



## **Adapting for Success**

*An evaluation of the effectiveness of learning and adapting in  
the favelas of Rio de Janeiro*



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## Acknowledgements

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This research was conceptualized during a precursor study, which was also a collaboration between Kayla Boisvert and Theresa Williamson, with critical support from Ash Hartwell.

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## Executive Summary

**Developmental Evaluation (DE) is an evaluation approach that helps programs rapidly and systematically collect data on context, program processes, and program results in order to adapt interventions to more effectively work towards desired outcomes** (Patton, 2011). DE is an alternative to traditional evaluation approaches, which have been critiqued as problematic in complex development contexts that are rapidly and unpredictably changing, in that they force pre-planned interventions and measure success by how well projects achieve relative to pre-defined activities, outputs, and outcomes (e.g., Maclay, 2015).

DE is seen to be more appropriate to address complex development challenges because it allows for real-time collection of data and ongoing adaptation. While there are many guidance documents and case studies *describing* DE, as well as related approaches like Adaptive Management<sup>1</sup> (AM), there is little evidence to evaluate the claim that these approaches are in fact more effective. This study contributes to an emerging foundation of evidence for the effectiveness of DE and related approaches by evaluating the effectiveness of one NGO's approach to managing and evaluating developmentally and adaptively.

**Catalytic Communities (CatComm) is an NGO working since 2000 on behalf of Rio's favelas on issues such as sustainable development, human rights, and urban planning. Over the course of their 17-year history, CatComm has evolved their own customized approach to evaluating and managing, which has allowed them to respond to the needs and opportunities of favela communities.** In a precursor study (Boisvert, 2017), the lead researcher and the CatComm Director described CatComm's approach through the lens of *DE for Managing Adaptively*. While CatComm had not used the terms DE or AM to describe their approach before conducting the precursor study, our analysis revealed that their approach customizes most of the Principles of DE, as well as characteristics of AM, in a way that best meets their needs for learning and adapting. Therefore, we believe that examining the effectiveness of CatComm's approach provides useful evidence for the effectiveness of DE, AM, and related approaches.

In this study, the research team—which consisted of a lead consultant, three CatComm staff, a methodological consultant, and a “critical friend”—aimed to answer the primary research question, **“How has CatComm's approach contributed to their effectiveness?”** In this research, we focused on CatComm's Olympics Strategy, a series of activities carried out between 2009 and 2016 that aimed to leverage the international media presence in Rio to mitigate the violent human rights abuses that the government was perpetrating against favela residents.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Holling (cited in Allana, 2014, p. 4), Adaptive Management is “a structured, iterative process of robust decision making in the face of uncertainty, with an aim to reducing uncertainty over time via system monitoring.”

## CatComm and Pre-Olympic Rio de Janeiro

Between 2009 and 2016, in the name of Olympics-related construction and real estate speculation, the Rio de Janeiro city government was forcibly evicting favela residents from their homes and demolishing entire communities. Residents were receiving insufficient or no compensation for their homes; they were being relocated far away from their communities; and the government was using coercion, threats, and violence to remove people. At the same time, media coverage of the Olympics regularly neglected these human rights abuses, and residents had little recourse against these violations.

During this period, CatComm supported favela communities by educating community members about their rights and evictions resistance tactics, targeting story ideas to international journalists, and publishing their own articles on their news site, *RioOnWatch*. CatComm hypothesized that the right combination of community resistance, international press coverage, and increased positive and more nuanced understandings of favelas globally would pressure the Rio Mayor to use more humane tactics to prepare Rio for the Olympics. To carry out these activities, CatComm utilized a flexible, adaptive approach to management and evaluation. This approach was described in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017) as the interaction between eight elements.

### **The Eight Elements of CatComm's Approach are:**

- (I) Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy;
- (II) Ongoing Situational Analysis and Contextualization;
- (III) Locally Led Initiatives;
- (IV) Multiple Points of Entry;
- (V) Culture of Experimentation;
- (VI) Network-based Approach;
- (VII) Ongoing, Real-time Data Collection; and
- (VIII) Continuous Reflection and Adaptation.

Each of the elements of CatComm's approach is essential, and, as explained in the precursor study, they are "*inter-related, cyclical, and reinforcing*" (Boisvert, 2017, p. 42).

To answer our research question, we used the Outcome Harvesting methodology to identify outcomes (defined as "*change[s] in the behavior, relationships, actions, activities, policies, or practices of an individual, group, community, organization, or institution*" [Wilson-Grau & Britt, 2012]) that CatComm contributed to during the lead up to the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Using the Outcome Harvesting methodology, we harvested and triangulated outcomes, identified CatComm's activities that contributed to the outcomes, and identified elements of CatComm's approach that could plausibly be linked to the outcomes.

### *Outcomes and CatComm's Contribution*

The research team harvested **27 outcomes in 6 communities throughout Rio de Janeiro** that met our criteria. That is, the outcomes occurred during CatComm's 2009 to 2016 Olympics Strategy, can be plausibly linked to CatComm's activities, and can be plausibly linked to CatComm's developmental approach. We identified three types of outcomes, including:

- ***Changes in the behavior of government officials.*** Twelve outcomes involved government officials. In four outcomes, government officials stopped or reduced evictions, and in six outcomes officials offered better compensation to residents. In two outcomes, evictions increased but compensation for residents was improved.
- ***Changes in the behavior of media/journalists.*** Nine outcomes involved journalists. In four outcomes, journalists published material they would likely not have published otherwise, and in nine outcomes they published material that was more nuanced than it likely would have been without CatComm's support.
- ***Changes in the behavior of community residents.*** Six outcomes involved community residents. Two involved a change in discourse about evictions and the Olympics, three were related to hosting events to publicly discuss the Olympics, and one involved actively reaching out and requesting media coverage.

**All outcomes harvested were influenced by CatComm's pre-Olympic Strategy activities.** Three primary types of activities included:

- ***Providing support to media.*** Eighteen outcomes were influenced by CatComm's efforts to provide support to media. This included linking journalists to communities and providing linguistic and cultural translation, background information, and news stories.
- ***Documenting evictions processes.*** Nine outcomes were influenced by CatComm's documentation of evictions processes. Four were influenced by sharing on CatComm's own media outlets; three were influenced when CatComm contributed to major media reporting; and one was influenced simply by filming without sharing the footage.
- ***Providing support to residents.*** Seven outcomes were influenced by CatComm supporting residents. CatComm contributed to outcomes by engaging in informal dialogue with residents (two outcomes) and facilitating or supporting workshops and training (five outcomes) in order to provide information to residents about their rights and effective evictions resistance techniques.

In this study, we aimed to examine how CatComm's approach influenced their effectiveness. We found that **all of the 27 identified outcomes were influenced by CatComm's approach** to management and evaluation. Four major findings related to the influence of CatComm's approach include:

- **Each of the eight elements of CatComm's approach can be plausibly connected to the outcomes.** The number of outcomes directly influenced by each element varies, ranging from five to nineteen outcomes. Some elements (e.g., Data Collection; Reflection and Adaptation) influenced more outcomes than others (e.g., Experimentation; Ongoing Situational Analysis; and Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy). Two elements contributed to the greatest number of outcomes: Ongoing, Real-time Data Collection (Element VII) and Continuous Reflection and Adaptation (Element VIII). This provides further evidence to our claim that, *“Reflection and adaptation is the core element of [CatComm’s approach]. All of the other elements contribute to a culture in which CatComm can be flexible and responsive, and ultimately adapt their approach,”* (Boisvert, 2017, p. 41).
- Three of the elements of CatComm’s approach influenced the development of the broad Olympics Strategy, which contributed to the 27 outcomes. CatComm’s Olympics Strategy, which contributed to the outcomes harvested, represented a strategic shift (Element I) as a result of ongoing analysis of the situation (Element II), and it utilized multiple points of entry (Element IV) to address the problem. In other words, **all outcomes were influenced by these three elements by way of the development of the entire Olympics Strategy.**
- In addition to the influence of individual elements, **the interaction between elements also contributes to CatComm’s effectiveness.** There are many ways in which the elements of CatComm’s approach work together. For example, data collection (Element VII) and reflection and adaptation (VIII) require experimentation with new and creative ideas (Element V). Similarly, experimentation is not useful unless it is followed up with gathering information, reflecting on it, and adapting an activity or strategy.
- Finally, **the elements of CatComm’s approach and the relationship between the elements form a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts, and it is this whole approach that together contributed to the 27 outcomes.** While the research team did not, and could not have, compared the entire approach to a more traditional approach, but rather isolated certain elements and relationships between elements to connect them to outcomes, it is plausible to conclude that because of the interdependent nature of the elements that it is the entire approach that contributed to the 27 outcomes, albeit in different ways for different outcomes.

### *Implications*

The findings of this study reveal a number of implications that may be of interest to development professionals, including funders, practitioners, evaluators, and researchers:

- **CatComm’s flexible, adaptive approach was effective in contributing to changes in the behavior of government, media, and community stakeholders during their 2009–2016 Olympics Strategy.** The 27 outcomes can be plausibly connected to CatComm’s activities, and then to CatComm’s approach to management and evaluation, and

therefore provide evidence of the effectiveness of CatComm’s approach. Both individual elements and the whole approach contributed to outcomes.

- **CatComm’s approach is customized.** CatComm’s approach embodies many aspects of DE and AM, and their approach emerged without having DE and AM as a model. CatComm’s experience confirmed that neither DE nor AM is a one-size-fits-all approach. The effectiveness of their approach highlights that application of such an approach requires customizing it to meet precise needs.
- **We will continue to evaluate and adapt the approach over time.** CatComm’s approach has evolved over their 17-year history as a result of ongoing experimentation, data collection, and adaptation. Given the complexity of the environment in which CatComm works, we will continue to question our assumptions, analyze the context, evaluate the effectiveness of the management and evaluation approach, in order to ensure that future iterations of the approach continue to be as effective.
- **CatComm’s approach is enabled by a deeply rooted trust in and from the communities they work with.** For CatComm, trusting relationships with communities was an essential enabling factor in implementing their approach, and therefore in their effectiveness.

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## Introduction

Over the past 15 years, the international development field has increasingly emphasized the improvement of the quality of development aid. A series of four forums on Aid Effectiveness has established and developed a framework for ensuring the quality of international development assistance instead of simply focusing on financing (InterAction, 2013). Many development gains in areas such as poverty reduction, access to education, and health have resulted from the emphasis on the quality of aid.

While well-intentioned, the *Aid Effectiveness Movement* has also been largely critiqued. One of the main critiques is that the most commonly used planning, management, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, which arose from the movement's focus on transparency and accountability, force pre-planned interventions and measure success by how well projects adhere to predefined activities and achieve pre-identified outputs towards predicted outcomes. Consequently, projects become locked into carrying out these activities and trying to achieve these outputs, and so are hardly able to adapt to the dynamic needs of the communities they intend to serve (e.g., Maclay, 2015).

Such a planned, controlled approach can be effective in contexts where there is little change, where solutions are known or can be known, and where there is strong evidence that completing specific activities will result in desired outcomes. However, this approach can be problematic in complex contexts, which are rapidly changing or where there is no proven formula for achieving desired results (e.g., Maclay, 2015).

In responding to this critique, management and evaluation approaches that are more appropriate for complex contexts (which characterizes much of the development field) are taking hold. Developmental Evaluation (DE) is one such approach. DE helps programs rapidly and systematically collect data on the context, program processes, and program results in order to adapt interventions to more effectively work towards desired outcomes (Patton, 2011).

Many evaluators advocate that DE is more appropriate in complex contexts than traditional evaluation and management approaches (e.g., Patton, 2011), and there are many case studies (e.g., Patton, McKegg, & Wehipeihana, 2016) that show *how* organizations are implementing DE. However, few, if any, studies have actually *evaluated the assumption* that DE is in fact more effective in complex contexts than traditional evaluation and management approaches.<sup>2</sup>

The development field is at a turning point—a number of programs are using DE (and customizing its Principles) in ways that make sense in their context. We have the opportunity, then, to examine these programs to understand more about whether DE truly is more effective than traditional approaches, what aspects of DE are most successful and which are most challenging, and what factors enable or inhibit programs implementing these approaches.

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<sup>2</sup> E.g., Dexis (2016) notes the lack of evidence for the effectiveness of Collaborating, Learning, and Adapting, USAID's initiative for implementing more flexible management and evaluation approaches, including DE.

Providing further evidence of the success of programs using DE in complex contexts is timely. It can help to legitimize the approach so that it is more widely embraced across the field if evidence suggests it is effective, and it can steer us in a better direction if evidence shows we are mistaken.

The purpose of this study is to assess the effectiveness of one organization's approach to management and evaluation, which we examined extensively through the lenses of DE and Adaptive Management (AM) in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017). While this organization did not set out to apply a formal DE approach, we discovered retroactively that they had in fact embodied many of the DE Principles in ways that were most useful to them. We hope that this research can contribute to the much-needed literature on customizing and applying the Principles of DE—and other adaptive and flexible management and evaluation approaches more broadly—in complex development contexts.

The research team is composed of a consultant/doctoral student studying DE and AM in international development contexts and the Founder/Executive Director of the non-governmental organization (NGO) being examined. The research team is supported by a consultant with expertise in DE and Outcome Harvesting, this study's methodology, as well as a Monitoring and Evaluation specialist with expertise in Adaptive Management in complex development contexts. The intended audience of this research includes development professionals, funders, and scholars who work in complex contexts who can use this research to support (or challenge) their claim that DE, and related adaptive management and evaluation approaches, is more effective to address complex development challenges.

## Background

In the precursor to this study (Boisvert, 2017, p. 9), the research team examined the management and evaluation approach of one organization, Catalytic Communities (CatComm), through the lens of *Developmental Evaluation for Managing Adaptively*, a term we used based on a review of the literature on DE, AM, and other related concepts and that evolved throughout the course of the precursor study.<sup>3</sup> We defined CatComm's approach as a "*systematic, iterative process of collecting and using emergent information for strategic decision-making in the face of complexity.*" Essentially, CatComm's approach<sup>4</sup> is a process by which they strategically collect, analyze, and interpret *data*<sup>5</sup> in as real time as possible, in order

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<sup>3</sup> In Boisvert (2017), we examined CatComm's approach through the lens of *both* DE and AM, despite the usual separation between management and evaluation. We did this because we believe that, particularly in complex contexts, evaluation (or more broadly, feedback and data collection) cannot be carried out separately from management. Additionally, in our review of the literature, we found that the two terms were so inextricably linked that it warranted synthesizing the ideas in a way that made sense for our research.

<sup>4</sup> In this study, we do not use the term *Developmental Evaluation for Managing Adaptively* because we want to emphasize that we are *not* conducting a case study of a formal DE, but rather a case study of an organization that we discovered retroactively embodied most, but not all, of the DE Principles.

<sup>5</sup> In Boisvert (2017), we define *data* broadly, explaining that for our purposes, data can include "many types of information, including numbers and statistics, stories and anecdotes, and perceptions and constructions. It can be

to *develop*<sup>6</sup> their programming over the course of implementation. Based on the literature, we then created a framework of elements and practices that characterize organizations that use DE and AM, and through this framework we analyzed CatComm’s approach. In this section, we introduce CatComm, summarize the elements of CatComm’s approach, and review evidence that exists for DE and related adaptive approaches in complex contexts, in order to set the stage for this case study.

## Catalytic Communities<sup>7</sup>

CatComm is an NGO working since 2000 on behalf of Rio’s *favelas* (see Box 1, What are *favelas*?) on issues such as sustainable development, human rights, and urban planning. CatComm’s mission is to “create models for effective integration between informal and formal settlements...” and to “improv[e] the quality of life for all Rio de Janeiro residents by driving a more creative, inclusive and empowering community-led integration between the city’s informal and formal communities, in which the city’s *favelas* are recognized for their heritage status and their residents fully served as equal citizens.”<sup>8</sup> To this end, CatComm “supports and empowers residents of informal settlements, evolving strategically to support their needs as they arise”<sup>9</sup> and “is marked by flexibility, timeliness and a keen demand-response.”<sup>10</sup> Over the past 17 years, in response to community-identified needs, CatComm has maintained a physical center for community organizing, provided requested training, helped facilitate debates, documented community voices and initiatives, facilitated media coverage, and offered a range of other programs and services.

### Box 1. What are *favelas*?

*Favelas* are informal communities that arise from an unmet need for housing, are developed by individual residents without government regulation, and are continuously evolving (Williamson, n.d.). Contrary to the popular belief that *favelas* are places of squalor, built from precarious building materials, and illegal and marginal, “*favela residents put decades-worth of income and physical labor into the construction...of their homes*” (Williamson, n.d.). According to CatComm, citing data from 2013 from the Popular Data Institute, the vast majority of *favela* residents like where they live, are proud of their communities, and would continue to live there even if their income grew (Catalytic Communities, n.d.), a finding that counters the

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objective (although rarely is) or subjective, and it can be collected in any number of ways that is relevant to the context” (p. 9, footnote 5).

<sup>6</sup> Patton et al. (2016) differentiate between program *improvement* and program *development*. Program improvement focuses on making an intervention or model better, or making slight course corrections to get back on track. Program development occurs when there is no model, rather one is being created along the way. Program developments occur in response to a significant change to the context or clientele, when learnings indicate a need to change course, or when a new need or opportunity arises.

<sup>7</sup> This section is adapted from the precursor study, Boisvert (2017).

<sup>8</sup> [catcomm.org/mission/](http://catcomm.org/mission/)

<sup>9</sup> [catcomm.org/about/](http://catcomm.org/about/)

<sup>10</sup> [catcomm.org/category/community-support/](http://catcomm.org/category/community-support/)

dominant narrative that favela residents are desperate, unhappy, and wanting to leave their communities.

Favelas are Rio de Janeiro's primary option of affordable housing. Approximately 1.5 million people, 23 to 24 percent of Rio's population, live in favelas, a percentage comparable to that of people living in affordable housing in other major cities (Catalytic Communities, n.d.). There are currently over 1,000 unique favelas, ranging from "*newer or more challenged communities with slum-like conditions and a desire to resettle, to highly-functioning, vibrant neighborhoods determined to maintain their qualities and continue developing in their own extraordinary ways*" (Williamson, n.d.).

Historically, favelas have been treated as illegal settlements, and under this justification have been targets of exclusion, segregation, stigmatization, and discrimination. The 1937 Construction Code deemed favelas "*in violation of the laws*" (as cited in Magalhães, n.d.), a declaration that has influenced the perception of favelas as places of urban disorder, precarious conditions, and negative moral character that pervades society today. The 1960s Urban Reform Movement led to the 1992 City Plan, which revised the definition of favelas but still declared them as "*in violation of legal standards*". Since the founding of the first favela, Providência, in 1897, residents have experienced severe and ongoing violations of human rights, including police violence, forced evictions, poor education systems, and inadequate water, sanitation, and hygiene infrastructure (Magalhães, n.d.). Despite this general neglect by the city they call their home, however, favelas have been incubators of culture, innovation, and beauty.

