



□ Introduction □ **Valter Fanini**, President of Senge-PR

A great and inescapable challenge

RMC in Debate special edition for the World Urban Forum 5 is part of a project realized by the Syndicate of Engineer in Paraná State (Senge-PR), with technical assistance from Ambiens Cooperative and the participation of universities and entities of civil society.

The project started with the unquiet feeling of part of the society related to the lack of discussion on the fragile and insufficient planning for Great Curitiba. Daily city matters related directly to the quality of drinking water, the preservation of the natural environment, collective transport between the capital and neighbor cities and the metropolitan road system are examples of discussed issues.

The project – which included public debates and seminars along 2009 – resulted in the publication of three magazines covering subjects of common interest to Curitiba Metropolitan Region cities. This publication compiles the most important published articles and reports, offering the reader a panorama of the difficulties faced by public entities that administrate metropolitan cities. They lack an administration model of planning and management that deals with the metropolitan region as a territorial unit and integrates their actions for the urban metropolitan space.

We believe we have filled and important blank, for this magazine discusses the future of a city that has serious planning problems – which originated irregular occupation in water sources and unstructured expansion of the urban tissue. It all happens in the same regional space with huge economic and social

differences, which has rich and well-structured cities, dormitory cities and large poverty areas.

In the Curitiba Metropolitan Region – with no attribution of special responsibilities to this or that government – it is a fact that planning and implementation of policies by the metropolitan entity is nowadays practically inexistent. In fact, the entity that is responsible for the metropolitan management has survived basically

In this scenario, the Curitiba society has not resigned and accepted inaction as a fate. On the contrary, it has turned into a protagonist, a change agent, through organizations of professionals and social actors who have the necessary knowledge to promote debate and bring proposals to reach and influence the political class.

because of the interest and self-denial of some of its technicians, for its board of employees – which once were more than 100 – is reduced to a dozen people.

Little or nothing is being done for reassuring a vigorous process of planning and management of the Curitiba Metropolitan Region. If we

search public entities responsible for the RMC urban management, we will certainly not find any sector policy for dealing with regional urban matters like public transport, metropolitan road system, waste collection and destination, urban expansion, water resources preservation and economic development.

In the past, under a dictatorial State, a board of technocrats noticed the demands due to the Brazilian population concentration in great urban agglomerations and handled them with a set of public policies. Today, such decisions made by the political class, elected for executive and legislative positions. However, we know that the political agenda is written based on the society demands – mostly on complains about the effects with no identification of their causes. Thereby, governments adopt punctual actions that do not deal with the origin of problems and eliminate them permanently.

In this scenario, the Curitiba society has not resigned and accepted inaction as a fate. On the contrary, it has turned into a protagonist, a change agent, through organizations of professionals and social actors who have the necessary knowledge to promote debate and bring proposals to reach and influence the political class.

The mobilization and debate have already produced some fruits. In 2009, the Legislative Assembly of Paraná started to discuss the Project Law 212/08, which advocates the implementation of a new management model for public functions of common interest of the Curitiba Metropolitan Region. The challenge we face is great.

This is a publication of the project Curitiba Metropolitan Region in Debate, especially produced for the World Urban Forum 5 – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil – 22-26 March 2010
Organization and Coordination Syndicate of Engineers in Paraná State (Senge-PR)

Technical Assistance Ambiens Sociedade Cooperativa

Support Regional Council of Engineering, Architecture and Agronomy of Paraná (Crea-PR), Observatory of Public Policies of Paraná, Department of Geography of Federal University of Paraná, Syndicate of Architects of Paraná (Sindarq)

Text edition Rafael Martins (Reg. Prof. 3.849 PR) / Felipe Pasqualini (Reg. Prof. 3.804 PR)

Reporter Camila Castro

English version André Scheinkmann, Jucimara Rissio

Photography, illustration and page layout Alexandro Teixeira Ribeiro Contact comunica@senge-pr.org.br

Signed articles are the responsibility of the authors

Senge-PR allows the reproduction of contents, since the source is mentioned. Printed by Reproset (1,000 copies)



□ Report

Present management model raises difficulties for towns, mayors say

More than one million migrants arrived in the Great Curitiba since 1991, and most of them have settled in the cities around the capital for less cost of living. The direct consequence is a raise in the demand for basic services, which have to be financed by the city halls. However, in most of the cases, available financial resources are insufficient to offer quality services, mayors say. Report by **Camila Castro**.

