objective 2) and bring to light the meanings and practices of participation and mobility that are important to marginalised populations (Objective 3).

Based on the themes emerging from the data, I start by reflecting on the fluidity of the spaces for participation identified in this study and evaluating the framework adopted for researching participation in mobility planning in the Global South context. I then move on to discuss the spaces for participation identified in this study and the dynamics and gaps between them. Finally, I shed light on the multiple and contested meanings of participation and mobility and explore to what extent these resonate with the academic literature.

8.2. The fluidity of spaces for participation: Reflections on the framework

In the course of this research, I looked for the spaces for participation in mobility planning with the intention to find out the meanings and roles of participation in mobility. The concept of bounded space used in the literature

(Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) helped to frame participatory practices and explore who and what mobilises these spaces, who gets involved, what is at stake, as well as who and what is left out.

In this research, I also drew on the 'staging mobilities' model developed by Ole B. Jensen (2013, 2014) to investigate the dynamics of spaces for participation in the staging mobilities and understand how mobility is planned and practised from above and below. This analytical framework was originally created by Jensen for examining how planning and institutions design mobility from above and individuals perform mobility from below. In this study, the framing 'above and below' was expanded to examine the complexities of participation within and outside official planning and dialogue with related theoretical debates in the literature (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5).

From the participation perspective, the spaces for participation and the staging mobilities framework were useful for mapping spaces for participation at national, city and neighbourhood levels and identifying the dynamics among them. As spaces for participation are constituted out of the dynamics of stakeholders and the context within which they operate, the 'staging mobilities' model made the boundaries within and outside official planning more explicit. Additionally, the framework provided space to identify the interactions (or the lack of) between those staging mobilities from above and the mobile experiences in marginalised territories. It brought to light the significance of mobility and the related spaces of action in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco.

However, as the analysis of the empirical work unfolded, the fluidity of spaces and their boundaries became evident. The boundaries around spaces and relations within them have proven to be less obvious and demarcated in practice. Although the spaces for participation could be interpreted systematically – situating closed, invited and claimed spaces as rigid components – the literature acknowledges their dynamism and indefinite boundaries. The concept of 'juxtacity' coined by Faranak Miraftab (2020) stresses the fluid and interacting relationship between seemingly oppositional spaces. The dynamism of spaces for participation was noticeable, particularly

through the openings and closures of channels for participation over time, the connections and disconnections across spaces as well as some blurred boundaries between them.

To capture the essence of participation 'together with, against and despite the state' (Souza, 2006), this thesis drew on recent Southern theories on participation and mobility to expand the scope of analysis (Sections 2.3 and 3.3). These theories helped understand what claimed spaces for participation look like in mobility planning (see Sections 8.4 and 8.5); the opportunities and limitations of invited spaces for incorporating participation in mobility planning and addressing mobility justice (Section 8.3), and the multiple meanings attributed to participation (Section 8.6).

The policy analysis of spaces for participation 'from above' indicated a growing trend toward the inclusion of public participation in Brazilian urban policy, city and mobility planning (see Chapter 5). Federal requirements sought to open the institutional boundaries of mobility planning; a field mostly dominated by top-down technocratic decisions. Nonetheless, the findings demonstrate the instability of spaces for participation at national, city and neighbourhood scales, as these are subject to favourable economic and political conditions (for instance, the transport projects and Tactical Urbanism interventions in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre). Also, the application of legally-required invited spaces (such as mobility plans, Sections 6.2 and 7.2) reveals some limitations, which I discuss in Section 8.3.

Against this backdrop, further spaces emerged seeking to open closed spaces for participation, engage with the authorities, confront them or improve mobilities despite the state (see Chapters 6 and 7). The data collected from interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews provided evidence that the 'staging mobilities from below' model involves more than just living and performing mobility. The findings demonstrate that stakeholders from below are engaging, mobilising and creating spaces of participation within and outside official planning. The various spaces involving NGOs and the residents and community leaders of Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta exemplify this and expose further complications that are not

included in the literature. The role of NGOs and the spaces mobilised at the margins are something that this research attempted to address (see Sections 8.4 and 8.5).

In what follows, I discuss the configuration of these spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning. I first look at the advances and shortcomings of invited spaces for incorporating participation and addressing mobility justice. I then reflect on the dynamics within spaces for participation mobilised by NGOs and in contexts of marginalisation.

8.3. Opportunities and limitations for incorporating participation in mobility planning and addressing mobility justice

In this thesis, invited spaces for participation were identified in mobility policy at national and state levels (Chapter 5) and planning at city and neighbourhood scales (Chapters 6 and 7). Among them, one particular kind of invited space deserves special attention. For its significance to the Brazilian context, city-scale mobility planning and broader participatory planning discussions in the mobility literature, this section reflects on the opportunities and limitations of invited spaces for incorporating participation in mobility planning and addressing mobility justice. Reference is made to the analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 that focuses on the invited spaces for participation enforced by national legal frameworks and carried out by municipal governments in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre.

Holmes and Scoones (2000, p.44) suggest that participatory experiences may have the potential for creating 'new policy discourses', 'new networks of actors' and 'new ways of talking about an issue'. Inspired by these themes, this research identifies three opportunities of invited spaces for participation in mobility planning. Firstly, the policy analysis showed that the opening of spaces for participation at national level represented a change in policy discourse in itself (as discussed in Chapter 5). Secondly, these invited spaces were animated by new networks of actors within and outside state-led mobility planning. Thirdly, the enforcement of participation led to the creation of new mechanisms of engagement and new ways of talking about mobility at

city level (see Chapters 6 and 7). In what follows, I examine these opportunities in detail and discuss the limitations associated with them.

8.3.1. New policy discourses

This section discusses the new policy discourses brought to the fore through the National Urban Mobility Policy (Brasil, 2012; 2018) and its influence on the experiences of mobility planning at municipal level.

As discussed in Chapter 5, before the National Urban Mobility Policy (PNMU) in 2012, there was no national legal requirement for public participation directly concerning mobility policy and planning at national level. This policy established 'civil society participation' as a right and an essential part of planning, monitoring and evaluating urban mobility policy. At municipal level, except for municipal master plans – which required participation since the establishment of the City Statute in 2001 – and participatory budgeting mechanisms, many transport plans, policies, projects and infrastructures were implemented as closed spaces. Transport projects implemented by the municipal and state government in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre are vivid examples of this.

With the sanction of the PNMU, municipal mobility plans became the instrument for implementing the principles and guidelines of the national urban mobility policy. To respond to the national call for public participation in mobility policy, municipal transport and mobility departments opened spaces for participation in the development of mobility plans. Therefore, the enforcement of civil society participation as an essential part of mobility policy represents a change in policy practice and discourse. It compels the democratic management of mobility policy and disrupts the traditional 'rules' of transport planning, which focus on forecasting travel demand, defining transport investments and implementing transport projects in closed spaces for participation (Martens, 2017).

However, evidence from the data (Sections 6.2 and 7.2) demonstrates that the translation of the policy rhetoric into practice at municipal level was not straightforward. In both cities, with dissimilar reputations and traditions of

engaging with public participation, municipal government professionals staging mobilities from above faced challenges when enabling invited spaces for participation. The difficulties in both contexts revolved around common questions on the essence and practicalities of creating participatory channels: what is participation for? How to do it? What to do with the participatory outcomes? The cases in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre expose the lack of familiarity of municipal transport and mobility professionals with participatory processes and a potential lack of interest in the results. The challenges experienced by them demonstrate that the strategies of governing under a participatory framework were far from clear. The findings resonate with discussions in the literature on the challenges of participation in the development and implementation of mobility and city plans in Brazil (Maranhão, Orrico Filho and Santos, 2017; Bezerra, Santos and Delmonico, 2020; Santos Júnior, 2019; Villaça, 2005).

Additionally, the national policy framework consolidates a focus on mobility beyond notions of transport and includes equity and sustainability considerations. Even though the policy does not refer to the word 'justice' in its text (Section 5.2.2.2), it establishes some aspects of transport, accessibility and infrastructural, environmental, social, deliberative, procedural and restorative justice (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019). Despite the policy discourse, based on the case of Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Mobility Plan[55], these principles remained as general guidelines in the policy framework at municipal level. Also, the policy outcomes concentrate on the new transport links for the municipality, therefore, perpetuating a focus on transport.

Another new policy discourse is attributed to the importance of mobility plans in serving 'consolidated informal urban areas' (Brasil, 2018). Unlike previous transport policies that did not establish a clear link between these two themes directly, the National Urban Mobility Policy – under an amendment act in 2018 – brought them together. Although the policy guideline is broad and

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[55] In Rio de Janeiro, the term 'sustainable' was used to describe its municipal mobility plan. On the other hand, Porto Alegre's incomplete mobility plan does not use the term with such evidence.

does not provide substantial information on how to serve mobility better in these territories, it represents a legal milestone in its own right. However, mobility plans that were under development before 2018, such as the case in Rio de Janeiro, demonstrate little engagement with these populations in its participatory workshops and policy document. Also, the interviews with municipal government professionals from transport and planning departments demonstrated little engagement with 'informal' areas and the existing institutional boundaries that would make these connections more complex. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the enduring division between 'formal' and 'informal' cities persists, particularly in the context of mobility planning. The investigation with residents of Favela Santa Marta exposed these disjunctions even further (see Section 8.5 for more reflections on this).

In contrast to Rio de Janeiro's case, this dichotomy was not so evident in Porto Alegre. In the latter, the municipal professionals demonstrated more familiarity and engagement with the obstacles to mobility in the peripheries. For instance, the participatory workshops of the mobility plan approached these spaces more closely (Section 7.2.1.2). The policy instituting Porto Alegre's mobility plan had not been sanctioned at the time of the investigation, making it impossible to investigate the translation of these activities into policy outcomes. Nonetheless, the research in Vila Tronco drew attention to the limited scope of these spaces in the *vilas* (see Section 8.5).

Despite these challenges and limitations, new networks of actors emerged from the dynamics of mobility plans in both cities and influenced the creation of new mechanisms of engagement. More details on the influence of the new networks of actors on the course of mobility plans are presented in the following section.

8.3.2. New networks of actors

The research identified an interesting similarity between the dynamics of mobility plans in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre: both invited spaces were supported by stakeholders from outside the boundaries of mobility planning before, during and after their closure. Unlike 'hidden' forms of participation, where the elite and middle-class individuals exert power and influence in

public policies and decisions within closed spaces (Vasconcellos, 2001), a new network of actors was established within mobility plans' invited spaces. These networks were formed by municipal government professionals from different departments as well as local and supranational NGOs. The first type of network was established between municipal government professionals in transport and governance departments within the same institution. As shown in Chapters 6 and 7, with the challenges experienced by transport departments' professionals in opening participation, the Laboratory of Participation of Rio de Janeiro (Lab.Rio) and the Municipal Department of Institutional Relations (SMRI) in Porto Alegre played a critical role in instrumenting the participatory activities in both cities.