### *CatComm's Approach to Management and Evaluation*

CatComm did not explicitly call their approach for collecting, interpreting, and using data *Developmental Evaluation for Managing Adaptively* before the precursor study, nor did they set out to apply DE (nor AM) to their context. It was not until this study's PI introduced the concepts of DE and AM to the Founder/Executive Director of CatComm in 2015 that she recognized her organization in aspects of the literature on the topic. Following the realization that CatComm's approach largely embodies the DE Principles, as well as characteristics of AM, the research team set out to examine and document CatComm's approach through these lenses, documenting specific elements and practices that comprise their approach.

In Boisvert (2017), the research team identified and described eight discrete but interdependent elements that comprise CatComm's approach. They are summarized in Box 2. Specific practices associated with each element are shown in Annex 1.

#### **Box 2. Eight Elements of CatComm's Approach**

- I. Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy.** CatComm has a clearly articulated mission and regularly affirms that mission to ensure that all team members are *heading in the right direction*. They develop a guiding five-year strategic plan, updating their plan annually, and maintaining the flexibility needed to respond to emerging needs and

opportunities. They seize timely and strategic opportunities, and they leverage the human, intellectual, financial, and network resources they have at their disposal to enhance impact.

- II. Ongoing Situational Analysis and Contextualization.** CatComm regularly collects data and feedback to understand the hyperlocal (down to the level of individual residents and their relationships) needs and opportunities, and they use multiple relevant and feasible data and feedback collection strategies. Additionally, they constantly monitor global, national, and local trends in order to understand the local context and adapt solutions from a broader perspective.
- III. Locally Led Initiatives.** CatComm actively fosters spaces for community members to identify needs and solutions, and they collaborate with favela residents to carry out solutions, supporting them in building their own capacity as needed and compensating them for their work.
- IV. Multiple Points of Entry.** CatComm leverages multiple points of entry within and across activities and strategies in order to address the complex, systemic nature of the issues they are trying to address.
- V. Culture of Experimentation and Non-Attachment.** Through their commitment to outcomes rather than attachment to specific activities, CatComm has fostered a culture of developing creative solutions; piloting them to see what works; and scaling up, scaling down, or changing activities as needed.
- VI. Network-based Approach.** CatComm recognizes that social change is a “*collective wave*,” and they foster partnerships on the local, national, and global levels to work towards that change, collaborating with those who are oriented towards the same goal but with diverse knowledge and skills.
- VII. Ongoing, Real-time Data Collection.** CatComm collects data<sup>11</sup> and feedback on their activities and on short- and mid-term outcomes. They also monitor relevant long-term, large-scale, and global social change to understand the progress being made, albeit by the collective group of actors. CatComm uses varied contextually appropriate and logistically feasible data collection mechanisms, and they both systematically collect feedback and data, as well as foster pathways for feedback and data to be received organically.
- VIII. Continuous Reflection and Adaptation.** CatComm regularly analyzes and interprets data collected on activities, outcomes, and hyperlocal and large-scale change. They make strategic programmatic decisions informed by this analysis and interpretation, in relation to arising needs and opportunities in the community and prior information on similar phenomena in other contexts.

*Source: Boisvert (2017)*

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<sup>11</sup> See Footnote 4.

For CatComm, the whole of their approach is greater than the sum of its parts. The elements of CatComm’s approach are interrelated, cyclical, and reinforcing. Figure 1 shows a model of the relationship between the elements of CatComm’s approach.

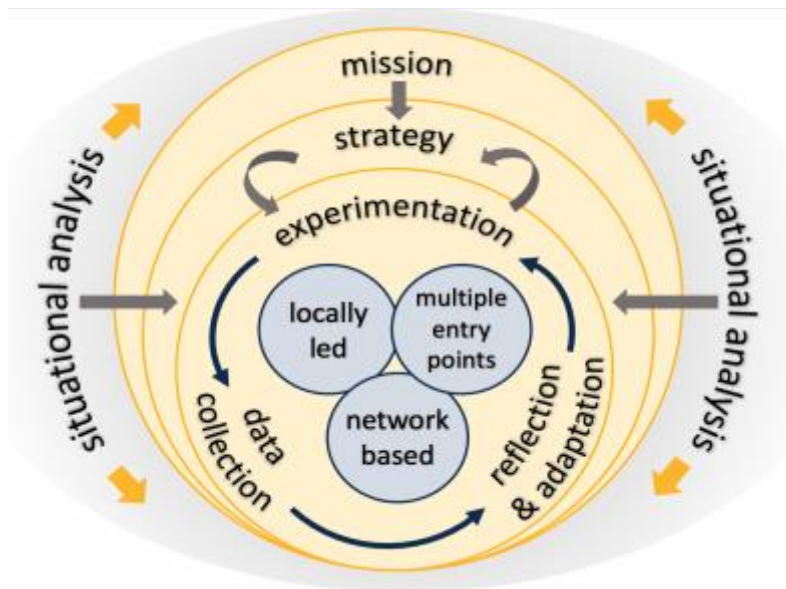


Figure 1. CatComm’s approach for management and evaluation.

As shown in the model, CatComm’s work is grounded by ongoing analysis of the Rio context and hyperlocal contexts within the favelas. Their mission, which was informed by years of experience working in Rio’s favelas, is clearly defined and relatively stable. Their strategy, however, is evolving over time as a result of changing needs and opportunities, yet always guided by their mission. CatComm’s activities are locally led, intervene at multiple entry or leverage points, and are based in extensive collaboration with their network. Having such a far-reaching, collaborative network strengthens CatComm’s ability to implement locally led solutions at multiple leverage points in the system. Additionally, their network strengthens their ability to conduct ongoing situational analysis. CatComm’s activities are adaptive over time in response to emerging needs and opportunities, and they are implemented via a cycle of experimenting with creative solutions, collecting varied types of data through formal and informal feedback channels, and regularly reflecting on the data they collect in order to adapt. Finally, the learnings from this activity cycle, coupled with information about emerging needs and opportunities, inform larger shifts in strategy, as aligned with their mission.

### *CatComm’s Approach and the DE Principles*

In the previous study, the research team did not explicitly relate the elements and practices of CatComm’s approach to Patton et al.’s (2016) DE Principles. Rather, we provided a rich description of what CatComm’s approach looks like, examining it through the lenses of DE and AM and relating it to the literature on DE, AM, and other related paradigms. However, in conducting the precursor study, the research team discovered that CatComm’s approach embodies most of the eight DE Principles in a way that is most appropriate to their context. In Annex 2, we explicitly describe how CatComm’s approach embodies these DE Principles and

where they diverge, as well as how their approach integrates characteristics of AM. While CatComm’s approach embodies many of the Principles of DE, two important differences include the lack of an embedded evaluator and the level of formality of their data collection. These divergences present themselves because: (a) CatComm was not aware of the paradigm of DE in developing their management and evaluation approach; (b) CatComm’s financial resources are extremely limited and these two features were not practically feasible nor necessary in their context—in fact these features may have hindered CatComm’s effectiveness; and (c) intentionally building trusting relationships with community members that allowed data and feedback to organically emerge often proved more effective than formally seeking it out, so that has become the predominant part of their data collection approach.

## Existing Evidence

There are many guidance resources describing DE, as well as AM and other related approaches. Additionally, there are many tools and techniques that can be adopted by development professionals to support the use of such approaches. Finally, there are a growing number of examples in the development field of organizations successfully using DE, AM, and other flexible approaches.

However, there is a dearth of evidence on the effectiveness of these approaches in complex development environments.<sup>12</sup> In a review of the literature, we came across just a single example of a study within the development field that documents the effectiveness of using an adaptive approach, but not DE specifically. In 2015, the International Rescue Committee and Mercy Corps teamed up to launch ADAPT (Analysis-driven Agile Programming Techniques) with the goal of “*research[ing], innovat[ing] and field test[ing] adaptive management techniques for the [development] sector*” (MercyCorps & IRC, 2016). The partnership conducted six case studies of organizations using *analysis-driven agile programming techniques*, including one case study comparing responses to the Ebola crisis by two organizations implementing education projects in Sierra Leone. The study suggests that in this complex context, using agile techniques proved more effective (see Box 3).

### Box 3. Analysis-driven Agile Programming Techniques: IRC’s Le Wi ol Lan (LWOL) Project

MercyCorps and IRC’s ADAPT initiative compared the effectiveness of two education projects in Sierra Leone after the Ebola crisis hit in 2014 to 2015. The LWOL project, which aimed to improve in-school learning opportunities and outcomes for girls and boys in one district in the south of Sierra Leone, took a flexible approach to program design and implementation since the beginning. The Girls Education Challenge (GEC), which aimed to support marginalized girls to improve learning outcomes, took a traditional, linear, planned approach. When the Ebola disaster struck, both programs were required to stop operations as the schools were closed in July 2014. LWOL, however, which had built in experimentation, iteration, and adaptation from the beginning, was able to conduct a rapid needs assessment and pivot their strategy. They were up and running again by October 2014, offering small group learning facilitated by community teachers. GEC, on the other hand, was unable to rapidly assess and adapt, and their

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<sup>12</sup> See Footnote 1.

activities remained halted until March 2015, six months after LWOL restarted, and only one month earlier than the formal schools were able to reopen. While the case does not address student learning or other outcomes and their relation to flexible programming, the six-month gap between restart of the LWOL and the GEC projects suggests that, at minimum, the flexibility built into the LWOL project allowed the program to continue to offer critical, relevant services when faced with crisis.

*Source: MercyCorps & IRC, 2016.*

USAID has also identified the need to evaluate the claim that using DE is actually more effective in addressing complex development challenges. Through their Developmental Evaluation Pilot Activity (DEPA-MERL), they are beginning to explore the effectiveness of DE by funding and then meta-evaluating six full DEs in complex development contexts worldwide. These evaluations have anticipated completion dates of September 30, 2018 (US Global Development Lab, n.d.).

The studies described above, as well as the present research, are forming the beginning of a foundation of evidence for the effectiveness of using DE and other more adaptive approaches for managing and evaluating projects addressing complex development challenges.

## Research Design

The purpose of this research is to assess whether CatComm’s approach to management and evaluation was effective, in order to contribute to a growing body of evidence for the effectiveness of using DE and related adaptive approaches to address complex development challenges. CatComm’s approach, which we have extensively documented in our precursor study (Boisvert, 2017), embodies many of the Principles of DE (see Annex 2), as well as characteristics of AM.

## Research Questions

The research questions<sup>13</sup> are:

1. How has CatComm’s approach contributed to their effectiveness?
  - b. What evidence (positive/negative, intended/unintended outcomes) do we have of changes in favela residents’ evictions resistance actions, government officials’ evictions practices, and media reporting practices?
  - c. What evidence do we have that CatComm’s activities influenced these outcomes?
  - d. What evidence do we have that the project activities (and therefore outcomes) can be plausibly linked to the elements of CatComm’s approach?
2. What themes emerge that highlight the enabling (and limiting) conditions for CatComm’s approach?

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<sup>13</sup>The research questions in the proposal were further refined in the kick-off meeting to better bound the scope of the research and make it more actionable.



## Methods

Building on the precursor study, the research team used the Outcome Harvesting methodology as the inquiry framework to identify positive and negative, intended and unintended outcomes that could be plausibly linked to the elements of CatComm’s approach, summarized above. First, we drafted outcomes by reviewing documentation and holding a research team workshop. Then, we triangulated and revised outcomes by interviewing additional key informants outside of the research team and holding second and third research team workshops. Next, we compiled the results into an Excel database and coded the outcomes, significance, contribution of CatComm’s activities, and contribution of the elements of CatComm’s approach. Finally, we analyzed the data by looking for relationships between the different types of outcomes, activities, and the elements of CatComm’s approach and interpreted those relationships in order to answer our research questions.

The research team chose the Outcome Harvesting methodology as an inquiry framework because we found it particularly well-suited to our context. Outcome Harvesting is a methodology that helps users identify outcomes—defined as positive or negative, intended or unintended “*change[s] in the behavior, relationships, actions, activities, policies, or practices of an individual, group, community, organization, or institution*” (Wilson-Grau & Britt, 2012)—that can be plausibly linked to, in our case, the elements of CatComm’s approach.

The research team<sup>14</sup> consists of Kayla Boisvert (Principal Investigator, Independent Consultant), Theresa Williamson (Co-researcher, CatComm Founder/Executive Director), and Roseli Franco (Co-researcher, CatComm Institutional Director). The team was supported by Ricardo Wilson-Grau (Methodological Consultant) and Ash Hartwell (“Critical Friend”).

### *Scope of the Research: CatComm's Olympics Strategy*

For this study, we chose to focus on one subset of CatComm’s activities—their Olympics Strategy. We used the Outcome Harvesting methodology to identify outcomes that emerged during the pre-Olympic period that were influenced by CatComm’s Olympics Strategy and that can plausibly be linked to the elements of CatComm’s approach.

As discussed previously, CatComm carries out a number of activities to work towards their vision of integration of informal and formal settlements through community-led processes. This study, however, focuses on their Olympics Strategy, a series of activities carried out between 2009 and 2016 that aimed to leverage the international media presence in Rio at the time to mitigate the violent human rights abuses that the government was perpetrating against favela residents.

In the name of Olympics-related construction and real estate speculation, the city government was forcibly evicting favela residents from their homes and demolishing entire communities. Residents were receiving insufficient or no compensation for their homes; they were being

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<sup>14</sup> Because Outcome Harvesting is a participatory methodology, CatComm staff are an integral part of the research team.

relocated far away from their communities; and the government was using coercion, threats, and violence to remove people. During this period, CatComm supported favela communities by educating community members about their rights and evictions resistance tactics; educating international journalists about de-stigmatizing ways to report on favelas, linking them to communities who wanted media coverage, and providing them with contextual information and cultural and linguistic translation; and publishing their own articles on their news site *RioOnWatch*, which covered both positive, destigmatizing stories about favelas and denounced the government's human rights abuses. CatComm hypothesized that the right combination of community resistance, international press coverage of the evictions, and increased positive and more nuanced understandings of favelas globally would pressure the Rio Mayor to use more humane tactics to prepare Rio for the Olympics.

The pre-Olympic period in Rio was a complex, dynamic environment, making CatComm's approach particularly critical. For a better understanding of how the pre-Olympic period was complex, see Box 4.

#### **Box 4. The Complexities of Pre-Olympic Rio de Janeiro**

According to the social agreement-technical certainty matrix adapted from the work of the late Brenda Zimmerman (Patton, 2011), pre-Olympic Rio was a complex context. There was low certainty of how to solve the issue of removal that was threatening a large sector of the city's low-income population and low agreement about the need and benefits of solving the issue. There were a number of stakeholders that made the issue socially complex. Each group held their own perspectives about the definition of the problem, how important it is to solve, and how best to solve it, and even within groups there are differences of opinion. For example, government officials view favelas as the problem, and their political will is attached to the interests of the elite. They, therefore, view the solution as eradicating favelas, and their actions include illegal and forced evictions, promoting gentrification, relocating favela residents to substandard housing developments, and forcing favela residents out of their homes by cutting off social services, creating unbearable living conditions, and promoting out-of-reach cost of living. On the other hand, favela residents (and their allies) see favelas as historic, closely-connected neighborhoods that solve the issue of affordable housing, and they want to be treated as equal members of society, respected as such, and entitled to the same basic services afforded to residents of the formal city. While some residents would prefer to get a title to their land and sell it for a profit, and others prefer to receive a public housing unit and indemnification money, most prefer to resist eviction, stay in their community, and preserve their culture and heritage.

As such, there is (and can be) no tried and true, one-size-fits-all model to integration of formal and informal parts of the city. There is no solution, no matter how technical, that we can come to discover through increasing expertise, since cause and effect is nonlinear, interactions are dynamic, and patterns are emergent. During the pre-Olympic preparations, resisting evictions was only possible in some circumstances and in some communities—and in which communities this strategy would be successful could not have been predicted ahead of time. Even in the same community, CatComm witnessed residents' resistance lead to better outcomes for

residents until a tipping a point, at which the government unpredictably lashed out at the community and enacted an eminent domain decree, removing individuals from their homes with less compensation than those evicted previously.

### *Inquiry Framework: Outcome Harvesting*

The research team adapted the Outcome Harvesting methodology as an inquiry framework to answer our research questions. Outcome Harvesting is a highly flexible research methodology that is appropriate for collecting evidence of change in complex contexts, where change cannot be planned, predicted, or controlled. In this section, we describe how we tailored the methodology to meet our purpose.

**Identify Intended Users & Uses; Bound Scope.** In a two-hour virtual kick-off meeting and the first half of a 3-hour workshop on-site in Rio de Janeiro, the research team clarified the audience of the research, identified the intended users and uses for the process and results, and bounded the scope of the outcomes to be harvested. Those are as follows:

***Audience:*** The intended audience includes development professionals, funders, and scholars who can better understand the effectiveness of customizing the DE Principles in this particular context, as well as potential CatComm donors and collaborators who may be inspired by the contributions of CatComm’s work.

***Process use:*** CatComm may adapt the Outcome Harvesting methodology, or aspects of it, to regularly document and reflect on outcomes that occur over time by integrating it into their regular feedback, reflection, and adaptation process.

***Results use:*** CatComm may use the results to advocate for funding, presenting to donors, sharing impacts with their network, and disseminating and advocating for their approach.

***Scope:*** The team bounded the outcomes as those that most plausibly: (a) were associated with the 2009 to 2016 Olympics-related evictions and displacement; (b) directly affected favela residents; and (c) can be connected to both CatComm’s activities and CatComm’s approach to management and evaluation.

**Draft & Revise Outcomes.** Next, the team began to identify outcomes through document review, including *RioOnWatch* articles and program documents. The team began drafting outcomes in the second half of the first 3-hour workshop and continued drafting and revising outcomes in ongoing conversations and a second 3-hour workshop on-site in Rio. Outcomes included a description of the change that occurred, the significance of the change, the contribution of CatComm’s activities, and the contribution of CatComm’s approach. In this first stage, the team drafted 20 outcomes that affected residents in 6 communities.

**Triangulate & Finalize Outcomes.** After outcomes were drafted, the team decided to triangulate outcomes, rather than substantiate them.<sup>15</sup> The PI triangulated outcomes by talking with leaders of four communities, as well as national and international journalists present in Rio. The team then further revised the outcomes in a third 3-hour workshop following this round of triangulation. Then, the PI triangulated the remaining outcomes virtually with journalists who were not present in Rio, and the team finalized the outcomes.

Table 1 provides a list of all informants who contributed to outcomes in each community. After triangulation and finalization, the team identified a total of 27 outcomes in 6 communities.

Community	Informants
Vila Autódromo	2 CatComm staff 3 community leaders 1 <i>NY Times</i> journalist 1 <i>SBS Australia</i> journalist
Providência	2 CatComm staff 2 community leaders 1 <i>Piauí</i> journalist
Vidigal	2 CatComm staff 2 community leaders
Vila União	2 CatComm staff 1 community leader 1 <i>BBC/Al Jazeera</i> journalist
Taboinha	2 CatComm staff
Tanque	2 CatComm staff 1 <i>SBS Australia</i> journalist

Table 1. Informants per community.