Can you administrate a city with 100 thousand inhabitants with a budget that supplies 70% of the population? How can you offer health, education and transport services if the revenue is low and restrained by environmental laws, which restrict economic activities and municipal development? How can you create projects that solve problems caused by the proximity with a metropolis if there is no regional integration? This is the reality of most cities in the Curitiba Metropolitan Region (RMC). This reality is aggravated by a strong population growth in recent years – 1.1 million inhabitants arrived at RMC between 1991 and 2007.

Most of the migrants arrive in search of better life conditions in Curitiba, but they end settling in neighbor cities, which offer a lower cost of living. The direct consequence is a raise in the demand for basic services, which have to be financed by city halls. However, mayors claim that, in most of the cases, available budget resources are insufficient to offer quality services, even with investments and partnerships with the state and federal governments.

As interviewed by the Sindicato dos Engenheiros do Estado do Paraná (Senge-PR – Paraná State Engineers Syndicate), mayors demand more support from Coordenação da Região Metropolitana de Curitiba (Comec – Curitiba Metropolitan Region Coordination) –institution that manages the RMC – for the development of projects that may create alternatives to



Tolardo: there is a lack of support for city management

raise the revenue and the cities' management capacity. Despite all efforts, nowadays Comec work is insufficient to help cities plan collaborative solutions for problems generated by an integrated region.

They also lack evaluations of each city's peculiarities, what could create adequate solutions for them. Instead, decisions are made based on Curitiba's reality, regardless their impact in other cities. It happens in Quatro Barras, a city located in a water sources area, which is environmentally protected.

According to the mayor Loreno Tolardo (PDT – Labor Democratic Party), “the city suffers with environmental restrictions that prevent the realization of many actions, such as industrial growth, zoning revision and the creation of a housing program”. The problem is that there are no suggestions to overcome this difficulty.

“In the Metropolitan Region, the lack of support from competent institutions and the slowdown in processes complicate the cities management a lot. We need to have support from responsible institutions to allow cities to find their balance and develop their actions”, Toledo affirms.

Many people, a little money

Piraquara, the city that supplies most of the water consumed in the Great Curitiba, goes through the same situation. Its revenue is lower than the cities in Vale do Ribeira, and the population grows fast, as explained >>



“Restrictions imposed by environmental laws prevent us from adopting an industrial development model”

Gabriel Samaha,
Piraquara Mayor

>> by the mayor Gabriel Jorge Samaha (PPS – Socialist Popular Party).

Piraquara supplies 70% of the water consumed in Curitiba and 50% of the supply for neighbor cities. It has more than one thousand water springs and 75% of the territory is under environmental protection. Environmental and soil use restrictions prevent Piraquara from adopting the development model based on industrial activity and services that stimulates other RMC cities.

“Our revenue is precarious to manage our 100 thousand inhabitants. In order to offer quality services, we would have to receive R\$ 1,000 per inhabitant per year, but we only receive R\$ 680 per inhabitant – less than the revenue from the Vale do Ribeira cities (located in the border of São Paulo and Paraná States). Most of the cities in that region receive more than Piraquara. Pinhais receives R\$ 1,700 per inhabitant per year, and Adrianópolis receives R\$ 1,500. With the restrictions imposed by the environmental law, we cannot adopt a model of industrial development that allows us to increase the revenue”, the mayor explains.

To overcome restrictions, Samaha defends the creation of projects that encourage activities such as tourism. He also defends specific compensation for cities with environmentally protected areas, because the amount obtained with ecological ICMS (Imposto sobre Circulação de Mercadorias e Serviços – Goods and Services Tax) is insufficient – 5% of the whole ICMS, which is divided among cities with preservation areas or water sources.