Also, NGOs with different compositions and motivations animated this and other invited spaces for participation. In both case studies, these NGOs were not simply participants of the in-person workshops and digital consultation tools available for local populations. In fact, their participation influenced 'the rules of the game', as highlighted by Martens (2005, p.3), before, during and after the curtain of invited spaces was closed. As exemplified by the case in Porto Alegre, a supranational non-governmental organisation provided training on the delivery of participatory mobility plans to the municipal professionals and assisted them at the early stages of the process (Section 7.2). In Rio de Janeiro (Section 6.2), alongside the supranational NGOs, a local NGO that works in the peripheries also actively engaged and supported the development of some participatory activities that are further discussed in Section 8.3.3.

Despite the potential of civil society organisations in promoting new reflections from below, as anticipated by Eduardo Vasconcellos (2014), and of different public entities in strengthening invited spaces for participation and forming new networks of actors engaging with the municipal transport departments, some limitations remain. The findings indicate that these interactions alone do not fully transform patterns of exclusion or address the vulnerabilities and underestimated knowledge of marginalised populations. The research has shown that these networks perpetuate the power dynamics of dominant groups, particularly the ones holding technical and 'expert'

knowledge. Meanwhile, the mobility struggles of underprivileged populations, such as Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco, remain excluded from mobility planning debates and decisions, as argued by Villaça (2005) in discussions around the limitations of participation in planning in Brazil. Residents, community leaders and favela organisations fill these network gaps by claiming and inventing alternative spaces to survive the obstacles to everyday mobility.

Despite these limitations, the opening of participation in mobility planning represented a shift from previous policies and practices in transport departments in both cities. To discuss this in more detail, the next section reflects on the new mechanisms of engagement in the development of municipal mobility plans, based on the experience of Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro.

8.3.3. New mechanisms of engagement: Fairer outcomes?

Despite the challenges in opening participation exposed earlier in section 8.3.1, the findings indicate an attempt of municipal transport departments to adopt new mechanisms of engagement with local populations (see Chapters 6 and 7). They go beyond the traditional public hearing spaces stated in national policies (Brasil, 2001; 2012) and invite participation through potentially more dynamic and encouraging means such as in-person workshops and digital platforms.

However, some limitations could be observed in the process and outcomes of these invited spaces in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. As demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7, some shortcomings identified in the invited spaces created for the development of mobility plans in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre have long been argued in the participatory planning literature. One limitation relates to the nature and content of the activities available in these invited spaces. The findings suggest that the digital spaces and in-person discussions may unintentionally limit the participation of older adults and low-income groups who do not have access to technology and are not usually provided with opportunities to get involved with debates on mobility or policy (Comelli and Amorim, 2019). The case studies showed that participatory

activities can be time-consuming for the people invited (as well as for the initiators) and that the language employed in these spaces – such as policy texts, mapping and drawings – may not be familiar to local populations (Pløger, 2001).

Additionally, the spaces available for participation were temporally and subject bounded. While invited spaces were made available, transport guidelines and projects were being oriented and implemented in closed spaces. In fact, these invited spaces functioned more as spaces for discussion and communication than opportunities for devolving power and providing room for deliberation. They remained limited to spaces of tokenism and legitimacy of the authority's ideas, objectives and powers (Miraftab, 2009; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Gaventa, 2005). The policy outcomes of Rio de Janeiro's mobility plan, for instance, have shown that the PMUS' proposed transport networks were aligned with the government's interests (Section 6.2.1.3). In this context, spaces for participation only tinkered with 'the margins of already-decided solutions' (Cornwall, 2002, p.18), remaining as spaces for the legitimation of ideas and reformism unable to challenge the politics of decision-making (Vasconcellos, 2001). Also, the 'playful' setting of participatory workshops and their spaces for discussion become a beneficial mechanism for the government to control demands and avoid conflict with participants, as exemplified by the case of Porto Alegre. In the latter, also due to the generic nature of mobility plans, participation represents 'a box to be checked' (Thorpe, 2017, p.569).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the case for participation in transport and mobility planning brings to light the need for more democratic and just decisions, planning and policies (Banister, 2008; Sheller, 2018; Verlinghieri, 2019; Fouracre, Sohail and Cavill, 2006; Vigar, 2017). However, the findings support the view that forms of participation in planning 'are not always inclusive, fair and distributive' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019, p.158). These spaces yet remain as mere mechanisms of consultation and legitimisation of governments' interests that make engagement with marginalised groups and their mobility issues difficult (Villaça, 2005). In parallel, outside the official planning realm, there are populations, mobility struggles and spaces for

participation constantly being invented and mobilised by 'the logic of survival' (Watson, 2009) that challenge the very notion of participation. Before looking at these contested notions of participation and mobility based on the perspectives of the research participants (Section 8.6), in what follows, I discuss the dynamics of spaces mobilised by NGOs and residents of the case neighbourhoods.

8.4. The role of NGOs in staging mobilities from above and below

In the search for spaces for participation within and outside official mobility planning, this study identified a constellation of spaces mobilised by NGOs in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. The growing number of NGOs that devote their work directly or indirectly to issues of mobility in Brazil led me to ask how they create and navigate across spaces for participation and whether marginalised populations engage with them.

The research identified several mobility-driven civil society organisations and academic institutions that collaborate with them in the case study sites. The NGOs interviewed in this study emerged in the 2000s, a period marked by neoliberal policies and the rise of the so-called 'third sector' (Yacobi, 2007; Gohn, 2013). With diffuse focus and strategies, their spaces of action mobilise issues of mobility justice and sustainability at neighbourhood, city and nationwide scales. They represent attempts to defend equal access and safety for cyclists, pedestrians and public transport users in central and peripheral areas as well as mobility rights for women, the elderly, people with disabilities and ethnic minorities.

These NGOs in themselves configure 'new spaces for participation', as noted by Andrea Cornwall (2002, p.13), formed by activists, professionals, researchers and pedestrians, cyclists and public transport users in central and peripheral areas. These spaces expand Jensen's (2013, 2014) analytical model as they demonstrate further complicators in staging mobilities from above and below. The data has shown that they often involve collaboration with civil society, academia and public and private sectors (Álvarez-Gortari, Mihessen and Spencer, 2020) and seek to mediate and build 'bridges' between civil society and the state (see Chapters 6 and 7).

As demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7, some NGOs in this study make use of channels recognised by those staging mobilities from above and navigate across spaces in a very fluid manner. The boundaries between 'above' and 'below' become blurred making it difficult to identify the point where one starts and the other finishes. The engagement with mobility plans and small-scale projects in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (Sections 6.2, 6.3, 7.2 and 7.3) and with policy advocacy at the national scale (Section 5.3.2) exemplifies how some NGOs integrate the politics of state-led mobility policy and planning.

It is no coincidence that NGOs that engage more with the state are funded by, as Miraftab (2020, p.437) calls them, 'institutions of power', such as international donor organisations and national banks, which often value a certain kind of space for participation with the state and have a particular policy agenda or interest. Also, these NGOs are formed by professionals whose technical knowledge (Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018) becomes a powerful advocacy tool (Yacobi, 2007) for extending the limits and temporal boundaries of spaces for participation with the state apparatus (such as ITDP and WRI). Invited spaces with the support of NGOs are opened not only to contend, incorporate or control certain movements but to allow room for 'expert' cooperation. NGO-initiated claimed spaces also nourish these enduring interactions by the use of toned-down language and avoidance of tactics that directly confront the state (Sections 6.3 and 7.3). Therefore, the proximity with governmental spaces becomes a 'double-edged sword' as, while it allows room for influence, the NGOs' language and forms of action are confined to the limits tolerated by the state powers (Gordon, 2008, p.35). After all, the state controls and defines what should or should not integrate its strategies, actions and spaces (Foucault, 1980; Rolfe, 2018).

However, the findings indicate that not all mobility-related NGOs blur the boundaries between 'above' and 'below' nor engage with the state apparatus to the same extent. While some NGOs are closer to the state apparatus than others (Gordon, 2008) and reproduce 'new geographies of exclusions' (Yacobi, 2007, p.756), the research identified a range of NGOs with different missions and forms of action that have sought to address the limits of

mobility planning. The strategies revolve around monitoring public policies, expenditure and actions, capacity building, information dissemination, and developing proposals and campaigns for healthy, sustainable and just cities and mobilities (see Sections 5.3.2, 6.3 and 7.3). While some NGOs endeavour to encourage active mobility to the public through publications, courses and live events, others adopt planning language and knowledge (Yacobi, 2007) as advocacy tools to challenge the status quo. The latter seek to raise awareness of the lack of public policy, projects and infrastructures enforcing the quality and safety of mobilities and the inadequacy of mobility planning in addressing the mobility inequalities in the peripheries (Álvarez-Gortari, Mihessen and Spencer, 2020).

Overall, these examples support the view that these NGOs play a significant role in advancing debates for more democratic, sustainable and just mobilities and cities within and outside the institutional planning boundaries (Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Vasconcellos, 2014; Verlinghieri, 2019). However, the research has identified shortcomings that add nuance to this, particularly concerning the mobility challenges in the context of Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco. In both contexts, the research has identified that critical violations of mobility justice experienced by local populations have little expression in the work of NGOs. To understand the possible reasons for this disjunction, the next section reflects on the dynamics of spaces for participation mobilised by marginalised populations and their movement across invited and claimed spaces.

8.5. The movement across invited, invented and claimed spaces by marginalised populations

As discussed in Chapter 3, most of the mobility literature on participation relates to participation in invited spaces for participation. It does not provide a comprehensive basis for unpacking the complexities of participation beyond the confines of institutional planning, particularly the ones created by marginalised groups. While organised social movements and actions mobilised by non-governmental organisations have been increasingly brought to the fore in participatory debates for engaging and/or impacting

decisions and mobility planning (Vasconcellos, 2014; Nixon and Schwanen, 2019; Sosa Lopez and Montero, 2018; Verlinghieri, 2019), little is discussed about whether and how marginalised populations exercise participation concerning mobility. The focus on the forms of engagement with the authorities risks valuing invited spaces as the 'proper' channels for participation (Miraftab, 2020, p.437) and missing out on the voices, practices and achievements of the subaltern groups (Perera, 2009).

Due to the different contexts and trajectories of Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta, the comparison of case study neighbourhoods was complex. Nonetheless, some similarities and differences can be pointed out. One similarity was that the findings support Miraftab's arguments that defend a non-binary articulation between invited and invented spaces. While invited spaces of participation stand for the channels within which the state 'wishes to contain grassroots claims', 'invented spaces' directly confront the authorities to challenge the status quo (Miraftab, 2020, p.437). Indeed, the practices of marginalised groups in the case studies reveal movements across spaces 'as necessary to advance their struggle' (Miraftab, 2020, p.434). In both case study sites, the research encountered different degrees of movement across closed, invited, invented and claimed spaces. The boundaries between them become blurry due to fluid connections with the state and the agile movement across spaces.

The research in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta demonstrated the different ways in which marginalised populations reinvent, occupy and take advantage of spaces available to them to secure the right to mobility and to remain for themselves. The cases have shown the engagement of residents, community leaders and *vila* organisations[56] within spaces for participation recognised by the authorities alongside 'spaces of their own choosing' (Cornwall, 2002, p.17). The following paragraphs provide an illustration of this.