**Analyze & Interpret Results.** The PI compiled the final outcomes into an Excel spreadsheet; coded and analyzed the data to look for patterns between outcomes, CatComm’s activities, and the elements of CatComm’s approach; and interpreted the findings to answer the research questions. To code the outcomes, the PI used a mixed inductive and deductive process, first identifying possible outcome and activity codes based on CatComm’s theory of change. Coding the contribution of CatComm’s elements was purely deductive, using the eight elements identified in the precursor study as a framework. Then, the PI immersed herself in the data and identified any emergent codes and coded the data. Finally, the PI drafted the analysis and interpretation in order to answer the research question, and the research team contributed to the analysis and interpretation by reviewing the draft and ensured a shared understanding.

<sup>15</sup> In Outcome Harvesting, substantiation refers to the process of verifying outcomes with third parties who *did not* influence the outcome. Because of the nature of CatComm’s work—they work towards change that results from the efforts of a large collective, and they support favela residents in affecting their own change—the team decided it was more important to understand the perspective of stakeholders who were also involved in effecting the change.

**Methodological Rigor & Critical Friend.** The research team was supported by Ricardo Wilson-Grau, independent consultant and developer of Outcome Harvesting, who applied his experience in using Outcome Harvesting in 143 countries worldwide to support us in ensuring that our application of the approach was sound. Additionally, Ash Hartwell, M&E Specialist with over 40 years' experience working in complex contexts, served as our "critical friend". Well-versed in complexity theory and adaptive management, the team's "critical friend" provided a discerning perspective during the design phase, drafting and finalizing of the outcomes, and analysis and interpretation of the results to further enhance the validity of the findings.

## Considerations

The team identifies the following considerations:

- 1. CatComm's Approach and Developmental Evaluation.** The research team recognizes the risk in calling CatComm's approach "DE", particularly because their approach was not developed with the explicit consideration of the DE Principles. Rather, in our precursor study, we discovered and documented the ways in which CatComm's approach *embodies and customizes many of the eight DE Principles*, plus some elements more characteristic of AM. Specifically, we recognize that CatComm's approach does not utilize an embedded evaluator or have the level of formality in seeking out data, as is described in the literature on DE. Rather CatComm's approach is to intentionally foster relationships that allow for the organic emergence of data and feedback, which are collected and analyzed by the whole core staff. Thus, we present this case study with the caveat that it isn't a case study of DE, but rather a case study of one organization that has used a flexible approach that embodies and customizes many of the principles of DE.
- 2. Perspectives and biases.** CatComm staff, who are the primary informants about outcomes, can naturally only report on the outcomes that they are aware of. Additionally, it is often difficult to capture negative and unintended outcomes, as CatComm staff may be more conscious of the positive and intended outcomes they were trying to effect. That said, the organization actively employs a 'do no harm' filter to its programs to prevent such outcomes. Finally, all members of the research team believe that CatComm's flexible approach for managing and evaluating projects in their complex context is more effective than a traditional approach. The research team, which included CatComm staff, attempted to reduce the biases inherent in our perspectives by intentionally seeking out negative and unintended outcomes in addition to positive and intended outcomes; by reviewing a wide range of documentation, including public news articles and external reports to draft and triangulate outcomes; by interviewing external key informants, including community members and journalists, to verify outcomes; and by including a "critical friend" and Outcome Harvesting expert consultant external to the research team who could help us ensure the rigor of our methodology, findings, and interpretations.

3. **Attribution.** This study cannot (and does not attempt to) establish exclusive cause and effect between the elements of CatComm’s approach, project activities, and outcomes. However, to enhance the power of the findings, the research team took great care in articulating a *plausible* linkage between outcomes, activities, and CatComm’s approach; triangulated outcomes to enhance credibility; documented only outcomes that could plausibly be linked to their approach; and ensured transparency in the research process.
4. **Generalizability.** The findings of this study are specific to the elements, relationships, and whole of CatComm’s approach described in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017); CatComm’s activities and strategies; and the outcomes harvested described in this report. The research team does not attempt to generalize the findings to all organizations customizing the Principles of DE or using a formalized DE approach. However, this study can contribute to emerging research on the effectiveness of customizing the Principles of DE, or other flexible approaches like AM, if applied in a way that is appropriate to the context. Additionally, the themes that have emerged from the research about the elements of CatComm’s approach, their relationships and patterns, and as a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts can be useful for implementers, funders, and scholars.
5. **Question 2—Enabling and Limiting Conditions.** A number of conditions that enabled (and limited) CatComm’s approach emerged during the precursor study. The current study served to confirm and better illuminate these findings in some instances. However, the current study’s research methodology and the time and resources allotted did not allow the research team to expand upon findings related to enabling and limiting conditions through more detailed inquiry. Therefore, these conditions are described thoroughly in the precursor study’s report (Boisvert, 2017), where it fits more appropriately with the description of CatComm’s approach, and summarized in this study for reference in Annex 5. Further study on the conditions that enable and limit CatComm’s approach could be useful.

## Findings and Analysis

The following sub-sections describe and analyze the outcomes harvested and their significance, the contribution of CatComm’s activities to these outcomes, and the contribution of CatComm’s approach in order to answer Research Question 1: *How has CatComm’s approach contributed to their effectiveness?*

### Summary of Outcomes Harvested

The research team identified a total of 27 outcomes in 6 favela communities from November 2010 to March 2016 that could plausibly be linked to both CatComm’s activities and their flexible approach.<sup>16</sup> These outcomes are in Annex 4 and quoted and cited [in brackets]

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<sup>16</sup> Many outcomes emerged that were difficult to document a plausible contribution by CatComm. That is not unexpected in the complex environment within which they work, and even less so because their work is more aligned with organizing and advocacy work. That is not to say that they did not influence those outcomes;

throughout the text. Figure 2 provides an overview of the 6 communities in which we identified outcomes (for more detailed information on each community, see Annex 3).













 West Zone	 Population	 Removals	 Justification
Vila Autódromo	<b>700</b> families	<b>All but 20 (of 700)</b> families evicted	 Construction of Olympic Park
Vila União de Curicica	<b>1,500</b> families	<b>300-600 (of 876)</b> families removed	 Construction of Bus Rapid Transit line
Largo do Tanque	<b>14,000</b> homes	<b>50 (of 50)</b> families removed	 Construction of Bus Rapid Transit line
Vila Taboinha	<b>400</b> families	<b>6 (of 400)</b> homes demolished	 Increasing value of private land
 South Zone			
Vidigal	<b>16,000</b> families		 Gentrification and real estate speculation
 Center			
Morro da Providência	<b>5,000</b> families	<b>199</b> homes removed	 Morar Carioca of the Port Renewal Project

Figure 2. Overview of communities.

The number of outcomes per community ranged from 1 to 11. Five of six communities had multiple outcomes, and the median number of outcomes was 4 per community. All of the outcomes within a given community were linked to and built upon each other. The 27 outcomes occurred in three of Rio's four zones: The Center, the South Zone, and the West Zone. Over half of the outcomes (17) occurred in the West Zone, where the Olympics were being held. Evictions in these communities (Vila Autódromo, Taboinha, and Tanque) were due to construction of the Bus Rapid Transit TransCarioca Highway, construction of the Olympic Village, and in one case when owners of the land a community was built on wanted to reclaim their property. The one community located in the Center (Providência), which had 4 outcomes, was being removed under the auspices of the Port Redevelopment Project, which began in 2010 after the announcement that the Olympics would come to Rio. Finally, members of the one community in the South Zone (Vidigal), which saw 6 outcomes, were being forced from their homes due to Olympics-related speculation and gentrification. For a breakdown of outcomes by community, see Figure 3.

however, following the Outcome Harvesting methodology, we have only included those outcomes that can be credibly linked. Similarly, we only listed the elements of CatComm's approach that most plausibly and directly influenced the outcome, acknowledging that in nearly all outcomes it was the whole approach that influenced the outcome. Finally, as described in the Methods section, these outcomes are all related to one subset of CatComm's work, their Olympics Strategy. For each of the outcomes described, there are many others that were not included that were not directly related to their Olympics Strategy but nonetheless contributed to their mission.



Figure 3. Number of outcomes per community.

While the research team aimed to identify outcomes during the pre-Olympic period (2009 to 2016), all outcomes but one occurred from 2012 to 2016 (see Figure 4). This is likely due to both the cumulative nature of CatComm’s (and, of course, other actors’<sup>17</sup>) work, as well as the fact that the government’s tactics increased in frequency and intensity as the Olympic Games neared.

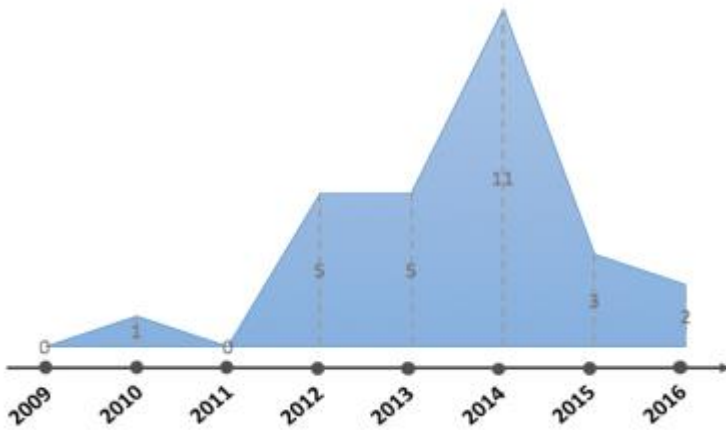


Figure 4. Number of outcomes per year.

All outcomes are context-specific down to the level of individual communities. While there were similarities in the changes observed across communities, each favela is essentially its own mini-context within the larger landscape of the city of Rio de Janeiro. For example, in Vidigal, the primary threat was Olympics-related gentrification and real estate speculation, while in Vila

<sup>17</sup> CatComm is diligent in acknowledging the collaboration of community residents, community leaders, and other organizations in influencing social change. They recognize that their work makes up part of a “collective wave”, as one staff member explained.



Autódromo and Vila União residents were being removed for Olympics-related construction. Even between Vila Autódromo and Vila União, the circumstances within the communities are different—in Vila Autódromo, residents were largely united and supported by a strong Residents’ Association, whereas in Vila União the leader of the Residents’ Association was believed to be cooperating with the government to remove residents. Therefore, the outcomes across communities are often very different, and even when they appear similar, the significance of the same type of outcome can vary between communities.

Table 2 shows how the outcomes can be categorized into three types—government, media, and community outcomes—and eight sub-types.

TYPES OF OUTCOMES	# of outcomes	See outcome #s:
<b>Government Outcomes</b>		
Stop or reduce evictions	4	1, 21, 23, 26
Better relocation, compensation	6	5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12
Increased evictions	2	9, 10
<b>Total Government Outcomes</b>	<b>12</b>	
<b>Media Outcomes</b>		
Publish something new	4	3, 17, 24, 25
More nuanced reporting	9	2, 3, 13, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27
<b>Total Media Outcomes</b>	<b>9</b>	
<b>Community Outcomes</b>		
Change in discourse	2	18, 19
Host events	3	14, 15, 16
Request media coverage	1	4
<b>Total Community Outcomes</b>	<b>6</b>	

Table 2. Outcomes listed by type.

**Government Outcomes.** The 10 positive government outcomes that CatComm influenced include a government official (such as a judge, police, or official responsible for a redevelopment project) halting, reducing, or blocking evictions in some way or the Municipal Housing Secretary giving better compensation to residents in the form of higher quality, larger, or closer relocation options or increased indemnification money. One example of such an outcome occurred in Taboinha, where police support and a bulldozer halted evictions in progress when CatComm representatives and community members began filming their illicit actions (see Box 5).

**Box 5. Halting Evictions in Taboinha**

**Outcome:** After demolishing 6 homes in Taboinha on the morning of Nov. 12, 2010, police leave the community, stopping the eviction of approximately 260 families and the demolitions of the remaining homes [1].

Two government outcomes in Vila Autódromo represented setbacks when a judge issued an eminent domain decree over the community and marked 58 houses for demolition [9] and then over the course of a year removed approximately 150 homes under the decree [10]. These outcomes are a result of both the legal limitations the city had found and lack of willingness of so many residents to move once offers were made, which was influenced by both residents’ success fighting their legal battle in court and the support of the media, facilitated in part by CatComm, which gave visibility and voice to their struggle. These factors pressured the

government to use the only remaining non-violent tactic at their disposal (see below to Figure 6 for a timeline of Vila Autódromo’s outcomes). While largely viewed as more detrimental to residents than other outcomes in Vila Autódromo, the media attention on the community, supported by CatComm, also served to mitigate the effects of the evictions—residents evicted under the eminent domain decree still received better compensation than they likely would have without CatComm’s support and residents’ resistance efforts.

Government outcomes were documented in all communities except Vidigal. In Vidigal, as shown in Figure 2, Olympics-related evictions were happening primarily via private sector gentrification and real estate speculation tipped off by the “pacifying” of the community by security forces.

Outcomes can be viewed as intrinsically significant (directly leading to benefits to communities or intrinsically holding value), instrumentally significant (indirectly leading to benefits to communities), and in many cases both. All government outcomes can be considered intrinsically significant. They represent an improvement (or in some cases a setback) for residents in terms of compensation, relocation, or being allowed to stay in their homes. Two government outcomes were also instrumentally significant [1, 26] in that they bought time for a judge to issue a court order, which then stopped or significantly slowed the evictions. Buying time is a significant outcome in this context, and one that should not be underestimated. CatComm explains that in their work, creating a pause was an important organizing tool, allowing communities to build necessary unity or awareness, or creating space for a court order to pass that would stop the demolition of homes or lead fairer negotiation.

**Media Outcomes.** In all of the nine media outcomes, which were positive, a journalist published a piece that was more nuanced than it would have been without CatComm’s support. In four of those same outcomes, the journalist actually published a piece that they would not otherwise have published, had it not been for CatComm’s support.

In all communities, the media was a strategic tool, and we saw media-related outcomes in all communities except for Vila Taboinha. However, even in the case of Taboinha, described above, the media played an important role in contributing to the government outcome [1], when evictions stopped because CatComm representatives and community residents began filming the demolition of homes and were subsequently harassed (refer back to Box 5).

Media outcomes were both intrinsically significant, representing a shift in the discourse about favelas, gentrification, and evictions,<sup>18</sup> and instrumentally significant, leading to further outcomes by pressuring the government to change their treatment of favelas.<sup>19</sup> Pressuring the government was of particular significance. Little of CatComm’s work, particularly around the media, led to (or could lead to) outcomes directly. Rather, their work pressured the government to act differently in addressing favela communities in the lead-up to the Olympics.

**Community Outcomes.** Six positive community outcomes were documented in two

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<sup>18</sup> [2, 3, 13, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26]

<sup>19</sup> [5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 21, 23]

communities—Vila Autódromo and Vidigal. In both communities, some of the community outcomes represented a shift in the community’s tactic. In Vidigal, residents who had been experiencing the effects of gentrification without being able to name it, an important first step in intellectualizing if and how to resist, invited CatComm to facilitate two workshops and co-host a series of four community debates on the issue after CatComm informally reached out to residents over the course of a year and a half after noticing the change that was occurring.<sup>20</sup>

**Box 6. Consciousness Raising in Vidigal**

**Outcome:** Beginning in April 2014, an estimated 20-30% of Vidigal’s residents (approximately 16,000 families) use the term “gentrification” and its variants in dialogue and question the process [19].

These debates led to further community outcomes, namely a change in discourse about gentrification in the favelas [19] (see Box 6). In Vila Autódromo, residents reached out directly to media sources to request coverage of their resistance struggle, representing an improvement on their original strategy of primarily fighting the battle in court [4].

Community outcomes were primarily instrumentally significant. For example, in Vila Autódromo, expanding the community’s strategy to focus on the media led to further media outcomes, and then finally improvements (and two losses) for residents in terms of compensation and relocation. At the same time, the community outcomes observed in Vidigal also suggested an intrinsic outcome—the change in discourse about gentrification suggests that the community has a more nuanced understanding about gentrification.

### *Relationship Between Outcomes*

Because of the interdependence of the outcomes within individual communities, many of the outcomes influenced further outcomes. In this way, many of the outcomes can be considered instrumentally, as well as intrinsically, significant. Whether an outcome is intrinsically or instrumentally significant depends on one’s vantage point. Thirteen, or nearly half, of the outcomes are actually both intrinsically and instrumentally significant. An example of this phenomenon is demonstrated in the timeline of outcomes in Vidigal (see Figure 5).

In the communities in which the government was evicting residents by physical force, coercion, or other manipulative tactics, government outcomes were the most poignant. In these communities, nearly all other outcomes served to influence better compensation, relocation, or reduce or stop evictions. In two cases they led to setbacks (albeit, still more positive outcomes than if the community had not resisted or CatComm were not involved) [9, 10], including an eminent domain decree and evictions when the community’s struggle in court was so effective, and the government was left with no other legal channels to remove people. Additionally, in communities with more than one or two outcomes, the outcomes happened in chains. One outcome would lead to another outcome, which would lead to another. This is part of the cumulative effect described above and contributed to why more outcomes were observed in later years of the pre-Olympic period. The chronology of the outcomes in Vila Autódromo serve to illustrate these patterns (see Figure 6).

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<sup>20</sup> [14, 15, 16]

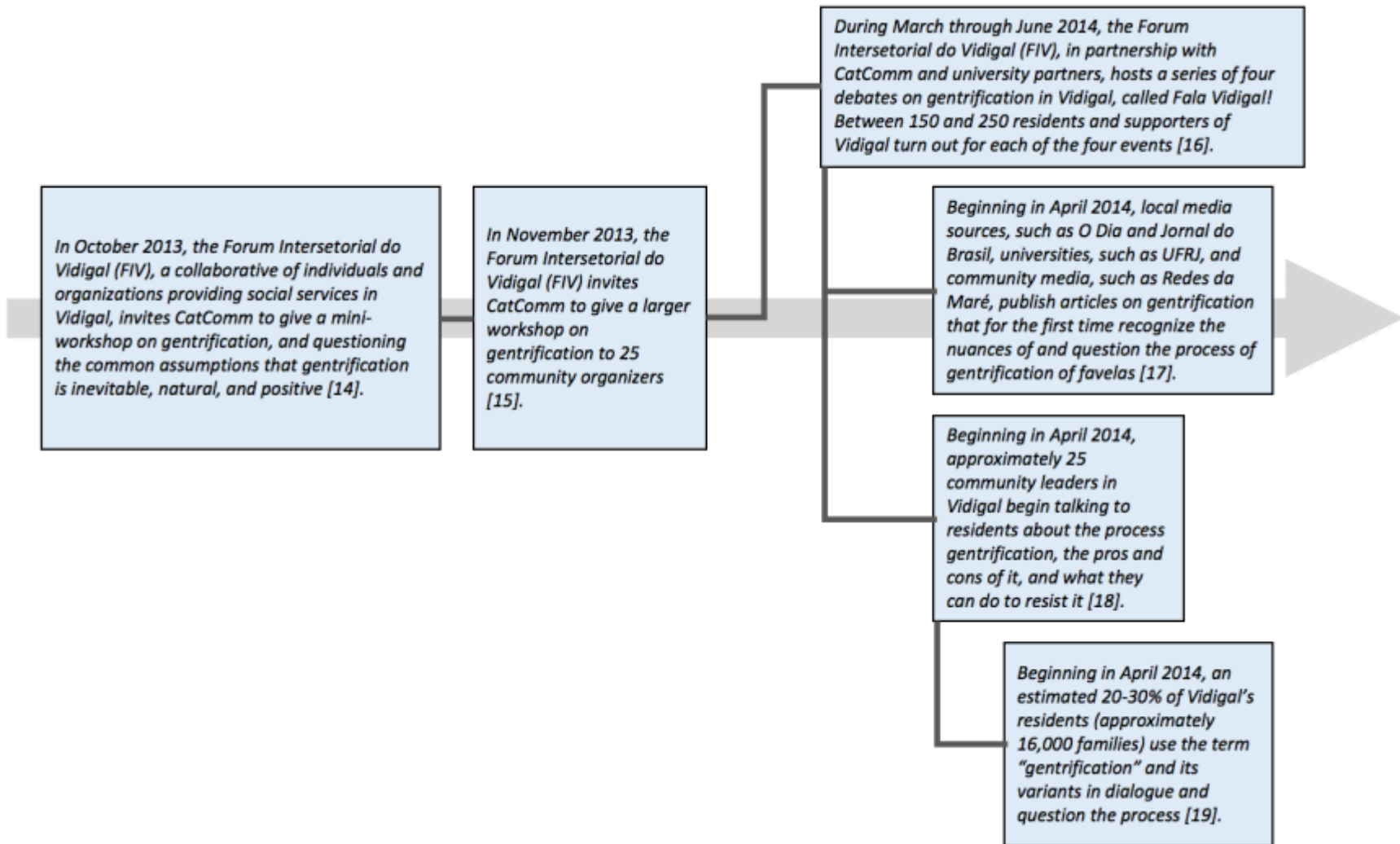


Figure 5. Timeline of outcomes, Vidigal.