“We know that Piraquara is en-

vironmentally friendly, and we do not intend to be an industrial pole. However, we need compensation. We cannot be ostracized. We spend much of our resources in preserving water sources. In this way, the balance is not enough for essential services, such as school transport, education, health and basic sanitation”, Samaha says.

“ To overcome restrictions, the Piraquara mayor defends the creation of projects that encourage activities such as tourism. He also asks for compensations for cities with environmentally protected areas, because he says the amount obtained with ecological ICMS is insufficient ”

“ Another problem is the public transport management, which is done by Urbs, a Curitiba City Hall company. Yet, regions in Almirante Tamandaré do not have bus lines integrated with Curitiba. “It is a great nuisance for thousands of passengers”, Goinski complains. ”

Dormitory city

A similar situation happens in Almirante Tamandaré, which also has environmentally restricted areas. The mayor Vilson Rogério Goinski (PMDB – Brazilian Democratic Movement Party) explains: “The city has difficulties in absorbing all the available work force, and it has

become a dormitory city. People who work in Curitiba also shop there, because it is practical and they hardly find shops open when they return to Almirante Tamandaré”.

The city is not exempted from offering basic services to the citizens. The problem is that the revenue is insufficient, for more

people live than work and shop in the city. “Restrictions to the expansion of industrial development and the weak commerce, which is jeopardized by the capital, result in a scenario in which municipal revenue does not reflect the need for investments in public equipment and in-frastructure – pave-ment, urban drainage, sewage and others”, Goinski says.

In order to overcome such difficulties, it is necessary to set priorities based on the city hall’s plan-ning, with financial support from the state and federal governments. The city plans actions to restrain population density and establish



an ordered growth for a period of ten years. “We have an annual budget of R\$ 65 million, which is considerably small to supply a population of 100 thousand people”, the mayor says.

Another problem is the public transport management, which is done by Urbs, a Curitiba City Hall company. Yet, regions in Almirante Tamandaré do not have bus lines integrated with Curitiba. “It is a great nuisance for thousands of passengers”, Goinski complains. “Urbs says there is not enough demand to increase the number of buses in some routes or to integrate them with the whole system. Many passengers complain because buses and stations are crowded in rush hours.”

Comec needs to catch its breath

In order to help mayors solve such problems, Comec – the institution responsible for metropolitan management – needs to be present, able to work and make decisions. However, it lacks power to perform such role. In the meantime, difficulties continue, and it is easy to know who loses: the population.

Comec should also act in situations

shared by the whole Great Curitiba, such as lack of resources for urban and rural infrastructure projects, basic sanitation, school transport and meal, waste collection, zoonosis control, health units and sports areas

“ Management institutions from Great Curitiba need to plan the growth of cities around the capital, by widening the city halls’ capacities, offering development alternatives according to each city’s peculiarities - all thought in an integrated way ”

maintenance, besides promoting sports practice and tourism.

It is obvious that city halls have their obligations, but it is necessary to manage

policies in an integrated way, considering that the demands become bigger because they come from people that intend to live in Curitiba. According to mayors, such demands are impossible to be supplied without the Comec’s support.

“Comec seeks to support great projects planned by the state government, such as the Integrated Program of Transport, the conclusion of Contorno Norte (North Highway) and projects to reform and expand road terminals. But it has to widen its technical board in order to help us elaborate our projects. Many cities have difficulties in hiring and paying a high level technical board”, says the mayor of Almirante Tamandaré. “Regional planning is complex.

The demands only increase, as well as the competition for resources”, he affirms.

This is the point in which management institutions from Great Curitiba should be present. They need to plan the growth of cities around the capital, by widening the city halls’ capacities, offering development alternatives according to each city’s peculiarities – all thought in an integrated way. This is the only possible path to reach efficient management, capable of developing sustainable projects that supply the population demand with quality. >>



Almirante Tamandaré has difficulties in absorbing all the available work force, and it has become a dormitory city, Mayor Vilson Goinski explains



▣ Article

History and perspective for a new institutional arrangement for the Great Curitiba

Civil Engineer **Valter Fanini** explains the disordered construction in Brazilian metropolitan regions and the dismantling of its management institutions under the minimum State hegemony. The result is the Brazilian urban chaos, so evident in these first days of 2010. Fanini, who is also the President of Senge-PR (Engineers Syndicate in Paraná State) and a state employee, says the proposal of a new institutional arrangement for the RMC (Curitiba Metropolitan Region) is a first step to take us out of the limbo we are in. But, to do so, it is necessary to mobilize political and social actors who have social representation or delegated power to work the matter out

The Brazilian economy transformation – from purely agrarian to an economy based on the strong participation of the industrial sector, after the so called “Era Vargas” in the 1930s – imposed radical changes to population distribution on the country’s territory.

