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International Course for Primary Health Care Managers at District Level in Developing Countries

INTEGRATING PRIMARY HEALTH CARE AND PRIMARY ENVIRONMENTAL CARE IN THE HEALTH DISTRICT OF PAU DA LIMA (SALVADOR DA BAHIA, BRAZIL)

FINAL REPORT

Field-work in Salvador da Bahia (Brazil) August-October 1990

by
Pierpaolo de Colombani
Hakam Mustafa Irshaid
Cristina Maria Meira de Melo

Rome 7.12.1990

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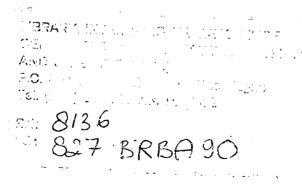
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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Poor urban areas in the developing world are characterized by a variety of e vircnmental problems that cause untold misery and deprivation, millions of preventable diseases, disabilities and deaths, profound ecological change and negative consequences on the economy of the affected countries. These problems are primarely felt by low-income, relatively recent, "marginal" urban residents. The "environment of poverty" in which they live most urgently calls for attention and action. Within the developing world, Latin American countries are characterized by the highest proportion of urbanized population and, within urban areas, by the highest proportion of "marginal", squatter citizens. Within Latin America, Brazil is a show-case of dramatic extent and significance.

Two premises stand at the basis of our work. The first is that the problems of the "environment of poverty" are not likely to be solved by capital-intensive governmental interventions in the next years or even decades. The second is that these problems can fortunately be greatly reduced at a relatively modest cost by organizing interested stakeholders - in particular the affected local communities - and using existing resources more effectively. Primary Environmental Care (PEC) is a strategy to achieve these conditions. It is based on three integrated components: a. protecting the environment; b. meeting needs; c. empowering communities. The strategy has a variety of points of contact and potential synergy with the Primary Health Care (PHC) strategy.

The general objective of this study is to identify and assess potential actors, conditions, means and tools to integrate PHC and PEC in the health district of Pau da Lima (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil). In order to achieve this objective we have explored the main PEC problems affecting the district and performed three case studies of local squatter communities. The case studies - carried out with Rapid Appraisal methods - have focused on assessing the local main PEC problems, the felt priorities and basic interests in PEC, the instances and conditions of community action in PEC and the forms and conditions of community organization. Data have been collected by secondary review, field observation, focus group meetings, ranking exercises, structured interviews with key-informants, life history interviews, etc. We have also identified a number of local PEC stakeholders, starting with the management of the health district of Pau da Lima (DSPL), the Italian NGO - currently supporting the operation of DSPL (AISPO) - and the Italian Coordination of the Health Cooperation in Brazil. Other identified stakeholders included local organizations interested in legal,

environmental, health and organizational activities. We have carried out structured interviews with all the stakeholders to assess interests, current and past activities and possible contributions and conditions to support PEC activities and integrate them with the current PHC activities in the district. The entire project has focused on collecting qualitative rather quantitative data, and the data is reported with the support of conceptual matrixes, drawings, maps and pictures.

PEC problems affecting the health district of Pau da Lima and, in particular, its squatter population, are many and interconnected. Water supply is poor in quality and quantity and often obtained with illegal means, local food production is limited for lack of land and erosion of top soil, housing conditions are hazardous and inadequate, basic sanitation is often totally absent, and so are family latrines and garbage disposal facilities. Community infrastructures such as paved pathways, drainage systems and public lighting are lacking, while living quarters are often set in hazardous conditions (high risk of floods, landslides, fires). These unsafe and depressing aspects of the physical environmental are worsened by a number of problems in the social environment, including lack of land tenure (fostering insecurity and lack of interest in bettering the physical environment), widespread poverty and lack of skills, scarcity and poor quality of social services, poor employment opportunities, alcoholism, drug addiction and social violence.

The problems identified in our study are known and understood by the squatter inhabitants who - interestingly - did not perceive any clear distinction between environmental problems related to physical and social aspects in their environment. Positive aspects of the local environment were also acknowledged. Among the problems felt more strongly is the lack of land tenure in the most recent communities, and the lack of sanitation in the oldest community examined. It was observed that women, men and young people in the same community generally agree on the same priority problem. People tended to focus on immediate needs vs. long-term concerns, and on public vs. private responsibilities. Despite the fact that the problems are well known there was a lack of awareness about how the community can act to solve them.

An ample spectrum of motivations underlies the recognition of problems, and among those we found that the interconnectedness of issues and the desire to improve the quality of life are widely represented. It can also be expected that social upgrading and avoidance of social conflicts motivate people to solve problems that apparently affect only the physical aspects of their environment.

The PEC activities carried out by our case-study communities comprise mostly petitions and vindications to authorities or illegal connections with water and electricity supplies. Lack of internal cohesion, managerial capacities, technical skills, economic

means and knowledge of their specific rights and responsibilities have slowed-down or impeded different kinds of activities. The establishment of community organizations has facilitated some of the actions mentioned above, but community empowerment is far from being a reality and peop'e do not seem to be confident to be able to achieve results by themselves and mostly vish to be guided and supported from outside.

The integration of PHC and PEC in Pau da Lima requires a strong partnership between the DSPL and local organized communities. Community members are willing to formalize their associations, be trained in a number of skills and carry out PEC activities. They are very interested in overcoming their condition of illegality (land tenure problem) and this could be a strong entry point to work together with them. The DSPL is ready and willing to support them and stimulate their participation in outreach and extramural activities. Moreover, the district is potentially served by a number of people and institutions with specific expertise and willingness to support PEC activities in marginal communities.

The above results led us to formulate a number of operational recommendations that wish to indicate how the partnership between DSPL and organized communities could proceed.

We recommend to the DSPL to increase the amount of resources dedicated to extramural, preventive activities and to open a "PEC window" service (Servico de Apoio Ambiental para Comunidades) acting as a formal point of reference for Primary Environmental Care in the district. The service would provide stimulus and assistance to local communities in establishing formal Resident Associations, would assist them in formulating community diagnoses and PEC micro-plans with the help of Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods, and provide a liaison between Resident Associations, available resources in the district and competent authorities. The "PEC window" service could also set up specific information campaigns on PEC issues of particular relevance.

We recommend to AISPO, project Pau da Lima, to provide technical and financial support in carrying out a detailed feasibility study of the "PEC window" service and, conditioned to the results of such study, to further support the service and assist local associations in the development of training courses on specific organizational and PEC practices.

We recommend to the Coordination of Italian Health Cooperation in Brazil to stress the value of extramural PEC activities in the work of Brazilian health districts assisted by Italian Cooperation, to include related thematic subjects in its documentation center and to promote the sharing of related experiences via workshops, training courses, audio-visuals, etc.

Finally, we recommend to the case-study communities to formalize their organization as Resident Associations, to develop some autonomous action to solve common problems without external support and to establish closer contacts with the DSPL, including an increased participation in DSPL-run activities.

Given the results of our study, the above recommendations appear reasonably feasible. Some adjustments of standard Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods may be needed to fit the local situation (low levels of literacy, difficulty to relate to transect drawings, etc. Difficulties can also be anticipated because of the instable political and economic situation in Brazil and the likely worsening of ecological conditions in the already stressed marginal urban environments.

Alaide Souza (Miuda) /woman/43 years old /resident of the squatter settlement of Baixa da Bica (Salvador, Brazil).

Life history

- Was born in 1947 in Jequié (Bahia, Brazil). Her father had a small farm in Maracas (a small city near Jequié) and cultivated the land for family consumption and to sell the products in an open market. As it is common in the Brazilian countryside all the family worked together in the fields. They also raised a few cows, oxes and goats.
- Is illiterate. Went to school only for a few months and does not know how to sign her name.
- In 1950, when her father got sick, her family had to sell the small farm, moved to Jequié and bought there a smaller lot of land. The family continued to work together selling some products in the open market.
- When she was 6 years old she went to live with a family and did small domestic work. One year later her father built a small house and she moved back with her family. Her mother still lives there.
- At age 14 she got married and gave birth to a daughter. Her husband abandoned her 2 years later. She and her daughter went back to live with her family.
- When she was 18 she met her present husband (Antonio) and moved with him. With Antonio she had 14 children (5 born in Jequié and 9 in Salvador) but only 9 are still alive (the others died in infancy or childhood).
- In 1969 her husband decided to move to Salvador to work (odd jobs on a limited time contract) with a construction company (it was easier to find a job in Salvador).
- In 1970 she and the children joined Antonio in Salvador. They lived in Piraja, a suburban, poor quarter of Salvador in a rented house. She did the domestic work, took care of the children and washed clothes to earn some money to help her husband

maintaining the family. Every 2 years she moved to a different places (Sao Caetano, Formiga) and every time the quality of the living arrangement got worse (cheaper and cheaper places).

- In May 1977 her husband got sick, could not work anymore and it was impossible to pay any rent. The family moved to the squatter settlement of Baixa ds Bica. Miuda bought a small lot from Mr.Bahia, an old squatter in this area. Before moving to the place she was told by friends that the settlement was illegal. She has a document signed by Mr.Bahia but not a legal land tenure. When she asked Mr.Bahia if he was the landlord he told her that he was not, but he had weeded the lot and for this reason he deserved her money.
- After she and her husband filled the lot (there was a swamp and lots of mud) they built a earth house ("casa de taipa").
- In 1980 she took the initiative to claim some public support to Baixa da Bica and a politician advised her to go to the Centro Social Urbano to get help. She and a few other residents made a petition to municipal authorities to be connected with electricity supply but it only happened 3 years later. She has no connection with legal water supply because there is a private spring on "her" lot.
- In 1983, after strong rains, floods and constant water infiltrations, her house crumbled down. With the support of a local NGO (PROCAB) she and other residents asked the municipality to help rebuilding their houses. They initially got concrete assistance only from PROCAB and months later some materials also from the municipality. Now she has a house built with bricks (4 rooms) but with an earth pavement. The infiltration persists and they have to drain water around the house almost every day. She works washing clothes for other people, her husband gets sporadic jobs.
- Presently, she lives together with 4 sons and daughters and her husband. The other 5 got married and are all living in squatter settlements. She is a grandmother of 8 children but still has a 6 year old daughter.
- She thinks the life in Salvador is better than in the country because the people can work and earn some money; her children studied (she gave this information with pride).
- She likes to live in Baixa da Bica and thinks she will leave the area only if obliged. Yet, she feels insecure even after have been there for 13 years because she hears frequently about possible removal of the residents by the municipality.
- She says that a lot of families have left the area but some of them had to came back due to the economics difficulties they encountered outside the squatter area.
- Her life is hard, she feels sick and tired, and looks like a very old woman. She refers about her marriage as a great cross to carry, given to her by God, and that the same applies to her own life.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Problem Statement

Poor urban areas in the developing world are characterized by a variety of environmental problems, with extremely serious health and economic consequences. These problems - from inadequate provision of water supply and sanitation to widespread pollution, from precarious housing to dangerous working conditions, from high risk of natural disasters to depletion of local resources - are causing untold misery and deprivation and millions of preventable diseases, disabilities and deaths (Rossi-Espagnet 1984; Halberstein 1985; Harpham et al. 1988; WHO 1988; Hardoy et al. 1990). The same problems are also causing profound and often irreversible ecological changes with a potential devastating impact on the economy of the affected countries (Adegbola 1987; Brown and Jacobson 1987; WCED 1987; Hardoy 1988; Hardoy and Satterthwhite 1989).

Although these phenomena concern all inhabitants of a given urban center and may even end-up affecting a whole country, most urban environmental problems fall on the shoulders of low-income, relatively-recent, "marginal" residents¹ (see Rip et al. 1977; Leonard 1989 and, for the specific case of Brazil, Oya-Sawyer 1987). These people live in the "environment of poverty" (Hardoy and Satterthwhite 1989) that most urgently calls for attention and action. Even a superficial consultation of the specialized literature shows that the health problems of marginal residents in Third World cities are extremely severe (infant mortality, for instance, is of the order of 200 per 1.000 and can be five times higher than the corresponding rate for the better-off quarters in the same town), related to a complex web of causal factors (from unsafe environmental conditions to lack of social services, from poor use of existing services to socio-economic instability) and likely to worsen with time (population growth, progressing urbanization, debt crisis, etc.).

Within the developing world, Latin American countries are characterized by the highest proportion of urbanized population and, within urban areas, by the highest proportion of squatter citizens (Leonard 1989). Brazil - no exception to this phenomenon -

We refer the term "marginal" to economic and political power and social status. In this sense "marginal" residents comprise illegal residents (squatters), residents with very limited assets and opportunities, residents who lack the safety net of public welfare or political connections, residents without a well-structured network of community solidarity and support, etc.

is a prime show-case of rural and urban environmental problems of dramatic extent and significance.

2.2 Salvador da Bahia

According to a political and administrative division, Bahia and other 8 states are included in the tropical Northeast region, one of the poorest of Brazil. Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, is a very lively town, facing a magnificent natural gulf and bordered by luxurious tropical vegetation. It is also a town with unique historical traditions, as main entry-point in the Americas of slave cargos from Africa under the Portuguese domination (1549-1823). This background is reflected in the ethnical composition of the city inhabitants, for the most part of African descent.

During the last three decades Salvador, as other large cities in Brazil and South America, experienced a very rapid growth of population. The 700.000 inhabitants registered in 1960 in the Regiao Metropolitana de Salvador² (RMS) increased in 1980 up to 1.770.000 and 96% of these people were urban residents (Kraychete 1986). In 1987, the number of RMS inhabitants has been estimated at 2.254.420 (IBGE 1988). Accompanying the process of urbanization³, Salvador has increasingly suffered from severe environmental stress and degradation (IAB 1977; Mattedi 1979). Denunciations of inadequate housing, water supply, sanitation and garbage disposal, work accidents and descriptions of congested traffic, air and water pollution, fires, floods or landslides can be read daily on local newspapers (Annex 1). Even the beaches bordering the town, traditional meeting point of the youth for surfing performances and main recreational environment of the poor, are heavily polluted by untreated sewage.

At the beginning, migration from rural areas was the main cause of the growth of the urban population (Sarmento 1982). The phenomenon was related to the crisis of agricultural employment in the state of Bahia and the opening of 3 industrial poles very

A metropolitan region is defined as a large concentration of population distributed around a main city and socio-economically connected with it.

[&]quot;Urbanization" is a process by which an increasing proportion of population comes to live in urban centres. This is different than urban growth because if the rural and urban population are both growing at the same rate, there is urban growth but not necessarily growth in the proportion of people living in urban centres. Each government defines what size and number of inhabitants identify an "urban center" in the context of its own country (Hardoy and Satterthwhite, 1988).

close to Salvador (Centro Industrial de Aratu, Complexo Petroquimico de Camacari and Porto Seco Piraja). This industrial development attracted people wishing to find a factory job or a formal/ informal occupation in collateral activities (construction, commerce, services, etc.).

In the last years, however, natural population increase has become more relevant than migration from rural areas (Kraychete 1986). The phenomenon has been accompanied by internal movements of population towards the periphery, forced by both economic speculations in the old city centre (in particular in the areas facing the ocean), and destruction of old settlements by floods, fires and other disastrous events. Presently, the city of Salvador is expanding around a relatively new economical core sited at the confluence of two main roads (the BR 324 and the Avenida Paralela) in the northern periphery (Annex 2a). It comprises the Estacao Rodoviaria (bus station), the Shopping Center Iguatemi and the Centro Administrativo da Bahia (Simoes 1985).

This new periphery of Salvador developed since 1977 via a large number of mass housing schemes (conjuntos habitacionais and loteamentos) built with the support of the National Housing Bank (Batley 1988). The schemes were designed to provide housing facilities for the low-income groups but in practice only middle-class groups received a real benefit (Cortijo 1975). Squatter settlements (invasoes) of internal and external migrants grew up very fast around the original housing schemes, (see Fig.1, page 34) in absence of any plan and provision of services. For many years the inhabitants of these invasoes have been struggling with poverty, environmental degradation and extremely hard life conditions.

The area between the main roads BR-324 and Avenida Paralela is one of the 5 areas of expansion where invasoes are more significant (Simoes 1985; PMS 1985). Pau da Lima - the health district where we based our study - is at the center of this area (Annex 2b).

2.3 The district of Pau da Lima and PHC in the local context

Pau da Lima is defined as a "health district", in the sense that it does correspond to an administrative division originated in the planning of health services in Salvador. The population of Pau da Lima has been calculated in 1989 to be 240.296 (AISPO a 1989). Since the area is 25 square kilometers, the density of population is 9.600 inhabitants per square kilometer. Presently the district is divided in 11 quarters (bairros): Canabrava, Castelo Branco, Dom Avelar, Jardim Nova Esperanca, Jaguaribe II, Nova Brasilia, Novo

Marotinho, Pau da Lima, Sao Marcos, 7 de Abril, Villa Canaria. The area is hilly and includes both high-density human settlements and patches of tropical vegetation.

The health district of Pau da Lima (Distrito Sanitario de Pau da Lima - DSPL) has been established in 1988 within a plan for the decentralization of health services in the state of Bahia and with the support of the Italian cooperation (AISPO organization, project Pau da Lima)⁴. The strategy currently adopted in Bahia for the reorientation of the health system is centered around the organization of local health districts (Sistemas Locais de Saude, SILOS) like DSPL⁵. As a basic administrative unit in the health system DSPL is expected to carry out preventive and curative activities and intervene within a given area integrating its own work with the work of other public sectors and interested communities. This is more easily said than done. For instance, although the plan to divide Salvador into 17 Administrative Regions (Regioes Administrativas) is many years old, the process of administrative decentralization of public services has began only in the health sector. This means that there are no representatives of other sectors - at the same level of DSPL and concerned with the same district - with which to integrate any work. Hopefully, the functioning of DSPL will be a stimulus for the full implementation of the Regiao Administrativa XIII - geographically corresponding to the DSPL - and allow to face the problems of the district in a more integrated fashion.

The PHC strategy is present in Brazil since the last 1970's. At the beginning it was used to "legitimize" the military dictatorship, that tryed to restructure and improve the efficacy of the institutions responsible to supply goods and services, with the hope of decreasing the social tensions within the country. The main stated objective was to extend the health care to all, including the poor of the cities and the rural areas. One important element of PHC - community participation - was used to set up some relationship between the users of the health services and the government in a moment in which the popular dissatisfaction with the government was beginning to show. This kind of community participation, however, was restricted to the moment of service provision without any influence on the decision-making phase (Somarriba 1988). The PHC experience progressed in different ways and with different results in different Brazilian regions and the PHC conception involved with the gradual democratization of the Brazilian society. In 1986 (VIII National Health Conference) a new Health Reform strategy was launched. Its main objective was to re-organize the health system so that a unique organization - and not the 70 or so organizations previously in charge - could serve the whole country. The new health policy adopted most of the positive aspects of PHC in the organization of the local health systems, for instance it kept emphasizing community participation, political and administrative decentralization and integration of preventive and curative health services.

As proposed by the VIII National Health Conference, the SILOS could geographically correspond to part of a municipality (an administrative region in a large city), an entire municipality or two or more municipalities. The DSPL comprises a small part of the municipality of Salvador (Junqueira and Inojosa 1988).

The DSPL comprises a network of public, philanthropic and private health facilities that include 12 health units (8 health posts - one of which philanthropic; 4 health centers) and 2 hospitals of reference (a public hospital outside the DSPL boundaries and a private hospital within the district). Some of the basic health units are closed to allow the restoration or extension of facilities. Currently, the DSPI management is developing both a new system of services and a new managerial process. This begins by focusing on priority problems identified in micro-localities, integrating preventive and curative activities, eliciting a maximum of community participation and running continuous follow-up and evaluation activities (Fernandes 1990). With the support of AISPO, Pau da Lima project, activities have progressed in three basic areas (Tasca 1990; Fernandes 1990): 1. structure and management of the health facilities (e.g. organization of health information system; registration of patients; restoration and construction of health facilities; improvement of emergency care) to attend the spontaneous demand and improve services; 2. extramural interventions (e.g. socio-economic profiles of communities, identification of at-risk groups, community-based sanitation in Jaguaribe II) and 3. basic preventive activities (e.g. disease surveillance, training of local health volunteers, promotion of community involvement in solving problems). In implementing these activities the DSPL management is expected to be supported by a number of organized groups such as the Executive Commission (CEDS Comissao Executiva do Distrito Sanitario, which comprises the coordinators of all health facilities present in the district and the DSPL manager), the Directive Council of each health facility (comprising representatives of the health workers, the coordinator of the health facility and community representatives) and the Community Council (comprising the representatives of all bairros included in the district).

Essentially, the DSPL management team is the CEDS, which plans activities for all health facilities. Decisions involving activities in the whole DSPL are taken by CEDS but in each health facility the coordinator can take decisions whenever necessary. Unfortunately, the DSPL manager has limited powers, since the process of decentralization has just began and its development is not expected to be easy nor painless. For example the DSPL does not have a budget to manage (the budget is decided at regional level by the Health Secretary) and until now the process of planning and developing the SILOS is coordinated at regional level and not yet at municipal level as established in the new Brazilian constitution.

2.4 Two premises

Two premises stand at the basis of our work. The first is that the problems of the "environment of poverty" are not likely to be solved by capital-intensive governmental interventions in the next years or even decades. In different countries this is due to different reasons, from sheer lack of economic means to lack of political will to devote resources to the problems of the poorest, from lack of institutional capacity to the in-built momentum of population growth and migration from rural areas (see, for instance, Hardoy and Satterthwhite 1989). Regardless of the peculiar reasons applicable to the local situation, this premise seems to apply fully to the squatter settlements of Salvador da Bahia.

The second premise is that the problems of the environment of poverty can fortunately be greatly reduced at a relatively modest cost. A review of pertinent literature suggests that realistic solutions can be achieved by organizing interested stakeholders - in particular the affected local communities - and using existing resources more effectively (see, for instance, Conroy and Litvinoff 1988; Ndione 1989; Stein 1989 and the many examples collected in specialized journals such as Environment and Urbanization)⁶. In other words, the conditions of resource-poor urban environments can be greatly improved by Primary Environmental Care (see later). We assume that this second premise is also valid for the squatter settlements of Salvador and this study wishes to investigate the area of its application.

2.5 Primary Environmental Care

Primary Environmental Care (PEC) is defined as a process by which - with various degrees of external support - local communities organize themselves and strengthen, enrich and apply their own means and capacities (know-how, technologies and practices) to integrate the protection of their environment with the satisfaction of their needs (MAE/DGCS 1990). In this sense, PEC has three fully integrated components: a) protecting the environment; b) meeting needs; c) empowering communities.

It may appear socially inequitable to call upon the work and sacrifices of the poor to solve their own environmental problems when the great majority of more affluent citizens find their problems solved by governmental interventions. Indeed it is so, and community-based action should never imply that the state responsibilities towards the poor are forgotten. Any opportunity for change, however, is closer to the interests of the poor than perpetuating a futile wait for top-down interventions.

Environmental protection implies that the local ecological features and processes that sustain life and genetic diversity are maintained. Meeting needs implies that communities are able to maintain, produce and/or gain access to the goods and services necessary to life, health and well-being. Community empowerment signifies a process of self-recognition, clarification of problems and needs, decision-making and action in full partnership with other interested parties (MAE/DGCS, 1990).