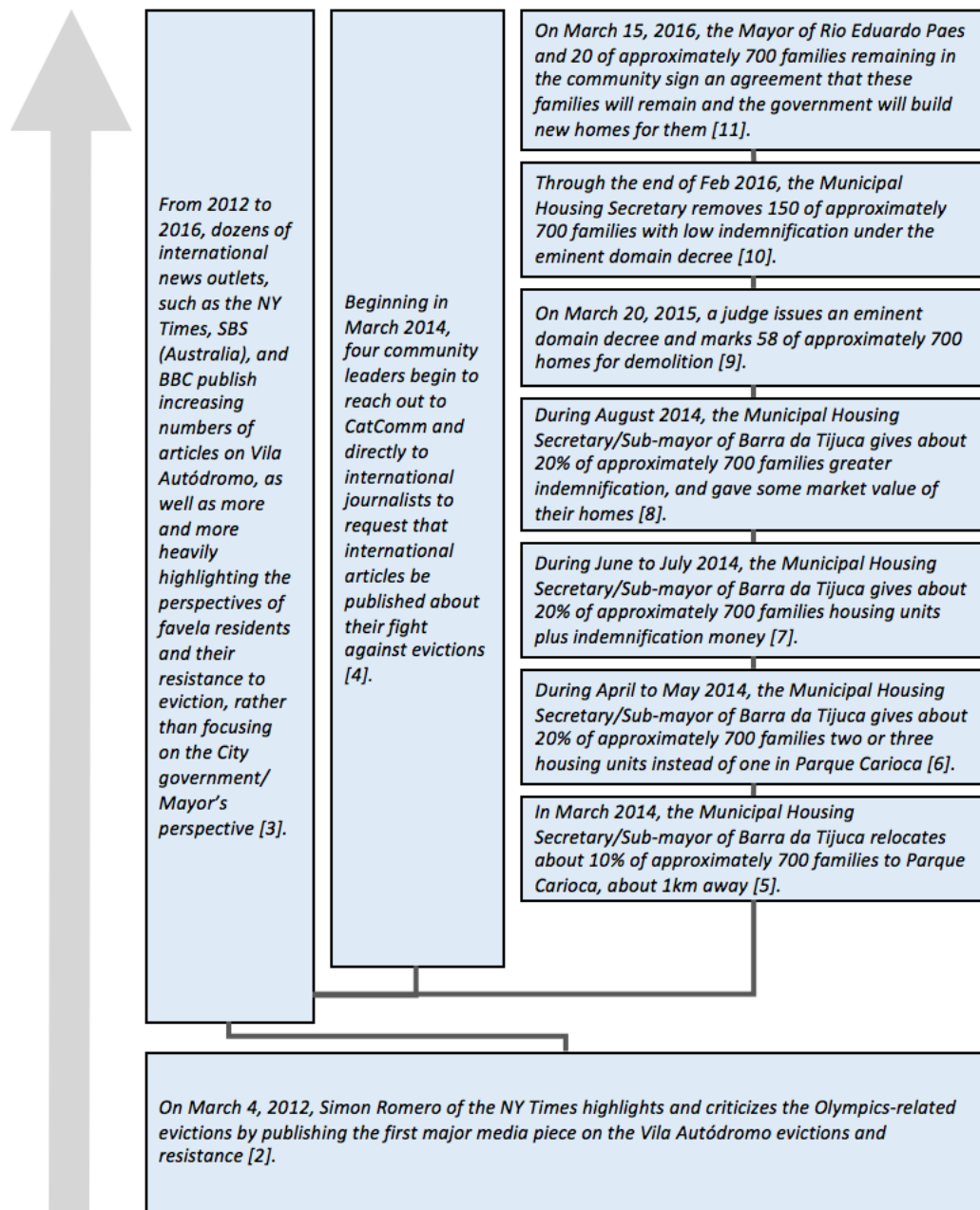


Figure 6. Timeline of outcomes, Vila Autódromo.

## Contribution of CatComm’s Activities

For each of the 27 outcomes, the research team identified which of CatComm’s activities influenced the outcome. Outcomes were influenced by three categories and five sub-categories of CatComm’s activities (see Table 3), which together make up the heart of their Olympics Strategy.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES	# of outcomes	See outcome #s:
<b>Support to Media</b>		
Linking media to communities; Providing linguistic and cultural translation, background information	18	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27
<b>Total Support to Media</b>	<b>18</b>	
<b>Documenting Processes</b>		
On CatComm outlets	4	2, 3, 21, 23
In major media	3	25, 26, 27
Other <sup>21</sup>	1	1
<b>Total Documenting Processes</b>	<b>9</b>	
<b>Support to Residents</b>		
Informal dialogue with residents	2	12, 14
Workshops, trainings, and events	5	15, 16, 17, 18, 19
<b>Total Support to Residents</b>	<b>7</b>	

Table 3. Outcomes listed by influencing activity.

**Support to Media.** CatComm’s activities to support the media included linking journalists with community residents and leaders who were interested in the coverage and providing those journalists with story ideas, background information, and cultural and linguistic translation. Support to the media was an influencing activity in 18 (of 27) outcomes, in all communities with media outcomes.

Providing support to the media did more than just influence media outcomes through increased access to and understanding of communities, although this was one important result.<sup>22</sup> It also served to contribute to residents’ increased understanding of effective resistance strategies, such as in Vila Autódromo, where residents saw the success of increased international media coverage of their community’s fight and began to reach out to the international media to request additional coverage, representing a change in tactic [4].

Additionally, support to the media, and subsequent publication of new and more nuanced reporting, increased pressure on the government to change their tactics in relation to favela communities, again as exemplified in Vila Autódromo<sup>23</sup> (refer back to Figure 6).

<sup>21</sup> In this case, it was the process of filming and documenting evictions in Taboinha [1], rather than sharing through a specific channel, that contributed to the outcome.

<sup>22</sup> [2, 3, 13, 20, 22, 24, 27]

<sup>23</sup> [5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 21, 23]

**Documenting Processes.** CatComm’s documentation of issues, such as evictions and gentrification, as well as community resistance and positive aspects of the favelas, also served to contribute to media and government outcomes in all communities but Vidigal.<sup>24</sup> CatComm documented these processes on their *RioOnWatch* Portuguese- and English-language news site, their @RioOnWatch Twitter feed, and their @RioOnWire news wire service.

Each of these social media platforms had different purposes, and therefore influenced outcomes in different ways. One of the ways was by pressuring the government to change their tactics. For example, in Vila União, publicizing the government’s ‘Trojan Horse’ tactics and providing visibility to the large number of residents who disagreed with the Resident Association’s leader on their *RioOnWatch*

**Box 7. Documenting Evictions and Resistance in Vila União**

**Outcome:** On December 22, 2014, Rio Mayor Eduardo Paes and national Congressman-elect Pedro Paulo Carvalho announced that the high speed BRT bus route would be rerouted and therefore only 191 families (of total 1500) would be evicted from their homes instead of the planned 881 removals.

**CatComm’s Contribution:** CatComm helped to document and publicize the Vila União evictions and community resistance efforts from 2011 to 2014, with an intense period of coverage and support to other media sources and to the community from August to December 2014. Additionally, CatComm’s facilitation of the *Bowater* Sept. 1, 2014 article, as well as their own coverage on their *RioOnWatch* site which included an article that implied collaboration between government and militia, contributed to the pressure on the Mayor to look for an alternative to eviction and high-speed BRT bus route [21].

news site (in combination with facilitating more nuanced international news coverage of the community) influenced the Mayor to re-route the BRT bus route and the Municipal Housing Secretary to reduce the number of evictions by more than half [21, 23] (see Box 7). Publishing on their own channels also facilitated media’s understanding of situations unfolding in the communities, as demonstrated in Vila Autódromo [2, 3], which allowed journalists to keep up with rapid changes and continue to publish new and more nuanced pieces.

CatComm’s publication in major media articles influenced three outcomes in Providência. After CatComm’s Founder/Director co-authored a piece with a Providência community leader published in *The New York Times* [24], at least four Brazilian news outlets reproduced or directly cited the piece [25]. Subsequently, the judge issued a court order, which served to slow, significantly reduce, and eventually stop the evictions in Providência [26], and soon after, one Brazilian journalist, compelled by the *Times* article, produced a critical investigative article on the situation in this community [27] (see Figure 7).

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<sup>24</sup> CatComm was documenting the process extensively in Vidigal; however, this documentation was not identified as a contributing factor to the outcomes documented in this study.

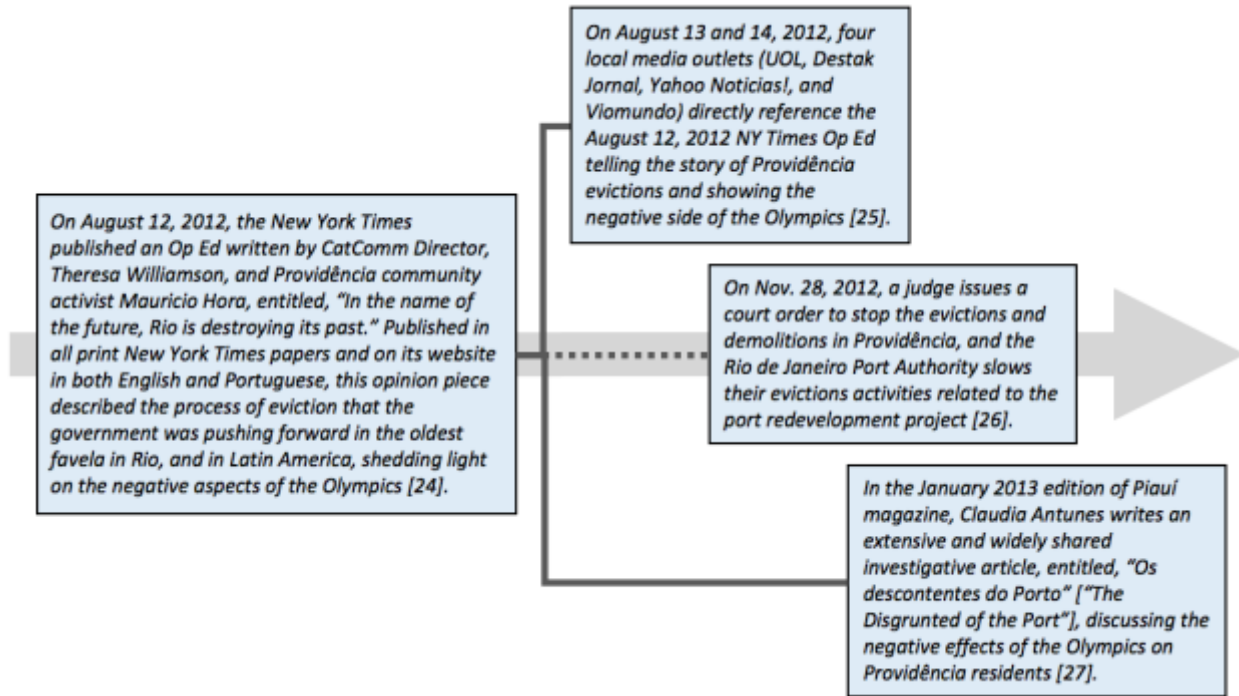


Figure 7. Timeline of outcomes, Providência.

It was not just the increased visibility brought on by documenting processes but also the threat of increased visibility that led to outcomes. In the example of Vila Taboinha (refer back to Box 5), the mere act of two foreigners filming and photographing a demolition, followed by residents filming the police harassing those two foreigners, was enough to spook police to leave the community, buying time for a court order to be passed salvaging the community [1].

**Support to Residents.** Seven outcomes in two communities (Tanque and Vidigal) were influenced by CatComm’s support to residents. Support included providing information about housing, land, and other rights; evictions resistance techniques that have been successful in other communities; and patterns of evictions and gentrification globally. In some cases, support to residents was provided through informal dialogue, while in others it was through formal events like workshops and debates.

In the case of Vidigal, informal dialogue with residents led to more formalized engagement and support.<sup>25</sup> These two types of support led to community outcomes, particularly by increasing residents’ awareness of the process of gentrification globally and helping them question the usual assumptions that it is an inevitable, positive phenomenon [18, 19]. CatComm’s support to residents through informal dialogue, then its formal workshops, and finally its contribution to formal community debates also had the ripple effect of media outcomes—a number of news articles were published on gentrification in the community and on the debates CatComm co-hosted [17] (refer back to Box 5).

<sup>25</sup> [14, 15, 16]



In another case, CatComm’s support to residents combined with media coverage of evictions led to better compensation for residents (a government outcome). In Tanque, CatComm heard of lightning evictions that were about to happen, so they arrived in the community the morning of the demolitions and supported residents to resist by giving them information about their rights. This combined with bringing an international film crew forced the sub-Mayor to improve compensation for residents up to five times the original offer [12] (see Box 8).

**Box 8. Informing Residents of their Rights in Tanque**

**Outcome:** Over the course of one day, on February 25, 2013, the sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca increased compensation up to 5x the original offer for eight (of the original 50 families) who were still resisting eviction for the construction of the TransCarioca highway and the high-speed BRT bus route.

**Contribution:** Having received notification that Tanque would undergo a “lightning eviction,” a legally tenuous and rapid eviction process, CatComm brought an international film crew to document the demolitions (who happened to be in Rio working with CatComm on evictions reporting that week). They were the only ones who showed up in the community that critical day. In addition, CatComm talked to residents about their rights and gave them information throughout the day-long process so they could make informed decisions about resisting and accepting compensation [12].

### Contribution of CatComm’s Approach

The research team embarked on this journey of documenting outcomes that CatComm’s activities and elements of their approach influenced because we fundamentally believe that CatComm’s approach made them more effective as an organization working in the complex pre-Olympic period in Rio. We set out to evaluate our belief using a rigorous, well-documented methodology that would help us to substantiate our claim that CatComm’s approach does, in fact, contribute to better outcomes. As described above, in the precursor study, we identified eight elements of CatComm’s approach. In this section, we analyze how these eight elements contributed to the outcomes. The elements themselves were described thoroughly in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017) and were summarized in Box 2 above. In this section, we try not to duplicate the previous study by describing the elements, but rather focus on the elements’ influence on the outcomes. The findings largely suggest that the individual elements of CatComm’s approach, the relationships between these elements, and the approach as a whole contributed to the 27 outcomes identified in this study.

### Elements of CatComm’s Approach Associated with the Olympics Strategy

All of the 27 identified outcomes were associated to varying degrees with the elements of CatComm’s approach. Three of the elements were associated with the larger Olympics Strategy, under which the outcomes harvested in this study emerged.

### Elements I & II: Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy; Ongoing Situational Analysis

CatComm’s Olympics Strategy, which contributed to the outcomes harvested, represented a strategic shift. Prior to 2009, CatComm had been leveraging technology to build the capacity of community leaders and organizers. They had established a community solutions database, a community technology hub, and had begun providing social media trainings for community

journalists. Then, when the International Olympic Committee announced that Rio would host the Olympics, CatComm shifted their strategy when they: (a) recognized the emerging needs and inherent opportunity of the international spotlight shining on Rio; (b) observed a huge up swell in policies directed towards favelas purported to benefit their residents; (c) realized that current and top-down policies were built on the erroneous, historically mass-produced media narrative that favelas are places of no value (criminal, precarious, etc.); and (d) observed the Mayor's intense concern with his and the city's international reputation.

The 27 outcomes harvested in this study are each a result of this shift in strategy. Had CatComm continued with their prior activities, which largely supported individual community organizers instead of leveraging the international media, it is unlikely that most of these outcomes would have occurred.

#### **Element IV: Multiple Points of Entry**

This element was observed across the entire Olympics Strategy, not just within specific outcomes. The entire strategy addressed multiple points of entry, although not all outcomes reflected more than one point of entry. For example, in Vidigal, CatComm provided workshops and supported a debate series. In Tanque, they shared information about residents' rights and information about how to resist. In all communities, they strategically documented changes taking place, facilitated media coverage, and often directed media attention. If CatComm had chosen to focus on only one of these activities, for example facilitating workshops and debates, it is unlikely they would have observed the number of outcomes that they did. There is no one-size-fits all solution to the issues that CatComm was trying to address; each community is unique and has different needs and opportunities for solutions. The shape that evictions took in each community was different. Residents' cohesion and level of and interest in resisting was different between communities. Of course there may have been some communities that events such as workshops and debates would prove effective, such as in Vidigal. However, the outcomes suggest that by being able to respond with tailor-made solutions that addressed different leverage points within the complex system, CatComm was able to influence more outcomes than they would have had they had a singular focus.

#### *Elements of CatComm's Approach Associated with Individual Outcomes*

The research team also identified individual elements of CatComm's approach that could plausibly be shown to directly influence individual outcomes (in addition to indirectly by way of influencing the whole Olympics Strategy as described above). All of the elements run through each of the outcomes to greater or lesser extents. In an attempt to more plausibly connect outcomes to elements of CatComm's approach, the research team chose to focus on the elements that were most influential for, and could be most plausibly connected to, each outcome. However, that is not to say the other elements did not play a role in a given outcome—in nearly all of the outcomes, all of the elements played a role in some way, even if via other outcomes or in relation to other activities within the larger Olympics Strategy. Table 4 shows the number of outcomes influenced directly by each element of CatComm's approach.