The industrialization process, which is naturally urban, produced a huge transfer of people from rural areas – mainly people who worked in a subsistence level – to the cities, where work promised better salaries, besides advantages in accessing public services and a possibility of social ascension.

This is how Brazil started to experiment the rural exodus process more intensively. In a first moment, it happened in a balanced way, with the growth of industrial activities assuring a job to everyone who, for any reason, abandoned the country.

However, the first and second oil crisis, in the 1970s, originated a profound unbalance in external payments. It made the Brazilian government adopt a policy of fast capitalization of rural activities, in order to change them into an exporter sector of agricultural commodities. Obviously, this process excluded the small producer, as well as the ones who worked for rural owners. Here, it is important to highlight the abandon of almost all public policies linked to financing

Alexsandro Teixeira Ribeiro



The President of Senge-PR, Valter Fanini

and technical assistance to the small agricultural producer after the 1980s.

The impracticability of small-scale rural production, the advance of the subsidized exportation agriculture and the historic lack of agrarian reform intensified the process of rural exodus in Brazil. Such process only has a counterpart, in other countries’ history, as a consequence of great natural disasters.

Yet, in the 1960s, with President João Goulart, the federal government expressed a worry about the quick transfer of people from the country to the cities and the formation of great urban agglomerations, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Along the following decades, instruments were created to strengthen the State action towards urban problems in Brazil, mainly the ones that occurred in metropolitan regions.

In 1973, a complementary law created the first 14 metropolitan regions in Brazil. From this point on, the government set institutional and financial mechanisms to plan and implement public policies focused on urban areas, with special attention to metropolitan regions. I describe the main ones, as follows:

▣ Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento Urbano (FNDU – National Fund for Urban Development) – constituted of taxes over fuel consumption, which gave financial support to



the federal government urban policies;

□ Empresa Brasileira de Transportes Urbanos (EBTU – Brazilian Company of Urban Transports) – an entity dedicated to structuring urban transport systems in large Brazilian cities;

□ Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH – National Housing Bank) and Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço (FGTS – Unemployment Guarantee Fund) – for financing housing and urban infrastructure;

□ Conselho Nacional de Políticas Urbanas (Urban Policies National Council) – responsible for strategic formulas for urban development in Brazil.

“The 1988 Constitution froze the federal government responsibilities of conducting urban policies, by transferring the task of instituting metropolitan regions to the Brazilian states”

However, after the 1980s, we saw

the rural exodus process diminish, when metropolitan regions started to have the highest demographic growth rates. In parallel, the federal government institutional and financial mechanisms of acting in cities started to disrupt, especially in metropolitan regions.

The 1988 Constitution froze the federal government responsibilities of conducting urban policies, by transferring the task of instituting metropolitan regions to the Brazilian states. According to the letter, they were micro-regions created in order to integrate the planning and execution of public functions of the cities’ common interest.

The new constitutional order for treating metropolitan issues and the new economic reality Brazil experimented in the 1980s and 1990s were main ingredients to dismantle the institutional and financing instruments, which were used by the federal government to manage urban policies until then.

Another factor that contributed to the process is the sensitive reduction of the public sector financial capacity of leading demands for public policies in different sectors of Brazilian social and economic life. In addition, there was the neoliberal vision in charge of the country’s politics and economy, promoting the substitution of the State action for the profit-oriented individual-gain action – even for public matters, such as the organization and management of cities.

