

**Collective Action in Forums of Collaborative Governance in
Sabesp's Clean Stream Program, *Programa Córrego Limpo*,
in São Paulo, Brazil.**

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Abstract

This work aims to discuss Elinor Ostrom's work in comparison to the Brazilian literature on social participation. For purposes of the discussion, the empirical object is forums of collaborative governance, part of the "Clean Stream Program", Programa Córrego Limpo, a program initiated by Sabesp, the Sanitation Company of the State of São Paulo, Brazil, with the main goal of cleaning up streams within the city. The forums were implemented in five stream areas in the city and were inspired by Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development Framework – IAD. And these forums are intended to encourage collaboration between the several actors affected and involved with these streams: the sanitation company Sabesp and the residents and leaders in these areas.

This kind of institutional arrangement is subject of participatory studies in Brazil. However, it is important to note that the debate on social participation in Brazil is not based on the management or type of good that the public policies are providing and/or operating. The main emphasis is on the participatory process itself, from the perspective of social actors, and on the interactions between these actors and the State.

The participatory approach focuses on the favorable conditions for the participation happen and for this reason, the variables that influence the action arena for Ostrom can be compared to the variables utilized in literature about Brazilian participation, since both groups of variables operate with structural characteristics of the collective action.

The institutional design or rules variables are the same and more intuitive variable between these approaches, because we are just talking about institutional arrangements and rules. Others variables of participatory approach are organization of civil society, political will and political culture, and it is possible to group together these kinds of things in the attributes of the community, a variable of IAD framework. But it is interesting that Ostrom's

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third action arena variable, the attributes concerning the physical environment of the community where the action takes place, is not taken into consideration in the Brazilian literature. Sometimes, in participatory studies the environmental is like context, and has some marginal influence about the participatory institution when it is combined with other characteristics. However, the initial analysis of the forums indicates that this variable is indeed relevant and it can be a significant contribution of the IAD framework for Brazilian participatory approach.

Keywords: Institutional Analysis and Development - IAD Framework; participatory studies; collaborative governance; sanitation public policy.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss comparison possibilities between social participation variables in Brazilian literature and Ostrom's action arena variables for the management of common goods.

This theoretical discussion between analytical models of collective action amongst different types of actors, especially societal and State actors, is based on institutional experiment created using Ostrom's Institutional Analysis Framework - IAD. These institutions are forums of collaborative governance implemented by the Sanitation Company of the State of São Paulo, Sabesp, in five stream locations in São Paulo, Brazil. These forums are part of the *Programa Córrego Limpo*, or "Clean Stream Program", which works towards cleaning up several of the city's streams with the overall aim of renewing these waterways.

While planning their actions, Sabesp considered not only models that include responsible social actors who are affected by the stream pollution, but also models related to environmental issues. The intention was that involvement of social actors in Sabesp's policies would multiply the results.

This concept finds repercussions in environmental, including water resources, resource management studies which highlight a peculiarity in the management of this type of resource: the necessity to involve diverse social actors on various scales, creating commitment amongst themselves and increasing the potential of the resulting decisions and actions as a whole (Ostrom, 2009).

Ostrom's perspective (2009) considers that environmental resources involve dynamics of use that are not confined to certain social groups, nor to geographic or administrative boundaries and therefore the action of a sole actor, like the State, does not guarantee proper management or even conservation of these resources, since they are depended upon and influenced by various actors. The best result of any policy can only come about from shared actions among the diverse actors that are somehow connected to the resource in question. For this reason, Sabesp opted for an action model that was inspired by Ostrom's IAD proposals.

On the other hand, social actor involvement in the elaboration of public policies has been approached from the perspective of social participation in Brazil. Literature pertaining to social participation is not exclusively confined to environmental issues; the principal issue is the forms of interaction between social and State actors. The main variables of this literature are institutional design, civil society organization, political will and political culture.

Although this literature does not engage directly with the works of Elinor Ostrom, the present work wagers on a possible comparison between two approaches which concern interactions between different actors. The goal of this work is to discuss the comparison possibilities among the categories of these writings with the variables that influence the action arena for Elinor Ostrom. That is, to explore the comparison of the institutional design with the rules that govern the relationships among the actors; and civil society organization, political will and culture, with the attributes of communities where the actors are located.

With this goal in mind, this work is organized into five sections: the first section presents Sabesp's *Programa Córrego Limpo*; the second section shows the residents' perceptions about streams in the areas where they live; the third section discusses social participation in Brazilian literature; the fourth section shows general characteristics of collective action common goods management, based on Ostrom's work; and the fifth section compares the two sets of literature. Finally, the concluding remarks aim to reinforce the points made in the comparison.

Programa Córrego Limpo

The Clean Stream Program (*Programa Córrego Limpo*) was created in 2007 from a partnership between the São Paulo State government's basic sanitation company, Sabesp, and São Paulo's municipal town hall, (Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo – PMSP). The main objective of the program is to restore water quality in urban streams as a complementary

strategy to cleaning up the Pinheiros, Tamanduatei and Tiete² rivers, with the intent of reducing general pollution in the water resources of the city of São Paulo.

With this in mind, the *Programa Córrego Limpo* includes actions to amplify and optimize the collection and treatment of the sanitary sewage system, the channeling of some streams, the cleaning up of some streams and their banks, the implementation of linear parks and the urbanization of slums areas, involving public authorities according to their responsibilities. Sabesp is responsible for executing works for the amplification of basic sanitation network as well as for providing collectors and interceptors and performing maintenance and monitoring of the new and pre-existing networks (Vital et al., 2012).