<b>ELEMENTS OF CATCOMM'S APPROACH</b>	<b># of outcomes</b>	<b>See outcome #s:</b>
<b>I. Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy</b>	6	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
<b>II. Ongoing Situational Analysis and Contextualization</b>	6	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
<b>III. Locally Led Initiatives</b>	10	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
<b>IV. Multiple Points of Entry</b>	12	2, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24
<b>V. Culture of Experimentation and Non-Attachment</b>	5	1, 24, 25, 26, 27
<b>VI. Network-based Approach</b>	13	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
<b>VII. Ongoing, Real-time Data Collection</b>	19	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
<b>VIII. Continuous Reflection and Adaptation</b>	19	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

Table 4. Outcomes listed by element of CatComm's approach.

The number of outcomes directly influenced by each element of CatComm's approach varies greatly. Some elements (e.g., Data Collection; Reflection and Adaptation) influenced more outcomes than others (e.g., Experimentation; Ongoing Situational Analysis; and Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy). This is perhaps because in this small sample of outcomes they are less directly or plausibly connected to any given outcome; however, that is not to suggest that they are any less important to CatComm's overall approach. Below we describe how each of the elements and their relationships influenced individual outcomes in order to provide evidence for the effectiveness of these individual elements, their interdependence, and CatComm's approach as a whole.

### **Element I & II. Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy; Ongoing Situational Analysis**

CatComm's ongoing analysis of the situation and flexibility within their wider mission contributed to six individual outcomes, as well as the entire strategy. In Vidigal, CatComm perceived that the community was in the beginning stages of gentrification and brought in their knowledge of communities in other cities experiencing the same process. They then supported residents to identify and implement solutions that were relevant to and led by the community, namely facilitating two workshops and co-hosting a series of four community debates (refer back to Figure 5).<sup>26</sup> If CatComm had not been monitoring the hyperlocal situation in Vidigal (and other communities) or if they had a rigid strategy of only leveraging the international press or addressing government perpetrated evictions, they would not have been able to respond to the needs and opportunities that emerged in Vidigal around Olympics-related gentrification. Their constant situational analysis and built-in flexibility allowed them to see the change in Vidigal and respond in real-time in a way that was locally led and appropriate to the context. Figure 8 shows the relationship between these elements and how they influenced change in Vidigal.

<sup>26</sup> [14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19]



Figure 8. Situational analysis, locally led initiatives, and evolving strategy in Vidigal.

The six outcomes in Vidigal suggest that ongoing analysis of the needs and opportunities emerging in communities, as well as having flexibility within a clear mission that leaves room for changing strategy, contributes to positive outcomes.

Additionally, in Boisvert (2017) we identified one practice under this element, *“Seiz[ing] timely and strategic opportunities, and leverage human, intellectual, financial, and network resources to enhance impact”* (p. 22), that was documented in Vila Autódromo<sup>27</sup> and Providência.<sup>28</sup> Focusing on Vila Autódromo was strategic because the community held two legal land titles. CatComm was aware that if the city could evict a community with two relatively rare land titles, there would be no stopping mass future removals. Supporting Vila Autódromo’s resistance so they would not be removed was critical both (a) because the quality of life of its residents was at stake, and (b) because of the floodgates that would open if the community was removed. Similarly, Providência was strategically important because it is the original favela (120 years old), and the eviction of such a historic community could serve to legitimize essentially any other removal. The Providência case also made clear that unlike it was purported to be doing, the city was not actually making investments in the community with an intent to benefit residents, because the third of the community marked for eviction was at the top of the favela, exactly where transport infrastructure investments were being made, theoretically to benefit those same residents.

The choice to focus on Providência and Vila Autódromo because they were strategically important did not appear to influence the outcomes beyond the fact that CatComm chose to dedicate more of their limited resources to these communities, nor did CatComm expect it to. Nonetheless, identifying and capitalizing on strategic opportunities is a critical part of CatComm’s approach, and was an important part of the significance of the outcomes in Providência and Vila Autódromo.

<sup>27</sup> [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11]

<sup>28</sup> [24, 25, 26, 27]

### **Element III. Locally Led Initiatives**

In two communities, CatComm’s approach of having the lead emerge from communities was particularly related to 10 outcomes. In Vidigal, CatComm simply pointed out they were noticing that the community was in the early stages of gentrification, and then they let the community reach out if they agreed it was an issue worthy of attention and wanted to respond. Then, when the community did reach out, they worked in a supportive role of what the community wanted to do.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, in Vila União, the Residents’ Commission reached out to CatComm and asked them to cover their resistance efforts when they were faced with the largest evictions in the past five years. This media coverage, both in the international press and on CatComm’s *RioOnWatch* site, influenced the Mayor to reroute the bus route that would have removed nearly half of the community.<sup>30</sup>

CatComm’s prior experience with Rio’s favela residents suggests that solutions that are not generated from the bottom up do not stick. Because favelas are self-built, resident-led processes are not only natural but necessary, and for good reason, in many cases, favela residents are skeptical of outsiders. For the outcomes in Vila União and Vidigal, having the activities be locally led ensured that CatComm was focusing on problems that are deemed important and solutions that are deemed relevant by community residents. This research suggests that this, in turn, enhances effectiveness and sustainability of solutions.

**Element IV. Multiple Points of Entry** In addition to being important to the entire Olympics Strategy, multiple points of entry contributed to 12 individual outcomes in four communities. For example, in Vila Autódromo [2, 3] and Vila União [21, 23], CatComm used a combination of providing support to media and documenting the process of evictions on their own media channels, while in Providência, they supported the media while also publishing their own article in a major media outlet [24]. In Tanque, CatComm used a combination of support to media and support to residents to inform residents and to pressure the government [12]. And in Vidigal, their activities incorporated aspects of training, networking, mass communications, and supporting participatory solutions.<sup>31</sup> The outcomes in which this element played an influential role suggests that leveraging multiple points of entry in these complex situations contributed to better outcomes.

### **Element V. Culture of Experimentation and Non-Attachment**

In two communities, CatComm’s use of experimentation without being attached to success of any particular activity, contributed to five outcomes in two communities. In Taboinha, CatComm had been experimenting with having volunteers on call, ready to respond rapidly to evictions as they were occurring and leveraging technology in their response. The activities that led to the outcome in Taboinha [1] was an example of that experiment.

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<sup>29</sup> [14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19]

<sup>30</sup> [20, 21, 22, 23]

<sup>31</sup> [14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19]

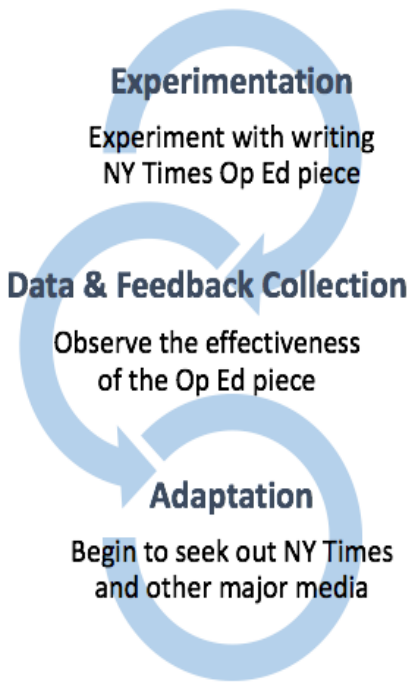


Figure 9. Experimentation, data collection, and adaptation in Providência.

Additionally, in Providência, *The New York Times* Op Ed piece, co-authored by CatComm’s Founder/Director and a community leader, was an opportunity they were experimenting with for the first time and so able to see what its effects would be [24]. Then, observing how influential a *New York Times* article was on Rio’s media and political landscape (as demonstrated by outcomes that came as a ripple effect of this experiment<sup>32</sup>), CatComm was strategic in reaching out to *The New York Times* and other major media outlets in the future. In this way, experimentation is necessarily followed by collection of data (even if informal) and subsequent reflection and adaptation. Figure 9 shows the relationship between experimentation, data collection, and adaptation in this case.

In these examples, CatComm was able to experiment with new, creative ideas which, in these cases, likely led them to a better outcome than if they had stuck with premade solutions. Then, they were able to collect data, reflect, and adapt their processes as they figured out what worked, which then contributed to further outcomes.

## Element VI. Network-based Approach

CatComm’s partnerships and collaboration with members of their vast network contributed to outcomes primarily through two avenues. The first way CatComm’s network-based approach facilitated outcomes was through their on-going collaboration with the media. In Vila Autódromo,<sup>33</sup> CatComm’s most obviously important role was to facilitate international media coverage of and research on the evictions. Through their extensive network, they were able to bring international observers to the community and support them in their reporting. CatComm’s *RioOnWatch* news site was one major way in which they communicated with their broad network of international journalists about the Vila Autódromo (and other communities’) evictions. Publishing over 150 articles on Vila Autódromo, as well as providing 24-7 coverage of Vila Autódromo’s worst evictions week using their @RioOnWatchLIVE Twitter handle, they were able to keep international journalists abreast of the rapid changes occurring in the community [2, 3]. In the case of Tanque, their connections with the media ensured that rare, evocative coverage of evictions in progress could happen [12].

Additionally, for two outcomes, CatComm was alerted about evictions just as they were about to happen through their network of collaborators. In the case of Taboinha, CatComm was informed of the demolitions by community leaders [1], and in Tanque, they were alerted by the

<sup>32</sup> [25, 26, 27]

<sup>33</sup> [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11]

*Comitê Popular* [Popular Committee on the World Cup and Olympics], another organization working to fight evictions [12]. This led to their better understanding of the situation on the ground and enhanced their ability to respond.

The outcomes that were influenced by this element provide evidence that fostering and maintaining a wide reaching network helped CatComm be alerted to issues as they were occurring and be better able to respond, which contributed to more and better outcomes.

### Elements VII & VIII. Ongoing Data Collection; Reflection and Adaptation

These two elements influenced 19 of the 27 outcomes harvested and are understood to be the most important aspect of CatComm’s approach. In many ways, the other elements contribute to CatComm’s ability to collect data,<sup>34</sup> reflect, and adapt. For example, CatComm’s wide network allows them the opportunity to conduct both situational analysis and gather feedback on their processes and outcomes. Similarly, without data collection, reflection, and adaptation, the other elements are insufficient. For example, experimentation with new and creative ideas is not helpful unless it is followed up with gathering information, reflecting on it, and adapting an activity or strategy. Additionally, data collection and reflection and adaptation were inextricably linked—data that are collected should be reflected on and can lead to changes to, scaling up, or scaling down of activities, and similarly adaptations should be based on evidence.

Data collected and subsequent adaptations that influenced the outcomes are shown in Table 5.

	Data and Feedback Collected	Adaptations Made
Taboinha [1]	Previously, in their 2010 Strategic Use of Social Media course, CatComm had observed community residents who did not want to, were unable to, or did not feel comfortable being the ones documenting evictions.	CatComm had strategically increased their use of international observers in light of this knowledge, which led to this outcome.
	This outcome led to major learnings for CatComm: even in small communities with little prior media attention and little organization of residents, combining the international spotlight with community documentation and perspectives was a successful way to halt or potentially stop evictions.	CatComm began to devote many of their resources to supporting communities to resist in this way, particularly through their <i>RioOnWatch</i> site.
Vila Autódromo [2, 3, 4]	CatComm had a hunch and some evidence from Taboinha, where they successfully contributed to the halting of the demolition of nearly 400 families’ homes [1], and other prior experiences that the government's special concern for its image, as well as the international press' increasing presence and openness to cover favelas with a fresh eye, meant that if they could help the press cover favelas with more nuance, it would create a boomerang-effect, causing the Mayor to change his behavior towards favelas.	CatComm began to devote more resources to increasing international press coverage, particularly through their Journalist Support activities, which influenced the outcomes in this community.

<sup>34</sup> See Footnote 4.

Vila União [20, 22]	Following cases where CatComm had been alerted to residents killed or facing death threats from speaking of the militia to the press, CatComm had learned that involving highly visible international media in cases involving militia was safer than relying on community or alternative journalism or <i>RioOnWatch</i> because international journalists were not likely to experience threats and because it increased visibility to the point that those residents who spoke out were less threatened due to the widespread exposure.	In this case, CatComm chose to leverage the international media to increase residents' visibility as quickly as possible so as to expose the nature of the city's abuses while minimizing resulting threats to residents' safety.
Providência [24]	In 2001, supporting a documentary project on favela organizing, and in other cases following, CatComm had observed that oftentimes media attention that makes a specific community leader into "a celebrity" creates fissures and reduces the unity in a community where multiple leaders previously worked collaboratively.	In this case, CatComm selected Providência for the Op Ed due to its strategic importance and its strong relationship with a local leader, Mauricio Hora, who was highly knowledgeable while also already widely known for his singular work, so such fissures would be less likely.
	CatComm had learned how important it is to translate content associated with Rio's favelas between English and Portuguese from its experience with their <i>RioOnWatch</i> news site and translating (or encouraging outlets to translate) other English-language content to Portuguese and seeing the impact it generated. Brazilians are very concerned with the way their country is depicted abroad, in particular in the lead-up to the Olympics, and translating content that generated new insights and debate into the limitations or quandaries of Brazilian culture and inequality produced productive debate and reflection.	In this case, CatComm asked <i>The New York Times</i> to translate and publish in both languages, which they agreed to do, increasing the visibility of this important article within Brazil.
	Following this outcome, when the article was released the day after the 2012 Olympics ended, CatComm observed that the debate and impact it produced was much greater due to the date on which it was reported, highlighting the importance of timeliness and taking advantage of symbolic/important moments when they arise.	After this Op Ed, CatComm began to really grasp the need to ensure that they took advantage of strategic opportunities as they arise and prepared for strategic dates and opportunities months in advance.

Table 5. Data collected and adaptations made.

The learning and adaptations described in Table 5 occurred both before the outcome and as a result of the outcome. Some of the learnings and adaptations contributed to the outcome, such as in the case of Vila Autódromo,<sup>35</sup> where CatComm focused their efforts on increasing international media coverage of the evictions and resistance process after learning from prior experiences that the media attention put pressure on the Mayor to change his behavior towards favelas. Other adaptations came as a result of learning from a certain outcome. For example, in the case of Taboinha, the outcome of halting the demolitions through a combination of community documentation and the pressure of the international lens [1] contributed to the understanding that bringing global visibility to communities by documenting their evictions processes could pressure the government to change their strategies, which led to further outcomes. Additionally, some adaptations not only contributed to an outcome but

<sup>35</sup> [2, 3, 4]



also likely prevented negative or unintended outcomes. For example, in the case of Providência [24], had CatComm co-authored the article with a community leader who was not already publicly visible, they would have perhaps contributed to divisions and hostility between residents in a community that already struggles with lack of cohesiveness.

As shown in Table 5, much of the data and information CatComm used to inform adaptations in activities were obtained informally and often through observation, while only some of the data were actually obtained through formal or systematic data collection. That is not to say that CatComm doesn't systematically obtain feedback from residents or more formally collect data, but rather to suggest the critical importance of fostering an environment in which informal feedback and observation can contribute to learning and adaptation as well. For CatComm during their Olympics Strategy, given the fast-paced nature of change they were working in, it was often the emergent, organic feedback and observation that led them to make the adaptations that influenced the outcomes they documented.

*CatComm's Approach: The Whole is Greater than the Sum of its Parts*

The results of this study suggest that CatComm's approach is like a well-oiled machine. There are many ways in which the elements of CatComm's approach work together. This study revealed evidence that some of the interrelationships between the elements influenced the outcomes harvested. The evidence for these relationships was described previously in this section. For example, in Vidigal, noticing the community was in the beginning stages of gentrification (Element II) and fostering an environment through informal dialogue and later in their workshops for local leaders to identify solutions (Element III) led to a new strategy of supporting community-led debates (Element I) (see Figure 10).

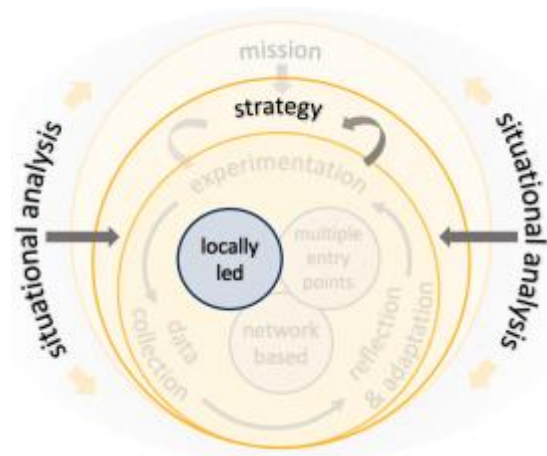


Figure 10. Relationship between elements of CatComm's approach in Vidigal.

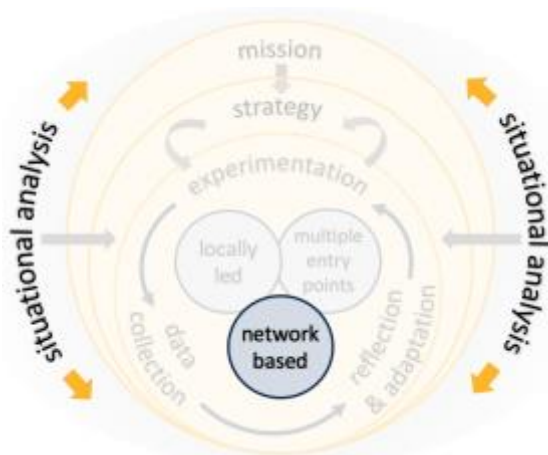


Figure 21. Relationship between elements of CatComm's approach in Tanque and Taboinha.

In Tanque and Taboinha, community based partnerships (Element VI) allowed CatComm to be alerted to a rapid change in the hyperlocal context of these favelas (Element II) (see Figure 11).

In nearly all of the communities, informal collection of data and feedback through dialogue and observation (Element VII) led to subsequent learning and adapting activities (Element VIII). In Taboinha and Providência, experimenting with innovative solutions (Element V) preceded data collection and adaptation (see Figure 12).

Some relationships between the elements of CatComm’s approach were more connected to these 27 outcomes than others, and therefore there is more evidence for the effectiveness of those particular relationships in these cases. However, this is not to say that the relationships between other elements do not play an important role in the effectiveness of CatComm’s approach and among its other activities and outcomes, but rather that we did not find plausible evidence in the outcomes harvested in this particular study.



Figure 12. Relationship between elements of CatComm's approach in all communities.

Finally, the elements of CatComm’s approach and the relationship between the elements form a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts, and it is this whole approach that together contributed to the 27 outcomes. While the research team did not, and could not have, compared the entire approach to a more traditional approach, but rather isolated certain elements and relationships between elements to connect them to outcomes, it is plausible to conclude that because of the interdependent nature of the elements that it is the entire approach that contributed to the 27 outcomes, albeit in different ways for different outcomes.