In this work we will use the term "environment" to indicate purely physical and biological entities and phenomena, but we will remain as close as possible to the strategic approach of PEC. As mentioned above, PEC sees environmental protection as inseparable from meeting basic needs and empowering communities. In other words, we will not deal with the rather academic discussion of what enters and what does not enter in the "environment box" but with the more operational question of what needs to be taken into consideration if a more livable, safe and ecologically sound environment is to support life in poor urban settlements. In this sense the experiences and lessons learned in the past overwhelmingly point at the fact that the physical, biological and social components of the environment need to be taken in consideration together⁸. In a way, this statement describes the obvious: a physical property of the environment - let us say the presence of dust in the air - can influence and affect a human being only via the socially-depending conditions of exposure (work conditions, economic situation, education, awareness of risks, etc.). Moreover, few would dispute that a mother with no time or money to take care of her children could be sincerely interested in planting trees to avoid soil erosion, or that a squatter without any hope of land tenure is likely to spend his days collecting garbage to clean up its neighborhood or building a sewage system. And, beside the obvious, some less immediate considerations can also apply⁹. In this

The concept of "environment" is a most complex and elusive one. Almost everyone accepts the ethimologically-based definition of environment as "the circumstances and conditions that surround and/or influence a given body" but various authors stress different meanings within this broad definition. For instance, the environment may be understood as "the purely physical" habitat of human beings or as the "complex of physical and socio-cultural factors" influencing human beings. It may be understood as "ecosystem "(privileging the dynamic exchange of matter and energy among the physical, chemical and biological components of a system) or as a "territorial unit" managed by people (privileging human actors as agents of transformation and regulation). It may even be seen as a "perceived habitat", whereby stress is put on the highly subjective perception of constituting elements, relative importance and meaning (Bresso et al. 1985).

The concept is illustrated in the main publications dealing with environmental concerns - from UNEP (1981) to WCED (1987) - as well as in collections of case-studies of local environmental management, from Conroy and Livitnoff (1988) to Borrini (a 1990).

For instance meeting needs is essential for environmental protection because:

light, this study will examine problems related to the purely physical environment together with problems related to the social sphere, the satisfaction of needs and the organizational potential of local people.

Although the main actors of PEC are individuals, groups and community organizations¹⁰, for the success of the strategy it is paramount to achieve an integrated effort of the different stakeholders who have vested interests and play a role in the management of the local environment and satisfaction of local needs. These stakeholders may include all the municipal public sectors, NGOs¹¹, professional

Empowering communities is essential for environmental protection because:

- local communities are more directly interested and potentially more strongly motivated to act for their own environment than any other social actor;
- local communities often include under-recognized and under-utilized human resources;
- the environment comprises the people inhabiting it, and a fundamental need of people is to define themselves on the basis of what they want and what they do.

To complete the picture of the interrelationship among the PEC components we could observe that environmental protection is necessary for meeting needs because:

- there are no human needs that do not depend on some environmental component;
- the prevention of environmental disasters most often implies the prevention of economic and health disasters as well;
- if we are interested in meeting the needs of future generations as well as our own needs, the environment must be maintained capable of self-regenerating and reproducing the goods and services that it offers today.

 (This note has been translated from Borrini, b 1990)
- With the term community organization we indicate local groups who work together for the sake of community interests. They are identified by a name and possess established procedures for electing representatives. The may or may not include or represent all inhabitants of a given "geographical" community, e.g. a squatter settlement.
- NGOs are here meant to include legally established, autonomous entities that possess non-profit status and are organized for the primary motivation of improving the well-being of people (Anello, 1989). They usually work at national, regional or district level and most often in conjunction with community organizations at the local level.

⁻ poverty and lack of economic alternatives are among the principal factors forcing a community to damage its physical environment (only the ones not oppressed by poverty and insecurity can afford to invest in long-term objectives);

⁻ healthier and better educated individuals are more productive and efficient and can engage in the many activities required for a sound environmental management;

⁻ when political rights are assured it is less likely that resources are ill distributed or controlled by interests external to the community (these conditions favor - at the same time - human deprivation and environmental problems);

⁻ meeting basic needs (e.g. food, education, health care, employment) is associated with decreasing population growth, and - by consequence - promotes a sustainable relationship between people and environmental resources.

experts, private businesses, credit institutions, academic institutions, and foreign aid agencies working in the area.

How can this process of partnership be promoted and supported? This is the subject of this study: what needs to happen to set PEC in motion, what - in particular - can be done by the district health system, Italian aid, other interested stakeholders and the communities themselves in the health district of Pau da Lima in Salvador da Bahia.

3. OBJECTIVES

3.1 General Objective

To identify and assess potential actors, conditions, means and tools to integrate Primary Health Care (PHC) and Primary Environmental Care (PEC) in the health district of Pau da Lima (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil).

3.2 Specific Objectives

- SO1 To assess the main PEC problems currently affecting the district of Pau da Lima.
- SO2 For a number of squatter communities in the district:
 - to assess the main PEC problems;
 - to identify the felt priorities in PEC;
 - to assess the basic interests in PEC;
 - -. to identify instances and achievements of community action in PEC;
 - to identify problems eventually encountered;
 - to identify forms of support that have fostered (or would foster) such actions.
 - to identify forms and conditions of present (or possible future) community organization, and schemes of follow-up;
- SO3 To identify potential stakeholders and assess their activities and interests in PEC in Pau da Lima, with particular attention to DSPL and AISPO (the association carrying out Italian health cooperation activities within the district).

SO4 To appraise:

- possible contributions of DSPL, AISPO and other stakeholders to promote PEC and integrate it with PHC in the DSPL;
- conditions fostering success;
- means and tools for action.

SO5 To develop a number of recommendations to support PEC in Pau da Lima and integrate it with PHC, addressing:

- the DSPL management;
- AISPO and the Coordination of the Italian cooperation in Brazil;
- the communities included in the study;
- other interested stakeholders.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 General Remarks

This study is exploratory rather than descriptive 12 i.e. it wishes to investigate an operational hypothesis rather than a current situation or a correlation between phenomena (see our general objective). Moreover, most of the phenomena to be examined (felt priorities and interests in PEC, community-based activities, problems and support encountered, forms and conditions of community organization, etc.) belong to the field of social research and are better described in qualitative terms (words) than in quantitative terms (numbers). Finally, it is generally understood that classic survey research in a context of extreme socio-economic and environmental instability - such as the one found in marginal urban settlements in the Third World - is flowed with peculiar difficulties. These include areas such as definition of residence, selection bias in cross-sectional studies, identification and measurement of exposure and outcome data, identification and measurement of socio-cultural factors likely to influence behavior as well as the use of services and the answers to questionnaires (Yach 1990). These difficulties seriously question the validity and representativeness of hard numerical data in the context of a study such as ours.

The above considerations led us to focus our work on case studies and qualitative information rather than classic survey research, and to collect data via a variety of field-work techniques usually described under the collective term of Rapid Appraisal (RA) (Chambers 1981, Scrimshaw 1987, McCracken 1988, Annet 1989). The techniques we have employed include:

- review of secondary data;
- direct field observation;
- focus group meetings;
- ranking exercises;
- structured interviews with key-informants;
- unstructured conversations with general informants;

This study does not wish to assess the health status of the inhabitants of squatter settlements in Salvador, nor to assess the extent and severity of the environmental problems affecting them. It does not either wish to assess whether a relationship exists, and how strong it eventually is, between poor environmental conditions and poor health, nor the appropriateness or quality of the health or other social services the squatter inhabitants manage to access. In the context of marginal urban settlements the above has been amply examined and analyzed elsewhere (see for instance the references mentioned in the background section).

- life history interviews;
- collection and laboratory analysis of samples;
- discussion in general meeting (feed-back).

The above techniques were selected following a number of criteria (Boff 1988), including:

- capacity to establish rapport between researchers and informants, and therefore elicit trustworthy and valid information (contextual validity);
- capacity to elicit in-depth information (for instance on the details of motivations or the causes of the problems);
- flexibility (allowing a tuning of data collection procedures even after completing the pilot phase of the study);
- community involvement (allowing for a continuous check of the relevance and "meaning" of the research subject for the interested communities).

Tools (e.g. checklists and outlines of the structured interviews) and procedures have been tested in a pilot study performed by our group assisted by the ICHM facilitator in another bairro of Pau da Lima (Nova Brasilia).

4.2 Data Collection

The first step of our research has been a preliminary identification of present and future potential actors in PEC and PHC at district level. By definition, the actors of PEC are local community members (as individuals, in extemporaneous groups or in community organizations) and a variety of external supporters. These may include the district staff in several sectors, and governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations who have a stake on environmental care at district level. In PHC, the main actors are the district health system and local communities. In the area of integration of PEC and PHC at district level we have thus to focus on a partnership between communities and the district health system. Other "stakeholders" may also play important and at times essential roles in the process of integration, but cannot be generalized outside of a specific district context.

In our study we have interacted with a few squatter communities, the DSPL management and a number of other potential partners identified during the process of RA, with particular attention to the AISPO organization, presently carrying out health cooperation activities within the district. We choose squatter communities because they

are the ones most seriously affected by environmental problems. The numbers of communities selected (three) was a compromise between time constraints and the desire to illustrate peculiarities in different communities. Selection involved two stages. In the first stage, discussions with the health district officials and the representatives of Italian cooperation and AISPO guided us in identifying a bairro within the district. The criteria followed in this selection were: interest of the DSPL managers to develop activities in the bairro; necessity to avoid overwhelming some bairros with too many activities; presence of local organizations who could facilitate the contacts between our group and local community members. In this way we selected the bairro of Castelo Branco. In the second stage we contacted two local organizations who already had contacts with DSPL and AISPO (PROCAB and MODEMO, see later) to identify what squatter communities to select within the bairro. We did so according to one main criterion of choice: representativeness of different times of settlement within the bairro.

The communities we finally selected - Cristo e' Vida (settled on March 1990), Direito de Morar (settled on February 1989) and Baixa da Bica (settled in 1975) - are not "statistically representative" of the squatter settlements neither of Salvador da Bahia nor of Pau da Lima. The communities are, however, typical enough among the squatter settlements in the health district of Pau da Lima to give us confidence that the conclusions we will draw are likely to be meaningful for most similar communities in the area. In fact, according to our informants the most salient differences among local squatter communities seem to be related to the length of settlement, a factor we have tried to account for by selecting three communities set at different times (one old, one relatively recent and one very recent). A problem we faced in the selection relates to the fact that the people of PROCAB and MODEMO could not indifferently introduce us in all communities we could identify in a map and date in terms of settlement. We had thus to find a suitable compromise between intrinsic characteristics of the communities and the availability of someone to introduce us and guarantee that our study would be acceptable. In principle, this may have introduced a "representativeness" bias in our selection of case-study communities. We investigated, however, about whether contacts with people such as the ones who introduced us were or not commonplace, and they actually were for most squatter communities. We deduced that our selection was not likely to be seriously affected.

We will now describe and discuss in detail all the techniques we have used and refer them specifically to the specific objectives (SO) they were designed for.

SO1 The identification of the PEC problems in Pau da Lima has been done by:

* Review of secondary data with the help of basic checklist (Annex 3). District statistics and reports were consulted as well as other sources of local information, e.g. academic dissertations from the local university and media programs (television, radio, newspapers). Informal discussions were held with a variety of people in the district. During our study in Salvado the media were specially active in underlining environmental and social problems in the city because of the electoral campaign for the state government elections.

SO2 The communities selected for the case studies have been examined by:

- * Direct observation: observation walks were done by our group in each of the three communities chosen. We noted the results in a special observation checklist (Annex 4) and took photographs of the more characteristic environmental aspects. During the first contacts we were introduced to the communities and accompanied by members of local NGOs.
- Focus groups: 3 focus groups meetings (with women, men, youth under 20 years) were organized in each community; they gave us three different points of view about PEC problems in each squatter area. Participants were invited with the help of people living in the community who collaborated during our visits. The ideal number of participants in the meetings was fixed between 6 and 12 following the indications of RA literature (Mc. Cracken 1988); on the spot, however, we were forced to work one time with 5 and a few times with 13 individuals. Much care was taken in choosing the place where people would meet; we always tried to get it as close as possible to the area of settlement and "neutral", to facilitate participation and prevent the "conditioning" of the discussions. Refreshments were served at the end of each meeting. A list of steps (Annex 5) was prepared to assist the focus-group facilitator. The Brazilian member of our ICHM group played always the facilitator's role to arouse people's confidence and ease communication. An other person, Portuguese speaking too, took notes of the issues raised in the meetings; for such a note-taker a specific guide was prepared, as well as an explanation of the general and specific objectives of the study; further specific training did not prove necessary because we found a person particularly motivated and skilled in health studies. Group dynamic as well as the results of the ranking exercise were noted by the other two members of the ICHM team on a specific guide for adjunct note-takers (Annex 6). The community spontaneous point of view on what constituted an 'environmental' concern was assessed by asking a first simple question ("what are the positive aspects and problems in your environment?). A number of specific issues were

then discussed in the group before the facilitator invited to set-up a priority list among problems. Criteria for problem identification and priority were elicited during a pairwise choice exercise. We preferred not to use a complete preference matrix (Scoones 1989) because investigating all possible comparisons would have limited the number of problems to deal with. We interpreted the selection criteria as illustrations of interests underlying a felt problem (see later). Community organization and action in PEC were investigated by questions that raised general discussion. This subject proved to be particularly difficult to explore because of semantic and perhaps conceptual reasons. The fact that an electoral campaign was underway complicated our work considerably. It may have even introduced a bias in the results, insofar people seemed to be most interested in describing vindications to political authorities (preferred activities in a pre-electoral period) rather than autonomously-run activities. At the end of the meetings, all notes collected in Portuguese were translated into English by the Brazilian member of our group to facilitate the on going analysis of information by other group members. Photographs have been taken to document some significant moments of RA.

- * Ranking exercise: a direct matrix ranking (Chambers 1988) by each individual in each focus group was used to assess the first five priorities in environmental care (see the specific steps in Annex 5). The ranking followed a pairwise choice. Tallies and priority for each problem have been recorded on the same guide for adjunct note-takers mentioned above.
- * Structured interviews with key-informants: at least 2 key-informants were interviewed in each community. Their identification was done during the observation walks and following visits, according to criteria such as length of residence in the community (the longer the better) and relevance of role inside the community (e.g. past member of local commission). The Brazilian member of our group interviewed them with the aid of a check-list of questions (Annex 7) and a tape recorder. The subject raised in the interviews included a few for which information had already been collected by direct observation and in the focus groups (triangulation).
- * Life history interviews: in order to integrate the structured collection of data mentioned above, we decided to collect a number of brief life histories among the people living in the squatter settlements. The intention behind this choice was to supplement the specific information collected with the use of checklists and structured interviews with some more integrated information expressed with the own words of the squatter inhabitants. We also hoped that the life histories would provide us with some clues on

mechanisms by which people get to become and remain squatters. The people selected for collecting the life histories (1 young man and 1 woman in Baixa da Bica; 1 woman in Direito de Morar and 1 man in Cristo é Vida) were identified in the focus groups meetings or during the observation walk. The selection was not guided by specific criteria except length of residence and willingness of the subjects to talk. During the interviews people were stimulated with an introductory question and than with a few other questions when necessary. Before starting we explained the aim of our study and asked them to speak freely. Information was collected in writing and with the help of a tape recorder.

- * Laboratory analysis: we took samples from the main sources of water used by the people in the communities. The Bacteriological Department of the Secretaria de Saude do Estato da Bahia performed drinking quality analyses.
- * Feed-back meeting: we invited all members of the three communities and in particular the people who had been involved in the study, to a common feed-back meeting to report on the results collected so far and elicit possible further specifications, comments and suggestions. Historical profiles and felt priorities in environmental care were presented to the communities and discussed with the help of a facilitator. The second part of the meeting was spent discussing the communities own proposals for action. DSPL management and representatives of Italian cooperation and AISPO attended the meeting. We would like to mention here that regardless of our frankness about the objectives and limitations of the work, the district communities tend to expect that some concrete help follows a study such as this one. These expectations, coupled with the imminence of local political election, may have charged our study of undesired meanings and possibly affected our results in ways difficult to assess. It was, however, very rewarding for us to notice that the process of Rapid Appraisal had fired a great interest on environmental issues among the locals.

SO3 The identification of present stakeholders and assessment of their activities and interests in PEC was done by:

- Review of secondary data.
- Informal consultations with a number of people in the district.
- Structured interviews, using a check-list of questions (Annex 8).

We selected only 10 stakeholders among the potential many in Salvador or in the Pau da Lima district. A few (e.g. DSPL, AISPO, Italian Cooperation) were included because obviously congruent with the general intent of our study. For the others, our main criteria of choice were: experience in environmental action and experience in working with communities. The majority of institutions interested and competent on environmental activities in Pau da Lima are municipal institutions but we interviewed only 2 of them because of regional elections. In fact, on the one hand the representatives of these institutions will be changed in March 1991, and, on the other, in the electoral context the likelihood of obtaining reliable and meaningful information from some of them was deemed negligible. In scheduling appointments with the stakeholders we had to be quite flexible (re-scheduling has been the norm rather than the exception). Once the interview was going on, however, we experienced a sense of genuine collaboration from our interviewees.

SO4 The different points of the fourth specific objective have been appraised through an analysis of the information collected as described above, supplemented by a second stage of structured interviews with the stakeholders (Annex 9).

4.3 Presentation and analysis of data

In order to simplify and facilitate the analysis, results were summarized with the use of typical RA tools (i.e. life histories¹³. historical profiles, transects, maps) and conceptually clustered matrixes as suggested for qualitative data (Miles and Huberman 1989)¹⁴. Matrixes were structured according to both the questions made during data collection and the study objectives. In this way much of the material collected has been preliminarily interpreted by clustering information. For instance, the different criteria raised during the pairwise choice ranking were categorized to obtain a broad indication of the kinds of interests underlying the three communities' perception of PEC problems. We then interpreted these interests as possible motivations for action. It is possibly interesting to notice that we did not use one of the classifications present in literature (e.g. Maslow's need hierarchy as reported by Scanlan 1979) but an "ad hoc" classification (Annex 10) to remain closer to the local point of view according to the emic approach followed by anthropologists (Pelto 1970). The classification was found to apply

The life histories have been edited very little, to convey - as much as it is at all possible through the translation - the words and perceptions of the informants.

All questionnaires were prepared by using the computer word-sheet Microsoft Word. Matrixes were set on the spread-sheet Lotus 123.

to the criteria expressed by each community, and by each focus group within a community (men, women, youth). Another example of summarizing data can be found in the matrixes that report on PEC activities and forms of local organization (Tables 3a, 3b, 6a, 6b, 9a, 9b). The matrixes were built with data from both focus groups and interviews with local key-informants.

The results reported in the following section, and in particular the conceptual matrixes, have been further analyzed to draw and verify conclusions with the help of a few usual procedures in qualitative analysis (Miles and Huberman 1989). We identified a number of phenomena, observed the frequency of certain answers, noted patterns and recurrent themes and drew operational hypotheses related to our general objective. In drawing hypotheses, we asked ourselves: "given the situation and the problems, what should be done to solve them? given the interests and resources of various potential actors, who should do what? what specific tools could be employed?" and then checked the plausibility of our answers against the available information. In this way we drew the specific recommendations reported in section 7.

5. RESULTS

5.1 Main PEC problems in the district of Pau da Lima

The main PEC problems in the district of Pau da Lima are here presented following a check-list that was also used during the observation walks, focus group meetings and interviews with key-informants.

WATER SUPPLY: water is supplied by the state Empresa Bahiana de Agua e Saneamento (EMBASA). The district suffers from the same problem of many other areas of town: water is not drinkable because of organic pollution. In spite of the massive chlorination even the tap water should be boiled or filtered before drinking. Quantity is also insufficient because of irregular supply; it seems that the frequent jumps in water pressure are caused by vacuum inside the pipe and aspiration from the ground. One main dam has been constructed years ago to prevent scarcity of water in Salvador. Many resources have been employed in the construction but the dam has never worked. In this situation of general shortage some areas of the city are privileged (e.g. industrial, residence, tourist areas) with respect to other area like Pau da Lima. Within Pau da Lima, not all residents are served. The illegal residents buy water from private vendors, get water from local sources (wells, springs, etc.) or connect themselves illegally to the EMBASA water main.

FOOD SUPPLY: for people with money, Pau da Lima is quite well served by several shops (formal or informal sector) and supermarkets. "Cesta do Povo" shops have been introduced by the government in all of Brazil more than 10 years ago to sell survival food under price control to protect the poor against inflation. However, 4-5 years ago most of these shops closed and the remaining ones work intermittently because of shortage in supplies. Home gardens are not uncommon, but many people who would greatly profit from them cannot tend them because of lack of land. The last, still free food source of the poor are the patches of tropical forests where abundant fruits and some animals can still be found.

ENERGY PROVISION: electricity is distributed by the state Companhia de Electricidade do Estado da Bahia (COELBA) in the urbanized area. Interruptions in supply are not common but jumps of intensity are. The invasoes are often illegally connected (gatos). Gas is the most used form of energy to cook; the cost of one metallic container is 300Cr\$ (September 1990), which is relatively inexpensive, but still out of reach for the poorest

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whoduce wides in district inhabitants. When gas cannot be bought people buy fuelwood, gather fuelwood from the forest or avoid cooking meals.

HOUSING: one of the main institutions of reference is the state Habitacao e Urbanizacao da Bahia (URBIS); it is the most important landowner after the municipality and one of the actors of the urbanization of Salvador. Two areas can be distinguished within Pau da Lima: an "urban" area (bairros of Castelo Branco, Dom Avelar, Pau da Lima, Sao Marcos, 7 de Abril and Villa Canaria) and a "rural-urban" area (bairros of Canabrava, Nova Brasilia, Novo Marotinho, Jardim Nova Esperanca, Jaguaribe II). The "urban" area is characterized by brick and concrete houses and served by essential infrastructures (transportation, schools, sanitation, streets of access). There are several types of buildings including many conjuntos habitacionais and loteamentos, conceived as mass housing and characterized by standard schemes of project and standard construction materials. The "rural-urban" area tries to reproduce the "urban" one, but the buildings have lesser quality infrastructures and are interspersed by green areas. The invasoes are concentrated in the bairros of Castelo Branco, Dom Avelar, Novo Marotinho, Pau da Lima, 7 de Abril and Villa Canaria. In the invasoes quality of housing reflects the characteristics of the ground, the time of settlement, and the level of community organization. The most recent invasoes are usually crowds of shelters made by wood and plastic; the oldest ones usually include a number of brick and concrete rooms covered by corrugated roofs. There is little or no protection against natural disasters. According to a study commissioned by AISPO (AISPO b, 1990), 32% of the total population of the district lives in mass housing schemes (conjunto habitacionais and loteamentos), 53% in other buildings and 15% in squatter settlements. The situation, however, is changing so rapidly that the above data may not be valid for long. In fact, many informants in the district told us that the percentage of Pau da Lima population living in squatter settlements is well above 15.