The Curitiba Metropolitan Region (RMC) Integrated Development Plan summarizes the stages of the management

process for metropolitan regions in Brazil. To do so, it is divided in three different stages:

“In general, considering each region’s peculiarities, it is observed that the process of evolution of the metropolitan management had a very similar script in all regions, which can be summarized in three periods.

“The first stage coincides with the national policies of integrated planning, which coordinate the actions of several government levels in urban areas. It reveals the ideological trace of a policy centered in the Union and of social control, in which planning reveals the characteristics of an instrument that induces and controls economic development.

“The second stage is marked by the political opening and economic changes of the 1980s, when metropolitan institutions gradually lose space, and in the late 80s few of them are open – many were extinct and most of them were evacuated. Their role is questioned and faced as a vestige of centralization and authority from the previous period.

“The third stage, the present one, which started in 1990, brings new attributions to institutions, by retaking planning as a management instrument. The intense inclusion of environmental issues in the social and political agenda, population growth in metropolitan areas and the need for group actions for metropolitan cities restart the articulation of these institutions, but with clearer perspectives of their actions. The proposal of revising the public power action – which is being implemented – brings this subject to be discussed, gives the public power a character of regulation and indicates the

need for a growing interaction with the society in the decision-making process.” (PDI/2006 p28)

However, we should highlight the political consciousness of the need for retaking metropolitan planning, as well as of the creation of management requests for public functions of common interest in metropolitan region cities. It happens through the states, which started to shyly rebuild their urban management structures.

There are no consistent movements from the federal government for the promotion of an urban development policy for the country, with efficient elaboration and implementation instruments as there were before.

The recent creation of the Ministry of Cities, as well as some actions in infrastructure – designed by the Plano de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC – Growth Acceleration Plan) – and housing – in programs financed by Caixa Econômica Federal (Federal Economic Fund) – do not reflect the possibilities and need of the federal government participation in solving Brazilian urban matters.

Paraná is one of the states that preserved the metropolitan management structure, by maintaining the Coordenação da Região Metropolitana de Curitiba (Comec – Curitiba Metropolitan Region Coordination) working, though in poor conditions. On the other hand, today it is behind other states in retaking and building a new management model for its metropolis.

What has been clearly seen is the continuous dismantling of Comec, mainly for not renewing its technical boards and for keeping an organizational model centralized in the state government power – which was rather adequate in military dictatorship times.

Because of the state government inaction, the Legislative Assembly has proposed a new management model for the Curitiba Metropolitan Region. It is described in the law-project 212/

2008, written by the assemblyman Edson Strapasson (PMDB – Brazilian Democratic Movement Party).

The new model solves some of the grave problems faced by metropolitan manage-

“Paraná is one of the states that preserved the metropolitan management structure, by maintaining the Coordenação da Região Metropolitana de Curitiba (Comec - Curitiba Metropolitan Region Coordination) working, though in poor conditions.”

>>



- >> ment models from the military dictatorship era, which, in my point of view, are the following:
- the exclusion of municipal power from the center of decision-making on the development of public policies related to the cities, which are listed in the law-project as Road System, Public Transport System, Environment and Water Sources Protection, Solid Waste Collection and Final Destination, Regional Soil Use and Occupation, Social Interest Housing and Social and Economical Development;
 - the lack of a division mechanism for the decision-making power between the state government and city halls;
 - the lack of participation channels for society, through different ways of organization;
 - the lack of inter-institutional articulation channels between public entities that have power to intervene in regional services and infrastructure;
 - the imprecision in defining Comec's competences in planning and managing public functions of common interest for metropolitan cities;
 - the lack of an organizational model designed for the technical production of several metropolitan sector policies;
 - the legislative presence of the state authority, which gives exclusive powers for the state to manage the metropolitan institution; in the law-project it is substituted by a public consortium of the state government and the cities.

Finally, and very important, the new RMC management model recommended by the project-law 212/2008 has the articulation and ordering elements for actions of technical and political actors, who have legal or constitutional delegation over public functions of more than one RMC city. In other words, this model will only be built if these actors start to be conscious of their roles in this new institutional arrangement.

Thus, we should be conscious that, between the presentation of a new law-project and the effective implementation of a new management model for the RMC there is a long way to follow, and it depends on two great initial steps. The first is the approval of the law-project by the Legislative Assembly. The second is its implementation by the state government and city halls.