## Implications of the Findings

The findings of this study, which contribute to a larger body of research that is beginning to coalesce on the effectiveness of DE, AM, and related approaches, reveal a number of implications of our research that may be of interest to development professionals, including funders, practitioners, evaluators, and researchers:

- **CatComm’s flexible, adaptive approach was effective in contributing to changes in the behavior of government, media, and community stakeholders during their 2009–2016 Olympics Strategy.** The 27 outcomes that the research team identified have been plausibly connected to CatComm’s activities, and then to CatComm’s approach to management and evaluation, and therefore provide evidence of the effectiveness of CatComm’s approach. More specifically, the study shows that the approach influenced outcomes for CatComm during this pre-Olympic period not only by way of its eight elements or the relationships between them, but perhaps most importantly as a whole system itself. It was not just the individual elements of CatComm’s approach, but the larger interaction of elements of the approach that was effective for CatComm.
- **CatComm’s approach is customized.** As described in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017), CatComm’s approach embodies many aspects of DE and AM, and their approach emerged without having DE and AM as a model. CatComm’s experience in discovering and documenting how they applied the DE Principles, as well as additional

characteristics of AM, confirmed that neither DE nor AM is a one-size-fits-all approach. Therefore, the effectiveness of their approach highlights that application of such an approach requires customizing it to meet their needs.

- Our belief that such an approach is more effective in CatComm’s context is supported by this research, *and in maintaining our critical lens, we will continue to evaluate and adapt the approach over time*. CatComm’s approach has evolved over their 17-year history as a result of ongoing experimentation and data collected, reflected on, and acted upon. This research represents another piece of evidence of the effectiveness of their approach. Such an approach is necessarily context specific. Given the complexity of the environment in which CatComm works, we will continue to question our assumptions, analyze the context, evaluate the effectiveness of the management and evaluation approach, in order to ensure that future iterations of the approach continue to be as effective.
- **CatComm’s approach is enabled by a deeply rooted trust with communities**. This trust creates a space for communities to provide information on the changing context and feedback on CatComm’s activities and outcomes. Instead of formally seeking out data and feedback (although they do this some of the time), their approach is largely to intentionally foster the relationships that allow data and feedback to emerge organically at critical moments. For CatComm, trusting relationships with communities was an essential enabling factor in implementing their approach, and therefore in their effectiveness. Other enabling factors, such as flexible funding, a culture of learning, and management support of such an approach, were described in the precursor study (Boisvert, 2017).

## Conclusion

This study set out to examine the effectiveness of one NGO’s flexible, adaptive approach to management and evaluation. This was done by using the Outcome Harvesting methodology to identify intended and unintended outcomes that were influenced by both (a) activities associated with CatComm’s 2009–2016 Olympics Strategy, and (b) specific elements and interactions between elements of their management and evaluation approach.

As described above, **the research team harvested 27 outcomes in 6 communities that occurred during CatComm’s 2009 to 2016 Olympics Strategy**, in which they supported communities in resisting evictions and gentrification related to the 2016 Summer Olympics. Outcomes identified included changes to the behavior of government officials (stopping or reducing evictions, offering better relocation or compensation, or increasing evictions); media (publishing new or more nuanced material); and residents (changing discourse, hosting events, or requesting media coverage).

**Activities that contributed to these outcomes included** providing support to media by linking journalists to communities and providing linguistic and cultural translation, background information, and news stories; documenting evictions processes on CatComm media outlets, in

major media, and simply by filming without sharing the footage; and providing support to residents about their rights and effective evictions resistance techniques through informal dialogue and formal events.

The precursor study identified eight elements of CatComm’s approach. **All of the elements of CatComm’s approach influenced the outcomes documented.** Some elements influenced outcomes by way of contributing to the entire Olympics Strategy. All elements played a significant role in contributing to individual outcomes. Finally, the relationship between a number of the elements were linked to individual outcomes and all outcomes by way of the entire Strategy, suggesting the importance of CatComm’s approach as a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.

**The findings reveal a number of implications that may be of interest to other stakeholders,** including (1) CatComm’s flexible, adaptive approach was effective in contributing to changes in the behavior of government, media, and community stakeholders during their 2009–2016 Olympics Strategy; (2) CatComm’s approach is customized; (3) We will continue to evaluate and adapt the approach over time; and (4) CatComm’s approach is enabled by a deeply rooted trust in and by the communities it works with.

The team sincerely hopes that the research presented in this case study can contribute to a better, more evidence-based argument about the benefits of customizing the Principles of DE when they work in complex development contexts. Furthermore, we hope that our work, along with the work of many others working for improved aid effectiveness, can catalyze a movement towards assessing the effectiveness of DE and other adaptive management and evaluation approaches in the development sector.

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## Annex 1: Elements and Practices of CatComm’s Approach

- I. Clearly Defined Mission, Evolving Strategy**
  - a. Seize timely and strategic opportunities, and leverage human, intellectual, financial, and network resources to enhance impact.
  - b. Articulate a clearly defined mission, and regularly affirm the mission to ensure they are heading in the right direction.
  - c. Develop a guiding five-year strategic plan; review, revise, and commit to goals and initiatives annually; and maintain flexibility to respond to emerging needs and opportunities.
  - d. Employ a four-phase lifecycle within and across projects.
- II. Ongoing Situational Analysis and Contextualization**
  - a. Regularly collect data and feedback to understand the hyperlocal needs and opportunities using multiple relevant and feasible data collection strategies.
  - b. Track global trends to understand the local context and adapt solutions from the collective global experience to meet local needs.
- III. Locally Led Initiatives**
  - a. Foster a space for community members to identify needs and solutions.
  - b. Collaborate with and build the capacity of favela residents to carry out solutions, and compensate them for their work.
- IV. Multiple Points of Entry**
  - a. Leverage multiple points of entry across all levels of their work to address the complex and systemic nature of the problem.
- V. Culture of Experimentation**
  - a. Develop creative solutions and pilot them.
  - b. Foster commitment to outcomes, rather than attachment to activities.
- VI. Network-based Approach**
  - a. Recognize that social change is a “*collective wave*”, and foster partnerships on the local, national, and global levels to work towards that change.
  - b. Collaborate with those who are oriented towards the same mission, but with diverse knowledge and skills.
- VII. Ongoing, Real-time Data Collection**
  - a. Monitor and collect feedback on CatComm activities.
  - b. Collect data on short- and mid-term outcomes.
  - c. Monitor relevant long-term, large-scale, and global social change.
  - d. Use multiple contextually appropriate and logistically feasible data collection mechanisms.
  - e. Systematically collect feedback and data, and foster pathways for feedback and data to be received organically.
- VIII. Continuous Reflection and Adaptation**
  - a. Regularly analyze and interpret data collected on activities, outcomes, and hyperlocal and large-scale change.
  - b. Make strategic programmatic decisions informed by analysis and interpretation of data on activities, outcomes, needs and opportunities in the community, and prior research on similar phenomena.
- IX. Systematically collect feedback and data, and foster pathways for feedback and data to be received organically.**

## Annex 2: CatComm’s Approach and the DE Principles

In the previous study, the research team provided a rich description of what CatComm’s approach looks like, relating it to the literature on DE, AM, and other related paradigms. In this annex, we explicitly describe how CatComm’s approach embodies the eight DE Principles identified by Patton et al. (2016).

**Developmental purpose.** CatComm “illuminate[s], inform[s], and support[s] what is being developed” (Patton et al., 2016, p. 309) by conducting on-going situational analysis to identify needs and opportunities, by collecting data and feedback about their processes and the results of their activities, and by reflecting on that data in order to develop and adapt their activities and larger strategies. In Boisvert (2017, p. 24-25) we described the development of CatComm’s Olympics Strategy (the focus of this report), which was initially a response to the International Olympic Committee announcing that Rio would host the 2016 Summer Olympics. Over the course of 6 years, with continuous analysis of the situation, experimentation and innovation, and collection of data and adaptation, CatComm’s strategy evolved into a quilt of activities that included supporting the international press; publishing on their own social media channels about evictions, community resistance, and positive initiatives in the favelas; and providing information and support to community-based movements and individual residents.

**Evaluation rigor.** CatComm frames their evaluation and management approach by asking three guiding questions that comprise their Core Evaluation Criteria: “(1) Does the activity fill an important gap? Is it something that is not otherwise being done, introducing new ideas or approaches? (2) Does the activity leverage the potential of civil society and partners? Does it have ripple effects, catalyzing broader, potentially sweeping, change? (3) Does the activity align with our mission and strategy? Does it help us get where we are ultimately trying to go?” (Boisvert, 2017, p. 23-24). They collect and analyze data in ways that best meet their learning needs, framed around these questions. While they do not have an embedded evaluator, all staff play a role in collecting and analyzing data, reflecting on assumptions and hypotheses, and adapting their activities and strategies. As described in the Conclusions section, CatComm explains that this way of operating was intentional, reflecting a deeper understanding of the context making rigid adherence to a specific evaluation approach unnecessary. Additionally, they argue that intentionally fostering relationships that allow data and feedback to emerge organically has proven more effective in their context than formally seeking it out. Therefore, the research team acknowledges the two deviances from a strict DE approach—the involvement of an embedded evaluator and the lower level of intentionality and formality in collecting data—and thusly describe CatComm’s approach not as a strict DE but rather a customized application of the DE Principles, with additional influences of AM.

**Utilization focus.** CatComm determines the types of data, the amount of data, and the methods by which they collect data based entirely on what is needed, what is feasible, and what is appropriate in the context they are working in. In this way, they ensure the utility and use of the data. For example, in Boisvert (2017, p. 35-36), we describe a process of gathering feedback on process and outcomes of CatComm’s World Cup Media Strategy. After providing support to

connect community leaders and international journalists during the World Cup, CatComm reached out to community leaders to learn whether journalists contacted them and if articles were published, as well as get their feedback on CatComm's process. They documented this feedback and two years later, when they carried out a similar initiative during the Olympics, incorporated what they had learned.

**Innovation niche.** Many of CatComm's activities were developed through a process of experimentation, data collection (often via informal channels or observation), and adaptation in the form of scaling up, maintaining, or scaling down an activity. CatComm recognizes that in a complex context such as the one within which they work, creativity and experimentation, with an emotional non-attachment to certain activities, is necessary for finding solutions that work.

**Complexity perspective.** CatComm attends to a complexity perspective by recognizing that change is non-linear, often unpredictable, and emerges from the interaction between a number of actors within a larger system. Their activities and larger strategies aim to catalyze larger, long-term social change within the system by creating *"ripple effects"*, as one CatComm staff explains. CatComm is attentive to the emerging needs and opportunities within the context, which is facilitated by their wide reaching network and trusting and open relationships with communities. Knowing that no single linear pathway can effect the change they hope to see, CatComm works through multiple points of entry to implement activities, as well as collect data on the dynamic context, their activities, and the results of their activities. They experiment, observe and collect information about what happens, and adapt their processes constantly to improve their effectiveness.

**Systems thinking.** One CatComm staff explained, *"Since we work towards the transformation of something very old, very deeply rooted, very ingrained in the mentality of Brazilian society, what we need is a process of mutation, a process of large-scale transformation, and it is vain to think that one organization can do this. This is a collective wave. And it has to be done collectively"* (Boisvert, 2017, p. 33). To this end, when implementing activities and collecting data on what has emerged, they emphasize that they are a single actor within a large system. Their "Do No Harm" value—which mandates that they only carry out activities if they can be reasonably assured that it will not harm the communities and individuals they aim to support—suggests that they are attuned to the unpredictable nature of the relationships between different actors in the system. For example, in Table 5 we discussed how CatComm considers the potential to cause fissures within one community by involving a community leader in publishing a *New York Times* Op Ed piece. CatComm also collects information on the best ways to influence their boundary partners. Many of their learnings from observation and informal data collection are about how to best influence government officials. For example, as described in Table 5, Rio's Mayor is particularly concerned about his appearance globally, so CatComm focuses much of their work on facilitating international press coverage of the evictions to pressure the Mayor.

**Co-creation principle.** Evaluation and implementation are interwoven in CatComm's approach. For all of their activities and strategies, they are constantly collecting information that informs further adaptation. CatComm has no designated evaluation staff—rather, all staff partake in collection, analysis, interpretation of information for the purpose of contributing to future



iteration of their projects. Much of their reflection and analysis processes occur in their weekly staff meetings, in which they discuss what they have learned and the implications that it has on their work. In this way, their evaluation and management processes are intertwined, and all staff contribute to both functions. Additionally, like their activities and strategy, CatComm's approach to has been developed over time, and many of their data collection tools have emerged as they seize opportunities within their large network of collaborators.

**Timely feedback.** In addition to more formally collecting data and feedback about certain activities and results, CatComm fosters an environment in which contextual information on needs and opportunities, as well as data and feedback on activities and outcomes, can emerge organically. This helps to ensure that feedback is received at critical moments, so they can develop and adapt their activities and strategy in real time. In the findings section, we described two cases in which timely information was received through CatComm's network about imminent evictions. Because of the timeliness of receiving this information, CatComm was able to respond to the communities and provide much needed support.

The research team recognizes that some of the elements of CatComm's approach identified in the previous study (namely Locally Led Initiatives, Network-based Approach, and Multiple Points of Entry) are perhaps more characteristic of Adaptive Management than Developmental Evaluation. While these elements predominantly characterize the management part of CatComm's approach, they also facilitate CatComm's evaluation functions. For example, CatComm's network-based approach facilitates their ability to conduct ongoing situational analysis and collect the data and feedback they need in order to learn about the success of their experimental activities and to reflect on and adapt their activities and larger strategies. Therefore, because these elements contribute to CatComm's evaluation functions, in addition to their management, because they are critical elements of how CatComm operates, and because the research team understands DE as a necessarily customizable approach, we have included these characteristics as discrete elements of CatComm's approach.

## Annex 3: Background on Communities<sup>36</sup>

**Vila Autódromo.**<sup>37</sup> *Vila Autódromo*, or Racetrack Village, was a small, closely knit community of 700 families (approximately 3,000 people)<sup>38</sup> located in the West Zone of Rio. Initially emerging as an informal fishing village in the 1960s, and later developing as workers came to build Rio's Formula One racetrack (from which the community got its name), Vila Autódromo was located adjacent to the future Olympic Park. In early 2010, residents began organizing to protest their impending eviction, declared necessary by the city despite official Olympics plans maintaining Vila Autódromo in place. However, in October 2009, in spite of the community's two legal land titles, one giving them permanency for 99 years, the city of Rio announced that some homes in Vila Autódromo would be removed for construction of the 2016 Olympic Park. This marked the beginning of a 5-year long battle against what would end up being the most globally visible evictions of the Rio Olympics, and which would end with the removal of all but one home.

The majority of Vila Autódromo's residents wanted to remain in the community their families had lived in for decades, and the Residents' Association was active in defending those who wanted to stay. Initially, the Association's primary tactic was to pursue a battle in court, but over time, they began working to enhance their presence in the international media. CatComm supported the community by bringing international media outlets to the community, translating history, law, culture, and the language, as well as participating in strategic community meetings. CatComm's *RioOnWatch* news site documented the community's struggle with every turn (over 150 articles) so as to facilitate understanding and produce more nuanced coverage by journalists otherwise unable to follow all of the story's complexity.

**Morro da Providência.**<sup>39</sup> Established in 1897 at the end of the Canudos War when soldiers arrived from the north of Brazil in hopes of receiving land that was promised to them by the government, *Morro da Providência*, or Providence Hill, was the original favela known by that name in Rio de Janeiro—originally 'Morro da Favela' (Favela Hill). In November 2010, when the city government announced the *Porto Maravilha* (Marvelous Port) redevelopment project, Providência, which is located in the Port Region, was home to approximately 5,000 families.<sup>40</sup> The Porto Maravilha project was budgeted at R\$141 billion (approximately \$83 billion US dollars at the time) in order to revitalize Rio's Port Region, where Providência is located, and included the construction of tunnels, sidewalks, bicycle paths, plazas, and water, drainage, and sewage systems and treatment plants. The project was touted as intended to improve the

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<sup>36</sup> Backgrounds on favelas are derived from articles on CatComm's *RioOnWatch* site and through conversations with CatComm staff and community residents. Population statistics vary widely by sources, so when possible the research team has used the numbers documented on CatComm's own *RioOnWatch* site.

<sup>37</sup> For a timeline chronicling Vila Autódromo's struggle, see: [http://www.rioonwatch.org/?page\\_id=28610](http://www.rioonwatch.org/?page_id=28610)

<sup>38</sup> Reported on *RioOnWatch*. See, <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=20983>

<sup>39</sup> For more information about Providência's history and struggle against Olympics-related evictions, see: <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=2322>

<sup>40</sup> The total number of families in Providência is reported in this article by the Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/05/story-cities-15-rio-de-janeiro-first-favela-providencia-2016-olympic-games>. However, the majority of evictions occurred in the top of the favela to a subset of residents.

quality of life of residents, and was part of the city's *renewal*<sup>41</sup> projects in the lead up to the Olympics.

In the name of the Porto Maravilha project, the government announced in late 2010 that 832 households,<sup>42</sup> about one-third of the population at the peak of Providência, would be forced to leave their homes. The final number amounted to 671 evictions, or approximately 2,000 residents.<sup>43</sup> The minimal consultations with the community to draw up the architectural plans were highly questionable, essentially a masquerade. Additionally, there was fragmentation among community residents—the Residents' Association was not effectively representing residents facing eviction, the government seemed to be taking advantage of divisions in the community, and many residents did not know they had any other option than to leave. However, a small number of residents was monitoring the process and fighting for their rights to be respected by the government. CatComm began working with Providência residents in 2012, when individual residents fighting eviction were put in touch with them by partners, and their support primarily included documenting the situation in major media and providing support to journalists by linking them with community residents and providing them with linguistic and cultural translation and background information.

**Vidigal.**<sup>44</sup> First settled by fishermen and descendants of slaves in the 1940s, *Vidigal*, a community of approximately 16,000 families,<sup>45</sup> is situated on a hillside facing the ocean and overlooking Rio's elite South Zone beaches. Vidigal has fallen victim to a handful of waves of attempted evictions starting in the late 1950s, often under the auspice of community improvements. The community, however, was effective at stopping these attempts, with the final eviction attempt coming in 1978 and being met with significant organized resistance and culminating with the Pope's visit two years later.

The year 2012 marked the entrance of the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) in Vidigal, however, a program that began in late 2008 and scaled rapidly in the lead up to the Olympics, and which claimed to increase security and regain territory held by gangs and drug traffickers. In Vidigal, the installation of the UPP, along with other forces influencing changes in Rio in the lead up to the Olympics, contributed to the current wave of "*white removal*," or gentrification, as residents know it now.

Vidigal has a history of strong community organizing. Their Residents' Association was formed in 1967 and has supported the community in resisting removals over the decades. When

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<sup>41</sup> CatComm staff explain that the city uses the term *renovação*, or *renovation/renewal*, to describe the process of removing and replacing what is currently there. City renewal efforts are often a justification for the forced evictions in the lead up to the Olympics. In contrast, the city uses the term *urbanização*, or *urbanization/upgrading*, to describe the process of improving what is currently there for the benefit of current residents. The distinction is subtle, yet important.