The *Programa Córrego Limpo* initially selected forty stream basins in the city of São Paulo and later broadened the scope of action. These basins are quite diverse in relation to the size of the coverage area, varying according to basin technical definitions as defined by Sabesp and taking into account topography and surface water courses. The residents' profiles are also quite distinct (housing, commercial, industrial, etc.) as well as the population's socioeconomic features.

Combined with this action, another work front performed by Sabesp within the *Programa Córrego Limpo* is the formation of partnerships with society for the perpetuation of this policy, seeking to involve local leaders as well as other residents of the region, in an effort to maintain the streams clean and to clarify environmental damage as a result of illegal sewer connections and pollution. Despite the *Programa Córrego Limpo* being created from various State actors, it is important to highlight that Sabesp was a proponent of the forums as a policy to clean up the streams, as shown above. For this reason, Sabesp will be treated as the principal representative of the State for this work.

From the participating streams in the program, five areas of stream basins were selected to implement collaborative governance forums, including a pilot project in 2010. The objective Sabesp's creating these forums was dual: to disseminate information about the *Programa Córrego Limpo* and to design projects to preserve the areas already cleaned up. Thus, the forums were implemented in the streams pertaining to the operational areas of each Sabesp Business Unit- BU's³ in the five zones of the city and Sabesp agreed to finance the projects that were designed and implemented by the communities. The streams where the

² See: Tietê Project, <http://www2.sabesp.com.br/projetotiete/projeto/objetivos/objetivos.asp>.

³ The Business Units, BU's, are institutional management structures at Sabesp that act within a limited territory.

forums were implemented were: Cipoaba (BU Center), Ibiraporã (BU West), Cruzeiro do Sul (BU East), Itupu (BU South) e Charles de Gaulle (BU North).

The concept of collaborative governance that was used was based on the idea of shared management of the cleaning up of streams as a way to create engagement and collaboration between diverse social actors interested or affected by the stream, according to Donahue (2004):

“The essence of Collaborative Governance is a new level of social / political engagement between and among the several sectors of society that constitutes a more effective way to address many of modern societies’ needs beyond anything that several sectors have heretofore been able to achieve on their own. (Frank A. and Denis S. Weil)” (apud Donahue, 2004, p. 1).

Sabesp partnered with CEM/CEBRAP⁴ to advise it on regional socioeconomic issues through the creation of a basin typology⁵, a mapping of the regional leaders located around the streams and to propose an operational model in together with the population. The suggestion was to implement collaborative governance forums as proposed by Mark Imperial (2005).

Sabesp’s idea to apply collaborative governance in this program was inspired by the Levels of Collaborative Action Framework, LCAF, by Mark Imperial (2005)⁶. Imperial (2005) adapted the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework – IAD model presented by Kiser and Ostrom (2000 [1982]), which is an analytical model specifically designed for the study of shared management, collective action and environmental resources. Imperial analyzed the implementation of a collaborative governance strategy in six watersheds in the United States, assessing the results; for this reason, this study was chosen to guide the creation of the Sabesp forums.

⁴ Centre for Metropolitan Studies (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole – CEM, <http://www.fflch.usp.br/centrodametropole/en/>) and Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento – CEBRAP, <http://www.cebrap.org.br/v2/>) are both Brazilian researches centers.

⁵ The basin typology was prepared from the combination of two dimensions, one socio-economic and the other from conditions of supply, water consumption and sewage in the areas. The purpose of the typology was to differentiate the different areas of the basin, with the creation of relatively homogenous groups among themselves, so that the choices regarding streams that make up the pilot project forums take into consideration the different conditions.

⁶ Cf. Guarnieri et al (2009a, 2009b and 2010).

Population Relationship with the Streams

Before the creation of forums in the stream areas, a study was performed about local residents' perceptions about the stream⁷. The purpose of the study was to identify the relationships that people establish with the streams, as well to anticipate what type of solutions they were seeking for the problems caused by these streams.