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[56] Most favela and *vila* organisations in this study were founded years prior to the 2000s with different purposes such as educational, sport, cultural and community support.

As shown in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4), the case of Vila Tronco in Porto Alegre shows an unsuccessful attempt of residents and community leaders to change the course of a PAC Mobility project that negatively affects the locality. Since 2012, the widening of Avenida Tronco, called Avenida Moab Caldas at the time of the investigation, represents a 'conflictual' (Vainer, 2018) transport project that seeks to improve the city's interior connections but does it through evictions and inadequate planning and housing measures. Although the community leaders in Vila Tronco were familiar with the participatory structures in Porto Alegre, particularly with participatory budgeting mechanisms operating in the city since 1989, there has been little scope to stop or change the avenue project. The study suggests that the knowledge and experiences obtained 'through' (Mitlin, 2021) existing spaces for participation in governance – such as the participatory budgeting ones – fuelled actions, particularly mobilised by residents, community leaders and residents' associations, reacting against the municipal government.

The invited and claimed spaces were various and ranged from resettlement negotiations to proposals for the avenue layout and anti-eviction campaigns. These spaces were initiated by a local organisation, residents, community leaders and activists. Meetings and negotiations between municipal authorities, residents and community leaders symbolise the invited spaces taking place at the locality and the city council with very little room for deliberation or modification of the avenue layout. Proposals for the avenue layout, created by the residents and *vila* associations, manifested their claims for the right to participate in mobility planning, particularly in projects that affect their lives. Also, invented (Miraftab, 2020) and 'reactive' strategies (Vasconcellos, 2001, p.81) sought to confront the state and the status quo and denounce the violation of rights and forced displacement. These insurgent spaces (Miraftab, 2009; 2020) made their struggles visible to themselves and the state while spaces of contention (invited spaces) were opened by the municipal government.

Overall, the residents' and community leaders' efforts represent a form of 'participation as planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) that uses legal and planning language to claim restorative justice (Sheller, 2018), the right to

im(mobility) and to remain and to dwell (Ritterbusch, 2019). With the sense of failure coupled with the political instability and growing distrust in public institutions, residents and community leaders increasingly felt discouraged from engaging in invited or claimed spaces.

The case of Favela Santa Marta tells a different story. Although Santa Marta was not originally part of PAC Urbanisation of Precarious Settlements' scope in Rio de Janeiro, the state government invested in housing, urban and transport projects at the locality. Nonetheless, the reasoning for this selection is not well documented in the literature (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4). The interviews with residents of Favela Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro and a state government professional demonstrated that the urbanisation projects in the locality were driven by the agency of community leaders who claimed urban improvements from municipal and state governments through 'peaceful means' (Vasconcellos, 2001, p.81). The urban project implemented by the state government in 2008, which included mobility infrastructures in its scope – funicular, ramps and staircase improvements – was made possible by a favourable economic and political context mobilised by the state's interests in preparation for the mega-events. This project was aligned with state intentions in placing Rio de Janeiro's first Peacekeeping Police Unit in the locality and promoting the image of safety associated with favelas. In the eyes of one community leader in Favela Santa Marta, this opening was motivated by the state government's interest in enticing electors in the locality and setting it up as a 'model favela'. However, this opening did not mean that spaces for deliberation were enabled in the development and execution of the project. Invited spaces were indeed opened but remained limited to spaces of control and tokenism. Yet the project and its invited and claimed spaces represented 'the most democratic process' witnessed by one community leader (Section 6.4). Nonetheless, as the literature suggests, the same participatory feeling has not been documented in other experiences of transport projects in favelas in Rio de Janeiro that started as closed or invited spaces (see the case of Complexo do Alemão and Rocinha in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.2).

Despite the experience in Santa Marta and its claimed and invited spaces, Chapter 6 showed that participation was perceived otherwise by some participants, particularly due to the distancing of the state from the urban issues in favelas, before and after the urbanisation project (see Section 8.3). This study has shown that people's mobility and 'dignity' in the steepest favela of Rio de Janeiro were indeed improved after the funicular and concrete staircases were implemented. However, episodes of violence, arbitrary police behaviour and long-lasting accessibility and sanitation issues hinder residents' everyday 'right to come and go', forcing them to mobilise individual and collective strategies and routine manoeuvres to overcome them. These practices are exemplified by the everyday spaces of material and immaterial activism that are continually reinvented through self-built practices, solidarity networks, awareness building and campaigning (see Section 6.4.4.2). In this vein, participation becomes the very practice of planning (Frediani and Cociña, 2019): the engagement of residents seeking to autonomously organise and alleviate people's lives and mobilities within the neighbourhood. While some claim participation in planning, others perform participation as a way to 'practice rights to dignified life from below' (Miraftab, 2020, p.436) and respond to the inadequacy of planning in acknowledging the mobility injustices in the favela (claimed spaces *of* participation). The findings add nuance to the spaces for participation approach to the extent to which these populations also create silent and less radical spaces to survive inequalities as claimed spaces produced by the very practice of participation.

The silent and autonomous movements (Bayat, 1997) found in Favela Santa Marta are rarely documented in the mobility planning literature as forms of participation. These 'ordinary acts' are less concerned about 'directly' challenging power structures and the supremacy of the authorities (like the invented spaces) but have the aim of 'finding their way through' and improving livelihood (Perera, 2009, p.55). These spaces chime with the term 'contested spaces' developed by Perera (2009, p.55), where subaltern groups act 'behind the backs of the authorities', as well as with the idea of 'third spaces' (Gaventa, 2005). The 'third spaces' highlight the rejection of

hegemonic spaces and the creation of 'natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist' (ibid, p.12). These approaches capture the forms of participation that are 'less effective' or that navigate within the neighbourhood scale, from one household to the other (Mitlin, 2021).

What is also surprising is that these 'alternative' spaces were perceived not only through their practices but also through the participants' views on participation. In fact, the research brings to light a multiplicity of meanings that say much about the roles of participation and mobility in practice. The investigation also highlights the junctions and disjunctions between the spaces for participation and notions of mobility justice mobilised in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta, in the work of NGOs and the invited spaces in mobility planning. I discuss these multiple meanings in the following section.

8.6. The fuzziness of participation and mobility

In this research, the findings from the investigation in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (Chapters 6 and 7) exposed the multiple and contested meanings of participation and mobility (Appendix 4). These 'fuzzy' notions convey how different societal actors perceive the role of participation in mobility planning and the significance of participation and mobility in contexts of marginalisation.

In this thesis, I borrow the term 'fuzzy' to highlight the multivalence of participation and mobility in practice. The word 'fuzzy' has been used in the literature to evoke the multiplicity and fluidity of notions and goals of planning systems (Porter and de Roo, 2007) and to describe the various meanings and denotations associated with mobility (Kwan and Schwanen, 2016, p.244; Da Silva, Costa and Macedo, 2008). I explore this fuzziness to understand the diverse notions of participation in the context of mobility.

8.6.1. Participation

As discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, over the years, participation has been the focus of numerous debates in different fields, including development studies, planning and, more recently, transport and mobility studies. Enduring

approaches have praised participation as a stepping-stone for democracy, inclusion, justice and sustainability and focused on ways to address these 'fuzzy' goals in theory and practice (Porter and de Roo, 2007). With different traditions, communicative, collaborative, agonistic, post-collaborative and insurgent planning approaches engaged with varied notions and roles of participation. Critical reflections from the Global North and South have increasingly questioned its focus, purposes, motivations, initiators, mechanisms, power dynamics and desired/actual outcomes (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005; Miraftab, 2009, 2020). Particularly concerning participation in planning, scholars have criticised collaborative and communicative approaches that mask power asymmetries, conflict, forms of manipulation, tokenism, social control and legitimisation of dominant interests (Pløger, 2001; Brownill and Carpenter, 2007; Arnstein, 1969, Miraftab, 2020; Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Moreover, notions of participation have been contested, particularly in the context of the Global South (Frediani and Cociña, 2019; Miraftab, 2020; Thorpe, 2017). The Southern turn in planning theory brings informality to the centre of urban debates (Roy, 2011; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004) and widens the spectrum of participation. Planning literature has paid attention to the strategies and forms of participation mobilised by marginalised populations and grassroots groups. Notions of 'participation as planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) and 'insurgent planning' (Miraftab, 2009; 2020), for instance, have reflected on the strategies of the South responding to the limitations of planning and the state apparatus and/or challenging the status quo as the very practice of planning with, despite or against the state (Souza, 2006).

These dissimilar theoretical stances inspired this study to widen the spectrum of participation and ask: what is participation for? What does participation mean to different groups? (See research questions in Section 1.3). Especially after the participatory turn in mobility studies and the context of Brazil, the meanings of participation and mobility were explored in detail. Considering the recognition of the different languages, contexts of experience and interests between planners and local populations (Pløger, 2001), the

research investigated the meaning-making of participation to those staging mobilities from above and below.

The data collected from the interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews demonstrated that participation is a 'fuzzy' and contested term. Different groups appreciated participation differently and revealed multiple meanings attached to it. Within the multiple meanings, a key finding is that participation is conceptualised differently by different actors. For most individuals staging mobilities from above (municipal and state government professionals), NGO actors and academics, participation is about reaching consensus, communicating and validating ideas, gaining legitimacy and collaborating in macro decisions. For the residents and community leaders in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta, participation is also about assisting the community and filling gaps left by the state. These different views are carried into the spaces for participation and influence how participation is conceptualised in the context of mobility. I delve into the various notions of participation below.

Despite the dissimilar traditions of participatory governance experienced in Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro, no substantial difference was observed in the responses of the municipal and state government professionals. In the interviews, they referred to participation as collaboration and a means of communication between planners and local populations. Even without consensus on a single definition, the responses exposed a pattern that recognises participation as a process of 'collective construction', debate and 'exchange'. It illustrates how 'public participation as collaboration' is still a 'hot topic' in planning practice (Pløger, 2001, p.220), particularly in the context of mobility planning. The respondents frequently referred to participation as an instrument for the authorities to 'listen', 'map' and 'understand' a phenomenon – people's problems – and to find 'solutions based on technical knowledge' (see Sections 6.2 and 7.2). The answers make visible the value given to people's needs over desires and the prevalence of technical rationality and knowledge in defining and justifying what is a need (Vasconcellos, 2011) and a 'proper' solution. These notions speak to Banister's (2008) idea of participation as an instrument to reach sustainable mobility and also expose the 'supremacy of the authorities' (Perera, 2009,

p.55) over the local population's ways of knowing and contexts of experience. They bring to light a view of participation that neglects conflict and sees it as an instrument of consultation, control, validation and public acceptability of decisions from above (Verlinghieri, 2019).