SANITATION: a sewage system is present only in the urbanized area of the bairro. The waste water is collected by open drains that usually pass through the invasoes and may end up directly in a brook. The open drains are often-over filled by rain or clogged by garbage, causing floods, slides and pollution of land and water. Proper sewage systems are virtually unknown in the squatter settlements, where some families build separate privies for washing but very few own a toilet facility. It is not uncommon that waste water enters in contact with drinking water sources.

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GARBAGE DISPOSAL: in the urbanized area the removal of garbage by the municipal Empresa de Limpeza Urbana (LIMPURB) is irregular and places for the collection of the garbage are very few. LIMPURB does not work at all in the invasoes. Even people inhabiting areas theoretically served by garbage collection, often simply throw their waste away, and especially down the encostas and baixadas where it gets "out of sight". Squatters have thus to deal with their own as well as other people's garbage. Open garbage attracts a variety of animals and insects, and in particular rats, flies and mosquitoes that can spread disease and are a source of nuisance in the neighborhood.

"BUILT" ENVIRONMENT: the district is characterized by hills where inhabitants are distributed according to patterns relative to their income. The conjunto habitacionais are located on the top of the hills (cumeadas); most of their inhabitants are workers in the industry or in the public services with a family income from 5 to 8 minimal salaries (AISPO a 1990). The loteamentos are located on the hill-sides (encostas) or on the bottom (baixadas); their inhabitants have slightly lower incomes. Roads are lit and paved but often the rain drainage system is insufficient and causes the formation of pools of water that impair the traffic. In the invasoes - where the formal or informal family income is one minimal salary or less - there is no provision whatsoever of infrastructures such as ways of access, rain drainage, public lighting, etc., and the location of houses (always in the least suitable encostas and baixadas) limits accessibility in case of health emergencies or disasters.

"NATURAL" ENVIRONMENT: the area was originally covered by tropical forests, and crossed by a variety of brooks and small rivers. Urbanization has first interested the top of the hills, that have been occupied by roads and buildings. Squatter settlements have followed, stripping vegetation from encostas and baixadas and subjecting the sandy soil to fast erosion because of the heavy rains. Too often landslides and floods have resulted, and many local springs have dried up. Large patches of forest can still be found in the district but it is to be expected that in a few years - in the absence of sensible planning and responding to the growing pressure for space, food and fuelwood - they will all be gone. Presently, it is not uncommon to spot fires in forest areas where people clean up land for squatting. With progressing deforestation, it can be expected that the whole geological situation will further deteriorate (erosion and landslides) and the watershed balance will be further upset (drying up of more springs, contamination of ground water with sewage and polluted water, etc.).

"WORK" ENVIRONMENT: Pau da Lima is more a residential than an industrial district. Its main large scale enterprise is the city dump, which collects all the garbage of Salvador. The dump is actually filling up a valley in Canabrava, one of the barrios of Pau da Lima. Hundreds of people, the poorest of the poor, meet there everyday, contending the garbage from the "urubus" - a kind of scavenger bird - dividing it per kind and selling it to recycling companies (Moura 1989). The awful smell from Canabrava pervades several kilometers around. Many repair shops and small manufactures are also present in the district but we have not been able to collect reliable information about them as source of pollution (only a repair shop of the public transportation system seems clearly to affect the water quality of some streams in the area), nor about the occupational hazards that may affect local workers. Children of poor families are engaged in informal activities (e.g. walking vendors of coffee, cigarettes, ice cream, etc.). Domestic work for middle-class families is very common among poor women. In both cases home-based activities (preparing coffee and sweets, washing clothes, etc.) are customary and the lack of supplies (water, electricity, etc.) represents a nuisance and an economic damage. Informal construction and repair work outside the district is also the principal source of income for men, which implies they need to travel long distances every day. The road traffic is intense and car accidents are common. Near Pau da Lima, the airport "2 de Julho" is the site of continuous arrivals and departures of airplanes to/ from Salvador. Flying over the DSPL, these are source of frequent, intense noise.

"LIFE" ENVIRONMENT: destitution and poverty are generalized in consequence of a inequitable distribution of goods and services based on an economic policy that does not serve the interests of the majority of the population. In fact, the model of urbanization and the housing conditions in Salvador well reflect the socio-economic deprivation suffered by many in Brazil. For most marginal people it is impossible to find legal housing, and for many - in particular individuals without family support - it is also very difficult to find a space within a squatter settlement (IAB 1977; Mattedi 1979). For the ones with very little personal resources it may even be impossible to find a piece of land where to squat alone. Squatters have very low levels of formal education and are generally unskilled. Problems as small robberies and violence - including police violence - are common in their communities. Drug addiction and drug related-violence are also. These problems create an unfair "public image" of the squatters. For the police and the better-off inhabitants of the city all the squatters are outlaw, disreputable people. In fact, the presence of different social classes in Pau da Lima increases the chances of conflict

among the population. A local newspaper even gives to the area the bad primacy of the most violent in Salvador ("A Tarde", September 10, 1990).

SOCIAL SERVICES: there are numerous primary schools in the district, but classes are overcrowded for lack of teachers. Secondary schools are not sufficient. The existing kindergartens cannot accommodate all the young people in need and - according to all informants with whom we spoke - do not function well. The Centro Social Urbano includes a health care facility run by the state Work Secretariat and a public school. In the past, training sessions were offered to the population but without appropriate planning. Kindergartens, health care facilities and training sessions are also run by philanthropic organizations. Their services are generally of better quality than the ones run by the state. Several public health facilities of intermediate level (one for each bairro) are present in Pau da Lima, but only some of them are functioning (a plan of upgrading them has begun). Many private health facilities, some of which providing services in convention with the state, are represented in the district, as well as many private pharmacies. The Roberto Santos hospital - outside the area of the district - works as main health referral facility but it functions poorly. A private large hospital (Sao Rafael) has a philanthropic agreement with the municipality and the state to give assistance to out-patients referred from the peripheral health facilities of the district. It admits patients in four specialities. Public transportation is supplied mainly by private companies who take little care in maintaining an insufficient number of buses.

The information reported above gives a broad view of the intertwined "environmental" and "needs" issues that call for solution in the Pau da Lima district. To complete the PEC picture we will add a little information in terms of community empowerment, the third component of PEC. There exist a large number of local organizations in the district (groups of women, groups of youth, resident associations, church groups, etc.) but they rarely are powerful enough to assure to their members a real decision-making influence on local issues. Many residents have the feeling that important decisions in the life of the district are taken by distant authorities and powerful individuals, and have little to do with local wishes and interests. The Community Council - an organism comprising the representatives of all bairros in the district - has yet been created only on paper. People interested in gaining some influence on district affairs have the option of joining a political party, but few among the poor trust that in the political arena things can change for the better for them, or at least change in the short time. It is not uncommon that local inhabitants organize "dramatic" demonstrations, such as blocking of public roads, firing of large quantities of garbage, marches, talks with media representatives, etc. to

denounce their unbearable living conditions. Rarely, however, these demonstrations seem to achieve important results.

5.2 The case studies

The case studies reported below refer to three communities in the bairro of Castelo Branco, one of the most interesting in the district of Pau da Lima for the close and evident coexistence of legal housing schemes, related urban services and illegal invasoes. It was established in 1967 when the first conjunto habitacional was built by the government to give a house to public employees (most of them working in the Police). The process of urbanization fastened its pace in the following years producing an intensely built area comprising many conjuntos habitacionais and the peculiar Projeto de Pesquisa - a housing scheme planned for lower-income public employers. In 1977 the first illegal settlements were set up. Presently, 13 invasoes can be counted within the bairro, but the growing of new invasoes is now so fast that their number needs to be up-dated almost every month together with the number of inhabitants in Castelo Branco (approximately between 50.000 and 60.000) (AISPO b 1989). The very fast rate of growth in the bairro is due to the fact that most of its land is property of the state or the municipality and thus more safety invaded than privately-owned areas 15.

¹⁵ There are three organizations working in Castelo Branco:

^{*} The Conselho de Moradores de Castelo Branco, that takes care of the interests of legal residents and manages assistance activities through several political contacts. The president was candidate for the PTB (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro).

^{*} The Projeto Castelo Branco (PROCAB) that helps squatter settlers. It supports the selforganization in each invasao and helps in the mediation with URBIS and the municipality. It was kept up by the financial contributions of its members and the external support of Visao Mundial, a Brazilian NGO in Belo Horizonte. Now this partnership is finished after four years.

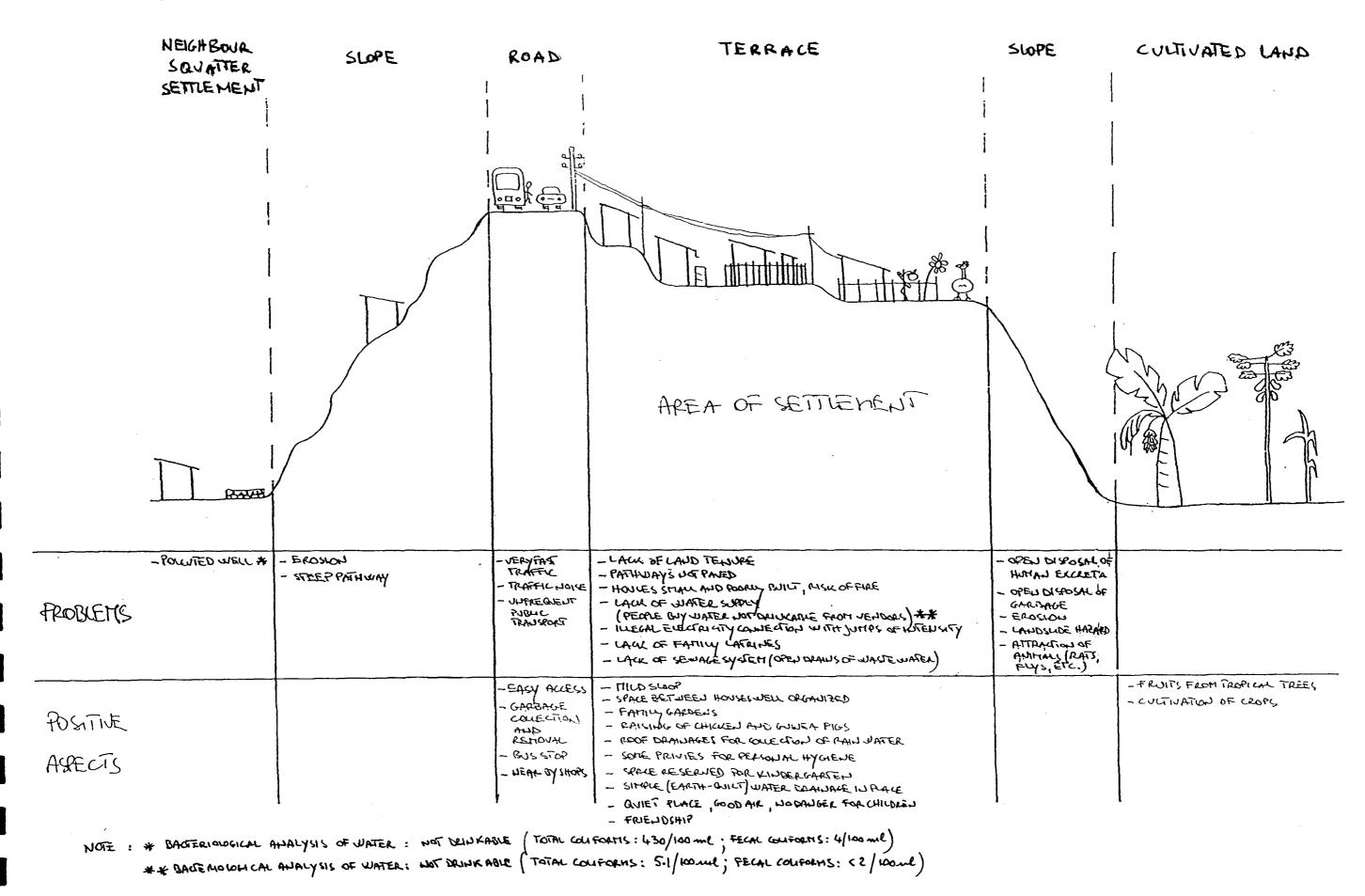
^{*} The Movimento de Defesa da Moradia (MODEMO) that was born after a political dissidence inside the Federacao de Associacao de Bairros de Salvador (FABS). Silvio one of its members - went out from FABS and founded MODEMO, which started to be active in 1983 supporting the squatter settlers of Plataforma (another bairro in the city). Now Silvio lives in Castelo Branco, in the invasao of Direito de Morar, and from there continues his activity. MODEMO is present in many quarters of Salvador, including Castelo Branco. MODEMO is a popular movement rather than a formal association. Its activities focus on supporting the Local Commissions elected by the people in each squatter settlement.

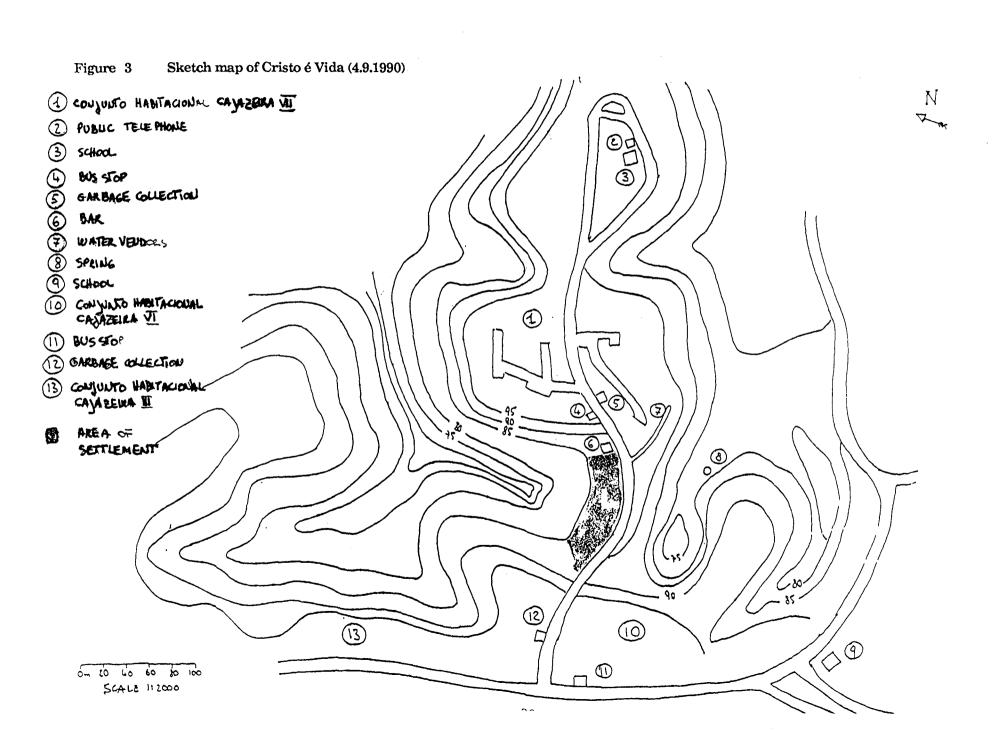
5.2.1 Case-study: Cristo é Vida

The area of Cristo é Vida can be approximated in 7.500 square meters, with about 200 inhabitants. 36 shacks can be counted. The settlement is on a very narrow, mild slope delimited by a public road and a steep decline towards a cultivated valley. Very few trees can be seen among the houses, which are separated quite nicely by well kept sandy pathways. The general appearance is of a recent settlement, with shacks mostly built with wood poles and plastic sheets. Not many people can be seen around. A picture of the settlement (Figure 1), its transect (with a note including the results of water bacteriological analysis) (Figure 2), sketch map (Figure 3) and historical profile (Figure 4) are reported below to illustrate the area and the main PEC problems. The lists of community positive aspects, environmental problems and felt priorities in PEC will follow (Table 1). The basic interests in PEC, instances and achievements of community organization and schemes of follow-up will then be reported in a matrix structure (Tables 2, 3a, 3b). Finally, we will report the life history of a person living in the community.

Figure 1 The squatter community of Cristo é Vida and - in the background - some mass housing schemes. The photo was taken in October 1990, when many more bricks rooms were set up than they existed in early September, when we had our focus groups meetings in the area.







1983 _ JOÃO THE FIRST SETTLER ARRIVES _ THREE TENTATIVES OF SQUATTING ARE REPRESSED BY POLICE 11986 _ THREE HOUSES ARE STANDING LMARCH 1990 _ STARTS SQUATTING ORGANIZED BY RO DENO _ SELECTED SITE FOR FUTURE KINDERGARTEN _ POLICE IS CALLED BY ALEGAL RESIDENT OF NEAR - BY LOTEAMENTO AND THROWS DOWN ALL THE HOUSES _ NODEMO ORGANIZES THE LOCAL COMMISSION - MODENO , SOLICITED BY SQUATTERS , CONTACTS UKBIS _ URBIS TEMPORALY AUTHORIZES TO BUILD 15 HOUSES ONLY LMAY 1990 . MORE THAN 20 HOUSES ARE BUILT ILLEGAL CONNECTION WITH ELECTRICITY SUPPLY IS ESTABLISHED LAUGUST 1990 - FIRE ACCIDENT. ONE HOUSE BURNED. ONE CHILD HURT -SEPTEMBER 1990 MONEY COLLECTED AMOND THE SQUATTERS BY LOCAL COMMISSION INITIATIVE TO GET ILLEGAL CONNECTION WITH WATER PIPE

SEPTEMBER 1990

- STREET DEMONSTRATION FOR LAND TENUES
 IN PIEDADE SQUACE (SALVADOR CENTER)
- _ MEETING WITH URBIS PRESIDENT. DISPUTE
 WITH MODEND LEADER
- _ MODEMO BETS THE SUPPORT OF A LAWYER (LAWYERS GUILD OF BRAZIL)

LOCTOBER 1990

- ILLEGAL CONNECTION WITH MAIN WATER
 PIPE IS ESTABLISHED
- _ MORE HOUSES ARE CONSOLIDATED WITH BRICKS
- _ THERE ARE 43 HOUSES

+ 37

Table 1 Cristo é Vida: community environmental awareness and PEC priorities

	"POSITIVE ASPECTS"		
WOMEN	I MEN	YOUTH	
Easy transportation	* Easy transportation	* Bus stop is near	
Traffic on the road	* The shops are near	* The street is near	
The shops are near	* The street is near	* The nature is good	
To have a place where to live	* There is a good air	* The area is near other houses	
No danger for children	Cars near the area	* The neighbours are nice	
There is place for family garden	1 To have a place where to live	* Quiet environment	
Absence of slope	* The place is quiet	It is a quiet place	
The friendship		* Absence of slope	
	1	1	
	"ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS"		
WOMEN	! MEN	I YOUTH	
Traffic accidents	I' Lack of water	1* Lack of water	
Scarcity of transportation	Lack of health care	1 Social conflicts	
•	Lack of police facility	Lack of electricity	
	Lack of electricity	I Inactivity of Local Commission	
	Scarcity of transportation	Lack of sewage system	
	Lack of land tenure	i	
	* Lack of community cohesion	i	
	1	1	
	"PEC PRIORITIES" after DISCUSSIO	N	
WOMEN	I MEN	YOUTH	
. Water supply	1. Land tenure	1. Land tenure	
. Land tenure	2. Job services & employment	2. Water supply	
. School facility	3. Health care facility	13. Sewage system	
. Job services & employment	14. Police facility	4. Garbage collection	
. Sewage system	5. Water supply	15. Health care facility	

Table 2 Cristo é Vida: basic interests in PEC expressed during the focus group

•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••				CATEGORIES OF MOTIVATIONS FOR PRIORITIE	ES		·****************************
PRIORITIES	"BASIC NEED"	PREVENTION OF DISEASE	QUALITY OF LIFE	CONDITION TO SOLVE ANOTHER PROBLEM	ECONOMIC INTEREST	SOCIAL INTEREST	OPPORTUNITY / FEASIBILITY
LAND TENURE	* to have a place where to live (Y)			* to be able to improve the building (W-M) to get water and other services (Y)	" to stop being afraid to lose our properties (W-Y-M) to leave the house to our sons (W)	* to give identity to our community (M)	* it is a good moment to revendicat it now, before elections (Y)
WATER SUPPLY		to take care of our personal hygiene (W-M)	to do domestic work (cleaning, cooking, etc.) (W-Y) to avoid difficult transportation of water (W-Y-M)	 	to pay less for the water (W)	because a person has forbidden the use of the well (M) to avoid depending from other people for the water supply (W-Y) to avoid stealing water from EMBASA (unpolite) (M)	
SEWAGE SYSTEM	* because we have no place where to put excreta (W-Y)		to have privacy (W-Y) to avoid the bad smell (Y)	* to prevent pollution of the well (W) * to prevent attraction of the insects (M)	 	to avoid the embarassement of living in dirty places (M) to avoid throwing the stools away (Y)	
HEALTH CARE FACILITY	* because we can die before reaching the health facility (W-Y-M)		because the health facility is far (Y-M)	 			* because we need external support to solve this problem (M)
JOB SERVICES and EMPLOYMENT	* to find work (M) * because a formal work is very difficult to find (an informal job is easier) (M) * to be able to buy the food (W)		* to improve the quality of life with money (W))* to built a better house)* to support our families (W) (* to help our husbands (* in supporting the family (W) (*)	 	
SCHOOL FACILITY	I' to give the necessary education to children (M) I	* to learn individual hygiene (M) 	because as it is the school does not work well (M)	* because it is impossible to find a job without studying (Y) * because at school children can learn what to do about garbage (M)	because we cannot pay for a private school (W) to get help from children after certification (W)	 	
GARBAGE COLLECTION	 		* to avoid the bad smell (Y) * to live better (M)	* to prevent pollution of the area (Y) * to prevent land slides (Y) (garbage blocks water drainages) (Y) * to prevent attraction of animals (Y)	 	 	because we can solve this problet without external help (M)
POLICY FACILITY	 				 	1 * to avoid conflicts with the neighbours (Y)	

Table 3a Cristo é Vida: community action in PEC

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	ACTIONS	WHBN	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE ACTION	EXTERNAL SUPPORT RECEIVED	RESULTS ACHIEVED	FURTHER SUPPORT DESIRED
none	SQU \TTING (invading and cuilding shacks according to an organized plan)	 march 1990 	 one person advised URBIS about the presence of the squatters URBIS demolished the shacks 	{* Celia * Silvio (MODEMO) (to help 'n organizing the squatting) 	1 the squatter settlement still exists 1 fair land distributed 1 1	* visit by the governator * bricks and concrete
 	LAND TENURE (vindication to the institution preposed to urban planning URBIS)	march 1990	* at the beginning URBIS refused to give permission to remain in the area **URBIS chief is unpolite man* * lack of information among people * lack of cohesion of the people * people decide and act alone	* Celia and Silvio (to take contacts with URB(S) 	URBIS gave permission for 15 houses	* "a politician to help us to get land tenure before elections"
 Local Commission	WATER SUPPLY (vindication to the water company EMBASA)	 march 1990	* no answer came from EMBASA when they asked for water	 	l none 	
(LC) 	WATER SUPPLY (collection of money to buy the necessary equipment for illegal connection)	 september 1990 	* money collected is not enough (not everybody gave money) * people had to pay for others (poors) * september * difficult to find the *piece of tube* (only EMBASA has it) 1990 * the price of the *piece of tube* increases daily * lack of interest, motivation, knowledge, cohesion, solidarity on going * scarce participation of people		1° identified the place where to make connection 1° mobilized men to work 1° collected part of money needed 1° achieved some equipment and tools 1 1	* the "piece of tube" * money to buy the "piece of tube" * materials to make the connection
- ! ! !	BASIC SANITATION (vindication to the municipality)	 eady (?) 1990 	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	l none	none	