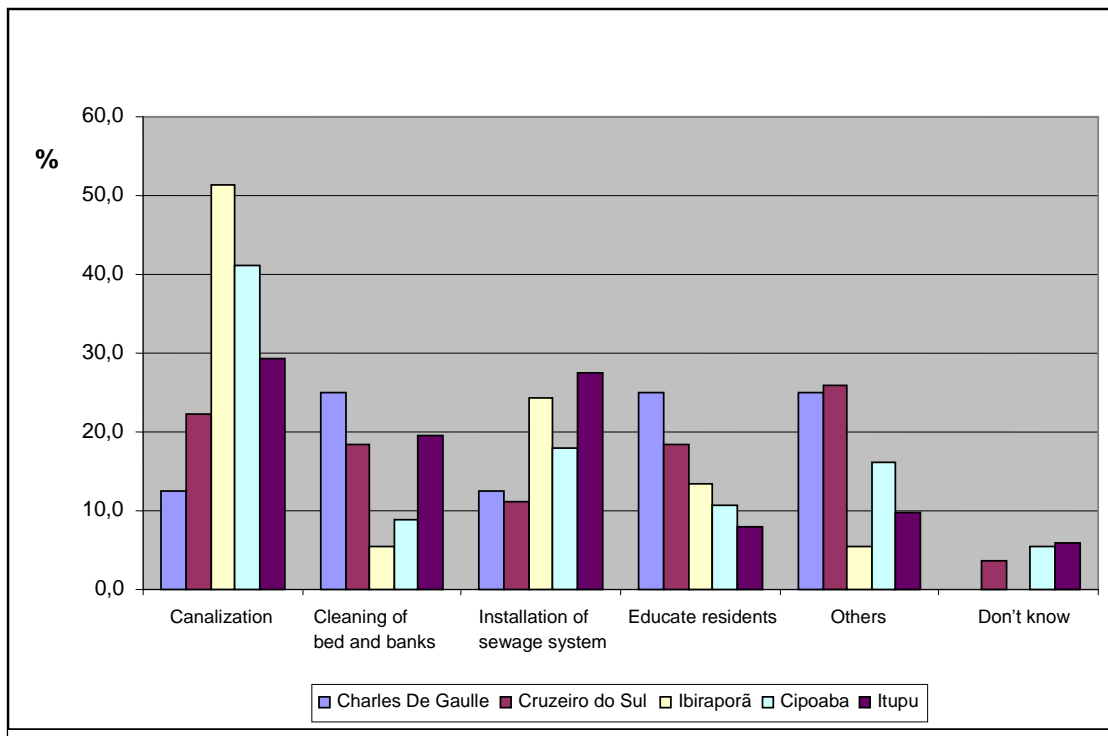
A survey was performed on 269 people distributed throughout the pilot project's five stream areas, in 2009. The criteria for participant selection was being a resident of the region and knowing the stream area. Approximately 90% of the people approached knew about the stream. But amongst them, only 20.8% knew the stream's proper name, whereas the majority (79.2%) did not. This tendency did not vary, even when the responses were controlled via distance of the residents from the stream, nor when grouped among the five stream areas; this reinforces the general opinion that the name of the stream is generally little known. The most common usage by interviewed participants when referring to the stream was simply "river", "creek", or often simply "sewer".

Designation of the stream as "sewer" is no accident since the majority of the participants interviewed (69.7%) perceived the stream as being polluted by sewage. However, this response differed in areas where the stream had not yet been cleaned up by the *Programa Córrego Limpo*. In these areas, 87% of the participants surveyed considered the stream to be polluted. In the areas that had already been cleaned up at the time of the survey, the Cruzeiro do Sul and Charles de Gaulle streams, only 50% of the participants surveyed considered the stream to be polluted.

The participants were also questioned about what they felt needed to be done to clean up the river or maintain its current unpolluted State and the answers varied, as was seen above. Among the group in the areas where no clean-up was performed, the idea of covering the stream (via canalization) prevailed. But in the areas where the clean-up had already been performed, the majority of the participants interviewed felt that the population needed to be educated. We can see the answers to the question in the graph below.

⁷ This survey was conducted by our paid staff, made by the CEM / CEBRAP team that produced materials with the information used in this work. See Guarnieri, Mesquita and Rodrigues (2009a, 2009b and 2010).

Graph 1 – Question: What should be done to clean up the area?



Source: CEM/CEBRAP Study "Clean Stream Program Community Organization and Interaction Strategies" (*"Estratégias de organização e articulação com a comunidade do Programa Córrego Limpo"*, Guarnieri et al., 2009b, p. 19).

Cleaning the bed and banks of the streams and installing a sewage system also seem to be viable solutions. But it is important to note that the channeling option contrasts with the option of educating residents and depends on the application of the *Programa Córrego Limpo*.

Since the selected streams are watercourses in urban areas, the residents were questioned on utilization of the streams and their shores. Half of the participants stated that the streams had no utility due to the unfavorable conditions such as bad odors and the presence of garbage and sewage.

The other half of the participants signaled that the streams and their shores were useful to the population. Amongst these, more than 70% identified some positive activity, as seen in the table below. However, 15.6% admitted that they use the river mainly to dispose of trash and/or sewage.

Table 1 – How is the stream and its banks used by the population?

	N	%
Leisure area for local population	73	54,1
Cultivation of vegetables, fruit and trees	23	17,0
Garbage/sewage disposal	21	15,6
Other	17	12,6
Don't Know	1	0,7
Total	135	100,0

Source: CEM/CEBRAP Study "Clean Stream Program Community Organization and Interaction Strategies" (Guarnieri et al., 2009b, p. 21).

The majority of study participants interviewed who replied that they use the streams and shores for leisure activities reside in areas that had already been cleaned up by the *Programa Córrego Limpo* at the time of the survey. This information follows the pattern already observed in previous data, showing a positive perception about the streams in areas where the *Programa Córrego Limpo* had already acted. It is worth noting, however, that at the two streams that were cleaned up, investments were made in leisure infrastructure on the banks of the streams.

Table 2 – How are the streams and banks used by the population?

Name of the stream	Leisure area for Local Population	Cultivation of vegetables, fruits and trees	Throw and sewage	Other	Don't know	Total
Charles de Gaulle	89,3	7,1	3,6	0	0	100
Cruzeiro do Sul	88,6	0	2,9	8,6	0	100
Ibiraporã	16,7	61,1	11,1	11,1	0	100
Cipoaba	18,8	25	34,3	18,8	3,1	100
Itupu	36,4	9,1	27,3	27,3	0	100
Total	54,1	17	15,6	12,6	0,7	100

Source: CEM/CEBRAP Study "Clean Stream Program Community Organization and Interaction Strategies" (Guarnieri et al., 2009b, p. 21).