Nonetheless, for a few members of municipal authorities, NGOs and academics, participation had a more 'transformative' perspective (White, 1996). It meant the right of local populations to pressure, enforce and directly affect policies from below. Although embedded in similar notions of collaboration, the responses from NGOs and academics widened this transformative spectrum of participation to encompass the value of influencing decisions and policymaking based on the desires, points of view and knowledge of local populations. For representatives of NGOs, for instance, the deliberative aspect of participation was recognised as a key process through which society can have a voice, contribute to decisions and be 'represented within the legal universe' (see Sections 6.3 and 7.3). These notions criticise spaces for participation limited to tokenism, highlight the 'active-propositional approach' of these organisations (Gohn, 2013, p.250) and expose issues of representation (Cornwall, 2002). While their perspectives valued experiential knowledge (Vigar, 2017) and recognised the 'experts' as the ones staging mobilities from below, rather than the authorities or planners, they also gave prominence to the NGOs' role in speaking for society or certain groups – such as cyclists, pedestrians, public transport users or whole communities. Although sharing different views on participation from the aforementioned NGOs, to some extent, favela and *vila* organisations also consider themselves 'mediators'. This brings to light embedded myths that particular individuals, leaders or associations are able to represent heterogeneous groups and communities.

The findings from the research in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta demonstrate that more than half of the residents and community leaders interpreted participation beyond collaborative and communicative approaches (Sections 6.4 and 7.4). While some participants considered participation a means to have a voice, dialogue and negotiate with the state, other notions of participation emerged. Within different contexts and

narratives, participation represented a meaningful way to assist the community, fill in gaps left by the state and act outside official planning. This notion correlates with contemporary definitions and approaches to participation that also see participation as the activity through which less powerful groups contribute to decisions and/or developments that affect their life (Thorpe, 2017; Gaventa, 2005; Frediani and Cociña, 2019). These different meanings provide evidence of how the multivalence of participation is perceived in contexts of marginalisation and also bring to light a feature of participation little explored in the mobility literature and recognised in mobility planning.

The perspectives of participation as 'what residents do' (see page 206) are carried into the spaces for participation mobilised by residents and community leaders in Vila Tronco and Santa Marta (see Section 8.5) and demonstrate what is considered important in mobility planning. Also, these notions subtly denounce the exclusions, epistemic injustices and inability of marginalised populations to access and contribute to more 'formal' spaces for participation. In Vila Tronco, for instance, an insurgent approach was identified among the respondents, who exposed the need to 'collectively fight against difficulties' through complaining and protesting as a way to claim changes and confront the authorities (Miraftab, 2009). In the narratives, this reactive approach was witnessed against a mobility infrastructure (staged from above) that neglected and displaced local populations (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4). It also chimes with the kind of claimed spaces mobilised by the residents and community leaders in the context of mobility. Additionally, participation meant mobilising spaces outside institutional areas where local actors offer 'guidance and well-being', create 'awareness', promote a dialogue 'inside the community' and establish 'horizontal governance' (Friendly and Stiphany, 2019). These perspectives resonate with the social and educational efforts developed by the residents and community leaders that subtly seek to build awareness of the right to mobility and immobility.

For the majority of participants in Favela Santa Marta, participation had a less confronting approach. It meant 'getting together and doing things that the residents can do themselves', as exemplified by hands-on task forces

and internal campaigns and spaces for debate (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4). Respondents recognised the lack of attention from the government and the need to get together 'to survive and live a dignified life' (Bayat, 1997, p.58). The meanings of participation amplified the motto shared among residents: 'together we are strong' (*juntos somos fortes*) (see page 202). These notions refer to participation as a means and an end in itself that continuously 'transforms people's reality and their sense of it' (White, 1996, p.9). These notions also resonate with the material and immaterial strategies mobilised by the residents seeking to improve everyday mobilities in Favela Santa Marta.

The connotations of participation 'despite the state' (Souza, 2006) dialogue with Gaventa's (2005, p.12) concept of 'third spaces where social actors reject hegemonic space and create spaces for themselves'. They illustrate how marginalised groups seek to claim their 'dignified life from below' and practice solidarity as a form of participation (Miraftab, 2020, p.436). This exposes a condition of informality that challenges the legitimacy of the state (Roy, 2011) as, in their eyes, participation does not have to scale 'up' to be worthwhile; it also scales 'within', from one household to the other, or 'out', from one neighbourhood to the other (Mitlin, 2021).

In summary, the findings reveal how notions of participation vary between contexts and actors, such as governmental professionals, representatives of NGOs, academics and marginalised populations. While powerful groups mostly see it as means of inclusion in the strategies of governing, the 'subaltern' (Spivak, 2010) perceives and practices participation as 'spaces of power' (Miraftab, 2020, p.436) and tactics of 'survival' (Watson, 2009). These groups also expressed different meanings attributed to mobility. A more detailed account of the various notions of mobility is discussed in the following section.

8.6.2. Mobility

Taking into account the 'fuzzy' notions of mobility anticipated by the literature review (Chapter 3), the research also explored the meanings of mobility to actors staging mobilities from above and below. Mobility *per se* embeds the

various tangible and intangible aspects of physical, potential, forced and blocked movement (Sheller, 2018; Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006). When linked to broad terms such as sustainability and justice, definitions become even fuzzier. The literature notes that sustainable mobility is absent of a 'universally agreed-upon definition' (Zegras, 2011, p.570) and mobility justice is a concept that has been open to conceptualisations and interpretations (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019). Therefore, I also asked participants about their understandings of sustainable and just mobility in the interviews and online photo-elicitation interviews. The findings presented in Chapters 6 and 7 indicate that mobility, instead of having a specific meaning, was open to different interpretations, contexts and everyday experiences of different actors.

Starting from the findings from the interviews, little difference was found in the responses from municipal and state government professionals, representatives of NGOs and academics in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre (Sections 6.2, 6.3, 7.2 and 7.3). In their narratives, the meanings of sustainable and just mobility revolved around some of the themes anticipated by Sheller (2018) and Cook and Butz (2019) such as transport justice and urban accessibility and deliberative, environmental, spatial and infrastructural justice. The responses also recognised the issues of affordability and the vulnerabilities of women, ethnic groups and the elderly impacting mobility and accessibility (Sheller, 2018).

Sheller's (2018) and Cook and Butz's (2019) approaches to mobility justice (see Section 3.2.3) were useful for analysing the diverse themes embedded in definitions of sustainable and just mobility given by different stakeholders (Appendix 4). However, the authors' contributions did not cover all considerations of mobility justice (and participation) found in Vila Tronco and Favela Santa Marta. The narratives of residents and community leaders added nuance to these themes. These meanings were further unpacked when the participants reflected on their everyday mobility practices (Sections 6.4 and 7.4). With the impossibility of being co-present and experiencing mobility with the participants, the online photo-elicitation interviews provided a means to apprehend the fine-grained detail of feelings and meanings of

mobility practices and their tangible and intangible implications for daily life. The combination of an interview setting with photographs and videos produced by the participants not only captured the present aspects of their everyday mobility but also evoked a sense of what it was like to stage mobilities from below (Jensen, 2013; 2014) in both contexts. Both past and present experiences of mobility influenced the notions of sustainable and just mobility that I discuss next.

Without consensus on a specific meaning, the notion of sustainable mobility was linked to environmental dimensions of justice, such as the ability to move without harming the environment. Despite the recognition that the local populations in both contexts already make use of more sustainable modes of transport – walking, cycling and public transport – some participants noted that sustainable mobility is not found in their neighbourhoods. This perspective exposes an idea of sustainability that evidences the sense of abandonment from the state apparatus in promoting continuous support for more sustainable and healthy livelihoods and mobilities in marginalised territories. Like the notions of citizenship developed by Holston (2009), Miraftab (2009), Cresswell (2013) and Vasconcellos (2014), sustainable mobility was seen as a right and means that are not fully experienced in the case study sites.

This notion unfolded in the views of mobility justice as 'dignity' which represents a moral quality that instils respect and self-worth awareness (see Section 6.4.4.1). Participants recognise there are some rights that they are not able to exercise, such as even mobility conditions 'between the favela and the other areas of the city'. The meanings and experiences of uneven mobility practices were further explored in the narratives, photographs and videos about how participants stage mobilities, perceive participation and whether, how and why they 'get together'.

Although gender issues did not come up as strongly as the mobility literature suggests (Raje, 2007a; Lucas, 2012; Levy, 2013a; Hanson, 2010; Duarte, Oviedo and Pinto, 2021), the notions of mobility in contexts of marginalisation were embedded in an ethnic perspective. These views exposed the

vulnerability of black groups in experiencing everyday mobilities and exercising the right to remain in place. Drawing on the mobility practices in Favela Santa Marta, for instance, participants reflected on the aspects hindering the residents' 'right to come and go' (see Section 6.4 for more details). These obstacles were entangled with tangible – mobility infrastructures, sewage and exposure to accidents and unhealthy environments – and intangible – racism, violence and arbitrary police behaviour – mobility issues. These barriers reinforce the idea that centrality and accessibility to public transport infrastructures and services do not mean sustainable and just mobility for all. Participants brought to light the everyday tactics internally mobilised that seek to improve the accessibility and freedom of movement of residents within and beyond the locality. These spaces resonate with the definition of participation as a way of 'getting together' and doing things that the 'residents can do themselves' and improving mobilities while filling gaps left by the state.

Notions of mobility justice were widened in the narratives of residents and community leaders in Vila Tronco who associated it with playability (page 243), 'the right to remain' and dwell (Ritterbusch, 2019), the freedom of movement (in the context of drug trafficking domination) as well as aspects of deliberative and restorative justice (Sheller, 2018) (see Section 7.4 for more details). For them, mobility justice also meant having a say and an active role in the development of mobility infrastructures that impact the neighbourhood. This links with definitions of participation as an instrument of negotiation with the state and contestation against it concerning what affects mobility, forced mobility and immobility.

The findings from the investigation of mobility practices of marginalised populations expanded the spectrum of mobility to encompass what defines and constrains movement as well as what motivates action. Despite the restrictions that prevented in-person interactions with the participants, the combination of online interviewing and visual materials produced by them, such as photographs and videos, was valuable. They offered the possibility of remotely engaging with people's mobility and demonstrated the value of more 'conventional methods' in the social sciences to mobilities research

(Merriman, 2014, p.180). Although photographs and videos offer a selective view of the world (Higgott and Wray, 2016), the visual materials not only complemented the verbal responses to the interview questions but also represented the participants' viewpoints in a more meaningful way. The methodological contribution of this piece of research reinforces Merriman's (2014) suggestion that mobility research does not have to be performative and that adopting mobile methods, for instance, does not necessarily produce 'more effective' results.

Overall, the findings support the views in the literature that suggest that definitions of mobility are not confined to the simple movement from A to B (Cresswell, 2006; Jensen, 2013). In fact, they encompass the potential and blocked movement (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006), the suppressed trips (Levy, 2013b) as well as the right to remain (Ritterbusch, 2019), move, exist and survive (Heyney, 2009; Santini, Santarém and Albergaria, 2021; Petrone, 2021). This research has also demonstrated that these multiple notions of mobility are mobilised, contested, improved and planned through diverse and fluid (and sometimes exclusionary) spaces for participation. The meanings of mobility and participation are not limited to those disclosed in this thesis. Their value is to demonstrate how these notions vary across the actors staging mobilities from above and below.