These two great steps will only be taken if social and political actors who have social representativeness or delegated power to work the matter out make their move. In this sense, I feel that Senge-PR is playing its role.





▣ Article

The political cycle of the public transportation system in Curitiba

Economist **Luís Maurício Martins Borges**, from *Ambiens Sociedade Cooperativa*, evaluates the reasons that led public transportation service to be concentrated in the hands of few companies, and goes through the relationship between business people and the public power. Borges also talks about the variations of bus fares paid by users, which is “determined by the political cycle of local terms”.

The debate about the public transportation system in the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba, under the political and social-economical aspect, should consider, among many important aspects, the relevance of the capital of the state in the hierarchy of this system, its spatial structure and the problems that come from factors such as increase of population, metropolitan transformation of the city, concentration of low income population, and the fare, which folds into the access to this public service. In this study, the bus fare and the fiscal expenditure are specially discussed – issues which are central whenever determining the local political cycle in relation to the market concentration of bus transportation system, as well as the affinity between a broader set of interests. On one side, interests from companies to keep the services and public works as they are – afterwards, this is a “model” – and, on the other hand, from political groups, which are orientating the building of the capital – both under their own capitalist gathering sustained by the State.

The origin of this system goes backwards to the beginning of the 1950s, when the public transportation system was still constituted by the system of “lotações” – vehicles offering transportation, concentrating in the most profitable routes and having no schedules. During Ney Braga’s government there was a reform in the system, in which the companies should present a determined technical and professional efficiency and be in charge of some areas and groups of lines to be able to offer the public service. This reform, despite the succession of positive innovations in terms of public service, contributed, in fact, for the concentration of political and economical power in a few and

Alexsandro Teixeira Ribeiro



Economist Luís Maurício Martins Borges

large companies¹. At this moment, the municipal government – besides not interfering in the systematic to calculate the price of bus fare – accepted the prorogation of terms, of vehicles’ life in operation, from five to ten years, even though the cost of fleet renewal was in the spreadsheets to determine the price of the fares.

The most known changes in the public transportation system – such as the express buses and the speedy buses, introduced in the 70s and 90s – required adaptations in the vehicles to operate in the system conceived by the municipal public power, which, besides the practical fact offered, also represented a solid market barrier to new companies. That barrier is constituted by the risk of capital immobilization in special buses, expensively adapted to other activities, besides the amount of money and political influence necessary to the concession of regularity for the public transportation system service. So, since the 70s until nowadays, the concentration of this market lies in the hands of the same 10 companies in activity.

The alliance between business sectors and the municipal executive has not always been so fraternal, as the history of the public transportation system tells, with many examples of conflicts. In the 80s, the PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party) established an alliance with the popular demonstrations, especially in relation to bus transportation system issues, in a moment of serious social scenario caused by unemployment and intense migration within the transformation and worsening of the economical crisis. The representation of those demonstrations was constituted by the Districts Associations (MABs), by the demand of immediate expenditure with >>



>> transportation and by the redefinition of relation between the public power and the business people of transportation system². The business people's fear was made concrete at first when, at that time, state deputy Roberto Requião sent to the House of Representatives a law project proposing the issue to be of State charge – not only the public transportation system, but all public services of the capital. Later, the State shares got concrete during Requião's term as mayor (1985-1988), with people's support, having agents to check how bus fare prices were determined.

After getting many irregularities – such as fraud, deviations, information manipulation and deliberate blind eye of necessity of bus substitutions – Requião's management required judicially, successfully, the nullity of concessions given to business people, making them having permissions. This increased the state control over the public transportation system, reducing the possibility of manipulation of cost spreadsheets. However, the changes were too small, taking into consideration the structure of that market was not altered, keeping the same companies. Despite the inconvenience to those business people, the alterations in cost spreadsheets of bus fares could be supported and even reversed as benefits in later terms³.

The union of companies of the public transportation system left its reactive posture and started acting closely to the House of Representatives in the election and searching for representatives, building a homogeneous block – able to save the sector against any threats from belonging to the state, imposing their points of view about the management of the public transportation system and even becoming the speaker of other sectors demand (Oliveira 2000, p. 152).