Since one of the main problems noted by the participants was pollution, mainly the disposal of trash or garbage, a set of questions was prepared to investigate the motives of this pollution. We know that a main part of the pollution in these streams is due to illegal sewage

connections, but another part is also the disposal of diverse materials. For this reason, participants were questioned about the existence of rubbish and garbage along the banks or beds of the streams. The first two responses shown in Table 3 represent 60% of the responses indicating the presence of trash or garbage.

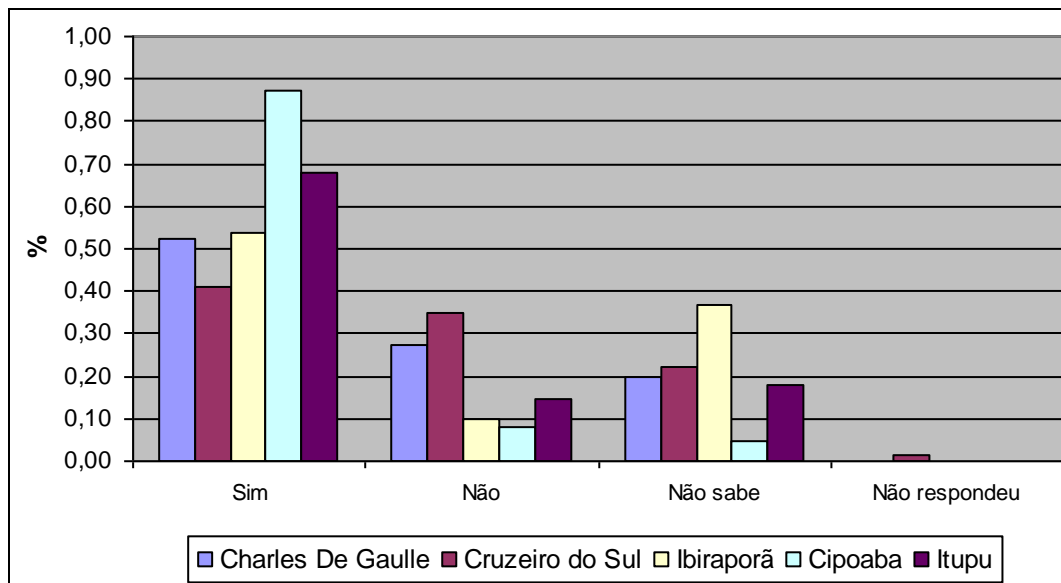
Table 3 – Can you tell me if there is garbage or trash on the banks?

	N	%
Yes, there is garbage and there is trash	110	41,0
Yes, there is trash	51	19,0
There is neither garbage nor trash	51	19,0
I do not know	51	19,0
Yes, there is debris	4	1,5
Left blank	1	0,4
Total	268	100,0

Source: CEM/CEBRAP Study "Clean Stream Program Community Organization and Interaction Strategies" (Guarnieri et al., 2009b, p. 25).

Graph 2 shows the distribution of answers by stream. We can see that once again, the residents in the regions that were cleaned up by the *Programa Córrego Limpo* had a higher concern for cleanliness. We see that 35% of the residents by the Cruzeiro do Sul stream and 27.5% of the residents by the Charles de Gaulle stream responded that garbage and trash was not thrown into the river, whereas an average of only 16% of the residents next to other streams responded that the river was not used for disposal of trash and garbage.

Graph 2 – Can you tell me if garbage or debris is thrown into the stream?



Source: CEM/CEBRAP Study "Clean Stream Program Community Organization and Interaction Strategies" (Guarnieri et al., 2009b, p. 26).

Note: Sim = Yes; Não = No; Não sabe = Don't know; Não respondeu = Left Blank

As seen above, the perception and use of the streams varies greatly amongst the participants. While some view the streams and banks as having positive uses such as recreation and areas for plant and garden cultivation, others interviewed only see the stream as a polluted area where they feel free to dispose of a variety of garbage and trash. This presence of dual perceptions is especially clear with the cleaning up of streams by application of the *Programa Córrego Limpo*.

The groups disagree in relation to solutions for the stream. One group interviewed believes in environmental conscientiousness and in the cleaning up as a way to revert the stream to an environmental resource of passive and delightful use, whereas another group is all for channeling and covering the stream, without recognizing the stream's value as an environmental resource.

It can be said that the program's intervention caused a possible change in attitude regarding the residents' relationship with the streams and its use. Therefore the cleaning up of streams by the Sabesp program enables new relationships to be formed regarding use of the streams, and therefore becomes a potential for the maintenance of the cleaned-up streams. However, it is difficult to classify the cleaned-up stream when as a common pool resource (Ostrom, 2006) used by the community, at least in one only sense.

It is also worth noting that despite region differences, the projects chosen at the forums had educational proposals for the local residents and the appreciation of local experiences as a common core. As an example we have the case of the Movement for Revitalization of the Cipoaba stream, which joined forces with the consolidation of the forum and advanced some of its prior requests and also the case of the existing Green Cousin project on the Cruzeiro do Sul stream, that advanced in increasing the planting of trees along the banks of the stream.