8.7. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the findings resulting from policy analysis, interviews with municipal and state government professionals and representatives of non-governmental organisations in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and online photo-elicitation interviews with residents and community leaders in Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco. In this cross-case analysis, I reflected on the nature and dynamics across spaces for participation in mobility planning, the meanings attributed to participation and mobility as well as the value of the conceptual framework and methodology adopted in this research. The chapter has shown that the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) together with the staging mobilities framework (Jensen, 2013; 2014) were valuable for the

analysis but needed to be expanded to capture the complexities of participation and mobility planning in the Global South.

The dynamics within closed, invited and claimed spaces, above and below, were demonstrated to be fluid in practice. Nonetheless, not all movements across spaces for participation are the same. Some are limited and exclusionary. For instance, the research has identified the porous boundaries of invited spaces for participation in state-led mobility planning. These invited spaces showed opportunities for promoting new ways of talking about mobility, new mechanisms for engaging public participation and new networks of actors. While international NGOs occupy the interstices and integrate the state apparatus, other groups remain excluded or unable to exercise such influence. As a result, local NGOs practice participation as a way to challenge the limitations of mobility planning, while marginalised groups navigate across invited, invented, claimed and 'third' spaces to advance their struggles or improve mobility autonomously.

This chapter also brought to light the multiple meanings attributed to participation and mobility by different stakeholders. A Southern lens was useful for widening the spectrum of participation and recognising the 'fuzzy' and contested understandings and practices mobilised by marginalised populations that challenge the limitations of mobility planning and contribute to mobilities from below. A Global South perspective helped to problematise the notions of participation in planning and recognise the meaningful roles of participation in the contexts of informality. Instead of romanticising informality and poverty, the chapter aimed to bring to light the junctions and disjunctions between spaces for participation, mobility experiences and strategies of governing and survival. The perspectives of participation as 'what residents do' highlights the sense of pride of these populations in 'getting together' and improving their daily lives, but also denounces the exclusions and inability to access and contribute to more 'formal' spaces for participation. The chapter also highlighted the significance of mobility to marginalised groups and the disjunctions between their struggles and existing invited and claimed spaces for participation mobilised by the authorities or NGOs. Favela Santa Marta

and Vila Tronco, with their mobility (and immobility) struggles, represent 'islands' in transport governance.

At times, I questioned the value of this research topic to these communities, particularly because mobility can be seen as a 'derived need' rather than a basic priority, such as housing, sanitation, etc. (Godard, 2011, p.239). However, the more I engaged with the fine-grained detail of the feelings, meanings and implications of everyday mobility practices and forms of participation in their lives, the more I realised their importance and the need for bringing them to light and inviting researchers, NGOs and authorities to consider and engage with them. The research adds nuance to the mobility literature and recognises that participation is not only about engaging in decisions from above, the same way that mobility is not only about transport and accessibility. Participation can undertake multiple roles in mobility planning and the pursuit of more just mobilities.

Chapter 9: Conclusion. Towards a more encompassing notion of participation in mobility planning

9.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises the key findings, the contributions to knowledge, the study limitations and potential areas for further research. It calls for a more encompassing notion of participation in mobility planning that recognises the forms and meanings of participation outside the state apparatus and in contexts of marginalisation.

9.2. The multiple roles of participation in mobility planning in the Global South

The motivation and cross-cutting theme running through this thesis was the search for an understanding of the role of participation in mobility planning in the Global South. Throughout the chapters, this thesis has made evident the complexity of the topic and the gap in the literature approaching the interplay between participation and mobility, particularly through the lenses of marginalised populations in the Global South. Despite the ideological and paradigmatic shifts in transport and mobility literature and the growing focus on participatory planning as a potential solution for achieving more democratic, efficient, sustainable and just mobility, notions of participation remain rooted in idealised, consensual and conflict-less approaches whilst participatory efforts 'outside the state' in contexts of marginalisation remain unrecognised.

An original conceptual framework was developed in this thesis to fill this gap in knowledge and theorise from real-life cases, fulfilling Objective 1 (see Section 1.4). It drew on insights from the planning literature, Southern theories and the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) that recognise that participation is about engaging in decision-making, resisting, contesting and making urban space materially, within or outside professional and governmental boundaries. Also, the framework incorporated elements of mobility justice theories (Sheller, 2018; Cook and Butz, 2019) and the 'staging mobilities' analytical model (Jensen, 2013; 2014) to examine

the significance of the role of participation in addressing mobility justice and staging mobilities from above (planning, policies and projects) and from below (marginalised populations).

Based on the case study investigation findings, this thesis has demonstrated that participation can undertake multiple roles. This exploration was made possible by examining the emergence, nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning (addressing Objective 2) and definitions given to participation and mobility by different stakeholders in the case study sites (fulfilling Objective 3). The following sections present the thesis' key findings and contributions to knowledge and address the research questions (see Section 1.3).

9.2.1. What are the nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning?

To investigate the emergence, nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning, this research has examined the circumstances, forms and underlying purposes of participation in the context of Brazilian policy, mobility planning in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, and Favela Santa Marta and Vila Tronco. This thesis brought to light the political and context-specific conditions affecting the openings (and closures) of participation in mobility policy and planning at national, city and neighbourhood levels and the different spaces for participation within and outside the state apparatus. The analysis of the closed, invited and claimed spaces in the staging of mobilities from above and below made some original contributions to knowledge.

Firstly, this thesis contributes to mobility literature by providing evidence of a range of spaces for participation, planning, contesting and improving mobility within and outside state-led planning. It shows the complexities of participation and discusses the extent to which the spaces mobilised by authorities, NGOs and marginalised populations address mobility justice.

- The research adds nuance to participatory planning debates in the planning and mobility literature as it shows the limitations of participation in state-led mobility planning in the Global South. The

invited spaces (mobility policies, plans and projects) investigated in this thesis reveal bound-to mechanisms of tokenism, control, legitimacy and bureaucracy. They are also limited in their ability to include the mobility issues and struggles of marginalised populations in informal settlements.

- The thesis expands the spaces for participation approach (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2005) and the staging mobilities framework (Jensen, 2013; 2014). The claimed spaces found in this research extrapolate the original contributions from development studies and demonstrate that the staging mobilities from below is also about planning, raising awareness and establishing networks of solidarity together with, despite or against the state. The role of NGOs in mobilising spaces for participation within and outside state-led mobility planning demonstrates a further complicator that is little debated in participatory debates in the mobility planning literature. Also, the claimed spaces in marginalised territories contribute to mobility literature by showing a facet of 'participation as planning' (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) that seek to alleviate mobility injustices. While some react against violations of the right to dwell and immobility, others silently improve the right and freedom to come and go. The 'silent' claimed spaces operating 'despite' the authorities represent a key finding as these have not yet been theorised in mobility literature as a form of participation.

- The findings demonstrate the fluid dynamics between closed, invited and claimed spaces for participation. They also make evident the disjunctions between some spaces and the mobility struggles in marginalised territories. This reinforces the idea that participatory spaces mobilised by the state and mobility-related NGOs are not enough to give visibility to or redress the entrenched mobility injustices in marginalised populations in informal territories (see Section 9.2.2. for more reflections on this). Therefore, this research hopes to inspire government professionals and activists to pay attention to, engage with and support the mobility struggles in these territories.

Secondly, the exploration of the nature and dynamics of participation in mobility planning provides methodological contributions to mobility research. The thesis shows the value of digital, static, conventional and visual methods in researching mobility and participatory practices. The findings add nuance to debates on mobile, performative and multisensorial methods and demonstrate the benefits of online interviewing and photo-elicitation interviews in mobility research.

9.2.2. How are participation and mobility defined by different stakeholders?

The role of participation was also examined through the meanings attributed to participation and mobility by government professionals, activists, academics in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and residents and community leaders of case neighbourhoods. The research has found a plurality of voices and interpretations of the terms. More than just contrasting definitions, these 'fuzzy' meanings highlight the complex nature of participation and the social significance of mobility to marginalised populations. These key findings provide an original contribution to participatory planning and mobility literature as they demonstrate:

- How different groups define participation in different ways.
- That participation concerns more than the engagement in decision-making spaces inside the state apparatus.
- That participation also represents a meaningful way through which marginalised populations react against the state, claim demands, create awareness, assist in the community, fill gaps left by the state and alleviate mobility injustices materially and immaterially.

These meanings help expand the importance of participation in addressing mobility justice (beyond invited spaces) whilst providing an understanding of the significance of mobility to marginalised populations situated in central urban areas. The findings from Favela Santa Marta, Rio de Janeiro and Vila Tronco, Porto Alegre show:

- Similar and context-specific problems of inadequate accessibility and mobility infrastructure in these territories.

- The issues of forced mobility caused by mobility infrastructure projects that perpetuate a practice of removal of 'informal' settlements.
- That mobility justice is also about having 'dignity'. Dignity means having well-being, the right and freedom to come and go and the right to dwell, remain and claim immobility.
- That the impacts of racist colonial heritage and violence on everyday mobilities and black minorities' freedom to move and right to exist, which were exemplified in this thesis by episodes of racism, arbitrary police behaviour and confrontations between the police and drug factions, need more prominence in the literature.

Finally, the findings bring to light the fact that these mobility struggles are rarely included in the discourses, narratives, policies and participatory practices of those staging mobilities from above (municipal and state government professionals) and mobility activists and representatives of NGOs. Beyond the debates and initiatives for active mobility, transport systems, mobility infrastructure and accessibility, the research raised social aspects that impact everyday mobilities that receive little attention in the spaces for participation explored outside the contexts of marginalisation. Therefore, another contribution of the thesis is that it made evident the disjunctions and the gaps between the meanings, experiences and spaces for participation within and outside the state.

9.3. Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

As mentioned in the previous section, the exploratory, qualitative and context-based approach adopted in this thesis was beneficial for addressing the research questions and contributing to knowledge. This thesis theorised from the context of the study and provided a detailed account of the nature and dynamics of spaces for participation in mobility planning and the significance of mobility to marginalised populations in 'informal' settlements. These findings could illuminate some similarities and differences in other contexts in the Global South. Nonetheless, one limitation of the thesis is the relatively small sample size and the impossibility of generalising the findings

to other neighbourhoods, cities and countries in the Global South. To overcome this limitation, further research could explore the spaces and the roles of participation in mobility planning in other contexts. Future research could:

- Explore the spaces for participation and the significance of participation and mobility to marginalised populations in other central areas and the geographical peripheries in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre and compare the similarities and differences between them.
- Investigate the spaces for participation within and outside the state apparatus in other neighbourhoods, cities and countries in the Global South and North. Instead of comparing the 'efficiency' of spaces for participation between the Global North and South, research on the Global North could learn from the spaces and definitions of the South to explore the role of participation in mobility planning.