• • • • information not expressed

Table 3b Cristo é Vida: community organization

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	SUPPORT RECEIVED IN SETTING UP ORGANIZATION	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE ORGANIZATION	SCHEMESOF FOLLOW-UP	FUTURE CHANGES DESIRED IN THE ORGANIZATION	SUPPORT DESIRED	FUTURE INTERESTS	POSSIBLE COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS
Local Commission (LC)	•	1 lack of follow-up by Silvio 1 LC has difficulties to work alone 1 inactivity of the LC 1 no legal registration of the LC 1 lack of cohesion among LC members 1 misunderstandings between LC members 2 problems in LC organization 1 lack of information on the existence of the LC 1 lack of people confidence with the work of LC 1	montly meetings of LC with MODEMO 	l* formalize the LC in Resident Association l* register the members for the organization l* a secretary to record decisions l* improve LC performances l* more support from MODEMO l* improve people participation and cohesion l* get an house for the association	I* mediation with institutions by somebody more powerfull I* somebody interested about this area I* external people to stimulate participation I* external people to give trust to LC I* external people to guide LC I* more support from Celia and Silvio I* more information to people IFrom DSPL: I* "We would like some support from DSPL, but we do not know what to ask for, nor how to get it" I* If don't know what DSPL is" I* information about technical solutions I* orientation about community gardens	to get water supply I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	to claim together to work together l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l

Joao Pereira da Silva/ man/ 27 years old/ resident of Cristo é Vida Life history

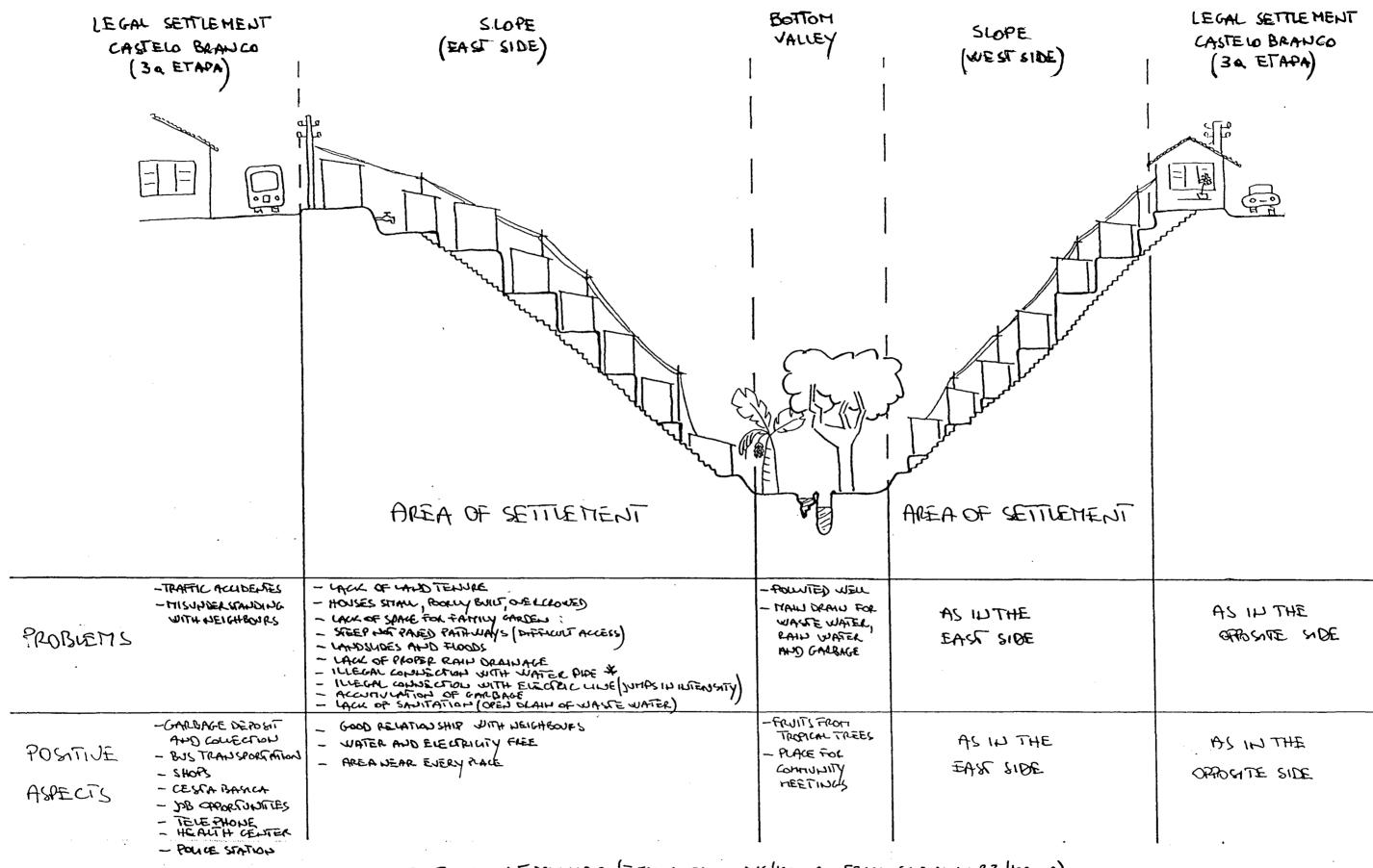
- -Was born in 1963 in Juazeiro (Bahia, Brazil).
- -When he was a young boy worked together with his family in the fields.
- -In 1972 moved to Petrolina (Pernambuco, Brazil) to work with a family as a vendor in a small grocery store. Several years later, members of the same family invited him to work in Salvador.
- -Moved to Salvador when 18 year old, to work in the grocery store and two years later as a mason.
- -In Salvador he lived in Beiru (a peripheric bairro of Salvador) in a rented room. In 1983 he and his sister moved to an area close to Cristo é Vida and rented a room in a friend's house for 1 year. Throughout this time he worked to build a shack near by. His brother joined him, and got himself another lot to build his own shack. "Myself, I do not like squatters. I am afraid of them. Here in Salvador everything is different from Juazeiro, where nobody squat anywhere. I saw people squatting the first time here. Now I think everybody has the right to live in some place. I decided to squat too".
- -He got married and has 4 children. He has a earth house with 3 rooms and just started to build a new one with bricks. He works as a mason and now is building a church in a bairro near Cristo é Vida. He has a great pride of his job.
- Refers the story of Cristo é Vida and the fight to remain in this settlement. "URBIS tryed to expels us but it was not possible because we were organized". Refers to the importance of their organization and the problems due to lack of participation. To motivate people, he thinks, they have to achieve the land tenure.
- -For him Cristo é Vida is a nice place where to live. "Poor people cannot choose a place to live. And when we find one it is nice".

5.2.2 Case study: Direito de Morar

The area of Direito de Morar can be approximated in 50.000 sq. meters with about 2.000 inhabitants. The shacks are approximately 350, and most of them are set on very steep slopes. Pathways are narrow staircases cut in the sandy ground. The general appearance is of a poor, quite recent settlement in fast expansion (people can be seen working to improve their shacks or building new ones). Many people are on sight, and among them many children. Some shacks advertise home products for sale (ice creams, sweets, drinks, cigarettes, coiffeur services, etc.). There is little or no vegetation, except for some banana or other tropical fruit tree. The results of our data collection are reported below according to the same scheme used for the preceding case study (see Figures 5, 6, 7, 8 and Tables 4, 5, 6a, 6b).

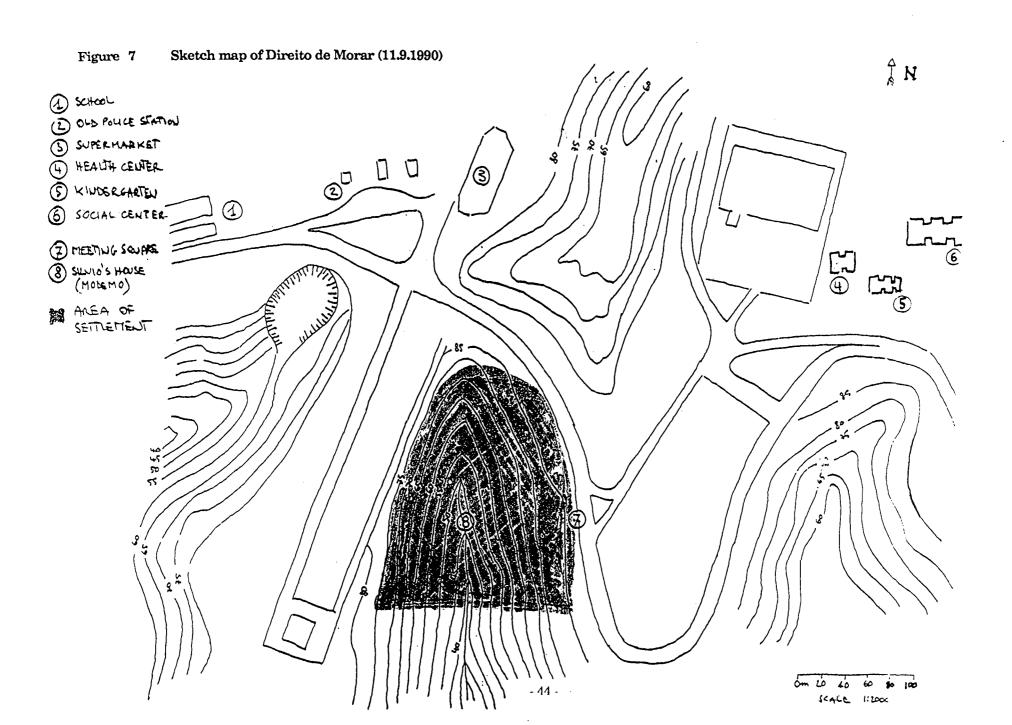
Figure 5 The squatter community of Direito de Morar. Note the steep slope and the many children in sight.





NOTE: * BATERIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WATER: EACT SIDE: NOT DESINKAIRE (TOTAL CONFORMS: >16/100 me; FECAL GUFORTS: 2.2/100 me)

WELT SIDE: NOT DAWKABLE (TOTAL CONFORMS: 2.2/100 ml; FECAL CONFORMS: 2.2/100 ml)



Historical profile of Direito de Morar Figure 8

t i		1	
1988	- SQUATTING OF THE AREA ATTEMPTED 4 TIMES BY	October 1989	_ FLOODS AFIER STRONG RAINS
Į Į	DIFFERENT GROUPS WITHOUT SUCCESS (POLICE		
	INTERVENTIONS	NOVEMBER 1989	_ SELF ORGANIZED COMMUNITY CENSUS.
			450 FAMILIES REGISTRED
FEBRUARY 1989	- SQUATTING ORGANIZED BY MODEMO THAT	·	
	IMMEDIATELY HELPS SETTING UP 4 LOCAL	JANUARY 1990	_ AGRESSION TOWARDS A MEMBER OF
	COMMISSION		LOCAL COMMISSION
	- IN 2 WEEKS N 20 HOUSES ARE BUILT		
	- EXPULSION OF SQUATTERS BY POLICE ON THE	Ì	
	REQUEST OF A SELF. CLAIMED LAND LORD		
	- SQUATTING IS SET UP AGAIN AND ABAIN, APTER	MAY 1990	_ ONE MORE CASE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE
	EVERY INTERVENTION BY THE POLICE (ON THE		AGAINST A PERSON WHO DOES NOT LIVE
	REQUEST OF URBIS)		IN THE SETTLE MENT
			_ ONE HOUSE BURNED (WITHOUT VICTUS)
MARCH 1989	. STREET DEMONSTRATION FOR LAND TENURE		
	_ CONTACTS WITH URBIS PRESIDENT	JULY 1990	_ TWO CAR ACCIDENTS INVOLUING CHILDREN
	_ MEETING WITH GOVERNOR WHO GIVES		
	INFORMAL DERMISSION TO STAY (NO MORE	; 	
	EXPULSIONS BY POLICE)	SEPTEMBER 1990	_ Street demonstration for land tenure In piedade Square (Salvador Center)
MAY 1989	_ ILLEGAL CONNECTION WITH WATER SUPPLY		_ MEETING WITH UEBIS PRESIDENT . DISPUTE
	AND PLECTRICITY ARE ESTABLISHED		WITH MODEMO LEADER
			_ MODEMO GETS THE SUPPORT OF A LAWYER
JUNE 1989	_ STREET DEMONSTRATION TO GAIN LAND TENURE		(LAWYERS GUILD OF BRAZIL)
	_ ONE CASE OF LEPTOSPIROSIS		
	A YOUNG GIRL IS RAPED	OCTOBER 1990	_ NUMBER OF ROBBERYS INCREASES
	AGRESSION TOWARDS A MEMBER OF LOCAL		_ THE COMMUNITY DECIDES TO ELECT A
	COMMISSION		NEW LOCAL ASSOCIATION REPLACING
	_ LANDSLIDE AFTER RAIN		THE ORIGINAL LOCAL COMMISSION
	_ ONE HOUSE BURNED (WITHOUT VICTMS)		
	LOCAL COMMISSION IS DELY ACTIVE IN	1	
	SELECTING NEW SQUATTERS, CONTROLLING LAND	t 1	
l .			

DISTRIBUTION AND MANAGING THE AREA

Table 4 Direito de Morar: community environmental awareness and PEC priorities

	"POSITIVE ASPECTS"			
WOMEN	I MEN	I YOUTH		
Easy transportation Presence of a supermarket and a farmacy in the area Working places are near The health facility is near No rent to pay The school is near Thiefs and murders are unusual	The neighbours are nice friends Nice social environment Good people cohesion Supermarket, health facility, farmacy, bus stop are near Easy transportation The friendship There is a house for meetings Quiet environment There is a police station	Ouiet environment Safety at night Good relationship with neighbours Water and electricity are free Absence of drug users Nobody pays for water and electricity There are no drug users No rent to pay The area is near to many places		
	There is a place where to live	1		
	"ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS"			
WOMEN	I MEN	I YOUTH		
Lack of water Lack of sewage system Unfair distribution of land Lack of latrines Illegal electricity connection Lack of proper stoves	* Illegal electricity connection * Lack of water * Lack of sewage system * Lack of proper pathways	* Lack of land tenure * Social conflicts * Poor housing * Illegal electricity connection * Lack of water * Lack of sewage system * Lack of pathways pavimentation * Garbage accumulation * Lack of latrines * Well pollution * Lack of school * Too large families * Lanslides * Lack of health care * Lack of kindergarten * Poverty * Hunger		
WO.01	"PEC PRIORITIES" after DISCUSSI			
WOMEN	N N -	YOUTH		
Land tenure Line Housing Sewage system Electricity supply Sewage supply Sewage supply	 1. Land tenure 2. Water supply 3. Electricity supply 4. Sewage system 5. Control of drug problem	 1. Land tenure 2. Sewage system 3. Health care facility 4. Employment opportunities 5. Garbage collection		

Table 5 Direito de Morar: basic interests in PEC expressed during the focus group

	1	,	CATEGOF	RIES OF MOTIVATIONS FOR PRIORITIES			
PRIORITIES	BASIC NEED	PREVENTION OF DISEASE	 QUALITY OF LIFE 	CONDITION TO SOLVE ANOTHER PROBLEM	ECONOMIC INTEREST	SOCIAL INTEREST	OPPORTUNITY / FEASIBILITY
LAND TENURE	* to have a place where to live (W) * because we have no other place to go (Y)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	to avoid insecurity (Y-M)	* to be in condition to solve other problems (Y-M) 		* to give identity to our community (M) * to avoid threats to the people (W) * to prevent expulsion by the police (W-M)	
SEWAGE SYSTEM	* because we do not know what to do with excreta (M) because we do not know to build latrines (Y) because it is impossible to build latrines for all (M)		° to avoid the bad smell (M) ° to avoid excreta in the streets (W)	* to prevent street erotion (W) * to prevent that sewage from latrines infiltrate the soil (M) * to prevent attraction of animals (W)		† to prevent misunderstandings between people (M)	* because we cannot solve this problem by ourselves (Y-M)
ELECTRICITY		; [* to use it at home (W)		* to prevent damaging of electric goods (W-Y-M)	* to avoid the illegal connection (W) * to prevent problems with the neighbours (M)	I* to get support in claiming electricity to institution (Y)
i	because the well is polluted (W-Y-M) to get the indispensable water to drink and wash (Y-M) it is impossible to live without water (Y)	, 				* because people who control water sources to not give access (W-M) to avoid the illegal connection (W-M)	
HOUSING	* because it is the most important problem (Y) * to be protected against humidity and cold (Y)		work time or travel (M)	* to prevent floods when it rains (W-Y) * to prevent the risk of fire (W) 	(* to have a family garden (M) (* because we cannot solve this problem by ourselves (M) * because this problem is very difficult to solve (Y)
HEALTH CARE FACILITY	* because we lack maternity care (W) * because we lack emergency care (W-Y)	* to maintain good health (Y-M) - 	or because the existing health facility is far (W-Y) because now it is difficult to get health care (W)		 		
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES	* to eat (M)	 		to solve other problems (M)	* because all poor people want to work (Y) * to get money to take care of our family (Y) 		
	* to get a place where to deposit garbage (W) * to prevent accumulation on the streets (W)		* to avoid the bad smell (M)	* to prevent obstruction of the drains (M) * to prevent attraction of animals (Y-M)	••	 	* because we cannot solve this problem by ourselves (M)
CONTROLOF DRUG PROBLEM	· ·	* because people do not know it as a disease (M)				* to prevent children to be influenced (M) * to prevent children to go outside the law (M)	* because the problem is difficult to solve by ourselves (M)

Table 6a Direito de Morar: community action in PEC

COMINUNITY ORGAN ZATION	ACTIONS	WHEN	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE ACTION	EXTERNAL SUPPORT RECENED	RESULTS ACHIEVED	FURTHER SUPPORT DESIRED
 	SCUATTING (inv_ding and building shacks according to an organized plan)	 february 1989 	* "legal" reighbours called for police intervention * intervent and of land owner, police and URBIS * price dumolished the houses * police stopped water and electricity connection	Silvio (MODEMO) (helped organizing the squatting) Benedita (motivated people to build again their homes) PROCAB (distributed drugs & milk) Celia (Women Association of Unidos Venceremos) (gave advice and support in mediation with authorities)	* squatter settlement established * permission to remain in the area (by URBIC)	••••
		on going	* unfair distribution of land parcels without taking consideration of needs	none	land distribution under control of LC after setting up of the organization 	
! ! ! ! !	LAND TENURE (vindication to the institution preposed to urban planning URBIS)	i i	* people tiredness and disililusion * lack of interest, cohesion and participation of people * lack of solidariety among people * political differences among people	* Sifvio (MODEMO) * Celia (Women Association of Unidos Venceremos) (gave advice and support in mediation with authorities)	the squatter settlement still exists there is daily struggle promise to get land tenure after elections (by URBIS president)	* somebody external more powerful * orientation from a lawyer * technical commission (to guide and mobilize people)
	HOUSING (community help in building shacks and petitions to authorities)	 february 1989 on going		* Dr. CONTREINAS (Urbis ex president) (carried out a study to prevent erosion and landslides 	* homes built * promise to get bricks (by URBIS president) 	* further materials to build houses - - - - -
 	ELECTRICITY SUPPLY (illegal connection and petitions to authorities)	 may 1989 	 		1* iflegal connection done	
- 	WATER SUPPLY (illegal connection and petitions to authorities)	 may 1989 	- 		* illegal connection done	

· · · · information not expressed

Table 6b Direito de Morar: community organization

COMMUNITY SUPPORT RECEIVED IN ORGANIZATION SETTING UP ORGANIZATION	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE ORGANIZATION	SCHEMES OF FOLLOW-UP	FUTURE CHANGES DESIRED IN THE ORGANIZATION	SUPPORT DESIRED	PUTURE INTERESTS	POSSIBLE COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS
"MODEMO (it has given the idea, directed and supported the whole process) Local Commission (LC)	leack of coordination among LC members leack of coordination among LC members leach disagreement within LC in political strategy leach absence of Silvio and Esmeralda leach	weekly meetings of LC (not regularly) i i i i	to transform the LC into a Resident Association to focus efforts to use its power better to give more information to people to foster seminars with external people to change meeting place, subjects tooks	* political, organizational and economical support from a more powerful organization From DSPL: * mediation with authorities * technical orientation in: - health care - community pharmacy - community garden for medicinal plants	to get land tenure to get basic sanitation to build houses to have a training in human relationships to set up a workshop to train children in productive activities stronger control of the new settlers to set up a brick factory health education	to claim together to plan, implement, control together whatever is done manual labour financial contributions to transport materials to pay the houses (month by month) to amplify benefits to all people to give education in garbage disposal manpower in social and health programmes

Maria do Carmo Alves da Silva/ woman/ 28 years old/ resident of Direito de Morar Life history

- Vas torn in Lustosa (Bahia, Brazil) in 1962.
- Her father was a street paddler and her mother worked in a tobacco factory. She refers that her father was always drunk and frequently beat his wife. He also had another family. In 1971 the tobacco factory was closed. Maria do Carmo's mother moved to Conceicao do Jacuipe after she was abandoned by her husband. Before that, she distributed her 6 children among her relatives and god-mothers. In the new town the mother started again working in a tobacco factory. In a few years she managed to get all her children back.
- Maria do Carmo who did not have a god-mother to be left with was the first to join her mother in Conceicao do Jacuipe. She was 9 years old and started working at home with the tobacco that her mother brought from the factory ("my mother received a salary based on the amount of work done, she did not have a fixed pay. For this reason I had to help her working at home because it was not possible at my age to get a job at the factory"). She, and later her brothers and sisters, worked from 8 o'clock in the morning to midnight every day ("with our work during the week we got more money than my mother in the factory").
- She went to school when she was a little girl but "I did not learn anything. After a few months I left the school because I needed to work".
- When she was 10 years old she went to Salvador to live and work for a family. She remained with them for 2 or 3 years without any news of her own family ("my mother did not have my address") and refers of having been physically abused by her employers.
- In 1980 when she was 18 year old she got her worker registration and a job in a tobacco factory. She received a minimum salary and worked from 7 o'clock a.m. to 5 o'clock p.m. She was fired after 7 months and got a new job in a sugar cane plantation.
- In 1981 she got married and soon conceived 2 children (now 9 and 8 years old). Her husband moved to Salvador in 1984 because he could not find a job in Conceicao do Jacuipe. In this period she had a job as a domestic worker for a family and took care of the children.
- In 1986 she also moved to Salvador with her children. They all settled in a squatter area (Jardim Cajazeiras, for 3 years and 4 months). In 1990 she moved to Direito de Morar ("Zé my husband heard about that squatting and came here. He found a lot and took it for us. Then he met Silvio of MODEMO and he explained that it was not possible to remain in that lot. Silvio and other people helped us to clean a new lot and build our

shack. I was sick and Ana (Silvio's wife) and Zé went with me to the hospital"). The situation in Jardim Cajazeiras was terrible ("there was an open sewage in front of my house and when it rained, everything was flooded. I was always sick. I got a pneumonia there"), but there were problems also to remain in the new squatter settlement ("my husband built our shack one Sunday. On Monday morning URBIS came and threw it down. We built it again, and again the police and URBIS workers came to throw it down. One of them told me 'Senhora, you and these children must leave this place because I am going to throw down your shack'. I told him I would not go away. I do not have another place to go. He answered me 'go back to the place where you lived before, but leave this place here!'. I was very anguished").