Social Participation in Brazilian Studies

Citizen participation in politics has always been an important issue for the concept of democracy. With a “significant resurgence” of Brazilian civil society beginning in the 1970’s, strengthened by the re-democratization process at the end of the 1980’s, the notion of citizenship and democracy was extended and therefore subsequently radicalized and strengthened “need to deepen State control by society” and increasing the “spaces of expansion and democratization of State management” (cf. Dagnino, 2002, p. 10). As a result of this historic process of deepening democracy, experiences of social participation – focusing on political decisions with concepts of direct democracy, or participative democracy as a base – gained strength in the country (Souza Santos and Avritzer, 2003).

Leaning on this comprehension about the deepening of democracy, participative institutions emerged in Brazil with the intent to disseminate democratic innovations to “exercise varying degrees of social democratic control, by citizens and civil organizations, on political institutions and public policies” (Isunza Vera e Gurza Lavalle, 2012, p. 107). Despite the diversity of participative dynamics implemented recently in Brazil, the idea of institutional innovation and a partnership between the State and society is what generally makes up all these experiences.

In the course of literature about social participation areas in Brazil, it is interesting to observe that the debate about the effectiveness of participative institutions is one of the main agendas of current studies of social participation. This debate is specifically concentrated on the efforts of participative institutions and their relationships with public policy⁸.

⁸ The relevance of this approach has been noted in the literature, and the title of the volume “Effectiveness of participatory institutions in Brazil: assessment strategies” (*“Efetividade das instituições participativas no Brasil: estratégias de avaliação”*, Pires, 2011) stresses this development.

However, even if the debate on the effectiveness of participatory institutions has recently been consolidated, this concern is noticed even in previous works where it is not clearly mentioned. That is because many papers on the subject of participation sought to examine their instances from results achieved in terms of democracy development (Souza Santos and Avritzer, 2003). That is, many studies were structured based on the analysis of democratization involved in one or another social participation experience. Although the debate should not be based on methodologies and variables measuring results, the horizon of "viability of full participatory management" (Abers et al., 2009), of the democratization of democracy (Souza Santos and Avritzer, 2003), was always present and forged the degree of experience measurement in studies.

In fact, one of the novelties in the participation effectiveness studies was the recognition of a variety of possible results within the diverse participation experiences. The issue is that the results evaluation has taken different turns and consolidates the idea that experiences are very diverse and the results achieved are also very diverse. The variability of the modes of participation cannot necessarily be evaluated with the same model, nor can it form equal or similar effects; it must analyze different cases empirically and, more than this, it must define which type of result is in focus. Now the debate unfolds around a variety of proposals and methodologies to understand the effectiveness of participatory experiences.

It is important to note, however, that the debate on social participation in Brazil is not based on the management or type of good that the analyzing public policies are providing and/or operating. The main emphasis is on the participatory process itself, from the perspective of social actors, and on the interactions established between these actors and the State. Nor does this literature operate in terms of collective action, but with focus on socio-State interactions.

The formulation of participatory institutions originally made by Avritzer is defined as "different ways of incorporating citizens and civil society organizations in policy determination" (Avritzer, 2008, p. 45). The author elaborates the idea of participatory institutions from the formulation of institutions for democratic theory as "a set of standards and rules that structure social and political action" (Avritzer 2008, p. 45). The argument is that the set of participatory institutions in Brazil are neither formal nor legally-constituted, but nevertheless they guided social actors' behaviors and expectations.

Among the participatory institutions studied in the literature, cases of Participatory Budgeting - PB, the Management Councils of Public Policies and Master Plans were

highlighted (Avritzer, 2008). It is also worth noting that among the major cases of participatory institutions cited, the basic unit of analysis is the collective social actors, apparently characterized because of their performance of social roles assigned to them. That is, the socio-State interaction focuses on civil society, mainly consisting of certain organizations or entities such as social movements and civil organizations.

A part of this literature has used four variables to analyze particular social participation in Brazil⁹: (a) type of institutional design of participatory experiences; (b) organization of civil society, i.e., the existence or absence of an active and independent civil society in general related to certain associative tradition; (c) political will, i.e., initiative or implementation support of participatory design in public policies by State actors; and (d) a certain political culture, i.e. the existence of different cultural characteristics that may be associated with more democratic and participatory conceptions of policy delivery.

These four variables have been used in an ample amount of literature as a way to evaluate more favorable conditions for social interaction, as well as the best attainable results. That said, it should be noted that the use of these variables change in accordance with the analysis of each case.

As a first example, we use the work of Avritzer (2008) which makes a comparison between Participatory Budgeting - PB, Master Plans, and Health Councils in some Brazilian cities, including São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Salvador and Porto Alegre. The author points to three aspects which influence the variation in the institutional designs observed, in accordance to (a) the way in which the participation organizes itself – that is, the rules which make up the institution, (b) how the State interacts with the participation, or the political desire to implement participative designs and (c) how the civil society is organized. He operationalizes the institutional design in three ways which correspond to the three participative institutions that are studied and their results. This is summarized in the graph below:

⁹ It's important to say that I selected part of the Brazilian literature on participation that can be grouped around the use of these variables. However, there is a wide variety of studies that have been performed using other perspectives, but here I show only the most important variables.