Another limitation of the study concerns the online approach. Despite the value of the online methods in enabling the research to be conducted during a pandemic and addressing the research questions, one limitation was the impossibility of conducting participant observations, visiting the case study sites and interacting with participants in person. This limitation affected the recruitment of research participants and the content of data collected, particularly regarding the research with marginalised populations. The snowball sampling for the online research may have excluded individuals with no access to the internet and technology which could have resulted in a different data set. This limitation could be addressed by further research:

- Deepening the analysis of the significance of mobility and participation with more vulnerable participants *in situ*. For instance, this could be done through mobile interviews or providing digital cameras to participants and conducting photo-elicitation interviews.

Also, the research design adopted in this study could have benefitted from a more participatory approach that allowed the participants to have more control over the research questions, strategies, analysis and impacts. Future research could build on this thesis' findings and explore the potential of a

collaborative project with residents and community leaders to co-produce further questions, definitions and recommendations that expand and make visible the significance of participation and mobility to marginalised populations.

In terms of recommendations, the thesis suggests that the findings could have practical implications for (1) researchers, (2) planners, (3) non-government organisations and (4) marginalised populations.

Firstly, one key message from the thesis for researchers is the provocation to unpack the multiple meanings, discourses and definitions of consolidated terms in theory through the viewpoint of different stakeholders, particularly marginalised groups. This approach opens avenues to challenge existing knowledge and universal thinking and stimulate further conceptualisations more attuned to the multiple realities on the ground.

Secondly, the research highlights the importance of 'understanding' mobilities rather than just 'measuring' transport demand and accessibility. Therefore, the thesis invites urban and transport planners to consider the tangible and intangible mobility struggles and participatory efforts in marginalised territories, engage with the work of their community organisations and rethink the participatory strategies from above to make them more consistent, systematic and inclusive. Also, the thesis urges planning systems and staff to consider informal territories as constituent parts of the city, worthy of being seen and taken care of.

Another key message of the thesis is directed at non-government organisations. The research findings demonstrate the disjunctions between the work of NGOs and the mobility struggles in central favelas. Against this backdrop, the thesis hopes to inspire local and international NGOs to engage with, give visibility to and embrace the mobility struggles of informal territories and co-create projects that directly benefit marginalised populations.

Finally, this research provides marginalised populations with an overview of existing (and closed) spaces that could be occupied, opened up and strengthened to include the excluded voices, struggles and mobility

injustices. With the findings from this study, the thesis hopes to stimulate the dialogue between multiple stakeholders and support the struggles of excluded and marginalised populations and territories.

9.4.   Concluding thoughts

Using an original theoretical and methodological lens to critically explore the role of participation in mobility planning, this thesis argues that there are multiple spaces and notions of participation taking shape in the Global South. The strategies of governing, forms of activism and everyday tactics explored in this study contribute to the understanding that participation with the state 'is only one part of the story' (Sandercock, 1998, p.54). There is a range of participatory efforts seeking to contest, shape, reframe and address multiple aspects of mobility justice outside state-led mobility planning, particularly in contexts of marginalisation. This research hopes to inspire researchers, policymakers, government professionals and mobility activists to take into account the participatory efforts and mobility injustices in marginalised territories.

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Appendix 1: List of interview questions

Main themes	Key questions
Background information	Please, can you provide me with a brief overview of the background to the organisation/institution you are involved with? Could you please tell me about your role in the organisation?
	Can you please outline the work of the organisation/institution concerning urban mobility?
Meanings of mobility and understandings of sustainability and justice	What do you understand by sustainable urban mobility?
	What do you understand by equitable/just and sustainable mobility?
Meanings of participation and the role it may play in mobility planning	What do you understand by participation?
	Do you think that participation is important for sustainable and equitable/just mobility? Why? If yes, what do you think people can contribute?
Challenges for mobility and participation	In your opinion, what are the greatest challenges for urban mobility in Brazil? And for participation?
Invited and/or claimed spaces for participation and actors on the ground	Does the (name of the organisation) have carried out any initiative involving participation?
	Does the (name of the organisation) have carried out any initiative claiming participation?
	How do you perceive the articulation between public authority, non-governmental organisations and civil society?
Low-income communities	Have the (name of the organisation) carried out any work in low-income communities?
	In your opinion, what are the greatest challenges for sustainable/just mobility in low-income communities (in the peripheries and inner-city areas)?

Appendix 2: List of questions for the online photo-elicitation interviews

Main themes	Key questions
Background information (NGO's members only)	Please, can you provide me with a brief overview of the background to the organisation you are involved with? Could you please tell me about your role in the organisation?
	Can you please outline the work of the organisation/institution concerning urban mobility?
Everyday mobilities	How do you usually move inside the neighbourhood? And outside? Did anything change during the COVID-19 pandemic?
Motility: potential movement	How would you like to move inside the neighbourhood? And outside?
Attractions, obstacles and interactions (photos and videos reflections)	In your opinion, what are the positive and negative aspects of your experience of moving inside the neighbourhood? And outside?
	What do you think affects your journey within and outside the neighbourhood?
	What do you think can be improved?
Invited/claimed spaces for participation	Is there anything that has been done by residents to improve your neighbourhood/mobilities?
Meanings of mobility and understandings of sustainability and justice	What do you understand by sustainable urban mobility?
	What do you understand by equitable/just and sustainable mobility?
Meanings of participation and the role it may play in mobility planning	What do you understand by participation?
	Do you think that participation is important for sustainable and equitable/just mobility? Why? If yes, what do you think people can contribute?

Appendix 3: Example of the analytical maps

Appendix 4: Tables of analysis of definitions of participation and mobility

Porto Alegre

Respondents: Porto Alegre

Approach	Meanings of participation	Above							NGOs/Academics						Below										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Collaborative planning	Reaching consensus																								
	Discussing ideas/Dialogue		■	■		■	■		■		■														
	Validating ideas											■													
	Collective construction of ideas			■							■		■				■		■			■		■	
	Partnership									■	■														
	Transparency/information											■													
Efficiency	Gathering issues, desires, opinions										■		■		■							■			
	Public acceptability																		■						
	Consultation		■																						
	Monitoring		■					■																	
Representation	Leverage			■					■					■					■	■					■
	Visibility/Voice									■						■	■	■	■	■	■				■
	Decision power				■								■					■							
Horizontal governance	Assistance/contribution for the community															■	■	■	■	■				■	■
	Build awareness																			■					
	Fill gaps left by the state																								■
Insurgency	Contestation/challenge the status quo			■					■												■	■	■	■	■

Porto Alegre

Meanings of mobility		Above	NGOs/Academics	Below
Distributive justice	Transport justice and urban accessibility			
	Affordability			
	Environmental justice and sustainability			
	Active mobility			
	Spatial justice			
	Infrastructure justice			
Deliberative justice	Recognition			
	Citizenship, participation			
Procedural justice	Information			
Restorative justice	Reparations			
Epistemic justice	Credibility			
Dignity	Right and freedom "to come and go"/Safety			
	Right to remain/dwell/immobility			
	Health/Well-being			

Rio de Janeiro

Respondents: Rio de Janeiro

Approach	Meanings of participation	Above						NGOs/Academics											Below											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Collaborative planning	Reaching consensus																													
	Discussing ideas/Dialogue							■	■	■	■			■	■	■	■	■			■	■						■	■	■
	Validating ideas			■		■																								
	Collective construction of ideas							■	■		■	■		■			■	■								■				
	Partnership							■	■		■															■				
	Transparency/information																													
	Gathering issues, desires, opinions					■	■			■		■		■	■	■		■				■								■
	Public acceptability					■																								
Efficiency	Consultation		■							■																				
	Monitoring		■												■	■														
	Leverage		■			■		■	■	■	■		■		■	■		■	■	■		■		■	■		■	■		■
Representation	Visibility/Voice						■						■											■			■	■		■
	Decision power		■						■	■	■		■				■													
Horizontal governance	Assistance/contribution for the community											■					■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■			■	
	Build awareness																		■							■			■	
	Fill gaps left by the state																■		■	■										
Insurgency	Contestation/challenge the status quo																	■				■	■						■	

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Rio de Janeiro

	Meanings of mobility	Above	NGOs/Academics	Below
Distributive justice	Transport justice and urban accessibility			
	Affordability			
	Environmental justice and sustainability			
	Active mobility			
	Spatial justice			
	Infrastructure justice			
Deliberative justice	Recognition			
	Citizenship, participation			
Procedural justice	Information			
Restorative justice	Reparations			
Epistemic justice	Credibility			
Dignity	Right and freedom "to come and go"			
	Right to remain/dwell/ immobility			
	Health/Well-being			

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Appendix 5: List of participants

Rio de Janeiro (29)	Porto Alegre (24)
Member of CET-Rio	Member of EPTC
Member of CET-Rio	Member of EPTC
Former member of SMTR	Member of EPTC
Former member of Lab.Rio	Member of EPTC
Member of EMOP	Member of EPTC
Member of Urbanism Unit	Member of SMRI
Representative of NGO 1	Member of CRIP
Representative of NGO 1	Representative of NGO 9
Representative of NGO 2	Representative of NGO 10
Representative of NGO 3	Representative of NGO 11
Representative of NGO 4	Representative of NGO 12
Representative of NGO 5	Academic (UFRGS)
Representative of NGO 6	Academic (UFRGS)
Representative of NGO 7	Cristina
Representative of NGO 8	Yuri
Academic (UFRJ)	Augusto
Academic (UFF)	João
Senhor das Lutas	Dandara
Mônica	Edinho
Juju	Malcom
Aquiles	Maria
Bianca	Monique
Catarina	Roberta
Sisi	Matheus
Willian	
MauMau	
Bruna	
Livia	
Patrícia	

Appendix 6: List of publications

A part of the work in this thesis has been shared in the following publications:

1. Fernandes Barata, A. (2019) 'The Nexus of Social Participation and Healthy Urban Mobility in Brazil', *TDE Postgraduate Research Student Conference Booklet*, pp.13-17. ISBN 978-1-9165043-2-5

2. Fernandes Barata, A., Jones, T. and Brownill, S. (forthcoming) 'Understanding the multiple roles of participation in urban mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil', in Hansson, L., Rye, T. and Sørensen, C. H. (eds) *Public participation in transport in times of change*. Bingley: Emerald.

3. Banyai-Becker, W., Riley-Powell, A.R., Bennett, J., Fernandes Barata, A., Hafez, N. O., Isiaka, A., B., Nyiti, A., Puskás, N., Vallejo, A., and Youngs, J. (forthcoming) 'Engaging with knowledge co-production: Critical reflections from global doctoral researchers', in Johnson, C., Cástan-Broto, V., Kombe, W., Lipietz, B., Ortiz, C. and Osuteye, E. (eds) *Co-production as a practical strategy for urban equality*. London: UCL Press.

Appendix 7: Ethics documents

Dr Tim Jones
Director of Studies
Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment
Oxford Brookes University

17th June 2020

Dear Dr Jones,

UREC Registration No: 201392
Study Title: Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil - Stage 2

Thank you for the email of 12th June 2020 outlining the response to the points raised in my previous conditional approval letter regarding the PhD study of your research student, Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata and attaching the revised documents. I am pleased to inform you that, on this basis, UREC is happy to grant full approval for this study.