<sup>42</sup> See: <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=16464>

<sup>43</sup> For the English translation of the article by Claudia Antunes, see: <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=9344>

<sup>44</sup> For more information on gentrification and the Olympic Games, see: <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=25651>

<sup>45</sup> As reported by one resident, according to the number registered at the community health clinic. See <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=22148>

CatComm began noticing that Vidigal, and other favelas, were in the beginning stages of the process of gentrification, they initiated conversations with leaders about the fast demographic changes taking place in the community and asking how they could support in their resistance. For over a year, CatComm participated heavily in Vidigal's resistance, providing two workshops and supporting a series of four community debates on gentrification and solutions to it, documenting the process along the way.

**Vila União de Curicica.** *Vila União de Curicica*, a community of approximately 1,500 families<sup>46</sup> in Rio's West Zone, was established in the early 1980s when farmworkers took over the land they worked when the farm closed down. In late 2011, the community, which had just previously been primed for infrastructure investments under the participatory *Morar Carioca* program, was now told that instead half of the families would be removed to make way for the Bus Rapid Transit system. As plans for the removal progressed, *O Globo*, Rio's most prominent news source, reported in July 2014 that this would be the largest removal since 2009 and that largely residents were passive or pleased with the situation.

Meanwhile, a group of 100 residents began meeting in September 2014 to organize against the evictions, lacking support from their Residents Association whose leader was a known militia (vigilante police) member and appeared to be helping the government carry out the evictions. In late 2014, the city was coercing residents to leave their homes through threats, misinformation, and intimidation, as well as cutting off vital infrastructure like trash and sewage. The group of 100 residents invited CatComm to document their resistance processes while they met once a week. Over the course of about three months in late 2014 and early 2015, CatComm closely followed and supported Vila União's struggle, documenting on their own *RioOnWatch* site, as well as linking international journalists to the community and supporting their work.

**Largo do Tanque.** In the lead up to the Olympics, the government was constructing the Bus Rapid Transit line, one of the City's stated Olympic legacies. In early 2013, they reached *Largo do Tanque*, a community of about 14,000 homes<sup>47</sup> in the West Zone of Rio, established in the early 1980s. In February of that year, the city government entered a small section of the community and marked its 50 houses for demolition. Over the course of 3 weeks, 42 of the 50 families left quickly, accepting insignificant and unfair compensation for their homes (under R\$8000, or US\$2500), in what CatComm terms a "lightning eviction" or rapid, coercive, and legally tenuous process of removals. Having learned of the Tanque case on the previous Friday, on the Monday of the final scheduled evictions, CatComm came to the community bringing news crews and providing information to residents about their rights and resistance strategies.

**Vila Taboinha.** Located in the far West Zone of Rio, *Vila Taboinha* was settled in 2004 when future residents got together to fill in and build on private but unused swampland. Four years later, as property values began to rise in the lead up to the Olympics, a construction company

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<sup>46</sup> Figures from Donna Bowater's report on Al Jazeera. See: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/9/1/2016-olympics-displacementriofavela.html>

<sup>47</sup> Data from the city government of Rio. See: [http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairrosariocas/index\\_bairro.htm](http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairrosariocas/index_bairro.htm)

and individuals who owned the land filed a law suit to remove the squatters; however, the law stated that the owners were responsible for the costs of removal since they had abandoned their land. Then, in 2010, the government decided to take matters into their own hands, when a judge ordered the police to execute an eviction order to remove the community's 400 families<sup>48</sup> from their homes. On the morning of November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010, a bulldozer and police support arrived in Vila Taboinha and began demolishing houses, despite an agreement reached the night prior that residents would have 30 days to register their houses. On that fateful day, CatComm supported the community by filming the demolitions with the intention to post them on their *RioOnWatch* news site to expose the city government's unlawful tactics.

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<sup>48</sup> Report republished on RioOnWatch. See: <http://rioonwatch.org.br/?p=877>

## Annex 4: Outcomes

#	Community	Date	Informant	Outcome	Significance of the Outcome	Contribution of CatComm's Activities	Contribution of CatComm's Approach
				<i>What change in behavior occurred, by whom, that represents progress towards stopping evictions in 2009-2016?</i>	<i>Why was this outcome important? How does it suggest progress towards stopping evictions?</i>	<i>How and when did CatComm influence the outcome? Concretely, what did CatComm do that plausibly contributed to the change described in the outcome?</i>	<i>How did CatComm's Approach influence the outcome? (Select element from list and describe as necessary.)</i>
1	Taboinha	Nov. 12, 2010	2 CatComm staff	<p>After demolishing 6 homes in Taboinha on the morning of Nov. 12, 2010, police leave the community, stopping the eviction of approximately 400 families and the demolitions of the remaining homes.</p>	<p>Stopping the demolitions that afternoon bought time until a court order was issued that night, which prevented the demolition of all but the 6 homes that had already been demolished.</p> <p>The Taboinha case was one of the first evictions to have been stopped during the pre-Olympic period.</p>	<p>Two foreign CatComm representatives reported to the community the morning of the evictions and began filming the demolitions, which prompted police to harass CatComm representatives. Then, community youth began filming the harassment. These same two CatComm reps had been in Taboinha two days prior to protest the evictions, so the community recognized them.</p> <p>Additionally, the youth who filmed had participated in a training given by a local activist and assisted by these two CatComm reps on how to use film to document the evictions, which emboldened them to film on this day. Likely afraid of the international attention being turned to this incident, the police and bulldozer stopped the demolition and left the scene.</p>	<p><b>5, 6, 7, 8</b></p> <p>5: CatComm had been experimenting with having "on-call" volunteers ready to go to eviction sites, as well as leveraging technology, and this is an example of those experiments.</p> <p>6: CatComm was informed of the demolition by their network of community leaders.</p> <p>7 + 8: Previously, in their 2010 Strategic Use of Social Media course, CatComm had observed community residents who did not want to, were unable to, or did not feel comfortable being the ones documenting evictions (7). CatComm had strategically increased their use of international observers in light of this knowledge, which led to this outcome (8).</p> <p>7 + 8: This outcome led to major learnings for CatComm: even in small communities with little prior media attention and little organization of residents, combining the international spotlight with community documentation and perspectives was a successful way to halt or potentially stop evictions (7). CatComm began to devote many of their resources to supporting communities to resist in this way, particularly through their <i>RioOnWatch</i> site (8).</p>

2	Vila Autódromo	March 4, 2012	2 CatComm staff, 1 journalist	<p>On March 4, 2012, Simon Romero of the <i>NY Times</i> highlights and criticizes the Olympics-related evictions by publishing the first major media piece on the Vila Autódromo evictions and resistance.</p>	<p>The focus of this article was on the evictions, rather than the positive face of the Olympics the city and the national news were putting forth. This article suggests the beginning of a shift in the discourse about the Olympics.</p> <p>News coverage of the Olympics, particularly the negative aspects, created a tension for Rio's Mayor and local authorities, who tried to project a positive image of the city and the changes it was undergoing to host the Olympics.</p> <p>Additionally, Vila Autódromo was strategically significant because the community held two land titles. If they can evict a community with two land titles, they can evict anyone, so supporting VA's resistance so they would not be removed was critical.</p>	<p>While Simon intended to publish a piece on Vila Autódromo, CatComm's support influenced <i>the way he reported on it</i>—highlighting the evictions and providing a more nuanced, critical perspective than he otherwise might have. CatComm supported this nuanced critique by providing contacts in the community and supporting his analysis by providing background and context in clear, concise terms.</p> <p>Additionally, CatComm was regularly publishing on their own news site, <i>RioOnWatch</i>, about the constantly changing tactics the government was using so that international journalists could keep up with the rapid changes and continue to report on Vila Autódromo.</p>	<p><b>4, 6, 7, 8</b></p> <p>4: CatComm used a combination of providing support to media and documenting the process of evictions on their own media outlets.**</p> <p>6: CatComm's primary support in VA was to document every turn of events in the community on their news site <i>RioOnWatch</i>, and to facilitate international media understanding so they could effectively write about this fast-changing situation, as well as bringing in journalists, researchers, students to cover the VA evictions and resistance, and they relied on their wide-reaching network to do so.</p> <p>7 + 8: CatComm had a hunch and some evidence from Taboinha, where they successfully contributed to the halting of the demolition of nearly 400 families' homes, [1] and other prior experiences that the government's special concern for its image, as well as the international press' increasing presence and openness to cover favelas with a fresh eye, meant that if they could help the press cover favelas with more nuance, it would create a boomerang-effect, causing the Mayor to change his behavior towards favelas (7). Therefore, CatComm began to devote more resources to increasing international press coverage, particularly through their Journalist Support activities, which influenced the outcomes in this community (8).</p>
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3	Vila Autódromo	2012 through 2016	2 CatComm staff	<p>From 2012 to 2016, dozens of international news outlets, such as the <i>NY Times</i>, SBS (Australia), and BBC publish increasing numbers of articles on VA, as well as more and more heavily highlighting the perspectives of favela residents and their resistance to eviction, rather than focusing on the City government/Mayor's perspective.</p>	<p>International news coverage of the Olympics, particularly the negative aspects, created a tension for Rio's Mayor, who tried to project a positive image of the city and the changes it was undergoing to host the Olympics.</p> <p>The increasing representation of favela residents' perspectives, their fight, and the negative effects of the Olympics represented a shift in the narrative about the Olympics.</p>	<p>Beginning in mid 2011, CatComm reached out to journalists and responded to requests for support from journalists. They provided such support as political, linguistic and cultural translation, access to the community, background and context, and article ideas.</p> <p>Additionally, CatComm was regularly publishing on their own news site, <i>RioOnWatch</i>, about the constantly changing tactics the government was using so that international journalists could keep up with the rapid changes and continue to report on Vila Autódromo.</p>	4, 6, 7, 8
4	Vila Autódromo	March 2014	2 CatComm staff, 1 Resident	<p>Beginning in March 2014, four community leaders begin to reach out to CatComm and directly to international journalists to request that international articles be published about their fight against evictions.</p>	<p>In the initial stages of the Vila Autódromo fight against evictions, residents were focused on fighting in court. However, this served mostly to buy time since the court decision was never made. As a result, this shift in strategy to include international media ended up being a key element in influencing the settlements they received from the government.</p>	<p>CatComm initiated the efforts to bring international media to document Vila Autódromo's fight against evictions, and this early media attention provided the evidence that led community leaders to incorporate this strategy.</p>	4, 6, 7, 8
5	Vila Autódromo	March 2014	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	<p>In March 2014, the Municipal Housing Secretary/Sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca relocates about 10% of approximately 700 families to Parque Carioca, about 1km away.</p>	<p>Many communities were being relocated hours away from their original homes. However, Vila Autódromo residents were relocated to a housing project within walking distance, a significantly better result because residents were able to stay in a region where they have livelihoods and social ties.</p>	<p>CatComm introduced and supported the international media to cover Vila Autódromo's evictions and resistance. The pressure the international media coverage of the evictions and the resistance put on Rio's Mayor is believed by CatComm and residents to be a part of why families were relocated so close.</p>	4, 6, 7, 8



6	Vila Autódromo	April-May 2014	Theresa, ROW	During April to May 2014, the Municipal Housing Secretary/Sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca gives about 20% of approximately 700 families two or three housing units instead of one in Parque Carioca.	The outcome for these residents was better than for the first group removed, and was a more appropriate compensation for the (often large) homes they were forced from.	CatComm introduced and supported the international media to cover Vila Autódromo's evictions and resistance. The pressure the international media coverage of the evictions and the resistance put on Rio's Mayor is believed by CatComm and residents to be a part of why families got larger homes.	4, 6, 7, 8
7	Vila Autódromo	June-July 2014	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	During June to July 2014, the Municipal Housing Secretary/Sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca gives about 20% of approximately 700 families housing units plus indemnification money.	This outcome was better yet for residents and is closer to fair market value for homes.	CatComm introduced and supported the international media to cover Vila Autódromo's evictions and resistance. The pressure the international media coverage of the evictions and the resistance put on Rio's Mayor is believed by CatComm and residents to be a part of why families got larger homes and indemnification.	4, 6, 7, 8
8	Vila Autódromo	August 2014	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	During August 2014, the Municipal Housing Secretary/Sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca gives about 20% of approximately 700 families greater indemnification, and gave some market value of their homes.	This outcome was better yet for residents. One resident activist reported that this was the first time in the history of favela removals that residents got market rate for their homes.	CatComm introduced and supported the international media to cover Vila Autódromo's evictions and resistance. The pressure the international media coverage of the evictions and the resistance put on Rio's Mayor is believed by CatComm and residents to be a part of why families got better indemnification.	4, 6, 7, 8
9	Vila Autódromo	Mar 20, '15	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	On March 20, 2015, a judge issues an eminent domain decree and marks 58 of approximately 700 homes for demolition.	This outcome is very nuanced. It was a setback in the fight and a devastating outcome for many families who had resisted this long, as they got poorer results than the families that had been removed before them and those who were able to remain after them. Still, the compensation they received was better than they would have gotten without their resistance and CatComm's support.	CatComm supported the resistance by bringing the international media, which supported residents in remaining in the community. At this point, with residents refusing to leave, the judge issued the eminent domain decree to force the process forward and punish those residents who had resisted.	4, 6, 7, 8

10	Vila Autódromo	Mar 20, '15-Feb. '16	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	Through the end of Feb 2016, the Municipal Housing Secretary removes 150 of approximately 700 families with low indemnification under the eminent domain decree.	This outcome is very nuanced. It was a setback in the fight and a devastating outcome for many families who had resisted this long, as they got poorer results than the families that had been removed before them and those who were able to remain after them. Still, the compensation they received was better than they would have gotten without their resistance and CatComm's support.	CatComm supported the resistance by bringing the international media, which supported residents in remaining in the community. At this point, with residents refusing to leave, the judge issued the eminent domain decree to force the process forward and punish those residents who had resisted. It was under the eminent domain decree that these 150 families were removed.	4, 6, 7, 8
11	Vila Autódromo	March 15, 2016	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	On March 15, 2016, the Mayor of Rio Eduardo Paes and 20 of approximately 700 families remaining in the community sign an agreement that these families will remain and the government will build new homes for them.	This was the first collectively signed relocation agreement in favela history. While residents weren't allowed to stay in their homes, much of the community was destroyed and paved over, and 680 of the original residents were evicted, including 170 who received substantially worse compensation under the eminent domain decree, the fact that the government and the residents were able to collectively sign a relocation agreement and maintain 20 families in their original location is unequivocally a success.	CatComm introduced and supported the international media to cover Vila Autódromo's evictions and resistance. The pressure the international media coverage of the evictions and the resistance put on Rio's Mayor is believed by CatComm and residents to be a part of why 20 families got to remain.	4, 6, 7, 8

12	Tanque	February 25, 2013	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i>	<p>Over the course of one day, on February 25, 2013, the sub-Mayor of Barra da Tijuca increased compensation up to 5x the original offer for eight (of the original 50 families) who were still resisting eviction for the construction of the TransCarioca highway and the high-speed BRT bus route.</p>	<p>Tanque is an example of a rapid outcome, that shows the government that their plans will not be carried out as easily as they think and that resistance may occur at any point in their infrastructure implementation programs.</p>	<p>Having received notification that Tanque would undergo a “lightning eviction,” a legally tenuous and rapid eviction process, CatComm brought an international film crew to document the demolitions (who happened to be in Rio working with CatComm on evictions reporting that week). They were the only ones who showed up in the community that critical day.</p> <p>In addition, CatComm talked to residents about their rights and gave them information throughout the day-long process so they could make informed decisions about resisting and accepting compensation.</p>	<p><b>4, 6, 7, 8</b></p> <p>4: CatComm used a combination of support to media and support to residents to inform residents and pressure the government.**</p> <p>6: CatComm was alerted through their relationship with the <i>Comitê Popular</i> [Popular Committee on the World Cup and Olympics] that the lightning eviction was going to happen.</p> <p>6: It is rare that media could capture the evictions in process. CatComm’s far-reaching network and collaboration with the media made this particular, very evocative coverage possible, which ultimately influenced this outcome.</p> <p>7 + 8: CatComm learned through other experiences that having staff/volunteers on-call and leveraging international media and community voices was an effective strategy to resisting evictions (7), and because they had integrated this strategy into their practices, they were able to respond to this case in Tanque (8).</p> <p>7+ 8: This case suggests that even in small communities, with little prior media attention and which have little organization of residents to resist, the right combination of information provision, resistance, and media coverage can influence governmental authorities.</p>
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13	Tanque, Vila Autódromo	April 9, 2013	1 CatComm staff, <i>RioOnWatch</i> , 1 journalist	<p>On April 9, 2013, Yaara Bou Melhem created a 13-minute segment on Dateline on Australia’s SBS TV station highlighting the struggle in Tanque and Vila Autodrómo, focusing on the perspectives of residents and interviewing Rio’s Housing Secretary and Mayor, which showed the tensions between local communities and the city.</p>	<p>The tension caused by this piece, which was among the first longer pieces to publish the dark side of the Olympics, contrasting community perspectives and the Mayor’s perspective, as well as showing the Mayor’s inability to respond to basic questions about Tanque and the evictions there, called into question the dominant narrative that residents want to be relocated. Because the piece was so thorough and compelling, as well as international, CatComm believes it put further pressure on Rio’s Mayor.</p>	<p>CatComm’s support influenced Bou Melhem’s ability to tell the full story depicted in this video—without their support, it would have been logistically difficult to access to the communities. Additionally, CatComm’s connections with community members helped Bou Melhem include more community voices in the film than would have been possible without their support.</p>	6, 7, 8
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14	Vidigal	Oct. 2013	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	<p>In October 2013, the Forum Intersectorial do Vidigal (FIV), a collaborative of individuals and organizations providing social services in Vidigal, invites CatComm to give a mini-workshop on gentrification,<sup>49</sup> and questioning the common assumptions that gentrification is inevitable, natural, and positive.</p>	<p>Until now, the term gentrification had not been used to describe the process that was beginning to occur in Vidigal and other South Zone favelas being impacted by real estate hikes. That FIV invited CatComm to come talk to them shows they were now interested in learning about the process and how it might impact residents' livelihoods. This workshop then led to a further, larger, workshop on gentrification.</p>	<p>Noticing that the community of Vidigal was beginning to experience the early stages of gentrification, CatComm initiated several informal conversations since early 2012 with the Residents' Association to explain what it is and to offer to help learn about gentrification and plan to take action, if they chose to. Finally, after over a year and a half, FIV, of which the RA is a part, responded that they wanted CatComm to come and present to the full group.</p>	<p><b>1, 2, 3, 4</b></p> <p>1: If CatComm had a rigid strategy of only leveraging the international press, for example, they would not have been able to respond to this need and "plant the seeds" as they did about gentrification. Their built-in flexibility allowed them to see the change in Vidigal and respond in real-time in a way that was locally led and appropriate to the context.</p> <p>2: CatComm perceived the changing situation on the ground and brought in their knowledge of other cities experiencing gentrification.</p> <p>3: CatComm simply pointed out they were noticing something, and let the community reach out to them if they wanted to do something about it/if they agreed it was an issue worthy of attention. Then, when the community responded that it did identify this need and solution, they worked in a supportive role of what the community wanted to do.</p> <p>4: The work in Vidigal incorporated aspects of training, networking, mass communications, and supporting participatory solutions.</p>
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<sup>49</sup> Outcomes 13, 14, and 15 appear to be describing activities and outputs, not outcomes. However, because CatComm is external to FIV, the workshops and the debates are in fact outcomes as we are defining them (changes in behavior [hosting the events] of a party external to CatComm [the FIV organization], that was influenced by CatComm's activities [informal dialogues with community residents and later participation in the FIV events]).