Chart 1 - Result of Institutional Design in Three Participatory Institutions

Participative Institution	Institutional Design	Result
Participatory Budget	Bottom up	Creates mechanism for representation and participation
Police Council	Shared Power	Constituted by the State with a mixed representation from active members of civil society and State representatives.
Master Plans	Ratification	Little or no representation or participation.

Source: Own elaboration, based on Avritzer (2008).

In the comparison by the author, the result found is that the PB is the most democratic practice and also the most vulnerable to the will of the political society when it comes to implementing participatory arrangements. The author calls attention to the way in which the State interacts with the participatory design depending on the evaluated context. That is to say, according to Avritzer (2008), participatory experiences are implemented, or not, according to a combination of real incentives or State support with an organization from civil society which is favorable for this sort of arrangement.

This way, the author combines the influence that social actors (civil society with associative traditions) and the influence from State actors (understood from the point of view of political will) would have over the formation of institutional designs which are more or less participatory. It treats these variables as a part of the context in which they partake, treating each variable as a necessary condition, but not a sufficient. Because the combination of variables could interfere with the results, these mobilized variables have, in fact, a very limited explanatory power.

On the other hand, if Avritzer combines the associative tradition with political will as contextualized questions, in an in-depth analysis about his work, Romão (2010) points to another reading of the works of Avritzer. Romão (2010) suggests that the variables like institutional design of the experiences of participation and the financial investment from city hall for the demands presented in Participatory Budgets, can be part of political will themes. One could also question if it wouldn't be possible to view financial investments as an integrated part of institutional design, as the financial resources can define limits and

opportunities to act, along with the involvement from actors.

In other studies which focus on civil society, like the Participatory Budget analysis of city Icapuí, in Ceará, done by Teixeira (2003), they indicate that the lack of autonomy in the local civil society was the main factor in PB's success. This author understands that this lack of autonomy corresponded to the absence of any associative tradition. In this way, the autonomy of civil society is closely related to the associative tradition, treating the two variables in a correlated manner.

But we can also observe the civil society's autonomy being understood as the key to political culture. In his study of Recife's PB, Silva (2003) understood political culture as autonomy from civil society in order for there to be democratic participation.

Besides investigations about PB, other works also expound on topics such as associativism and participation in public policies aiming to comprehend "the debate surrounding the influence of political culture of societal actors in its participative actions" (Carlos and Silva, 2005, p. 186)¹⁰. The authors define that the political culture emerges from established relationships, in a pedagogic way, between political actions and civil society.

"In this perspective, participation arrangements, when they can count on pre-existing associative structures for new participating arrangements, can create a positive influence on local political culture, strengthening the characteristics of associate cultures and generating new democratizing elements."(Carlos and Silva, 2005, p. 164).

The authors understand that associative traditions can have an effect on actors' political cultures making them more or less disposed towards participatory democratic practices. All the while, political culture could also be a reinforcing element for this associative tradition. This study suggests that it is possible to understand both variables – associative tradition and political culture – they retroactively feed off one another. But we cannot distinguish if one explains the existence or behavior of the other.

This brief analysis of the literature about social participation in Brazil has at its core the desire to show how the variables are utilized with interchangeable meanings depending on the empiric object which is being studied. If some studies subsume some variables into

¹⁰ These authors analyzed the *Projeto Terra* (Earth Project), a project in the city of Vitoria, Brazil, which incorporates the participation of low-income people in discussions about the social, urban and environmental conservation in the areas occupied by this population. The goal of the authors is to identify and analyze the pattern of political-cultural-associative behavior and its impact on the design and implementation in the public policy process in view.

others, others utilize them with similar meaning, or as a conjunction of positive factors about the participative experience. If the definition of these concepts is not objective, this is also reflected in the operationalization of these variables, as well as in the comprehension of the mechanisms that explain the successes or failures of diverse types of participative institutions.

According to the analysis done here, this diagnosis of the literature can be accredited to two key components in the perspective being utilized. Firstly, on the focus of democratic reach as a direct result of social-State interactions. And, in relation to the first point, the fact that majority of this literature looks at this interaction from the point of view of certain actors, principally societal actors.

Therefore, if on one hand it is possible to comprehend that the Brazilian debate has conformed itself this way due to recent political history and its influence on academic analysis, on the other hand, this perspective has allowed us to understand political processes that occur within participatory institutions as well as political processes of public policy management. Romão (2010) defends the line of thinking that says that “participatory spaces like political arenas” allow attention to be returned to the actors which occupy these spaces, along with their strategies. For this reason, the idea of forming the actor’s interactions within the arenas which they occupy allows us to observe their behavior and how they articulate their interests in interactions aimed at collaborations or disputes, resulting in the capacity to understand their attitudes and the result of said actions from within participative instances, as in the case of collaborative governing forums implemented by Sabesp.

Managing Common Goods Using Collective Action

The main idea in the elaboration of the analytic model by Ostrom concerning common assets is:

“How a group of principals who are in an interdependent situation can organize and govern themselves to obtain continuing joint benefits when all face temptations to free-ride, shirk, or otherwise act opportunistically” (Ostrom, 2006, p. 29).

In addition, the questions which are posed in these situations are: (a) how to raise the probability of starting self-organization? (b) how to raise an individual’s capacity so as to allow for the continued efforts of self-organization in the long-term, and (c) how to exceed the capacity of self-organization to solve problems arising from public resources, without any

outside help. From these questions, the author can conduct the study of the empirically observed conditions which aid the actors in overcoming the problems of self-organization and collaboration in their actions.