The UREC approval period for the data collection phase of the study is two years from the date of this letter, so until 17th June 2022. If you need the approval to be extended please do contact me nearer the time of expiry.

Should the recruitment, methodology or data storage change from your original plans, or should any study participants experience adverse physical, psychological, social, legal or economic effects from the research, please inform me with full details as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely

Dr Sarah Quinton
Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee

cc Prof. Sue Brownill, Supervisory Team
    Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata, Research Student
    Dr Bridget Durning, Research Ethics Officer
    Jill Organ, Research Degrees Team

Dr Tim Jones
Director of Studies
School of the Built Environment
Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment
Oxford Brookes University

6th November 2019

Dear Dr Jones,

UREC Registration No: 191341
Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil

Thank you for your email of 31st October 2019 outlining your response to the points raised in my previous conditional approval letter about the PhD study of your research student, Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata, and attaching the revised documents. I am pleased to inform you that, on this basis, UREC is happy to grant full approval for this study.

The UREC approval period for the data collection phase of the study is two years from the date of this letter, so until 6th November 2021. If you need the approval to be extended please do contact me nearer the time of expiry.

Should the recruitment, methodology or data storage change from your original plans, or should any study participants experience adverse physical, psychological, social, legal or economic effects from the research, please inform me with full details as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely

Dr Sarah Quinton
Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee

cc   Dr Sue Brownill, Supervisory Team
     Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata, Research Student
     Dr Bridget Durning, Research Ethics Officer
     Jill Organ, Research Degrees Team

Participant Information Sheet (*Face-to-face and online interviews*)

Study title
Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil.

Invitation paragraph
You are being invited to take part in a research study through an interview process. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is very important for you to understand why and how the research is being carried out. The present document will give further information on what the research will involve, so please read it carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?
This research project aims to explore the role of participation in promoting ways of moving around the city which are: accessible to all, take into account the social and spatial inequalities between different parts of the city and lessen the impacts on the environment. To do this, this study is aimed at identifying and exploring a wide range of participatory initiatives led by different people and organisations (which may or may not include municipal, state and federal governments) promoting equitable and sustainable mobility. This research also intends to gain an understanding of how different stakeholders define participation and mobility and the actions they take based on these.

The aim of the interviews with stakeholder such as yourself is to better understand how participatory initiatives are being incorporated and practiced in projects, plans and policies of sustainable urban mobility. This research started in January 2019 and will continue until 2022. The research is being funded by the University through the Global Challenges Research Fund.

Why have I been invited to participate?
15-20 participants invited for the interviews consists of key actors, such as members of public authorities, non-governmental organisations and academic institutions, responsible for inviting people to participate in recent initiatives of sustainable mobility, or claiming and making changes with their own hands. These initiatives may be plans, policies and small-scale projects within a sustainable mobility agenda, as well as communitarian and everyday practices.

Do I have to take part?
It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this research study. Any form of participation in this research is completely voluntary, having no impact on your current/future employment, and is aimed at only academic purposes.

What will happen to me if I take part?
Through semi-structured interviews, 15-20 participants will be asked questions on participation and sustainable mobility, in regards to past and future projects (to be) undertaken by activists or the organisation in which the individual is a member. The estimated time for the interview is between 60 and 90 minutes and they will be conducted online through Google Meet or where is convenient for the participants and safe for the researcher. The process might be audio-recorded and notes will be taken by the main researcher throughout the interviews for further analysis, with previous consent from the participant. For online interviews, the researcher advises the participants to seek a quiet and secluded place to take part.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
To the best of our knowledge, is not anticipated that there will be any risk or disadvantage for the participants in taking part in this study. The only thing required is their time and the estimated duration for the interviews is between 60 and 90 minutes. Considering the possible fact that some interviews may be longer than others, the interviews will only take place upon the participants' availability and choice of date, time and location. It is also important to highlight that the interviews can be interrupted by the participants at any time.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This study intends to gain an understanding the role of participation within sustainable mobility and to unpack different forms of participation and meanings of sustainable mobility, for more equitable and inclusive societies. The research aims to contribute, not only to the academic field but also to urban and mobility planning and design practices, producing recommendations for future plans, policies and projects.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about the individuals will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations) and anonymised in all forms of dissemination of research results. In the consent form, the interviewees will have the option to remain anonymous or disclose their personal information for the purposes of this research. In the case that the participants prefer to be anonymous, the interviewees' names will be changed to protect their identity and direct quotes will be used only when necessary. Further details about the participants and the name of the institution or organisation in which they are part of will not be provided.

In regards to the security of the data, electronic data will be stored on Google Drive, with whom the university has a privacy agreement and which requires a password to be accessed. Hardcopy data will be stored in a locked cabinet within Oxford Brookes University in which only the main research will have access to. As a researcher at Oxford Brookes University, I am required to retain the data generated by the study in accordance with the university's policy on Academic Integrity. As such, the data collected in this research must be kept securely in paper and electronic form ten years after the completion of the research project.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you do decide to take part, please contact me by email at 18088373@brookes.ac.uk, preferably, before November 2020. You will be then given this information sheet along with a privacy notice that will explain how your data will be collected and used, and be asked to give your consent. In case you decide to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The research results will be disseminated guarantying participant's anonymity where required, mainly in the form of a doctoral thesis to be submitted to Oxford Brookes University, but also through reports, conference presentations and article publications. If requested, interviewees will be provided with a copy of the respective transcript of the interviews.

Who is organising and funding the research?

I am a PhD student in the School of Built Environment, Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment, at Oxford Brookes University, United Kingdom. This research is being funded by the university through the Global Challenges Research Fund and a prerequisite for obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning.

Who has reviewed the study?

All the procedures of data collection methods and research design have been reviewed by the Oxford Brookes University's Ethics Committee prior to the start of the fieldwork, assuring you that the research will be held up to rigorous standards in human participation codes of practice.

Contact for Further Information

If there is any additional information you may require or if you have any issues you would like to clarify, please do not hesitate to contact me at 18088373@brookes.ac.uk or my main supervisor Dr Tim Jones at his email address tjones@brookes.ac.uk. If you have any concern about the conduction of the research, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

We would like to thank you for taking your time to read this information sheet and considering collaborating with the research project.

PhD researcher
Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata
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OXFORD
BROOKES
UNIVERSITY

CONSENT FORM (*Face-to-face and Online Interviews*)

Full title of Project: Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil.

Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata, MPhil/PhD Student, 18088373@brookes.ac.uk

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

3. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Please initial box

	Yes	No
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded.	☐	☐
5. I prefer to remain anonymous in this research and future publications.	☐	☐
6. I agree that an anonymised data set, gathered for this study may be stored in a specialist data centre/repository relevant to this subject area for future research.	☐	☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata   Date   Signature

Participant Information Sheet (*Online Photo-elicitation Interviews*)

Study title
Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil.

Invitation paragraph
You are being invited to take part in a research study through the participation in online interviews. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is very important for you to understand why and how the research is being carried out. The present document will give further information on what the research will involve, so please read it carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?
This research project aims to explore the role of participation in promoting ways of moving around the city which are: accessible to all, take into account the social and spatial inequalities between different parts of the city and lessen the impacts on the environment. To do this, this study is aimed at identifying and exploring a wide range of participatory initiatives led by different people and organisations (which may or may not include municipal, state and federal governments) promoting equitable and sustainable mobility. This research also intends to gain an understanding of how different stakeholders define participation and mobility and the actions they take based on these.

The online interviews which you have been invited to participate will consist of activities led by the main researcher, aimed at identifying the everyday practices that shape or improve individuals' mobility through the view of (*name of the neighbourhood*)'s residents. For this purpose, participants will be invited to take part in this research by providing photographs and videos and by analysing them in an online interview.

This research started in January 2019 and will continue until 2022. The research is being funded by the University through the Global Challenges Research Fund.

Why have I been invited to participate?
10 residents of (*name of the neighbourhood*), aged 18 or above, were invited to participate in this research which is aimed at exploring the role of participation in promoting and supporting equitable and sustainable mobility in Brazil and identifying, through communitarian and everyday practices, different forms of participation beyond those that are government-initiated and the meanings of sustainable mobility to different social groups.

Do I have to take part?
It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this research study. Any form of participation in this research is completely voluntary, having no impact and permanent improvement in the neighbourhood, and is aimed at only academic purposes.

What will happen to me if I take part?
The research will be conducted between September 2020 and January 2021, and will consist of two stages. You are being invited to participate in both parts which include photograph-taking and participation in online interviews as explained below:

    1. Photograph and video-taking:
Via email, the researcher will ask you to take up to 10 photographs and videos, using your mobile phones or cameras, of anything that represents positive and negative aspects of your experience of moving inside and outside their neighbourhood; and of any improvement that has been done by you, other residents or the government, that has made their ability to move through their neighbourhood easier. The researcher advises the participants to avoid taking photographs and videos of people's faces, places containing names, phone numbers, vehicle number plates, or any personal information of third parties who are not involved in the research. After agreeing to take part in this research, the researcher will send a copy of the neighbourhood map by email to the participants so they can situate

where the photos have been taken. For data protection purposes, the participant will be asked not to share these photos with anyone else. Also, the participants will be asked to label the photos and videos and send them directly by email to the researcher who will discuss these with the participant during the online interview.

2. Online interviews:

The online interviews will be conducted through Google Meet (an online video-call tool which does not require any preinstalled software and is free of charge) within which the researcher will ask the participants to talk about the photographs and videos previously taken and will ask further questions on their understanding of participation and sustainable mobility. The date and time for the online interviews will be scheduled suit your availability. For online interviews, the researcher advises the participants to seek a quiet and secluded place to take part. The estimated time for the interview is between 60 and 90 minutes. This stage will be audio and video-recorded and notes will be taken by the main researcher throughout the interviews for further analysis, with the consent from the participant. The photos produced by the participants will only be shared in the thesis if the participant expressively permits this in the Consent Form, which will be provided by the researcher. To support those who would like to participate and to compensate for the time and effort in taking part in this research, the researcher is offering to cover the cost of topping up 4GB of internet data on the participant's mobile phone.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

To the best of our knowledge, is not anticipated that there will be any risk or disadvantage for the participants in taking part in this study. However, the fact that the researcher in conducting interviews about a neighbourhood and no permanent improvement will be implemented, may result in some sort of frustration and disappointment. As such, it is important to highlight that these activities have only academic purposes.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This study intends to gain an understanding the role of participation within sustainable mobility and to unpack different forms of participation and meanings of sustainable mobility, for more equitable and inclusive societies. The research aims to contribute, not only to the academic field but also to urban and mobility planning and design practices, producing recommendations for future plans, policies and projects.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about the individuals will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations) and anonymised in all forms of dissemination of research results. In the consent form, the interviewees will have the option to remain anonymous or disclose their personal information for the purposes of this research. In the case that the participants prefer to be anonymous, the interviewees' names will be changed to protect their identity and direct quotes will be used only when necessary.