- Maria is still living in that very place with her family and her sister and brother.
- After she moved to Salvador she never worked in a factory. She does cleaning jobs in Castelo Branco and washes clothes to get some money. Her husband does not have a formal work: "he told me that in this way it is possible to get more money. With a formal job he can only get less than one minimum salary".

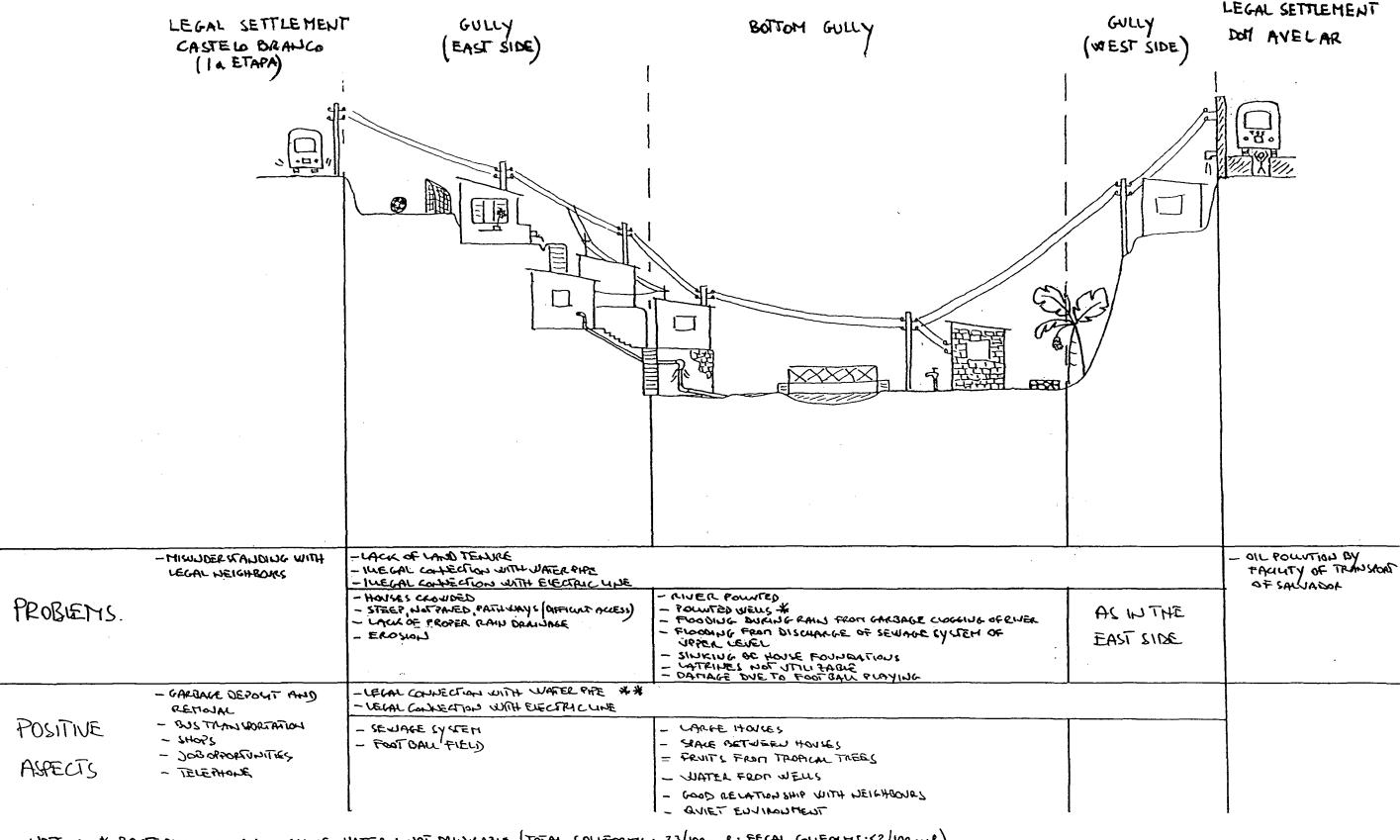
5.2.3 Case study: Baixa da Bica

The area of Baixa da Bica can be approximated in 15.000 square meters with about 400 inhabitants. There are about 80 living quarters, distributed on the steep sides and on the bottom of a gully. Some of them are actual brick-and-concrete houses, but they look old and in a very poor state of maintenance. Some houses are "for sale", some abandoned. Few people can be seen in the settlement. Many of them are elderly. Some trees and bush vegetation are scattered around. At the bottom of the gully there is a large, slow-paced stream. The water is black and foul smelling with floating plastic bags, wood and other debris. Some of the lower sited houses are water-logged. The results of our data collection are reported below according to the same scheme used for the two preceding case studies (see Figures 9, 10, 11, 12 and Tables 7, 8, 9a, 9b).

Figure 9 The squatter community of Baixa da Bica. Note the polluted stream and the houses sited very close to the stream banks.

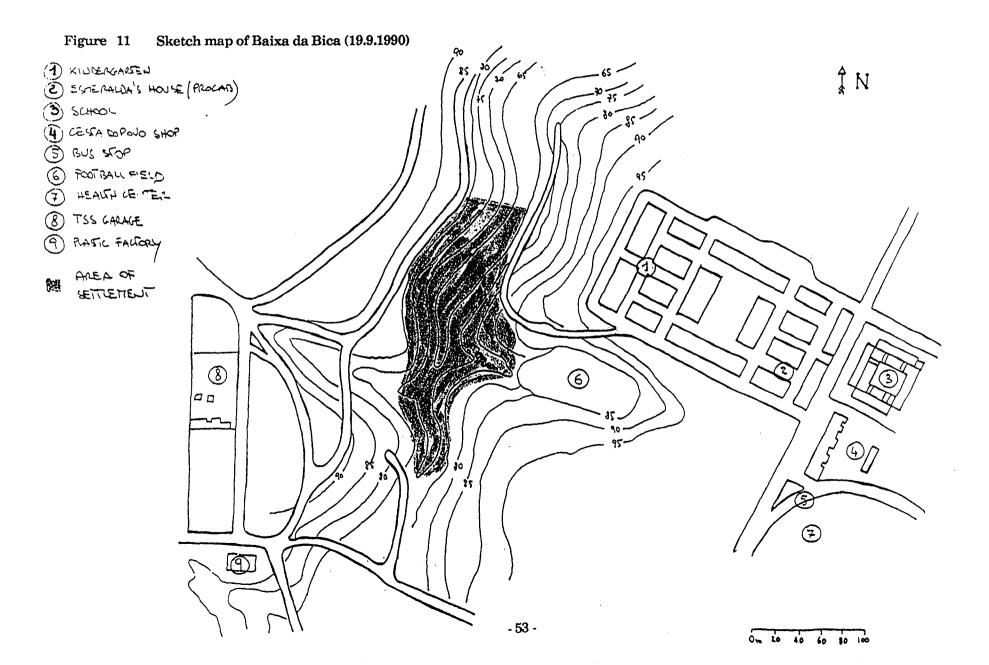


Figure 10 Transect of Baixa da Bica (19.9.1990)



NOTE: * BACTERIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WATER: NOT DANKAGUE (TOTAL CONFORMS: 23/100 ml; FECAL CONFORMS: <2.2/100 ml)

** BACTERIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WATER: NOT DANKAGUE (TOTAL CONFORMS: 5.1/100 ml; FECAL CONFORMS: < 2.2/100 ml)



i			
:	FOREST, SPRINGS, RIVER , FISHING	1983	_ SEVERAL HOUSES DESTROYED BY RAINS. HELP
			ASKED TO MUNICIPALITY AND PROCAS
1969 / 72	THE RIVER IS POLLUTED BY TRANSUR		_ SOME RESIDENTS RECEIVE MATERIALS TO
	(COMPANY OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION)		REPAIR THEIR HOUSES FROM PROCAS AND
Y	WITH MOTOR OIL DISCHARGE		MUNICIPALITY (MONTHS AFTER THE RAINS)
3		1984	_ FLOODS BECOME PERMANENT. SERIOUS
1970	- FIRST 5 HOUSES ON THE TOP OF THE GULLY		DAMAGES TO HOUSES
1975	REAL ESTATE AGENCY SELLS LAND	1986	_ FAMILIES START TO LEAVE THE AREA
	PAR CELS		
	_ PEDRO, THE FIRST SETTLER AT THE	1368	- MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS . POLITICIANS PROMISE
	BOTTOM OF THE GULLY ARRIVES		HELP AND SPECIFIC INTERVENTIONS (E.G. SEWAGE SYSTEM)
1977	_ NUMBER OF HOUSES INCREASES IN THE		
T	SQUATTING AREA AS WELL AS IN THE	1989	_ HEAVY RAINS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR . MANY
	WIDER NEIGH BOR HOOD	:	HOUSES DAMAGED BY FLOODS
			ONE PERSON HAS AN ACCIDENT ON THE STEEP
1978	_ THE SPRING DRIES OUT		PATHWAY AND IS ADMITTED TO THE HOSPITAL
1 174.	_ RIVER IS INCREASINGLY POLLUTED		
	_ KIVER 13 INCREMBIN DET 10000129	1990	_ HOWICIDE IN THE AREA
	·		OUE MORE PERSON IS HURT ON THE STEEP
			PATHWAY AND ADMITTED TO THE HOSPITAL
11381	_ N LOO HOUSES. THE SETTLEMENT REACHES		Amin mail Man about 10 the Morality
	ITS MAXIMUM HUMBER OF FAMILIES		
		OCTO SER 1990	_ FLOOD WORSENS BECAUSE OF HEAVY RAIN
			_ STILL NO SEWHEE SYSTEM OR FLOOD
SEPTEMBER 1983	- PETITIONS TO EMBASA AND COELBA TO GET		PROTECTION IN PLACE
	CONNECTIONS TO WATER AND ELECTRICITY		_ ONE MORE PAMILY LEAVES THE ARE
	SUPFLIES	1	_ 80 FAMILIES ARE LEFT (~ 400 INHABITANTS)

Table 7 Baixa da Bica: community environmental awareness and PEC priorities

	"POSITIVE ASPECTS"	
WOMEN) MEN	YOUTH
Quiet environment Water from wells Good relationship with neighbours	Good relationship with neighbours Quiet environment	* Water from wells * Good relationship with neighbours
	"ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS"	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
WOMEN	MBN	YOUTH
Pollution of the river Lack of sewage system The floods Garbage accumulation Diseases Steep, not paved pathways Lack of electricity Lack of water The football games The sewage from Castelo Branco Heavy transportation of gas	Pollution of the river Steep pathways Lack of water Lack of health facility Lack of police station	* Garbage accumulation * Pollution of the river * Steep pathways * The mud * The floods
	"PEC PRIORITIES" after DISCUSSION	
WOMEN) MEN	YOUTH
. Sewage system . Health care facility . Football regulation . Pathways improvement . Garbage collection	1. Sewage system 2. Pathways improvement 3. Health care facility 4. School facility 5. Garbage collection	Sewage system Garbage collection Athways improvement Police facility Health care facility

Table 8 Baixa da Bica: basic interests in PEC expressed during the focus group

		CATEGORIES OF MOTIVATIONS FOR PRIORITIES							
PRIORITIES	 "BASIC NEED" 	PREVENTION OF DISEASE	OUALITY OF LIFE	 CONDITION TO SOLVE ANOTHER PROBLEM 	ECONOMIC INTEREST	SOCIAL INTEREST	OPPORTUNITY / FEASIBILITY		
SEWACE SYSTEM	 - - -	1		* after getting it we could ask for land tenure (and pay taxes) (M) * to prevent the pollution of the river (W) * to prevent floods (W-Y-M) * to use our latrines (M) * to prevent attraction of animals (M)	* to prevent damage to our houses (M)	of to be able to receive visits by our friends (Y) to organize parties even when it rains (Y)			
STREET IMPROVEMENT	to prevent the destruction of streets when it rains (M)		to avoid hard climbing (W-Y-M) to facilitate sick people and women getting around (Y) to give access to cars (W-M)	} 	 	 	 		
		* because children are always sick (W) * to get care of the children at night (M)	* because the health facility is far (W-M) 	 	 	 	 		
GARBAGE COLLECTION	 	o to prevent diseases (W-Y)	o to avoid the bad smell (W) I I I I	* to prevent pollution of land and river (W-Y-M) * to prevent river obstruction and floods when it rains (W-Y-M) * to prevent pollution of pits and wells (Y) * to prevent the inundation of houses when it rains (M) * to prevent attraction of rats (W-Y-M)	 - 	 	* because it is very difficult to sof the problem by ourselves (M) 		
FOOTBALL REGULATION)* to prevent breaking of roofs and tiles by the ball (W) 	* to prevent conflicts with neighbours (W)	 		
SCHOOL FACILITY	* because it is important for the children (M)	 	* because the school we have lacks many things (Y) * to learn good things (Y)	* to be able to get a job after attending school (Y)]	 		
POLICE FACILITY	 	 	* because there is only one police tacility and it is very far (W) 		* to prevent robberies (Y) 	* to chase the drug users far from our area (Y) * to have more security in our neighbourhood (Y)	 		

Table 9a Baixa da Bica: community action in PEC

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	ACTIONS	W+BN	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE ACTION	EXTERNAL SUPPORT RECEIVED IN ACTION	RESULTS ACHIEVED	FURTHER SUPPORT DESIRED
	SEWAGE SYSTEM (petition to municipality)	 before 1983	' lack of committeen by politicians and authorities ' the major did not do what he promised (after taken our votes) ' long time to achieve results - lack of people participation	none	none	1° from 1. SPL to make a sewage system
none (actions carried	WATER SUPPLY (petition to municipality and to the water company EMBASA)	 1 183 	l' lack of interest on the part of some people l' lack of initiative l' lack of cohesion l' lack of trust to achieve change l' lack of time l' lack of money l' inadeguate planning of activities	Esmeralda (PROCAB) -organization of meetings -mediation with authorities -registration of inhabitants Centro Social Urbano -organization of petitions -elaboration of projects	1 * legal connection to water achieved years later (not as result of the petition)	* a politician to do something * somebody external with more power * somebody external with knowledge * somebody external with experience * somebody external to guide us * somebody external to coordinate us * somebody who can stay with us all the time
out by individuals or ad hoc groups e.g. writing and signing a petitions; there is no organization with a name and elected	ELECTRICITY (petition to municipality and to the energy company COELBA)	 1983 		Esmeralda (PROCAB) -organization of meetings -mediation with authorities -registration of inhabitants Centro Social Urbano -organization of petitions	l * legal connection to water achieved years later (not as result of the petition)	1 1 1 1
representatives)	HOUSING (petition to municipality and to the institution proposed to urban planning URBIS)	1983	- ! ! ! !	* Esmeralda (PROCAB) -gave materials to build houses * municipality -gave materials to build houses -registration of inhabitants	some houses built municipality and PROCAB gave bricks & concrete l l l l l	- -

Table 9b Baixa da Bica: community organization

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	SUPPORT RECEIVED IN SETTING UP ORGANIZATION	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE ORGANIZATION	FUTURE CHANGES DESIRED IN THE ORGANIZATION	SUPPORT DESIRED	PUTURE INTERESTS	COMMUNITY
none	 	lack of person or organization helping us lack of management capacities lack of a house for an association	to set up a Resident Association one person available to represent us one person with knowledge working	noney to rent a house for a future association information about how organize an association technical orientation	to get sewage system to drain the river to go away	to claim together to work together support in what is done
(only Individuals or ad hoc group	1	* nobody took the direction	full time	[* somebody with more power to guide and coordinate	the value of houses and area	* land labour * to transport materials
for action;	none	1	1	From DSPL: 1° "To come here and see our condition"	or municipality wants to build a road in this area	food to workers
organization with a				" "They can do everything but they do not have condition and interest"	municipality will move away people to other area	\
name and elected	! !			* to make a sewage system * to transform the river in a open drain	1	
representatives) 	1			to nancionii me nver in a open ciam	1	
i	1	l	1	Į.	1	

Gilberto Almeida Santos /man/ 18 years old/ resident of Baixa da Bica Life history :

- Born in 1972 in Iaçù (Bahia, Brazil).
- Came to Salvador in 1974 (age 2) after his father got sick (mental disease) and for the decision of his sister.
- His family arrived in Marechal Rondon, a suburban quarter of Salvador and lived there for more or less 3 years in a rented house.
- When he was 3 years old he ingested some medicines of his father and stayed at the hospital for months (he does not know exactly how long and why).
- In 1977 his family moved to Baixa da Bica, but he went to live with his grandmother in a near-by quarter (Dom Avelar). After several years he and his grandmother moved the bairro of Aguas Claras (more peripheral than Dom Avelar) because it was more economic to live there.
- In 1982 his grandmother died and he moved to his parents house in Baixa da Bica.
- Has 7 brothers and sisters and only 4 live now in his parents house.
- Studied from 1979 until 1983 and did not finish the primary school. Left the school because of the economic situation of his family and started to work. In his opinion it was too difficult to study and work at the same time.
- His first work was ice cream vendor on the streets. Now he works selling coffee near the Paes Mendonça Supermarket stock-room because he can find a lot of clients and work fast. Usually he works 2 or 3 hours in the morning and almost the same in the late afternoon.
- In 1986 he tryed to continue his studies during the night but he gave up in 1988. He was too tired and was difficult to follow up the lessons. He left the school again to start working also in the afternoon (before he had worked only during the morning).
- Refers that his profit as coffee vendor is enough to buy the goods and materials needed to maintain his family.
- Would like to work in a car maintenance shop but expresses this desire as a very distant possibility.
- Expresses the desire to work with the community to change the situation. Refers the problem of the lack of sewage system and poor drainage of the river as a nuisance for everybody "with these problems it is not possible to have a good life". Likes to live in Baixa da Bica but to remain there they need external support to change the bad conditions and survive.

- Believes that the lack of organization in Baixa da Bica is a difficulty and it is important to work together with the inhabitants of Dom Avelar and Castelo Branco, who have their same problems, to get some results in their claims with public authorities.
- When asked if the youth from Baixa da Bica has interests in developing some kind of community work he hesitated in answering and said: "there is plenty of youth here but everyone is waiting for some external help and motivation".

5.3 District stakeholders in PEC

In the district of Pau da Lima we identified the following stakeholders:

- 1) DSPL (Distrito Sanitario de Pau da Lima): Health District of Pau da Lima.
- 2) AISPO (Associazione Italiana per la Solidarieta' tra i Popoli): Italian NGO.
- 3) Health Coordination of the Italian Cooperation in Brazil.
- 4) PROCAB (Projeto Castelo Branco): Brazilian NGO.
- 5) MODEMO (Movimento de Defesa da Moradia): Movement Pro Housing Rights.
- 6) FABS (Federacao de Associacoes de Bairros de Salvador): Federation of Quarter Associations of Salvador.
- SEMADE (Secretaria do Meio Ambiente e Defesa Civil): Secretary of Environment and Civil Defence of the municipality of Salvador.
- 8) OAB (Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil Comissao de Defesa do Meio Ambiente): Lawyers Guild- Commission in Defense of the Environment.
- 9) GAMBA (Grupo Ambientalista da Bahia): Environmental Group of Bahia.
- 10) Pastoral da Saude: Catholic health organization.

The interests and activities of the above stakeholders (SO3) and their possible contributions for PEC, conditions fostering success and means and tools for action (SO4) are summarized in the following matrixes (Tables 13a, 13b, 14).