It is important to note that these questions could be applied to the experiences of social participation in Brazil. But different from the formulas of this literature, in Ostrom's conception, questions arise from the perspective of social dilemmas faced in the social interaction between diverse actors involved in a set collective action.

As indicated in the section dealing with the presentation of the *Programa Córrego Limpo*, the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework – IAD is an analytical model developed by Kiser and Ostrom (2000 [1982]) for the study of institutions which were created by way of collective action in order to deal with the shared management of common resources, such as environmental resources.

The IAD's framework has as its investigation unit the political network or the action arena (Silva Filho et al, 2009). This action arena is the place for choices and social decisions, and it is this arena, the action situations and the actors involved which is the main focus of Ostrom's analysis (University of Colorado, s/d).

According to Silva Filho et. al. (2009), the action arena can be interpreted as a political network, made up of individuals and organizations which interact with each other and make decisions based on information which allows them to evaluate the possible results of the actions taken, as well as their costs and benefits.

The key to comprehending this analytic model is to understand how individual and internal attributes to the group of actors involved¹¹ combine with several structural variables to determine provisional situations and appropriation of common pool resources.

The initial step is identifying a group of actors involved in the observed management situation. The second step in using the IAD framework is learning the situations of action in the action arena. The concept of action situations allows for the isolation of the process from the structure which affects it and seeks to explain regularities in the human actions and in its results (Ostrom, 1999). According to Silva Filho et al. (2009), one can think of the action situations as threads in a political network and the actors as knots in this same network.

According to Ostrom (1999), the variables that make up action situations are: (1)

¹¹ Namely: group size, heterogeneity of participants, their dependence on benefits received, discount rates, type of transformation processes foreseen, involvement of organizational levels, monitoring techniques and information available to participants (Ostrom 1997, *apud* Moura, 2011).

the group of participants in a situation; (2) the position of these participants (3) the potential results of the participants' decisions; (4) the cost and benefits related to the actions and the expected results; (5) the relationship between actions and results; (6) the level of control over the choices; and (7) the available information.

Lastly, there are three structural variables which influence an action arena, generating different modes of interaction between individuals and institutions: (a) the institutions or rules which control the relationship between the actors; (b) the attributes of the communities the actors are inserted; (c) the attributes of the physical environment where the community acts (Ostrom, 1999 e 2005).

Comparing the literature which deals with collective action through social participation in Brazil and the Ostrom's view, one can conclude that it is possible to compare the structural variables from both sides. That is, the variables that influence the action arena can be compared to the variables utilized in literature about Brazilian participation, since both groups of variables operate with structural characteristics. In the next section we will look at comparisons between the two bodies of literature along with an analysis of the empirical case.

Comparison between approaches

The first of the variables to be analyzed refers to the institutional design from collaborative governance forums implemented by Sabesp. As we have seen in the literature dealing with social participation, this institutional design can be understood in a very wide sense as the final working format of the institution studied. In the case of Ostrom's approach, the first variable which influences an action arena is the institution. And these institutions are formed by a "group of working rules" and all the rules contain precepts which prohibit, allow or require some sort of action or result.

“ ‘Institutions’ can be defined as the sets of working rules that are used to determine who is eligible to make decisions in some arena, what actions are allowed or constrained, what aggregation rules will be used, what procedures must be followed, what information must or must not be provided, and what payoffs will be assigned to individual dependent on their actions.” (Ostrom, 2006, p. 51)

Summing up, the working rules are of common knowledge, and are always monitored and executed by the actors who are directly involved. This is done in such a way so as to

assure that all participants are informed about the rules and know that everyone else is also aware of them, thus creating a relationship built on reciprocity and collaboration between individuals.

Therefore, according to the two bodies of literature, the institutional design and the rules that make part of it are a fundamental component to understanding how a determined institution works.

In the case of the forums implemented by Sabesp in São Paulo, Sabesp took the initiative of creating these forums in five regions of the aforementioned streams. We can say that the institutional design is very similar for each stream. However, some specifications were observed in the process of the implementation of the forums, in particular due to the influence of the characteristics of each community, as can be seen in the following chart.

Chart 2 – Institutional Design/Working Rules for the Forums in the Stream Areas.

Characteristics	Charles de Gaulle	Cruzeiro do Sul	Ibiraporã	Cipoaba	Itupu
Sabesp Business Unit	North	East	West	Central	South
Institutional Model	Specific Forum	Specific Forum	Specific Forum	Incorporation of the forum to a preexisting movement	Forum with no regularity and difficulty to implement.
Forum Rules for operation	Representation and voting	*	Representation and voting	Consensus	*

Source: Own elaboration using Guarnieri et al. (2009a, 2009b and 2010) as a basis.

*no information found

As for the analysis of local social agents, the first important element in social participatory literature is the organization of civil society. There are studies that deal with the history of associative traditions in São Paulo neighborhoods. According to this bibliography, the East Zone of São Paulo would stand out for its history of forming social movements linked to religious entities and the municipal health sector (Coelho et. al., 2010; Iffly, 2010). Of the areas where forums were created, two of them can be found on the east

side of the city: the Cruzeiro do Sul stream and the Cipoaba stream. In the Cipoaba stream forum, we note the presence of a social movement that worked towards the cleaning up of this stream from a time before the forum was even created. And only in these two cases was the leadership network that was invited to participate in the forum fully consolidated before the forum's implementation, as we can see in chart 3 below:

Chart 3 – Attributes of the Communities in the Forums in the areas of the five streams.