15	Vidigal	Nov. 2013	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	<p>In November 2013, the Forum Intersectorial do Vidigal (FIV) invites CatComm to give a larger workshop on gentrification to 25 community organizers.</p>	<p>That FIV continues to invite CatComm to give workshops on gentrification shows they continue to be open to learning about the process and questioning the common assumptions that it is inevitable, natural, and positive. Additionally, the presence of 25 community organizers suggests that community members were beginning to unite around this understanding.</p>	<p>One month earlier, CatComm had given an introductory mini-workshop to a small group of FIV members explaining what gentrification is and various ways communities in other contexts have responded to it. Their learning in this workshop and reflecting on the processes occurring in their own community prompted them to invite CatComm back for a larger workshop.</p>	1, 2, 3, 4
16	Vidigal	Mar-June 2014	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	<p>During March through June 2014, the Forum Intersectorial do Vidigal (FIV), in partnership with CatComm and university partners, hosts a series of four debates on gentrification in Vidigal, called <i>Fala Vidigal!</i> Between 150 and 250 residents and supporters of Vidigal turn out for each of the four events.</p>	<p>That FIV now planned a large series of events to discuss gentrification and invited CatComm to present at and moderate two of them, shows they are increasingly open to learning about the process and questioning the common assumptions that it is inevitable, natural, or positive. Additionally, the presence of between 150 to 250 individuals at each of the 4 debates shows that community members were continuing to unite around this understanding and were arming themselves with information needed to make individual and collective decisions about the future of their community.</p>	<p>In November 2013, CatComm had given a workshop to 25 community members, which inspired FIV to hold this debate series. In addition to inspiring the debate series through the initial workshop, CatComm was a co-organizer of the debate series, providing support by printing flyers, doing visuals, filming and documenting. Additionally, CatComm spoke at one of the debates and mediated another.</p>	1, 2, 3, 4

17	Vidigal	April 2014 and on	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	Beginning in April 2014, local media sources, such as O Dia and Jornal do Brasil, universities, such as UFRJ, and community media, such as Redes da Maré, publish articles on gentrification that for the first time recognize the nuances of and question the process of gentrification of favelas.	This outcome is significant because it shows that in Rio, the public discourse about gentrification is starting out with a more nuanced and accurate perspective of the phenomenon.	These four publications specifically referenced <i>Fala Vidigal!</i> March-June 2014 debate series, which were a direct consequence of CatComm's work.	1, 2, 3, 4
18	Vidigal	Apr 2014+	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	Beginning in April 2014, approximately 25 community leaders in Vidigal begin talking to residents about the process gentrification, the pros and cons of it, and what they can do to resist it.	Community leaders had perceived a change was happening, and residents had been coming to them to ask them to do something, but now community leaders were able to start to talk to community residents about what was happening and how they could respond.	CatComm helped initiate and organize two workshops for leaders and 4 debates for community residents about gentrification in Vidigal. These workshops and debates helped raise consciousness and inform these 25 leaders to support them in talking to residents.	1, 2, 3, 4
19	Vidigal	Apr 2014+	2 CatComm staff, 2 residents	Beginning in April 2014, an estimated 20-30% of Vidigal's residents (approximately 16,000 families) use the term "gentrification" and its variants in dialogue and question the process.	Community residents had perceived a change was happening but didn't know what it was, how it might unfold or what could be done about it—none of them were using the term gentrification. The increased use of the term "gentrification" suggests that community residents are becoming more aware of the process of gentrification and how to respond.	CC helped initiate and organize four debates for community residents about gentrification in Vidigal, which two community leaders claim increased awareness of the process and resistance techniques in the community, including leaders who talked to other residents.	1, 2, 3, 4

20	Vila União de Curicica	Sept 1, 2014	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident, 1 journalist	<p>On September 1, 2014, Donna Bowater in British newspaper <i>The Telegraph</i> challenged the dominant narrative portrayed in the national media by publishing a more contextualized, nuanced article for Al Jazeera, entitled, “Olympics bus route to displace 900 families from Rio favela,” which is critical of the Rio de Janeiro municipal government’s policy of evictions in Vila União de Curicica favela.</p>	<p>On July 16, 2014 (and on other occasions), the Brazilian O Globo, the country’s largest media organization, produced an article perpetuating the belief that the removals in Vila União de Curicica were beneficial to and appreciated by most of the favela’s residents. Bowater’s article brought the international spotlight to the negative side of this particular favela removal. Participants believe that this unexpected international media coverage of a previously lesser-known community, in combination with other media coverage and local resistance, put pressure on City Hall to rethink their plans to remove the community for the bus route.</p>	<p>Bowater, who decided to write a piece critiquing the Vila União evictions upon seeing the O Globo July 16 piece, contacted CatComm because they are well-known and well-respected by foreign correspondents for their work with favela communities. CatComm spoke with Bowater before she wrote the article to explain the intricacies of this particular favela removal and provided her contacts at the Residents’ Commission. CatComm supported Bowater throughout the process of writing the article, continuing to provide background and access to the community. CatComm’s support informed how Bowater approached local authorities and helped her publish a more nuanced piece than she would have been able to without their support.</p>	<p><b>3, 7, 8</b>  3: The Residents Commission reached out to CatComm and asked them to come and cover their resistance efforts. In this way, CatComm was really taking the lead from the community to identify their own problems and solutions (from CatComm, they needed media coverage).   7 + 8: Following cases where CatComm had been alerted to residents killed or facing death threats from speaking of the militia to the press, CatComm had learned that involving highly visible international media in cases involving militia was safer than relying on community or alternative journalism, or <i>RioOnWatch</i> because international journalists were not likely to experience threats and because it increased visibility to the point that those residents who spoke out were less threatened due to the widespread exposure (7). In this case, CatComm chose to leverage the international media to increase residents’ visibility as quickly as possible so as to expose the nature of the city’s abuses while minimizing resulting threats to their safety (8).</p>
21	Vila União Vila União de Curicica	Dec 22, 2014	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident	<p>On December 22, 2014, Rio Mayor Eduardo Paes and national Congressman-elect Pedro Paulo Carvalho, announced that the high speed BRT bus route would be rerouted and therefore only 191 families (of total 1500) would be evicted from their homes instead of the planned 881 removals.</p>	<p>This change represented a 78% decrease in the number of families to be removed. Additionally, it was the first time the Mayor turned around and publicly backtracked without a court order.</p>	<p>CatComm helped to document and publicize the Vila União evictions and community resistance efforts from 2011 to 2014, with an intense period of coverage and support to other media sources and to the community from August to December 2014. Additionally, CatComm’s facilitation of the Bowater Sept. 1, 2014 article, as well as their own coverage on their <i>RioOnWatch</i> site which included an article that implied collaboration between government and militia, contributed to the pressure on the Mayor to look for an alternative to eviction and high-</p>	<p><b>3, 4, 7, 8</b>  4: CatComm used a combination of providing support to media and documenting the process of evictions on their own media outlets.**</p>



						speed BRT bus route.	
22	Vila União de Curicica	Feb 4, 2015	2 CatComm staff, 1 journalist	On February 4, 2015, Donna Bowater published an article on BBC, entitled “Rare victory for residents in regeneration battle”, telling of the government’s change in plans to remove the families and reroute the bus route, and emphasizing the perspective of residents’.	This article “exposed the complex impact that Olympic-related projects had on communities”, according to one participant. It provided a more nuanced vision of the evictions than did the dominant narrative, which claimed that the removals were beneficial to and appreciated by favela residents. It also brought the international spotlight once again to the removal of this particular community.	CatComm supported Bowater by providing background information and contacts in the community. Additionally, they kept her abreast of the developments throughout the evictions process in Vila União, advising her when meetings were and updating her on the evolving situation. Had CatComm not provided these continual updates, it is not certain that Bowater would have published this article.	3, 7, 8
23	Vila União de Curicica	Apr. 2015	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident	In April 2015, the Municipal Housing Secretary removed between 300-600 <sup>50</sup> families of approximately 1500 total in the community.	This number is only 1/3 to 2/3 of the originally planned number of families to be removed, representing a significant decrease in removals from the original projection, however, an increase from the 191 projected in Dec. 2014.	CC helped to document and publicize the evictions and the resistance efforts of about 100 residents during Aug. 2014 to Dec. 2014. Additionally, CatComm’s facilitation of the Bowater article, as well as their own coverage on their <i>RioOnWatch</i> site (which included an article that implied collaboration between government and militia, as well as an article calling out the potential ‘Trojan Horse’ strategy of the city in its earlier announcement of ceased evictions), contributed to the pressure on the Mayor to look for an alternative to eviction and high-speed BRT bus route.	3, 4, 7, 8

<sup>50</sup> The official figure is around 340. However, residents believe that it may be up to 600 families since oftentimes more than one family shares a home.

24	Providência	Aug 12, 2012	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident	<p>On August 12, 2012, the <i>New York Times</i> published an Op Ed written by CatComm Director, Theresa Williamson, and Providência community activist Mauricio Hora, entitled, "In the name of the future, Rio is destroying its past." Published in all print New York Times papers and on its website in both English and Portuguese, this opinion piece described the process of eviction that the government was pushing forward in the oldest favela in Rio, and in Latin America, shedding light on the negative aspects of the Olympics.</p>	<p>This article is believed by CatComm to be the first piece broadly criticizing the City's Olympic-fueled urban renewal strategy in light of what was being compromised to achieve it. It was published the day after the 2012 Olympics ended, when the Rio Mayor was heading back to Brazil with the torch, so the Op Ed provided a critical contrast to the dominant narrative that still pervaded, that hosting the Olympics would be good for Rio.</p> <p>Additionally, the <i>NY Times</i> is seen as the most respected and reputable news source by Brazilians. That the piece was written on Providência was strategic and significant because (a) it's the oldest favela at 120 years old, so its eviction would open up the opportunity for essentially any other removal; and (b) it was clear the city was not actually performing evictions with an intent to benefit residents since the 1/3 marked for eviction was at the top of the favela, exactly where infrastructure investments were being made.</p>	<p>The <i>NY Times</i> solicited an Opinion piece on evictions after CatComm Director supported Simon Romero's (<i>NY Times</i>) March 2012 piece on the evictions in Vila Autódromo. CatComm staff decided on which community would be most strategic to focus on, reached out to the co-author who is a community activist in Providência, and co-wrote the piece.</p>	<p><b>4, 5, 7, 8</b></p> <p>4: CatComm used a combination of providing support to media and publishing in major media to influence this outcome.**</p> <p>5 + 8: The Op Ed was an experiment that they were trying for the first time to see what would come of it (5). CatComm learned how influential a <i>NY Times</i> Op Ed is in Rio, which led CatComm to seek the <i>NY Times</i> out more in the future (8).</p> <p>7 + 8: In 2001, supporting a documentary project on favela organizing, and in other cases following, CatComm had observed that oftentimes media attention that makes a specific community leader into "a celebrity" creates fissures and reduces the unity in a community where multiple leaders previously worked collaboratively (7). In this case, CatComm selected Providência for the Op Ed due to its strategic importance and its strong relationship with a local leader, Mauricio Hora, who was highly knowledgeable while also already widely known for his singular work, so such fissures would be less likely (8).</p> <p>7 + 8: CatComm had learned how important it is to translate content associated with Rio's favelas between English and Portuguese from its experience with their <i>RioOnWatch</i> news site and translating (or encouraging outlets to translate) other English-language content to Portuguese and seeing the impact it generated. Brazilians are very concerned with the way their country is depicted abroad, in particular in the lead-up to the Olympics, and translating content that generated new insights and debate into the limitations or quandaries of Brazilian culture and inequality produced productive debate and reflection (7 In this case, CatComm asked <i>The New York Times</i> to translate and publish in both</p>
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						<p>languages, which they agreed to do, increasing the visibility of this important article within Brazil (8).</p> <p>7 + 8: Following this outcome, when the article was released the day after the 2012 Olympics ended, CatComm observed that the debate and impact it produced was much greater due to the date on which it was reported, highlighting the importance of timeliness and taking advantage of symbolic/important moments when they arise (7). After this Op Ed, CatComm began to really grasp the need to ensure that they took advantage of strategic opportunities as they arise and prepared for strategic dates and opportunities months in advance (8).</p>
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25	Providência	Aug 13-14, 2012	2 CatComm staff	<p>On August 13 and 14, 2012, four local media outlets (UOL, Destak Jornal, Yahoo <i>Noticias!</i>, and Viomundo) directly reference the August 12, 2012 <i>NY Times</i> Op Ed telling the story of Providência evictions and showing the negative side of the Olympics.</p>	<p>These media represent some of the most widely available news outlets in Brazil, so these publications played an important role in disseminating the information to the Brazilian public. That they cited the <i>NY Times</i>, the most highly respected news outlet by Brazilians, made the effect even greater. Until this time, all local media was covering the positive aspects of the favelas. This represented some of the earliest local reporting on the negative side of the Olympics.</p>	<p>CatComm director, in partnership with a community activist in Providência, wrote the Op Ed for the <i>NY Times</i>, which was published one day before these articles.</p>	5, 7, 8
26	Providência	November 28, 2012	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident, 1 journalist	<p>On Nov. 28, 2012, a judge issues a court order to stop the evictions and demolitions in Providência, and the Rio de Janeiro Port Authority slows their evictions activities related to the port redevelopment project.</p>	<p>Because the government slowed the evictions and demolitions after the Nov. 28<sup>th</sup> court order, when the court confirmed the order in August 2013, which finally stopped the evictions entirely, only 199 of the originally planned 832 homes had been demolished, a 76% reduction in evictions.</p> <p>The decrease in, and subsequent stopping of, evictions in Providência was also symbolic; Providência is the oldest favela in Rio (and in all of Latin America), and was believed that if this favela can be removed, all favela removals could be justified.</p>	<p>CatComm director wrote the August 12, 2012 Op Ed in collaboration with a community activist in the <i>NY Times</i>, which was translated into Portuguese and cited by at least four widely disseminated Brazilian news sites.</p> <p>Members of the Residents' Commission brought these news articles to the Public Defender representing this community, and the Public Defender may have used it to argue her case for stopping the evictions in this community<sup>51</sup>. Additionally, CatComm believes that these articles may have pressured the Port Authority to adhere more strictly to the court order<sup>52</sup> than they otherwise would have, slowing the evictions.</p>	5, 7, 8

<sup>51</sup> The research team was unable to confirm with the Public Defender if she used these news articles in making her case, but informants provided anecdotal evidence that she had seen and used the pieces.

<sup>52</sup> The research team was unable to confirm with Port Authority officials how the articles affected their adherence to the court order, however, informants indicated that it is likely that they had seen and were influenced by the pieces.

27	Providência	Jan 2013	2 CatComm staff, 1 resident, 1 journalist	In the January 2013 edition of Piauí magazine, Claudia Antunes writes an extensive and widely shared investigative article, entitled, “Os descontentes do Porto” [“The Disgruntled of the Port”], discussing the negative effects of the Olympics on Providência residents.	Until this time, national media was covering the positive aspects of the Olympics and simply not covering community perspectives of the Providência redevelopment project, more broadly associated with the Port redevelopment. This article represented some of the earliest national (Brazilian) reporting on the negative side of the Olympics.	Antunes explained that while she already had the idea for writing the article, CatComm’s Op Ed gave her the impetus to actually write this piece, and their support helped her add nuance and community perspective.	5, 7, 8
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\*For all outcomes: 1, 2, 4

1 + 2: CatComm’s Olympics Strategy, which led to the outcomes harvested, represented a strategic shift after the International Olympic Committee announced that Rio would host the Olympics (1), when CatComm:

- a. Recognized the emerging needs and inherent opportunity of the international spotlight shining on Rio (2);
- b. Observed a huge up swell in policies directed towards favelas purported to be intended to benefit them (2);
- c. Realized that top-down policies were built on the erroneous, historically mass-produced media narrative that favelas are places of no value (criminal, precarious, etc.) (2); and
- d. Observed the Mayor's intense concern with his and the city's international reputation (2).

4: CatComm’s Olympics Strategy addressed multiple points of entry, although not all outcomes reflected more than one point of entry. E.g., in Vidigal, CatComm supported workshops and a debate series. In Tanque, they distributed information about residents’ rights and information about how to resist. In nearly all communities, they facilitated media coverage.

\*\*These elements of CatComm’s approach were identified during the analysis phase.

## Annex 5: Enabling Conditions for CatComm's Approach

As described in the Considerations section, this study yielded little further information about the enabling (and limiting) conditions for CatComm's approach than the precursor study. However, in the precursor study, we identified five conditions that affect CatComm's ability to implement their approach. The research team agrees that these conditions applied specifically for CatComm's Olympic Strategy. These conditions are summarized below (Boisvert, 2017).

**Trusting relationships with communities.** CatComm has built a relationship of trust with the communities with whom they work. It is upon this foundation of trust that all of their activities, including their approach, has been built. Through trusting relationships with community members, CatComm is alerted to emerging needs and opportunities, receives requests for support from communities, and is given feedback on processes and outcomes. For CatComm, trust has been one of the most important conditions for their approach.

**Flexible funding.** Flexible funding, for CatComm, has been a double-edged sword. Because they receive most of their funding from individual donors, they do not have the strict accountability mandates of organizations funded by larger donors. This has largely facilitated their ability to be creative and to adapt. However, with their limited funds they often choose to focus on *"doing the work, not monitoring the work"*, as one participant explained in Boisvert (2017). Instead of having one staff dedicated to monitoring and evaluation, all staff play a role. While this structure ensures that all staff engage with data collection, analysis, and use, this also means that their technical skills for monitoring and evaluation may be limited, and their data collection is not systematized in a way that it would be at other organizations.

**Culture of learning.** In Boisvert (2017), we explain that *"[CatComm's approach] is not just a set of elements or practices; rather it is a way of thinking about how change happens and how to contribute to it"* (p. 49). In order for CatComm to apply such an approach, they have developed a culture in which learning and adaptation, with a focus on results, is valued over adherence to predefined plans. CatComm recognizes that fostering such a culture requires a certain non-attachment to activities and emotional preparedness to fail and try again.

**Management messaging.** At first, CatComm did not use such an approach. Rather, in their initial years they tried to implement a project and hold somewhat rigidly to its original purpose. Over time, CatComm recognized the need for being adaptive, and now management has consistent and clear messaging about the culture of learning and the need for flexibility in programming, which enables CatComm's approach.

**Best fit practices.** CatComm's approach was developed in response to a number of internal and external needs and constraints. They work with the skills and resources they have, and in alignment with the communities with whom they work, in order to meet their data collection and adaptation needs. This means they use a number of informal (and sometimes formal), emergent (and sometimes planned), and often opportunistic methods for collecting, analyzing, and using data and feedback for adapting. CatComm's approach is not a one-size-fits-all method. It is an approach that must be adapted to the context it is being applied in.