Table 13a Stakeholders: interests and activities

STAKEHOLDER	BASIC NFORMATION	MAIN INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES	WORKING PARTINERS	ACTIVITIES INVOLVING LOCAL COMMUNITIES	MAIN RESULTS ACHIEVED IN SUCH ACTIVITIES	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTEPED	LESSONS LEAFINED
DSPL (Health District of Pau da Lima)	Started activities; 1989 (March)	**To organize health services **To develop health infrastructures **To define the epidemiological and **socio-economic profile of DSPL **To coordinate activities of institutions **and organizations of other sectors **To stimulate community participation in all the DSPL activities **To start an health education programme **To develop a referral system **To develop an information system		construction of latrines in Jaguaribe II: planning meeetings research on technical solutions organization of the work training of manpower provision of material supplies consultation & collaboration with other institutions training of health workers in Jaguaribe II collaboration with community representatives in the Directive Council of each health facility and in the Community Councils (expected to be set up)	* "legitimation" of the DSPL work * willingness of the communities to work together with DSPL to achieve specific results	* personal interests of individuals have create difficulties in the work involving local communities	
AISPO (Italian Association of Solidariety among People) Interviewed: Dr. Renato Tasca team leader of the Pau da Lima project)	financial support in the building of S. Raphael hospital 1989, begins the support for the Pau da Lima project and the loccupational health project Description: Italian NGO involved in three local projects: support to the hospital, support to the DSPL, occupational health. Area of activity: Ithe DSPL (Pau da Lima project)	Not to work directly with communities but to improve their health status by supporting the DSPL to improve: * the management * the daily work process * the intersectoral contacts * the health equipment and drug supply * the health facilities	(statal & municipal) (" University Departments of: health engeneering preventive medicine nursing drug chemistry economics Secretariat of Work (statal) Secretariat of Education (statal) other governmental institutions Pastoral da Saude coordination of Italian health cooperation local NGOs and community leaders	No direct contact with communities; *our action is always mediated by the DSPL*			* importance of organizative and technical support to the spontaneous claims of communities * it is very hard to get people' interest and trust * community information is very important * the projects must be long-term
COORDINATION OF ITALIAN HEALTH COOPERATION IN BRAZIL. Interviewed: Dr. Francesco Ripa di Meana	Started activities:	* to support all the Italian health cooperation activities in Brazil * to support the Brazilian Health System * to exchange experience among the different realities in Brazil * to facilitate relationship between the different Brazilian Institutions * to support the process of administrative decentralization of the DSPL * to establish a documentation center on health and management activities	* Italian NGOs * national and international institutions and organizations * Brazilian institutions with strategic and decision-making mandate	No direct contact with communities. With DSPL and AISPO: * support in the implementation of the DSPL political support technical consulence * elaboration of strategies that will be valid in the rest of Brazil: health management course PEC researh support consulence in occupational health	* experience in carrying out activites as planned even under difficult conditions * good relationship established with governmental institutions * private institutions involved in public health care (e.g. S. Raphael hospital)	" misunderstandings about the role of Italian cooperation in Salvador rapid turn-over of public administrators (difficult identification of Brazilian partner fluctuation of US dollar change and Brazil inflaction (difficult budgeting)	credibility can be gained by carrying out specific actions the DSPL management must be strenghtened
(Castelo Branco Project) Interviewed: Esmeralda Melo (president)	Started activities: 1982	To work with communities in: * setting up professional training achools * setting up kindergartens * setting up a local manufacture of sweets (activity started some time ago and now stopped due to lack of founds)	* Social Center of Castelo Branco (health and social care consultancies) * Secretary of Health (statal) (collaboration in solving problems) * Municipality (many attempts at collaboration) * LBA & MAIS (public assistential inst.) (financial and technical support) * URBIS (technical support) * EMBASA (water supply in Baixa da Bica) * COELBA (electricity supply in Baixa da Bica) * MODEMO * Protestant & Catholic church (logistic support)	With communities: * orientation in solving problems * elaboration of formal documents (i.e. petitions) * mediation with authorities * distribution of bricks for local housing * distribution of milk * distribution of drugs * training course of cooking for women * training course of sewing and manicure * self-managed manufacture of sweets * (now not active)	confidence of communities has been achieved the life conditions are improved (after the training courses all the participants found a job)	odificult human relationships of great poverty and hunger in the communities of the communities of the communities	the necessity to be impartial with everybody to learn from the people and exchange experiences to understand limits and capacities of everyone to be honest and simple like the people are
MCDEMO (Defence Moviment of Housing)	Started activities: 1593 Description:	Support community in getting: organization	* Local Commissions of settlers * PROCAB * Mothers clubs * Resident Associations	With communities: * squatting distribution of land orientation in building houses orientation and stimulus to community organication support to the squatter settlements orientation in prevention of landslides orientation in garbage disposal technical support based on own life experience support meetings with Local Commission stimulus and support in street demonstrations mediation with authorities in vindications sometimes material resources support	* to have manteined the squatter settlements to have made illegal connections with water and electricity in some places (it demonstrates the courage of the people to struggle and claim) to have improved the political awareness of the people to have obtained financial support from AISPO to set up a medical plants garden)* the negative policy of the government about the land tenure	

Table 13b Stakeholders: interests and activities

STAKE OLDER	1 BASIC	MAIN INTERESTS	WORKING PARTNERS	ACTIVITIES IN OLVING	MAIN DECLUTE ACCUSES		
	INFORMATION	AND OBJECTIVES		LOCAL COMMUNITIES	MAIN RESULTS ACHIEVEL IN SUCH ACTIVITIES	PROBLEMS ! ENCOUNTERED	LESSONS LEAFWED
FABS (Federation of Ouarters of Salvador) Interviewed:	Started activities:: [1979 (September) Description: Iederation representing more than 200 Resident Associations; it is longanized in a Executive Commission and several Specific Commissions; there is a Zonal Council in each quarter; it is the communities representative in the stattal and municipal Health Councils Area of activity: the city of Salvador	to support and stimulate community organization (in a legal way) to coordinate people vindications and claims to work in a decentralized way In particular; to develop a health education programme within the communities to organize semirars and workshops to implement family planning activities to protect the environment by: preventing landsfides regulating garbag- disposal preventing beach oolkution to watch over the jublic budget to get the financial support of UNICEF to develop a project of democratization of the public health system in 5 health districts in Salvador	* Medical Doctors Association of Bahia * Lawyers Association of Bahia (OAB) (legal support) * University (technical support) * Catholic church local environmental groups * Ford Foundation (financial support) * other Community Organizations	[With communities.] 1° stimulus and support to community organizations	 organization of community kinderguriens and schools FABS has been recognized as the organization representing the popular movement in Salvador the awareness about the rights of communities has increased 	Tack of financial support to maintain present activities (eg community school) Tack of human resources Tack of consolidation of some results Tack of a solid political base within FABS dispersion of human resources in a fot of different activities at the same time The results in claiming rights are poor Tack of follow-up system Tack of time Tack of technical capacity Tack of technical capacity Tack of technical resources Tack of	it is important to consolidate the results of the actions if is important to integrate the associations with their communities it is important to strengthen the representative of the association to extend the representativeness, the decision-mailties ting capabilities and the awareness of communities time capabilities and the awareness of communities time to learn how to strengthen our weak democracy just conquered technical support to communities is very important
SBMADE (Secretary of Environment and Civil Defence of the municipality of Salvador) Interviewed: Ida Oliveira coordinator)	Started activities: 1986	** to protect the environment ** to plan activities in case of natural disaster ** to protect beaches ** to elaborate and implement the environmental policy of the municipality of Salvador	public institutions	SEMADE tacks the political and financial support necessary to develop its functions. There is no plan of action for this year and no activity is on-going. In project: "environmental education at school ""Call Green" project, to gather denunciations of environmental degradation	none expressed	the burocracy of the public system ack of resources lack of political power SEMADE now has no political or financial supports to develop its functions.	
CAB (Environmental Protection Commission, Lawyers Guild) Interviewed: Lucio Flavio Bastos (president)	Started activities: 1988	* to protect the environment	* individuals * GAMBA (environmental group) * community associations	With communities: legal assistance to people or organized groups organization of conference about environment support in the struggle for the protection of the S. Francisco river support the opposition to expand the chemical pole support in surveillance of the chemical factory TIBRAS support to the opposition to the expansion of the Madre Deus' terminal Collaboration with others: contribution to the elaboration of the norms regulating environmental protection in the new statal Constitution	* positive solutions of trials	short experience in protection of environment for its motivation of communities difficult articulation with communities lack of a clear rule of the commission inside the OAB for lack of organization and technical support of Commission in some areas	the political power of OAB has been confirmed very difficult collaboration with the public institutions with same environmental interest
GAMBA (Environmental group of Bahia) Interviewed: Rensto Cunha (coordinator)		To protect the environment and rationalize [its use taking into account the basic needs of the people [In particular: *to study technical solutions * to inform communities * to control the application of the laws existing in environmental protection * to collaborate with other environmental groups	CESI (financial support) CRA, other environmental group (financial support) State Deputys (political and financial supports) other environmental groups sindacates resident associations University professional associations (OAB, etc.)	With communities: * discussion about environmental problems * organization of seminars * support to public rivendications	* community awareness about environmental protection	sometimes communities do not consider as problems the lack of sewage system, the lack of garbage disposal, the poor housing fack of financial resources lack of material resources lack of information lack of staff time limited capacity to attend all the demands for assistance and support	the discussion of environmental problems must take into account the cultural level of the communities
PASTORAL DA SAUDE (Catholic health organization) Interviewed: Cristina Firmo (coordinator)	Started activities: 1986 	To improve the health status of people, with communities as main actors of their health care and integrating the actions of the different groups and associations. In particular: I to care for mothers and children I to assists sick people I to increase the people I to develop alternative medicine to participate in the Council of Health (statal and municipal)	* Rural Workers Union * Central Clinic of Workers * Land Commission of CNB8 * mothers groups * women groups	With communities: * orientation in community organization * political support * discussion of problems (very often environmental) and solutions with organized groups * technical support (water analysis) * training * campaigns of information * workers registration and research on occupational diseases	to have obtained health care in some areas to have achieved water supply, electricity supply and legalization of associations in some areas	to the illiteracy of people limits the action to the illiteracy of people limits the illiteracy of people limits the action to the a	the need to be very flexible when working with communities

Table 14 Stakeholders: possible contributions for Primary Environmental Care

STAKEHOLDER	POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS	SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS	IMPORTANT ACTORS IN PEC
DSPL	to work with the communities intersectoral articulation mediation with authorities tophical support		
(Health Olstrict of Pau da Lima)	technical support organization of meetings organization of workshops	! !	
interviewed:	training of community health workers support in research	 	
Dr. Rosa V. Fernandes (health manager)	Constraints: heterogeneity of community needs "We do not have a real power to solve all the problems"		
	Support to all the DSPL activities, in	It could be usefull to implement the	!* organized communities
AISPO	particular to: a "window" service of consultation	Administrative Region XIII (corresponding the area of the DSPL) to have an integrated	1º DSPL 1º PROCAB
(Italian Association of Solidariety among People)	and assistance for communities - contacts with institutions - solution of technical problems - organization of seminars	approach in facing the problems of the people of the district (health, education, garbage idisposal, social care and other services depending from the municipality)	*MODEMO *SUCAM * environmental groups
Interviewed; Or. Renato Tasca (team leader of the	!* training * public information about DSPL * information to communities about	i jit could be usefuli to use a horizontal communication: e.g. the popular theatre	
Pau da Lima project)			
HEALTH COORDINATION	Support to the activities performed	 	* public institutions * community organizations
OF ITALIAN COOPERATION IN BRAZIL	interest, in particular: * political support * intersectoral articulation	 	
Interviewed: Dr. Francesco	facilitation of international relationships		
Ripa di Meana (coordinator) Dr. Giovanni Foccoli	* Import-export of experiences within Brazil and Italy 	 	
PROCAB	resent contacts with people and organization	it could be very good and useful to re-start the activities of the manufactory of sweets	organized communities institutions
(Castelo Branco Project)	* credibility and trust from community * past experience (specifically in working with communities and in consultation,	 	
interviewed: Esmeralda Melo (president)	articulation and mediation with authorities)		
мосемо		DSPL could support in solving problems more linked with health	* organized communities * public institutions in charge to
(Defence Moviment of Housing)	In order to give more representativeness to women and youth	AISPO could assume the role of coordinator	provide social services
Interviewed; Silvio Leal (president)	Constraints: * MODEMO is not legally formalized * MODEMO organization must improve * lack of financial resources		
FABS	coordination together with other organization or institutions		communities
(Federation of Quarters of Salvador)	* mobilization of communities * setting schemes of follow-up Constraints:	 Women could be a good entry point in a community; lack of kindergarien and garbage disposal are usually a stimulus to act	
Interviewed: Antonia Garcia (member of the	lack of financial support lack of technical support lack of human resources	 It is available to cover the role of coordinator Of activities in fostering PEC 	
Executive Commission) SEMADE			
(Secretary of	* istitutional support when the Environment Council will start to work	Integration among public institutions to	 governmental Institutions communities
Environment and Civil Defence)* fiscalization, control and punishement regarding environment	To implement the municipal Environmental Council	
interviewed:	SEMADE has no credibility I lack of political support	It is available to collaborate in case of implementation of the regional administrative areas	
Rita Oliveira (coordinator)	* there is no specific municipal taws	, 	•••••
OAB	and institutions collaboration with the DSPL		organized communities environmental groups
	* legal support * political support -	 	
interviewed: Lucio Flavio Bastos (president)	 Constraints: * necessity to be sollecitated by other groups		
GAMBA		it is important to take into consideration the local culture and reality	* communities
(Environmental group of Bahla)	 	 	
Interviewed: Renato Cunha (coordinator)	* lack of human resources	 	
PASTORAL DA SAUDE	İ	The actual human resources of the DSPL are not enought to play a role of aniculation in solving environmental problems of the	* local people * institutions * political parties
(Catholic health organization)		district 	* the church
Interviewed: Cristina Firmo (coordinator)	i I	by the FABS	

6. INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

The results reported in section 5. will be now discussed and interpreted keeping in mind the general objective of the study, namely the identification and assessment of potential actors, conditions, means and tools to integrate PHC and PEC in the health district of Pau da Lima.

6.1 PEC problems

The problems described in section 5.1 have clear and direct health and economic consequences for the district. In the course of our work we have found that these consequences are known and understood by the inhabitants of the squatter communities as well as by the DSPL and AISPO management and the other identified stakeholders. For instance, the following health consequences - among the most relevant for the local population (DSPL, 1990) can be directly related to one or more of the PEC problems reported for the district of Pau da Lima:

- gastro-entheric diseases (e.g. diarrheal diseases, typhoid fever, poisoning) related to unsafe water, lack of hygiene, inadequate food storage.
- malnutrition (especially in children and pregnant women) due to poor diet (inability to buy or produce food) and recurrent gastro-entheric diseases.
- parasitic infections (e.g. leptospirosis, ascariasis, amoebiasis, scabia infections) due to lack of hygiene, overcrowding, unsafe water and food, presence of many rats in close proximity with people.
- respiratory diseases (e.g. upper respiratory infections, tuberculosis) due to overcrowding, poor housing, unsafe working condition in occupations involving the release of air pollutants, etc.
- rheumatic diseases due to prolonged exposure to humid environments.
- infectious disease (e.g. hepatitis, measles, meningitis) related to overcrowding, lack of personal and community hygiene, lack of vaccination.
- accidental injuries due to unsafe living, neighborhood and working conditions such as shacks poorly built and in hazardous places, steep and muddy pathways, overcrowded living quarters.
- mental and behavioral problems (e.g. domestic violence, alcoholism, drug addiction) related to poverty, unemployment, personal insecurity, psychological stress.

The following economic consequences are also strictly related to the PEC problems identified in the district of Pau da Lima:

- high costs of curative activities incurred by the local health system (due to high disease prevalence);
- decreased value of land and housing properties (due to pollution, general uncleanliness, illegal neighbors, social tensions, etc.);
- decreased ability to work and decreased productivity (due to accidental disabilities, malnutrition, frequent diseases, lack of motivation, lack of training, illiteracy, lack of adequate transportation, etc.);
- limited possibilities to carry out productive activities at home (due to lack of water supply and electricity, small living quarters, poor access to transportation, land erosion, etc.);
- loss of homes, infrastructures, trees, topsoil, and domestic animals due to floods, landslides, fires.
- loss of stored food and garden products by animals (in particular rats).

From the above we infer that solving PEC problems should be a high, common concern of all individuals and institutions interested in health and economic development in the district.

Still, we would like to stress that the consequences of a given problem cannot be generalized for different communities. For instance, while in Cristo é Vida the garbage problem is mostly an issue of bad smell and attraction of rats and flies, in the community of Baixa da Bica uncollected garbage may block the water drainage and cause serious flooding. As a whole, we believe that water and sanitation problems should be a first priority concern, and that studies aimed at assessing occupational and disaster hazards in the district should be soon carried out.

6.2 Community awareness of PEC problems

At the very beginning of the focus group meetings the facilitator asked the participants to identify the main positive aspects and problems in their "environment" (meio ambiente, vizinhança). The data collected (see Tables 1, 4, 7) show that people recognized a variety of positive and negative aspects in their life conditions and did not operate any clear distinction between environmental problems purely related to physical-biological aspects of their neighborhood and environmental problems related to social issues and the availability of services. As mentioned before, this could be related

to the fact that the ICHM team was perceived as tied to the institutional authorities - i.e. the service providers - in the district. We believe, however, that the squatter communities involved in the study also showed that they perceive their physical and social environment as a whole. This is totally congruent with the PEC approach. We will now comment on a few other aspects that surfaced in the focus groups.

First, we found that in all communities there has been an excellent agreement of all separate groups (men, women and youth) on what was the first priority problem (see Tables 1, 4, 7); only the women in Cristo é Vida put only as second priority what the youth and men set as first priority). This increases our confidence that the data collected in the focus groups is reliable, and reflects generalizable community perceptions. In particular, it seems that a squatter community can be expected to agree on a particular priority problem. We have also noticed that the felt priorities may depend on the age of settlement. While no one of our case-study communities possesses legal land tenure, this is the number one problem only for the two younger ones, while the older community is primarily concerned about sanitation.

Secondly, the problems identified related more to immediate felt needs than to long-term issues. For instance, very few stressed that the general ecological situation was deteriorating (e.g. increasing pollution, drying up of natural springs, deforestation, erosion, too many people inhabiting the area) while the majority reported immediate concerns such as lack of connection with the water supply, lack of sewage facilities, lack of land tenure, inappropriate infrastructures and services. This is very understandable (when immediate concerns are at stake, future concerns may be a luxury), but may point at a need for specific education if sustainable development is to be achieved in the area.

Thirdly, people seemed to focus more on public than on private responsibilities. For instance, all the priority problems identified in Cristo é Vida after the discussion stimulated by various questions from the facilitator are "public responsibilities". And even when the problem priorities include "garbage collection" - to whose solution community organization and individual behavior can substantially contribute - the complaints stressed that the public company did not provide collection facilities close enough to the settlement. Even when public health facilities were actually sited in the proximity of the living area, the locals pointed at the lack of specific services (e.g. delivery rooms). This may reflect a "passive" attitude that could/should possibly be modified.

Fourthly, we noticed that many problems are strongly felt: they are re-iterated and expressed as life and death issues when asked why they are important (see in Tables 2, 5, 8 the "basic need" column); moreover a tight relationship among many problems is clearly recognized (see "condition to solve another problem" column in the same tables).

At times, however, some contradiction appeared, like in the case of Direito de Morar, where we found that the youth expressed "lack of drug users" as a positive aspect of the settlement, while men identified the "control of drug use" as a priority problem (Table 4).

Finally, we found that if problems are well known and understood, there is a definite lack of awareness about how the community can act in order to solve them. In fact, it proved difficult even to discuss about solutions (too often problems are perceived as nearly immutable facts of the life of the poor) and in particular about solutions that do not call for an external, deus-ex-machina intervention, but for the daily engagement of locals (Tables 3a, 3b, 6a, 6b, 9a, 9b). This may be due to the lack of common background of the squatter communities, as well as to a lack of historical instances of community activities that have managed to solve specific problems (Bordenave 1987).

6.3 Community motivations for PEC

As it can clearly be seen from Tables 2, 5, 8, there seem to be an ample spectrum of motivations underlying the desire to solve PEC problems. Interestingly, the ad-hoc classification we devised seems to apply equally well to the criteria expressed by men, women and youth, and to the criteria expressed by each community. Problems can be important per se and/or because they relate to other problems, it may be the appropriate moment to solve them and/or they should be solved because they cause diseases, economic losses, social problems or simply because they simply make life miserable and unpleasant to live (Annex 11). Motivations were expressed both in form of satisfiers and dissatisfiers (Scanlan and Keys 1979), but we grouped them under the same headings when related to the same general issue.

Since the above mentioned motivations were not collected in a systematic fashion (people expressed them in the focus groups following their own inclination to talk about a specific issue, no attempt was made to collect opinions - or the same number of answers - from all the participants; moreover, the sampling of individuals participating in the focus groups was not at all representative of the community population) a quantitative analysis of the answers is not warranted. We would like to notice, however, that a large numbers of motivations cluster around the issue of interconnectedness of problems and the desire to improve the quality of life. We believe that these two points should be kept in mind if some educational material will be prepared for use with the squatter communities. In such a case, it would probably be useful to know that people are well aware of relationships between problems (solving the one you solve the other) and they

may be more strongly motivated to act to improve their quality of life than - perhaps - to achieve an economic benefit.

Finally, it came as a surprise to us that squatters seem very interested to solve PEC problems - and in particular problems of concrete, physical nature such as the lack of sanitation or the lack of water supply - because of social motivations. For instance, a sewage system would allow to receive visits and organize parties even when it rains, a legal connection with the EMBASA water main would prevent feeling like second-class citizens and land tenure would allow the community to build its own identity. This information could also be useful to establish a dialogue with communities about common environmental concerns.

6.4 PEC and PHC activities so far

Tables 3a, 6a, 9a summarize the PEC activities identified by the three communities involved in the case studies. Apart from the initial invasion and building of shacks these activities comprise mostly petitions and vindications to authorities or illegal connections with water and electricity supplies. Often, the process goes from an unsuccessful petition to an illegal action. The actions have been most of the times organized with the support of local NGOs or local leaders, who seem more comfortable than community members in dealing with authorities. According to the community members who participated in the focus groups, no "support" has been provided by competent authorities, not even to the community of Baixa da Bica, which has obtained the desired legal connections with water and electricity supply. This kind of perception may warrant further examination.

Apart from the basic problems involved in carrying out illegal activities (e.g. conflicts with legal neighbors, open fights with the police), there have been problems in achieving the internal cohesion necessary to build a "community position". In fact, there may even be a vicious circle by which community cohesion is necessary to solve common problems, but these very problems (for instance lack of sanitation, overcrowding, limited water supply) create tensions and internal divisions that damage the chances of achieving unity and common trust. Lack of managerial capacities, lack of knowledge about "how to organize" and lack of specific technical skills have also slowed-down common activities, as well as limited economic means. In general, it appeared to us that the squatter communities possess very limited knowledge of their legal rights and responsibilities. In terms of land tenure, for instance, none was aware

of the fact that the Brazilian law assigns (at least in theory) land tenure rights to people after two years of residence on public land.

The establishment of a local commission (LC) to represent the community interests seems to have facilitated some of the actions mentioned above. Problems, however, are overwhelming. The LCs have been set up because someone external to the communities gave the idea and strongly supported the process, and this dependence of LCs from outside help is still highly perceivable. In our three case studies, people do not seem to be confident to be able to achieve results by themselves and wish to receive support from outside, from "someone who can guide and coordinate us", "a more powerful : organization", "external people to stimulate participation, guide us and give trust to ourselves" 16. In other words, community empowerment is far from being a reality, even among people with a history of difficult and relatively successful common actions, such as occupying and structuring a squatter settlement. In none of the communities we studied we found instances of internal economical organization to solve problems, for instance collection of funds to provide a salary to community members to solve a specific issue (paving a common pathway, cleaning up the site, planting trees to prevent erosion, etc.). (Only the community of Cristo é Vida reported to us that they collected money among themselves to buy a piece of equipment needed to establish the illegal connection with the public water supply.) In some cases common needs (for instance surveillance of children when parents are at work) is done by individual initiative, but little or no remuneration is provided, and thus no continuity is assured.

In terms of PHC, the health district of Pau da Lima has just began a number of important activities that are likely to affect profoundly the health services and the health situation in the district. If anything, however, we could underline that structural and managerial issues and the improvement of curative services have - quite necessarily - taken up much of the resources spent so far in the process. The "extramural" and "primary prevention" activities - including much that goes under the name of Primary Environmental Care - have been limited to a number of preliminary studies, a project to train health volunteers in the bairro of Nova Brasilia and a project to support and coordinate the building of family septic tanks in the community of Jaguaribe II (bairro of Nova Brasilia). Possibly, it is now the moment to expand and improve these activities, which are clearly conceived in the plans for restructuring the district health system and which, as outlined in the section 6.1 above, will likely have important consequences in preventing disease and decreasing the costs of health services.

See, however, the possible bias discussed in section 4.2 with regards to data collected during the focus group meetings.

6.5 Integration of PHC and PEC

Regardless of the potentially important or even essential contributions by other stakeholders, the "integration of PHC and PEC" must be based on a process of partnership and mutual support between the health district of Pau da Lima and local organized communities. The partnership is obviously of mutual benefit. On the one hand the communities can profit from the technical, economical and political support that the DSPL is able to offer. On the other, the work of the DSPL would be made easier, more effective and more efficient by the active participation of the communities they are supposed to serve. It is no new discovery that health, environmental and socio-economic objectives are best achieved in an integrated fashion.