Characteristics	Charles de Gaulle	Cruzeiro do Sul	Ibiraporã	Cipoaba	Itupu
Local leadership networks.	Dispersed network - invitation to new actors.	Consolidated network – forum negotiated with local leaders.	Dispersed networks – invitation to new actors.	Consolidated network – forum negotiated with local leaders.	Dispersed networks – invitation to new actors.
Estimated population in basin (2000)	5,785	29,081	4,256	48,032	37,145
Socioeconomic conditions *	Areas not vulnerable to poverty.	Heterogeneity, with poor and middle class residents.	Homogeneity, with middle and upper middle class residents	Heterogeneity, with poor and middle class residents.	Heterogeneity, with poor and middle class residents.
Areas vulnerable to poverty. *	0% of households	54.9% of households	0% of households	10.4 % of households	42% of households

Source: Own elaboration based on Guarnieri et al. (2009a, 2009b and 2010).

* Socioeconomic conditions calculated on the basis of the *Índice Paulista de Vulnerabilidade Social – IPVS* (Paulista Social Vulnerability Index) of the SEADE foundation.

According to Ostrom (2006) the amount of people that make use of any specific resource is one of the factors which are taken into consideration as part of the attributes of the community, and which influences the action arena. For this reason, the second line of chart 3 presents an approximation of the population in the basin area of each stream. We can also note that the Charles de Gaulle stream and Ibiraporã stream basins are smaller, while the Cipoaba stream basin has a much larger population.

The last two attributes shown in the chart talk about the socioeconomic conditions of the people, especially in relation to social vulnerability and poverty. Note that contrary to the other basins, neither the Charles de Gaulle nor the Ibiraporã basins, the two smallest basins in terms of population, are vulnerable to poverty.

Comparing these characteristics we can note that the community rules and attributes, referred to by Ostrom, are seen as aspects related to research on participatory models. However, the physical environment is not taken into consideration by the literature dealing with social participation.

Even if the change in context is repeatedly recognized as an important factor in the variation of the participation results (in participatory approach), the idea of context relates invariably to the social and political dynamics, principally in terms of association or social mobilization, and not in terms of the physical characteristics of the region in which the community acts, a mix of what Ostrom considers as attributes of both the actors and the physical environment.

Chart 4 – Attributes of the Physical Environment of the Forums in the Five Stream

Areas

Characteristics	Charles de Gaulle	Cruzeiro do Sul	Ibiraporã	Cipoaba	Itupu
Stage of the <i>Programa Córrego Limpo</i> *	2	2	1	1	1
Neighborhood and city zone	Parque São Domingos – North Zone	Vila Santa Inês – East Zone	Vila Sônia – West Zone	São Mateus – East Zone	Jardim Ângela, Copacabana and Jardim Kagohara – South Zone
Land specifications		Area split by a large avenue dividing a region which received urbanization works from the other part which did not yet receive these works.			Very recent occupation and expansion of the city’s main water supply dams (Billings System and Guarapiranga).

Source: Own elaboration based on Guarnieri et al. (2009a, 2009b and 2010).

* 1 = without clean-up; 2 = with clean-up

As for the attributes of the physical environment, the first characteristic seen in the chart above relates to the stage of operation of the *Programa Córrego Limpo* in the stream areas. As we saw in the section about the relationship of the population with the stream, whether the stream clean-up works have already occurred or not has a strong influence on the population’s perception about the stream and even about how it can be used. Besides the location of the streams within the city of São Paulo, it is noteworthy to point out some

territorial specifications. The fact that the Cruzeiro do Sul stream forum area was divided by a large avenue influenced the design of the proposed project for this stream. This was the only case whereby two projects were developed within the same forum, with each of the projects dealing with one area that was part of the same stream. The other interesting case was the Itupu stream forum which had difficulties to being implemented. Being in an area of recent and unstable occupation – with recurring possibilities for house relocations – there were repercussions due to the lack of leadership or people mobilized together and there was little concern for the situation of the stream.

Concluding Remarks

As mentioned in the introduction, the main objective of this work is to make a comparison between the variables used by two different approaches on collective action between social and State actors during the elaboration of public policies.

The first literature presented is based on widespread concepts in the Brazilian debate on social participation and participatory institutions. Its variables have little conceptual precision and operationalization is not very defined. However, these studies formulate structural variables which affect how social-State interaction occurs.

The literature by Ostrom on collective action deals with the common goods perspective. On one hand, this literature also addresses practices of democracy and less of social participation, yet on the other hand, when looking at the interaction as processes for managing collective goods, this approach brings benefits and new instruments for analysis. First, the fact of considering interaction to be a collective action dismisses assumptions about the benefits of participation, and focuses more on the coordination mechanisms among actors. Therefore, to understand the interaction between social and State actors during the management of common goods, Ostrom focuses her approach on elements that have an impact on this management. This author thus comprehends their importance and includes attributes of the physical environment as important factors in the management of these common assets.

Thus, the comparison between the literatures shows that there are possible dialogues that can be further deepened. The chosen case study indicates that incorporating physical environment attributes can contribute to a better understanding of the interactions established through collective action.

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