The participants will be then introduced by their gender, age and as a resident of (name of the neighbourhood), but their names will be changed to protect their identity and further details about them will not be provided. The name of the authors of the photos taken will follow the same process of anonymisation.

In regards to the security of the data, electronic data will be stored on Google Drive, with whom the university has a privacy agreement and which requires a password to be accessed. Hardcopy data will be stored in a locked cabinet within Oxford Brookes University in which only the main research will have access to. As a researcher at Oxford Brookes University, I am required to retain the data generated by the study in accordance with the university's policy on Academic Integrity. As such, the data collected in this research must be kept securely in paper and electronic form for ten years after the completion of the research project.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you do decide to take part, please contact me by email at 18088373@brookes.ac.uk or by phone +5532991287076, preferably, before October 2020. You will be then given this information sheet along with a privacy notice that will explain how your data will be collected and used, and be asked to give your consent. In case you decide to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The research results will be disseminated guarantying participant's anonymity, mainly in the form of a doctoral thesis to be submitted to Oxford Brookes University, but also through reports, conference presentations and article publications.

Who is organising and funding the research?
I am a PhD student in the School of Built Environment, Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment, at Oxford Brookes University, United Kingdom. This research is being funded by the university through the Global Challenges Research Fund and a prerequisite for obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning.

Who has reviewed the study?
All the procedures of data collection methods and research design have been reviewed by the Oxford Brookes University's Ethics Committee prior to the start of the fieldwork, assuring you that the research will be held up to rigorous standards in human participation codes of practice.

Contact for Further Information
If there is any additional information you may require or if you have any issues you would like to clarify, please do not hesitate to contact me at 18088373@brookes.ac.uk or my main supervisor Dr Tim Jones at his email address tjones@brookes.ac.uk. If you have any concern about the conduction of the research, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

We would like to thank you for taking your time to read this information sheet and considering collaborating with the research project.

PhD researcher	**Main supervisor**
Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata	Dr Tim Jones
School of Built Environment, Oxford Brookes University	School of Built Environment, Oxford Brookes University
Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment	Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment
Oxford, United Kingdom, OX3 0BP	Oxford, United Kingdom, OX3 0BP
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CONSENT FORM (Online Photo-Elicitation Interviews)

Full title of Project: Exploring the role of citizen participation in promoting equitable sustainable mobility. An investigation of spaces for participation in Brazil.

Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata, MPhil/PhD Student, 18088373@brookes.ac.uk

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

3. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Please initial box

	Yes	No
4. I agree to the online interviews being audio-recorded.	☐	☐
5. I agree to the online interviews being video-recorded.	☐	☐
6. I understand that my participation in the interviews includes taking photographs of my own as described in the Participant Information Sheet.	☐	☐
7. I agree to the use of my own photographs in this research and in future publications.	☐	☐
8. I prefer to remain anonymous in this research and future publications.	☐	☐
9. I agree that an anonymised data set, gathered for this study may be stored in a specialist data centre/repository relevant to this subject area for future research.	☐	☐

_____   _____   _____
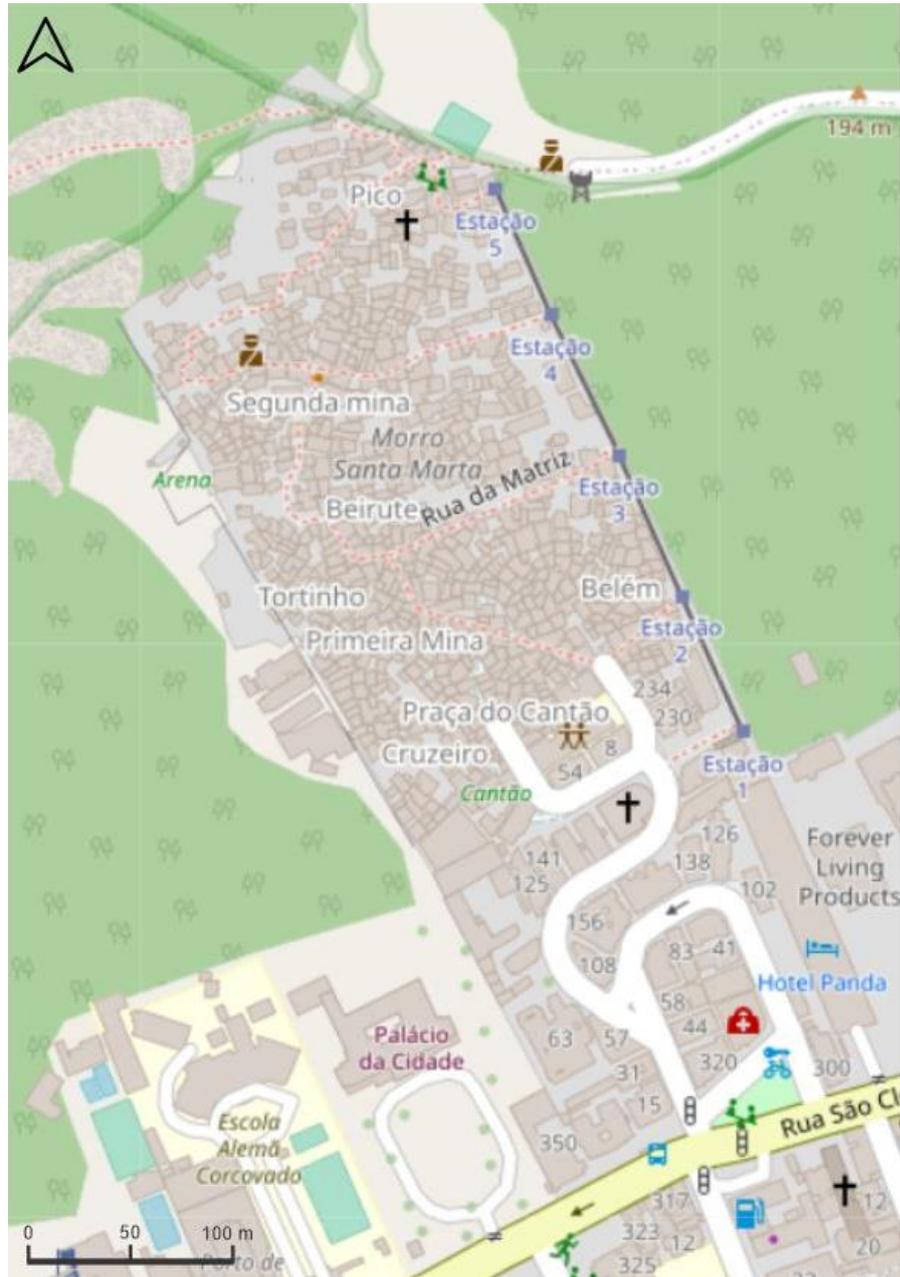Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Aline Moreira Fernandes Barata   Date   Signature

Appendix 8: Favela Santa Marta

Source: ArcGIS 2022, base map by Open Street Map, North and scale by the
author.

Appendix 9: Favela Santa Marta and Rio de Janeiro's public transport network

Source: Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (2017), annotations by the author.
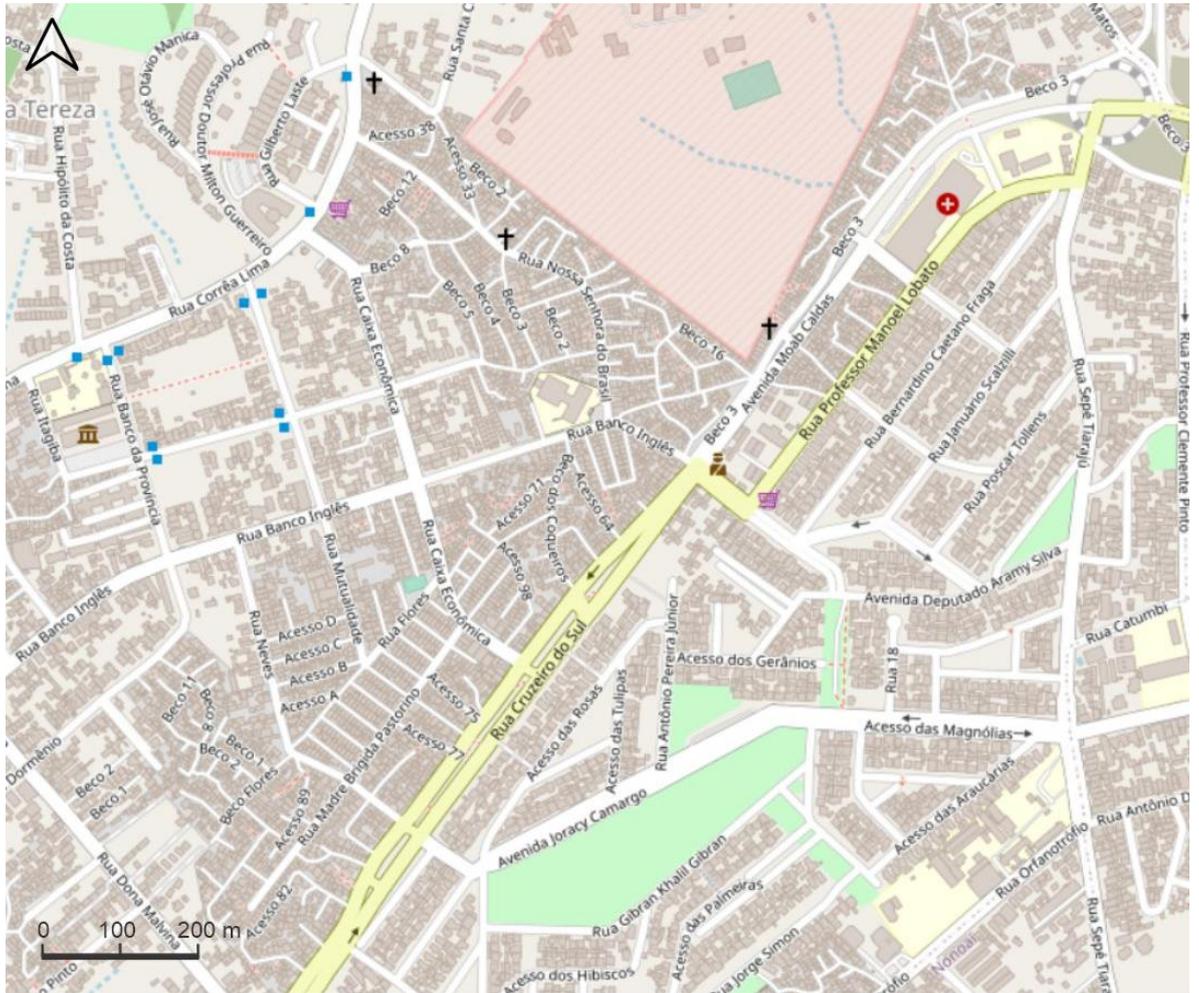
Appendix 10: Vila Tronco

Source: ArcGIS 2022, base map by Open Street Map, North and scale by the author.

Appendix 11: Vila Tronco and Porto Alegre's bus lines

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre (2012b), annotations by the author.