In our study we examined the forms and conditions of this possible partnership. The results support us in concluding that it could involve a number of "functions", including:

- * stimulus and support by DSPL to the setting-up and self-managing of formal organizations (Resident Associations) among communities of marginal residents in the district.
- * collaboration between DSPL and Resident Associations in collecting information, elaborating community diagnoses and developing "micro-plans" to solve specific problems (including health outreach activities and local initiatives for environmental improvement and sustainable development).
- * collaboration between DSPL and Resident Associations in implementing and evaluating projects concerning health and the local environment.
- * support by Resident Associations to DSPL in disseminating health-related information and increasing participation in extramural activities.
- * support by DSPL to Resident Associations in gaining access to appropriate technology, know-how and practices for projects of direct benefit to the local context (e.g. technical support and training of community members in managerial, administrative and technical capacities).
- * support by DSPL to Resident Associations in mediating with competent authorities and gaining access, distributing equitably and acquiring tenure to the natural resources and the basic goods and services necessary to their livelihood (e.g. land, housing, water, sanitation, transportation, energy supply, child-care, schools, health-care, employment, welfare and insurance).

* support by Resident Associations to DSPL and other municipal sectors in their process of administrative decentralization (political support, participation in activities, etc.).

6.6 Possible contributions by the local communities

Keeping in mind the possible forms of partnership in section 6.5, the results illustrated in Tables 3a, 3b, 6a, 6b, 9a, 9b have been examined for potential community resources and contributions. The data collected - again - show that communities do not feel particularly capable nor skilled. They agree they can put together a number of bodies for a public demonstration, do some simple manual labor or provide food to external workers. In only one community - Direito de Morar - a person mentioned that the community could plan and implement specific projects by itself. She even went on to say that the community could profit even from a simple form of support such as a loan to buy bricks, and that the loan could be repaid in a reasonably short amount of time. This opinion remains quite isolated in the context of the general lack of confidence of the others, who often wanted to be guided and helped by "someone external to the community, someone with more power, knowledge, experience, etc.". We can state, on the other hand, that the people we met were very ready to be trained in a number of skills, and in particular on the skills that would allow them to set up a successful community organization or to solve local environmental problems and initiate income-generating It should be kept in mind that many marginal residents survive on highly time-consuming informal work activities, and thus time - even training time - is a resource that they must manage with great care.

The condition of illegality of the people in squatter communities requires, for common protection and survival, that the interests of individuals and families are connected and articulated together. This is common awareness among the people we met in the squatter communities. They believe, and we agree with them, that a formal organization such as a Resident Association would be a fundamental help in this process, especially if it could have a formal location, a president with leadership and managerial ability, a secretary that would take care of on-going activities, some visual point of reference in the community - such as a bulletin board to provide information and publicize events - and some point of reference and connection with larger organizations outside the community. These conditions have all been specifically mentioned in the focus groups. Such an association would be the natural reference point for the DSPL in organizing health education, outreach activities, etc. It would also possess a formal status that could be of help in the case the communities would like to give political support

to the process of decentralization of the health system or formalization of the Regiao Administrativa XIII.

Finally, we would like to notice that community participation and local interests to begin common activities can be best aroused by focusing on some concrete help to improve a highly felt problem. In this sense, the issue of land tenure seems to be the ideal candidate. Most importantly, it is a problem at the root of many others, including most of the PEC problems identified in the squatter communities. Secondly, there exist important legal information that people are hardly aware of and that they could put to good use (SFB 1988; BA 1989). Thirdly, such information could be better exploited as a group - and in particular as a Resident Association - than as single individuals.

6.7 Possible contributions by DSPL

The DSPL management - see the results collected in table 14 - is ready and willing to work with local communities. On the one hand, the participation of communities is essential for a meaningful diagnosis of the current health situation, for planning appropriate activities and for matching activities with a response from the interested individuals. On the other, fostering community participation is a particularly difficult and time-consuming task, complicated by a number of conditions. One of these is the lack of district-level administration in other sectors (the Regiao Administrativa XIII has not yet been implemented) that may re-direct towards the DSPL a number of expectations and demands that should be the competence and responsibility of other sectors. Another is the fact that the squatter communities - the most in need of the district - are poorly organized and when and if they come to the DSPL offices they come as individuals or loose groups. A local NGO (PROCAB) and community leaders from MODEMO have been very useful in filtering and mediating these contacts so far, but it would be appropriate to formalize and systematize them, since at the moment they depend on the goodwill and work of a few individuals and cannot assure a stable, structured service on which the communities can count in the future.

In its current first years of life, the DSPL is heavily burdened with the task of restructuring curative activities and the management of the district resources and personnel. It is not to be expected that it can dedicate a very large amount of time and finances to the support of Resident Associations, but it may be expected that it acts as a point of reference for a number of bodies and institutions interested in collaborating to better the life situation in poor communities in the district. In this sense and if appropriate support is provided, we can envisage that the DSPL could open a sort of "PEC

window" (Serviço de Apoio Ambiental para Comunidades) that could become such a focal point. This service - possibly staffed by three individuals with specific expertise on community health, urban environment and small-scale economics - could:

- * stimulate the organization of communities in Resident Associations by publicizing advantages, providing specific information on how to organize and referring interested individuals to training initiatives in management and planning skills.
- * organize Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning (Goethert and Hamdi 1988) workshops in as many communities as possible, as both a stimulus to set up Resident Associations and fostering their work, and a way to gather information to design better health outreach activities and disaster prevention activities.
- * run training activities whenever the rapid appraisal and microplanning workshops indicate the need for specific skills among the members of squatter communities.
- * establish a resource center by which specific needs of communities can be matched by resources available in the district (written material, technical tools, skilled individuals, professionals and organizations, research facilities, laboratories, credit facilities, etc.) and contacts between Resident Associations and competent sectoral authorities can be facilitated.
- * plan and carry out information campaigns on PHC and PEC in the district;

The PEC window would be a useful focal point for communities as well as for the other institutions interested in health, environment and economic activities within the district. In fact, among the interviewed stakeholders many complained for the lack of coordination and communication among the institutional bodies that are willing and capable to act within the district. Some agree with the "PEC window" proposal, but do not agree that the DSPL could play the central role in setting it up, and proposed that FABS covers that role. We are concerned that FABS - although particularly suited to carry out training and coordination activities involving local communities - may be already overburdened and possess too limited resources to play a very active role in Pau da Lima. It is true that most examples of PEC activities in the developing world involve local NGOs and, in general, organizations more akin to FABS than to the DSPL. Yet, we believe that - given the growing extent and importance of local environmental and basic needs issues - governmental actors and not only NGOs should be called to play their role in fostering some of the most effective ways of solving the problems of the poor. This should be particularly true in Brazil, where the state prides itself of taking care of all the needs of the citizens.

The PEC window would be a substantial vehicle of publicity for the DSPL (many individuals in the focus groups did not have an idea of what the DSPL was) and its

activities. In particular, it would be soon understood that the DSPL - unlike other municipal institutions - has a peculiar interest in supporting the most marginal and vulnerable communities in the district. It could also be foreseen that - given the peculiar intersectoral nature of Primary Environmental Care, the DSPL may want to run the project only as long as the Regiao Administrativa XIII is not set in place, and then pass it on to the general managing coordination of the district.

6.8 Tools for action

During our study we found that Rapid Appraisal methods are very suited to realities that change fast and are excellent in stimulating concerns, opening up channels of internal communication and making people think. In fact, we believe that an important result of our study is to have tested the application of RA method in the context of marginal urban communities. Although not always encouraged by the initial response of people (late start of focus group meeting, scheduling problems, difficult communication about particular issues, etc.) we were soon convinced that the method provided a much needed occasion for community members to gather and talk about problems of common concern that are rarely discussed in a formal way. We found, moreover, that among the locals is strong the desire to talk about their own situation, to become credible to others, to make others understand the reasons why they are in many ways forced to be "second class", "illegal" citizens (see, for instance, the life histories). A common feeling among the squatters is that they are "abandoned" from the rest of society, that no one wants to hear about their problems, nor cares about them. In this light, it would be excellent for the DSPL's own image and credibility among the squatters to promote Rapid Appraisal exercises. It may also be a risky activity, since the expectations of communities can be raised substantially and in a wrong direction unless a very clear picture of the objectives and limitations of the exercise is given. If the objectives would comprise collecting information for community diagnosis and planning of appropriate services, discussing the possibility and ways to set up a Resident Association and introducing the "PEC window" service, we believe that the RA methods would be very appropriate. In particular we would like to recall that the information collected by RA seems to be reliable (in all the occasions in which we were able to obtain information from two or more sources we were comforted by a broad agreement).

If anything, simple RA techniques such as focus group meetings did not give excellent results in terms of identifying solutions to problems. What is needed is a forum where not only problems can be articulated, but also strategies to solve them can be

identified, options discussed, different needs mediated and specific projects, activities and tools agreed upon. A set of techniques that go under the name of microplanning (Goethert and Hamdi 1988) provide an example of how this second, more action oriented phase of PEC work could proceed. The link between Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning is quite strong, since the second puts an emphasis on where to start (a process emphasis) than where to finish (a product emphasis) and is also concerned about rapidity of analysis, local relevance of activities and partnership building between the many individuals and institutions who have a stake in a project. Moreover, the process of Microplanning is problem-driven, and encourages and promotes community leadership and self-reliance.

6.9 Possible contributions by other district stakeholders

The results of structured interviews with stakeholders (see Tables 13a, 13b, 14) allow us to conclude that the district is potentially served by a number of people and institutions with specific expertise and willingness to help PEC activities in marginal communities. There is practical expertise in community organization (PROCAB, MODEMO, FABS), in health promotion (technical personnel of AISPO, Pastoral da Saude), in legal issues (OAB) and in environmental issues (SEMADE, GAMBA and a number of professionals and institutions with specific technical expertise). The peculiar economic situation in Brazil (current freeze of all loans and credit aiming at stopping the running inflation in the country) forbid us to explore the potential for credit services for community-based activities in the district of Pau da Lima. Fortunately, not all sources of credit have disappeared from the area, and the Italian health cooperation and AISPO have expressed their willingness to continue supporting the DSPL. The Italian cooperation is possibly particularly interested in pursuing the integration of PHC and PEC activities, since the PEC strategy has been elaborated in Italy and promoted by Italy in international contexts.

The contributions of the stakeholders mentioned above, as well as of many others not included in our study, should be re-assessed in the initial phases of establishing a "PEC window" service. To this end, a planning workshop could be called to appraise - besides the general intent and capabilities identified in this study - the actual resources that could be mobilized (written material, technical equipment, time, funds, specific expertise, etc.). It would also be important to gather as much advice as possible from experienced people in the district. The Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods to be possibly applied in meetings with communities require some specific training. No

one of the institutions we examined in our study declared to have experience on the subject, but possibly many would be interested in participating in a training session to be able to run such exercises. Together with a workshop for the PEC stakeholders, such a training session for facilitaters of Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning exercises may be organized during a feasibility study for the "PEC window". The workshop participants may include individuals from DSPL and a variety of district institutions and - possibly - volunteers motivated to eventually assist DSPL in its work. AISPO could be the ideal institution to support and organize such a feasibility study. In fact, it could in particular examine its own "internal" feasibility of providing support to the DSPL in establishing and running the "PEC window".

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the interpretation of the results in chapter 6, we would like to recommend the rollowings:

7.1 To the DSPL management

- * To increase the amount of resources dedicated to extramural, preventive activities, in particular among "marginal" residents in the district. (This could initially focus on water and sanitation interventions, and include studies aimed at assessing occupational and disaster hazards in the district.)
- * To fully implement the expected formalization of community interests in the management of the health district (Directive Councils, Community Council) and encourage the participation of representatives of Resident Associations.
- * To open a "PEC window" service acting as a formal point of reference for the communities of the DSPL and other institutions interested in community-based health, environmental and economic activities in the district.

The service might provide:

- stimulus and assistance to local communities in establishing formal Resident Associations. (This may include a liaison between interested individuals and training opportunities in management skills and legal information, possibly provided with the technical support of FABS, AISPO, OAB);
- assistance to Resident Associations in collecting information, elaborating community diagnoses and developing micro-plans for Primary Environmental Care activities with the help of Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods;
- assistance to Resident Associations in implementing and evaluating those activities. (This may include acting as a liaison between specific needs and resources including technical tools, skilled individuals, professionals and organizations, research facilities, reference literature, laboratories, training opportunities, credit facilities, etc.. Among the resource providers could be OAB, GAMBA, FABS, MODEMO, PROCAB, Pastoral da Saude, AISPO and the documentation service of the Coordination of Italian Health Cooperation in Brazil);

- mediation in contacts between district Resident Associations and district, regional and municipal authorities.

The "PEC window" service could also set up specific information campaigns (for instance on environmental health issues of particular relevance in the district). In such campaigns we would recommend to emphasize issues of particular concern to community members such as the interrelationship among PEC issues (solving one problem you also solve another) and the expected benefits in terms of quality of life and social harmony. Such campaigns could profit from the technical support of GAMBA, FABS, OAB, Pastoral da Saude, AISPO.

Finally, the service might have the following characteristics:

- an office room, easily accessible and with adequate facilities;
- a staff of three persons (suggested specific expertise in community health, urban environment and small-scale economics) trained in techniques of Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning and with excellent communication skills;
- * To publicize the new "PEC window" service in the district by the vehicle of an information campaign on legal rights and responsibilities of squatters (see section 6.6).
- * To make use whenever needed of audio-visual information means, such as popular theater and video-tapes, possibly associated with community discussion meetings.

7.2 To AISPO, project Pau da Lima

- * To provide technical and financial support to the DSPL in carrying out a detailed feasibility study of the "PEC window" service, which may include:
- a gathering of opinions and suggestions from experienced people in the district;
- an analysis of the legal factors involved in setting-up formal Resident Associations;
- a detailed appraisal of PEC resources available in the district;
- a training of DSPL staff and other interested individuals on combined Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods;
- a pilot application and evaluation of these methods in a number of squatter communities in the district.

Conditioned upon the results of the feasibility study:

- * To provide technical support and financial support (if necessary) for a minimum of two years to a team of three full-time staff members in the DSPL to set-up, publicize and run the "PEC window".
- * To provide technical support for the on-going monitoring and evaluation of the service.
- * To assess among local institutions and NGOs such as FABS and PROCAB who possesses the best capacities to develop training courses for community members on specific organizational and PEC practices.
- * To provide technical and financial support for a number of training courses run by the above-identified organization (technical support is meant to included monitoring and evaluation).

7.3 To the Coordination of Italian Health Cooperation in Brazil

- * To stress the value of extramural, preventive, PEC activities in the work of Brazilian health districts assisted by the Italian Cooperation, and in particular in urban districts including large numbers of 'marginal' residents.
- * To give political support to the "PEC window" service in the DSPL, and explore the feasibility of reproducing the experience in other Brazilian districts currently assisted by the Italian health cooperation.
- * To include in its own documentation center thematic subjects such as:
- theory and field experiences in PEC, with emphasis on Brazil and Latin America;
- Rapid Appraisal and Microplanning methods;
- legislation on environmental protection and land tenure, with emphasis on Brazil and Latin America;
- PEC technology, with emphasis on low-cost housing, sanitation, latrines, water purification, source-water protection, rainwater collection and drainage, home

gardening, erosion control, soil consolidation, paving of pathways and garbage disposal.

- community-based disaster prevention and occupational health;
- community-based income generation activities.
- * To promote the sharing of PEC experiences in Brazil and Latin America (this may include the organization of workshops and training courses, and the production and dissemination of audiovisual and literature materials).

7.4 To the case-study communities

- * To set up or formalize their organization as a Resident Association, and clearly identify a president, a secretary/treasurer, a regular meeting place and means to communicate and publicize events, such as a bulletin board in the community.
- * To build upon their own strengths and resources as a community by developing some autonomous actions to solve a common problem without external support.
- * To establish closer contacts with the DSPL, increase the participation in DSPL-run activities and support the creation of a service that could respond to some of their needs in PEC.
- * To support wherever feasible, including via contacts with the political parties represented in the district the administrative decentralization of the district of Pau da Lima (Regiao Administrativa XIII, budget capacities at the district level, etc.).

8. REFERENCES

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10. PORTUGUESE GLOSSARY

BAIRRO. Quarter.

BAIXA DA BICA. The bottom with the spring.

BAIXADA. Bottom of the hill.

BARRACO Shack.

CONJUNTO HABITACIONAL. Housing built by governmental projects to middleclass people.

CRISTO E' VIDA. Christ is life.

CUMEADA. Top of the hill.

DIREITO DE MORAR. Right to dwell.

ENCOSTA. Hill side.

GATO. Illegal connection of water or electricity supplies done by squatters.

INVASAO. Squatter settlement.

LOTEAMENTO. Housing built by governmental projects to low-income people.

MEIO AMBIENTE. Environment.

SENHORA. Lady.

SERVICO DE APOIO AMBIENTAL PARA COMUNIDADES. Primary environmental care "window service".

URUBUS. Local scavenger bird.

VIZINHANCA. Neighbourhood.

11. ABBREVIATIONS

AISPO. Italian NGO.

CEDS. Executive commission of the health district.

COELBA. Statal company of electricity supply.

DSPL. Health district of Pau da Lima.

EMBASA. Statal company of water supply and sanitation.

FABS. Federation of quarter associations of Salvador.

GAMBA. Environmental group of Bahia.

ICHM. International course for primary health care managers at district level in developing countries.

LC. Local commission.

LIMPURB. Municipal company of garbage disposal.

MODEMO. Movement pro-housing rights.

NGO. Non governmental organization.

OAB. Lawyers guild / commission of defence of environment.

PEC. Primary environmental care.

PHC. Primary health care.

PROCAB. Brazilian NGO.

RA. Rapid appraisal.

RMS. Metropolitan region of Salvador.

SEMADE. Secretary of environment and civil defence of the municipality of Salvador.

SILOS. Local health systems.

SO. Specific objective.

URBIS. Statal company of housing.

Lanos ecológicos aos rios

podem prejudicar Recôncavo Salvador viveu domingo a de chuva e alagamentos a



A falta de água é um dos graves problemas enfrentados pelos moradores de Jaguaripe II



Lagoa dos Frades

Lagoa dos Frades

em estado de calamidane
na Bahia

morte de Oxigênio causou

idade em debate na Bahia

morte de peixes na lagoa

Meio ambiente Mata Atlântica

vai

Agua

Agrava-se a falta d'água em vários pontos de Salvador e municípios da Região Metropolitana.

A Embasa precisa explicar por que isso ainda acontece

Afinal, vai longe o dia em que se anunciou que, finalmente, a

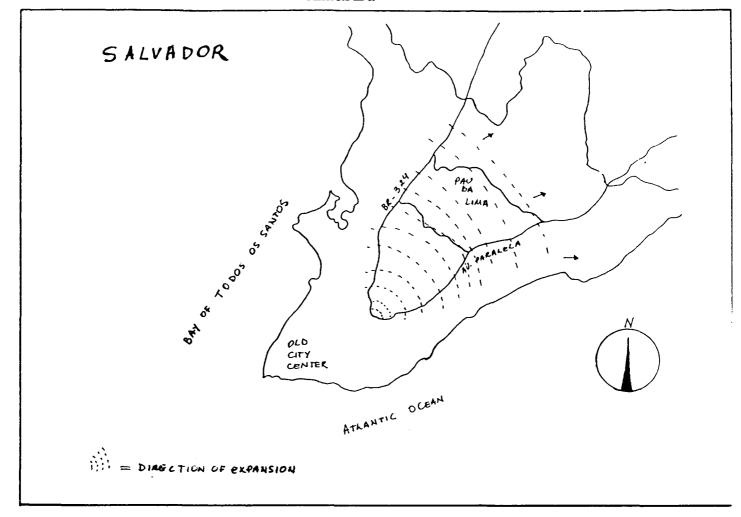
recessao e desemprego na Bahia durante 1º semestre Supermercados aumentam em 15% o preço dos produtos

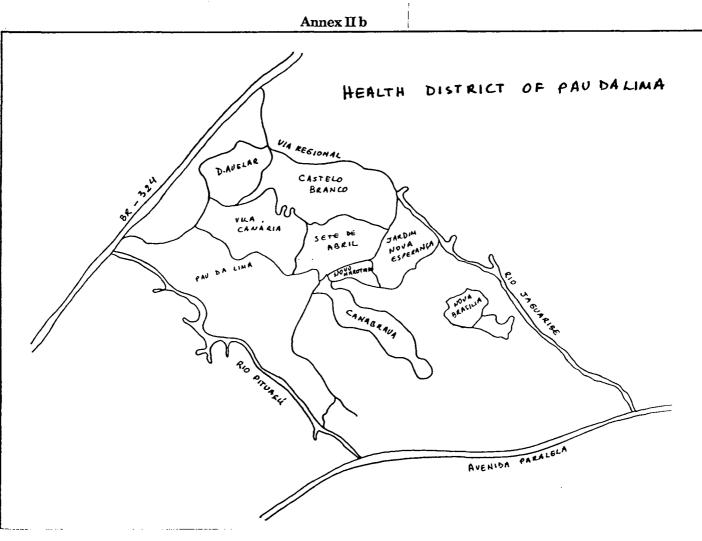


Novos Alagados sofre entre esgotos e lixo

> Greve acaba, mas lixo ainda demora para sair das ruas







PEC CHECKLIST

- * WATER SUPPLY (quantity enough for drinking, cooking, washing, home manufacture, home gardening? community storage? easy access? legal or illegal connection? continuous or sporadic? losses in the connections? home storage? quality good for drinking? sources of pollution? ..)
- * FOOD SUPPLY (family gardens? fruit trees? raising of animals? community gardens? cheap shops? communal shops? cesta do povo? food from the forest?)
- * ENERGY PROVISION (is there electricity in the area? are most people connected? are there jumps in intensity that may damage electric equipments? what is the fuel most commonly used for cooking and lighting at home? if wood, is it found in the nearby forest? is it at all getting scarce? is green wood cut for fuel? if charcoal or gasoil, is it expensive? is it easily found in the bairro? what kind of stoves are most commonly used? are they efficient?.....)
- * HOUSING (security of tenure? crowding? cooking facilities? food storage? adequate protection from rain, cold, hot, wind? what kind of construction materials? are houses ever flooded? are the foundations and walls solid? is there security for the family belongings? is there space to grow a family garden? is the house protected againsts rats, bugs, flies, etc.? is there room for privacy?...)
- * LATRINES (for family or communal use? do they work? where do they discharge? do they need water to work? are they covered and protected from insects? do people use them? bad smells? is there a sanitation system for the area? ...)
- * GARBAGE DISPOSAL (is there a provision for garbage collection and removal from the area? is garbage burned or covered with soil? if not, does garbage bother the community? bad smells? does it attract rats, insects, or other animals? fire hazards? does it look bad around the houses? does it pollute the water of local streams? kinds of garbage (paper, plastic, glass, etc.)? could the community profit from some form of garbage recicling?...)

- * "BUILT" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are houses crowded together? are the roads paved? is walking difficult because of steep pathways, muds? can impaired people move around easily? is there light at nigth? is there a provision for draining rainwater out of the pathways and streets? in the case of fire or other disaster could firefighters or an ambulance enter to help in the area?...)
- * "NATURAL" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of erosion, lack of vegetable cover? is there a risk of landslides? is there a high risk of fires? are there dangerous animals around, such as snakes, rats, wild dogs? is there any forested area left? is the forest being burned to make room for houses?..)
- * "WORK" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there sources of air and water pollution from nearby industries and manufactures even of small entity? are there safety provisions for the workers there? are there dumps and unsafe disposal facilities of waste, and in particular toxic waste? are there sources of excessive noise? is there any major traffic, with associated risks of accidents? are there home-based dangerous productive activities?...)
- * "LIFE" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of delinquency? alcohol and drug abuse? is there domestic or street violence? opportunities of employment and education? destitution and poverty? are there places for communal events? recreation facilities? is there a community spirit in the bairro?....)
- * SOCIAL SERVICES in the area (is there a creche for all the kids in need? schools? training centers? health center or health post? health workers? social centers? transport facilities? police? public telephone? fire fighters?.....)

Annex IV

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Community:
Day of visit: Starting time: Ending Time:
ICHM group accompanied by:
number of houses entered:
Geographical characteristics:
APPROX. SIZE OF THE INHABITED AREA:
APPROX. NUMBER OF HOUSES:
APPROX. NUMBER OF INHABITANTS:
BORDERS (other invasoes, conjuntos, etc.):
SLOPE:
RIVER within the area?
FOREST bordering the area?
GENERAL APPEARANCE:
Environmental problems:
* WATER SUPPLY (quantity - enough for drinking, cooking, washing, home manufacture, home gardening? community storage? easy access? legal or illegal connection? continuous or sporadic? losses in the connections? home storage? quality - good for drinking? sources of pollution?)

FOOD SUPPLY (family gardens? fruit trees? raising of animals? community

gardens? cheap shops? communal shops? cesta do povo? food from the forest?)

- * ENERGY PROVISION (is there electricity in the area? are most people connected? are there jumps in intensity that may damage electric equipments? what is the fuel most commonly used for cooking and lighting at home? if wood, is it found in the nearby forest? is it at all getting scarce? is green wood cut for fuel? if charcoal or gasoil, is it expensive? is it easily found in the bairro? what kind of stoves are most commonly used? are they efficient?.....)
- * HOUSING (security of tenure? crowding? cooking facilities? food storage? adequate protection from rain, cold, hot, wind? what kind of construction materials? are houses ever flooded? are the foundations and walls solid? is there security for the family belongings? is there space to grow a family garden? is the house protected againsts rats, bugs, flies, etc.? is there room for privacy?...)
- * LATRINES (for family or communal use? do they work? where do they discharge? do they need water to work? are they covered and protected from insects? do people use them? bad smells? is there a sanitation system for the area? ...)
- * GARBAGE DISPOSAL (is there a provision for garbage collection and removal from the area? is garbage burned or covered with soil? if not, does garbage bother the community? bad smells? does it attract rats, insects, or other animals? fire hazards? does it look bad around the houses? does it pollute the water of local streams? kinds of garbage (paper, plastic, glass, etc.)? could the community profit from some form of garbage recicling?...)
- * "BUILT" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are houses crowded together? are the roads paved? is walking difficult because of steep pathways, muds? can impaired people move around easily? is there light at nigth? is there a provision for draining rainwater out of the pathways and streets? in the case of fire or other disaster could firefighters or an ambulance enter to help in the area?...)
- * "NATURAL" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of erosion, lack of vegetable cover? is there a risk of landslides? is there a high risk of fires? are there dangerous animals around, such as snakes, rats, wild dogs? is there any forested area left? is the forest being burned to make room for houses?..)
- * "WORK" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there sources of air and water pollution from nearby industries and manufactures even of small entity? are there

safety provisions for the workers there? are there dumps and unsafe disposal facilities of waste, and in particular toxic waste? are there sources of excessive noise? is there any major traffic, with associated risks of accidents? are there home-based dangerous productive activities?...)

- * "LIFE" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of delinquency? alcohol and drug abuse? is there domestic or street violence? opportunities of employment and education? destitution and poverty? are there places for communal events? recreation facilities? is there a community spirit in the bairro?....)
- * SOCIAL SERVICES in the area (is there a creche for all the kids in need? schools? training centers? health center or health post? health workers? social centers? transport facilities? police? public telephone? fire fighters?.....)

Annex V

FOCUS GROUP AND RANKING EXERCISE - STEPS OF THE MEETING

- 1. Introduction, explaination of reasons for the meeting, confidentiality of information (information is not recorded with reference to a person but to the whole group), there will be a feed-back meeting, refreshments available, "name game" (if appropriate).
- 2. How long have you lived in this area?
- 3. What do you like about your local environment?
- 4. What you do not like about your local environment? What problems are there?

THE FACILITATOR LISTS THE PROBLEMS ON A LARGE PAPER SHEET OR ON THE BOARD AND - IF NECESSARY - INTEGRATES THE LIST ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FOLLOWING:

- * WATER SUPPLY (quantity enough for drinking, cooking, washing, home manufacture, home gardening? community storage? easy access? legal or illegal connection? continuous or sporadic? losses in the connections? home storage? quality good for drinking? sources of pollution? ..)
- * FOOD SUPPLY (family gardens? fruit trees? raising of animals? community gardens? cheap shops? communal shops? cesta do povo? food from the forest?)
- * ENERGY PROVISION (is there electricity in the area? are most people connected? are there jumps in intensity that may damage electric equipments? what is the fuel most commonly used for cooking and lighting at home? if wood, is it found in the nearby forest? is it at all getting scarce? is green wood cut for fuel? if charcoal or gasoil, is it expensive? is it easily found in the area? what kind of stoves are most commonly used? are they efficient?.....)
- * HOUSING (security of tenure? crowding? cooking facilities? food storage? adequate protection from rain, cold, hot, wind? are houses ever flooded? are the foundations and walls solid? is there security for the family belongings? is there space to

grow a family garden? is the house protected againsts rats, bugs, flies, etc.? is there room for privacy?...)

- * LATRINES (for family or communal use? do they work? where do they discharge? do they need water to work? are they covered and protected from insects? do people use them? bad smells? ...)
- * GARBAGE DISPOSAL (is there a provision for garbage collection and removal from the area? is garbage burned or covered with soil? if not, does garbage bother the community? bad smells? does it attract rats, insects, or other animals? fire hazards? does it look bad around the houses? does it pollute the water of local streams? kinds of garbage? could the community profit from some form of garbage recicling?...)
- * "BUILD" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are houses crowded together? are the roads paved? is walking difficult because of steep pathways, muds? can impaired people move around easily? is there light at nigth? is there a provision for draining rainwater out of the pathways and streets? in the case of fire or other disaster could firefighters or an ambulance enter to help in the area?...)
- * "NATURAL" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of erosion, lack of vegetable cover? is there a risk of landslides? is there a high risk of fires? are there dangerous animals around, such as snakes, rats, wild dogs? is there any forested area left? is the forest being burned to make room for houses?..)
- * "WORK" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there sources of air and water pollution from nearby industries and manufactures even of small entity? are there safety provisions for the workers there? are there dumps and unsafe disposal facilities of waste, and in particular toxic waste? are there sources of excessive noise? is there any major traffic, with associated risks of accidents? are there home-based dangerous productive activities?...)
- * "LIFE" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of delinquency? alcohol and drug abuse? is there domestic or street violence? opportunities of employment and education? destitution and poverty? are there places for communal events? recreation facilities? is there a community spirit in the area?....)

* SOCIAL SERVICES in the area (is there a creche for all the kids in need? schools? training centers? health center or health post? health workers? social centers? transport facilities? public telephone? police? fire fighters?.....)

ONCE THE LIST IS COMPLETED, THE FACILITATOR SELECTS SEVERAL PAIRS OF PROBLEMS IN THE AREA INCLUDING THE MOST INTERESTING AND/OR IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN THE LIST. FOR EACH PAIR THE FACILITATOR ASKS:

- 5. Between problem "a" and problem "b", which one is the most important to solve first for your area?
- 6. Why do you believe that problem "a" is more important?

IN THIS WAY THE PARTICIPANTS WILL EXPLICIT THEIR CRITERIA OF CHOICE. THE NOTE-TAKER WRITES THE REASONS OF CHOICE (CRITERIA) ON LARGE SHEETS OF PAPER ON THE WALLS, UNDER THE NAME OF THE PROBLEM.

AT THE END, THE FACILITATOR ASKS EVERYONE TO IDENTIFY THE 5 MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS THAT NEED TO BE SOLVED IN THE AREA AND TALLIES THE CORRESPONDING ITEM IN THE LIST EVERY TIME IT IS MENTIONED. TALLIES ARE COUNTED BY THE ADJUNT NOTE-TAKERS TO OBTAIN THE LIST OF PRIORITY PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO THE PARTICULAR FOCUS GROUP.

7. Are you ORGANIZED in this area to solve one or more of the problems we have talked about?

IF THE GROUP IS PRESENTLY ORGANIZED CONTINUE FROM 8., IF NO ORGANIZED MOVE TO QUESTION 24.

8. Is your organization PRESENTLY ACTIVE to solve one or more of the problems we have talked about?

IF THE ORGANIZATION IS ACTIVE NOW CONTINUE FROM 9., IF IT WAS ACTIVE IN THE PAST MOVE TO QUESTION 16.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION - PRESENT ACTION

- 9. What has moved you to organize and take action?
- 10. Is someone external to your community helping you? If yes how?
- 11. What problems are you facing in your organization and in carrying out particular actions?
- 12. What kind of support do you miss that would be very useful to you in carrying out your action?
- 13. What results have you achieved?
- 14. Is there any follow-up of your work?
- 15. What modifications do you like to make in your organization to improve the action in solving the problems you have indicated as prioritary?

PRESENT ORGANIZATION - NO ACTION

16. What has moved you to organize and take action?

- 17. Did someone external to your community help you? If yes how?
- 18. What problems did you face in your action? What kind of support did you miss?
- 19. What results have you achieved?
- 20. Is there any follow-up of your work?
- 21. What are the main reasons that prevent you to take action in this area?
- 22. What would you need in order to start? (who should do what? what kinds of conditions could help? are there technical obstacles? lack of knowledge about something? economic problems? political problems? do you have enough time to meet and organize? is the community cohesive and peaceful, or are there internal disagreements and problems preventing a common organization?..)
- 23. What do you like to change in your organization in order to implement action to solve the problems you have indicated as prioritary?

NO ORGANIZATION

24. What are the main reasons that prevent you from organizing and taking action in this area?

- 25. What would you need in order to start? (who should do what? what kinds of conditions could help? are there technical obstacles? lack of knowledge about something? economic problems? political problems? do you have enough time to meet and organize? is the community cohesive and peaceful, or are there internal disagreements and problems preventing a common organization?..)
- 26. What kind of organization could you set up to solve the problems you have indicated as prioritary?

Annex VI

FOCUS GROUP AND RANKING EXERCISE - AID FOR ADJUNT NOTE-TAKERS

Commu	nity	
Facilita	tor	
Note-tal	cer	
Adjunt	note-taker	rs/assistants
Date	Startii	ng time Ending time
Place of	encounter	·
Group co	mposition (r	note number of people):
men()	women () youth () TOTAL ()
Characte	ristics of pa	articipants:
Age	:	Occupation
1	•••••	
2	•••••	
3	•••••	
4	•••••	
5		
6		
7	••••••	

Ranking of problems in the area:

problem	tallies	priorization
	•••••	•••••
	•••••	

Phrases and terms of particular interest and/or used often or at key-times during the meeting:

Note on group dynamics:

(does everyone participate? are there dominant people? does everyone scen confortable? interested? are there strong contrasts of opinions? do people tend to agree with the ones who have spoken first or to express different opinions? are there moments of relax, laughter? are there moments of particular tension? does the discussion start easly or with reluctance? does the group end pleasantly and with a sense of satisfaction? does anybody look tired? do people say they will return for the feed-back meeting?...).

Annex VII

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR KEY-INFORMANTS

Comm	unity:	
Date:	Starting time:	Ending time:
Key-ir	nformant:	
Funct	ion:	
Interv	iewer:	
Assist	ants:	
QUES	TIONS/CHECKLIST:	
Introd	uction of the interviewer	and explainations of the reasons for the study.
1.	How long have you live	d in this area?
2.	Where did you live before	ore settling down here?
3.	When was the squatter	settlement set up and by whom?
4.	How did it expand? W	Where there major invasions? When did they take place?
Where		om? Where did they settle within the area of the bairro
		Is the bairro still expanding today (new invasions, growth
	ılation)?	, ,
5.		ion - the main problems in this area?
6.	How is the situation abo	out:
For eac	ch of the above, remembe	er to ask and note:
*** the	e dates of the major eve	ents (building of roads, starting of public transportation,
	g of the health center, et	
_	_	e the problems are important (risk map);
		nen the problems are particularly important (seasonal

calendar).

*** how much the inhabitants of the area care about the issues

*** why do they care? (economic reasons? health reasons? worsening of life conditions? other? ...)

- WATER SUPPLY (quantity enough for drinking, cooking, washing, home manufacture, home gardening? commun by storage? easy access? legal or illegal connection? continuous or sporadic? losses in the connections? home storage? quality good for drinking? sources of pollution? ..)
- 6.2 FOOD SUPPLY (family gardens? fruit trees? raising of animals? community gardens? cheap shops? communal shops? cesta do povo? food from the forest?)
- ENERGY PROVISION (is there electricity in the area? are most people connected? are there jumps in intensity that may damage electric equipments? what is the fuel most commonly used for cooking and lighting at home? if wood, is it found in the nearby forest? is it at all getting scarce? is green wood cut for fuel? if charcoal or gasoil, is it expensive? is it easily found in the area? what kind of stoves are most commonly used? are they efficient?.....)
- 6.4 HOUSING (security of tenure? crowding? cooking facilities? food storage? adequate protection from rain, cold, hot, wind? what kind of construction materials? are houses ever flooded? are the foundations and walls solid? is there security for the family belongings? is there space to grow a family garden? is the house protected againsts rats, bugs, flies, etc.? is there room for privacy?...)
- 6.5 LATRINES (for family or communal use? do they work? where do they discharge? do they need water to work? are they covered and protected from insects? do people use them? bad smells? ...)
- GARBAGE DISPOSAL (is there a provision for garbage collection and removal from the area? is garbage burned or covered with soil? if not, does garbage bother the community? bad smells? does it attract rats, insects, or other animals? fire hazards? does it look bad around the houses? does it pollute the water of local streams? kinds of garbage (paper, plastic, glass, etc.)? could the community profit from some form of garbage recicling?...)

- 6.7 "BUILT" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are houses crowded together? are the roads paved? is walking difficult because of steep pathways, muds? can impaired people move around easily? is there light at nigth? is there a provision for draining rainwater out of the pathways and streets? in the case of fire or other disaster could firefighters or an ambulance enter to help in the area?...)
- 6.8 "NATURAL" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of erosion, lack of vegetable cover? is there a risk of landslides? is there a high risk of fires? are there dangerous animals around, such as snakes, rats, wild dogs? is there any forested area left? is the forest being burned to make room for houses?...)
- "WORK" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there sources of air and water pollution from nearby industries and manufactures even of small entity? are there safety provisions for the workers there? are there dumps and unsafe disposal facilities of waste, and in particular toxic waste? are there sources of excessive noise? is there any major traffic, with associated risks of accidents? are there home-based dangerous productive activities?...)
- 6.10 "LIFE" ENVIRONMENT in the area (are there problems of delinquency? alcohol and drug abuse? is there domestic or street violence? opportunities of employment and education? destitution and poverty? are there places for communal events? recreation facilities? is there a community spirit in the bairro?....)
- 6.11 SOCIAL SERVICES in the area (is there a creche for all the kids in need? schools? training centers? health center or health post? health workers? social centers? transport facilities? public telephone? police? fire fighters?.....)
- 7. Did they ever organize to do anything about these environmental problems? (If YES go to question 8; if NO go to question 11)
- 8. Do you have any specific example?
- 9. Who did provide some help, how and what kind of help?
- 10. Is the organization still alive and what does it do now?

	What prevented them from organizing and taking action? (lack of knowledge, cology, money, time, training and know-how, ideas, organization, cohesion within community, political power, freedom to act)
12. to so	Do you believe that the inhabitants of this bairro are interested in doing something ve their environmental problems? What problem in particular? What could they do?
-	Do you believe that the DSPL could do something to solve the environmental ems in this bairro? If yes, what? (Here you should not accept "To provide money for and that" as an answer, ask about SUPPORT DIFFERENT FROM GIVING
14. probl it?	If a very limited amount of financial resources could be available to solve these ems, what could be done first, and how could the community help to get the most out of
provi	eciations for the time spent giving the interview and the quality of information ded. Invitation to take part in the feed-back meeting that will take place in
•••••	at

Annex VIII

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR STAKEHOLDERS (PART ONE)

Stakeholder:
Function:
Date:
Interviewer:
Assistants:
QUESTIONS/CHECKLIST:
** information on stakeholder
1.1 Brief history of the presence of the stakeholder in Salvador and/or Pau da Lima.
1.2 Interests and objectives within the district.
1.3 Past, present and future activities.
** type of work carried out with communities
2.1 Did you ever meet together with local communities to discuss their basic needs and environmental problems?
2.2 Have you ever supported a community in taking care of its basic needs and protecting its local environment (e.g. acquiring access and securing tenure to land, housing, water, sanitation, energy, social services, fighting erosion, improving
working conditions, abating pollution, etc.)?
(Support may include contributions in research, development of solutions together with
the affected communities and other stakeholders, provision of funds, technical expertise,
resources, political support, etc.)

- 2.3 Have you ever supported a community in gaining access to loan and credit facilities for its own projects?
- 2.4 Have you ever publicized information on your activities or on support available to community organizations within the district?
- 2.5 Did you ever train community members in specific capacities (management, technical skills, etc.) of direct application in the local context?
- 2.6 Did you ever support the creation and development of a community organization (including organizations of minorities, youth and elderly people, women)?
- 2.7 Did you ever support the process of administrative decentralization and the strenghtening of community services in Pau da Lima (for instance did you support DSPL)?
- ** work partners
- 3.1 In Salvador or in the district of Pau da Lima, what institutions and community organization(s) did (do, will) cooperate with you?
- 3.2 In particular, did you (do you, will you) cooperate with any local environmental group or institution?
- ** respective roles of partners
- 4.1 In your work with communities what kind of support do you provide (financial, technical, research, political, training, etc.)?
- 4.2 What other kind of support would you be able to provide?
- 4.3 In what forms did (do, will) communities participate?
- 4.4 What did (do, will) they contribute?

- 4.5 What did other partners contribute?
- ** basic evaluation of work accomplished
- 5.1 What main results have you achieved working together with local communities in Salvador and/or Pau da Lima?
- 5.2 What specific problems have you encountered?
- 5.3 What lessons have you learned that could be useful for future activities?
- ** means of communications
- 6. According to your experience, what are the best means of communication with local communities (meetings, radio, pamphlets, community leaders, billboards, loudspeakers, etc.)?

Annex IX

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR STAKEHOLDERS (PART TWO)

THIS SECOND PART OF THE INTERVIEW HAS THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF EXPLORING THE FEASIBILITY OF A NUMBER OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE STAKEHOLDERS THEMSELYES.

The interviewer briefly reports about the preliminary results of the study, describes what is meant by PEC, and outlines a number of working hypotheses for the future.

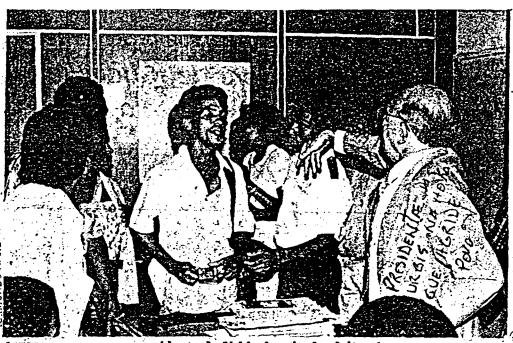
- 1. Would you be willing or able to carry out the activities outlined in the preliminary working hypotheses we have mentioned?
- 2. If yes, how? If not, why?
- 3. Would you suggest any modification?
- 4. In your opinion, what are the most important actors and conditions to foster Primary Environmental Care in Salvador or in Pau da Lima?
- 5. What resources could be mobilized to this end?

Annex X

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNITY INTERESTS IN PEC

- * Criteria expressed as a "basic need" (re-inforcement of statement/ expression with other words/ life and death references, e.g. "because it is impossible to live without it").
- * Criteria related to the prevention of disease (explicit mention of prevention of disease and death, and maintenance of health, e.g. "to prevent diseases").
- * Criteria expressed as an interest to improve the quality of life (making life easier, more confortable, more pleasant, e.g. "to avoid the bad smell").
- * Criteria expressed as a condition to solve another specific problem (linkage with other issues/ long-term view/ interrelationships, e.g. "to prevent pollution of the river").
- * Criteria related to an economic interest (explicit mention of financial benefit or economic benefit (goods) for self or the family, e.g. "to prevent robberies").
- * Criteria expressed as social interest (mention of interest involving relationships between self (and family) and neighbours (or community at large) /social status/ upgrading in the social consideration/ avoidance of dependency, e.g. "to avoid conflicts with neighbours").
- * Criteria related to opportunity/feasibility of the solution(referring not to the problem but to the particular conditions that may lead to solve it, e.g. "it is a good moment to claim it now, before elections").

DURING MEETING TO VEINDICATE WITH URBIS PRESIDENT - DANIEL GOMES SQUATTERS FROM CASTELO BRANCO CAJAZEIRAS PRESIDENT MODEMO BEEN ASSAULTE D OFFICE BY URBIS SECURITY POLICE.



invasores acusaram presidente da Urbis de atitude eleitoreira

Tumulto marca reunião de invasores com Urbis

Acabou em tumulto generalizado uma passeata de invasores da área de Cajazeiras e Castelo Branco, que foram expulsos à força da sala do presidente da Urbis. Os ocupantes das diversas áreas organizaram uma comissão para conversar com o presidente Daniel Gomes e reivindicar a legalização das terras invadidas, "como havia prometido, quando da visitação às áreas há cerca de dois meses", assegura o presidente do Movimento em Defesa da Moradia, Sílvio Leal. Depois de denunciar os fins eleitoreiros para beneficiar a campanha do filho de Daniel Gomes, os representantes foram agredidos pelos seguranças da Urbis, que ameaçaram sacar de revolveres para conter e expulsar os manifestantes:

"O senhor prometeu um milheiro de blocos e os títulos das terras para quem votasse em seu filho", denunciou Sílvio Leal. Negando a veracidade da acusação, o presidente da Urbis encerrou a reunião e solicitou que os representantes dos invasores fossem retirados do recinto. "Eu não atendo esse pessoal que está trabalhando em campanhas políticas e vêm aqui se promover", rebateu Daniel Gomes. O segurança Carlos Roberto dos Santos explicou que tentou usar de delicadeza, "mas como eles alteraram, não tivemos outra alternativa senão usar da força", justificou.

São cerca de seis mil famílias ali representadas, solicitando a emissão dos títulos das terras. Daniel Gomes visitou as áreas e orientou os invasores a preencher um requerimento com nome do requerente e localização da terra para apreciação dos engenheiros da Urbis. As áreas que receberem parecer favorável por não terem qualquer projeto de construção no local seriam encaminhadas para legalização por parte do Governo do Estado.