From this process, which started in the beginning and went up to the end of the same 20th century, we highlight the market concentration of public transportation system, consolidated in 1970s, followed by a political mobilization of bus companies to defend their interests in the 1980s. The ten regular companies of the public transportation system of Curitiba⁴ – represented by the Curitiba and Metropolitan Area Union of Urban and Metropolitan Transport (Setransp) – have broad agreement of interests with other unions, such as the real estate market ones (Ademi and Secovi) and the public constructions one (Apeop), as it can be seen later. However, the Setransp represents the center of economical and



Traffic jam in central Curitiba

political power historically organized, having access to great part of the public budget of Curitiba, through the urbanism corporation – Urbs. Nowadays, Urbs responds for more than a fifth of total municipal resources without any interference, information or account to the community in Curitiba.

It is with this history presented here that we get the conclusion, at the end of the 20th century, of the origin of the recent policy of public bus fare, and get to its analysis, from the second term of Taniguchi's government, in the first years of the millennium. In Taniguchi's last year as the mayor, in 2004, a misunderstanding between him and the future mayor candidate Beto Richa (at that time the vice-mayor) in relation to the increase of bus fares, made Richa – the mayor being absent – get the opportunity to reduce the fare, which later was increased. Everything happened a few days before election. In 2005, even though the public transportation system fare in Curitiba, in the first year of Richa's term, was really reduced by R\$ 0,10 – to R\$ 1,80 – going back to R\$ 1,90 in 2006 and kept constant up to 2008. In January 2009, after Richa's re-election, without any surprise, the fare went up to R\$ 2,20.

In the representation of picture 1, it is observed that in Taniguchi's second term (2001 to 2004) the bus fare had an increase superior to the expenditure with the public transportation system of that period. In 2005, with the reduction of fare in the first year of Richa's term, the increase of public transportation expenditure takes place in the municipal budget, presenting a little decrease in 2006, as the fares increased. The frozen fare in the years before the 2008 elections was followed by the increase of public expenditure on public transportation system. In January 2009, after the mayor's opening, the readjustment of bus fares is equivalent to the proportion of public expenditure evolution with public transportation, following a pattern of service financing similar to what happened in Taniguchi's second term.

It is obvious then that the evolution of bus fare price is determined by the political cycle of local term. It is possible to assume that the service gets organized less by the planning of public transportation system expansion than by the electoral political use, as "subsidy" to the sector, when in truth it is public expenditure, reduced after elections with the increase in bus fares. The cost of public transportation system is transferred to users at these moments. This dynamic supports the interests of politicians and business people in cycles of electoral



succession and of capitalist accumulation, in expansion and maintenance projects of municipal public services at the production of infrastructure for buses, stations, streets, illumination, housing and sanitation. It is done in a way to determine the place of each class of citizen in the city space, by articulating the conditions of transportation and public equipment to work and housing.

URBAN SPACES

The worth increase of some urban spaces by the market game is historically from public investments, aiming at strengthening the conditions of real state market, with the creation of a false lack of land that exists in relation to the power of distinct social classes, of retention and access to this precious good: the land. When there is lack of a political territorial planning of the city – by means of free valorization of use price (or no use) of the land – the selection of high income inhabitants is processed to have access to better services and conditions, while to the lower income classes the spaces provided are more distant, less qualified and less worthy. The apparent lack of relationship between the urban public policies of investments in new housing sets and main roads is really coherent to the strategy of concentration of high income population which gets closer to main roads, while the housing sets promoted by the municipal state – and also the irregular occupations, with the effect of valorizing the land – are impelled to get distant from these new infrastructures.

It is not difficult to see the destination of public services and infrastructure, determined by citizen class (by income level), in spaces with public and social infrastructure, while others cannot access services of environmental sanitation, legal property to regular housing and the pattern of public transport (such as the Curitiba model). The user of public transport easily agrees that this service is good when you use the express lines, the speed buses and



Passengers at Terminal Alto Maracanã, in Colombo, one of the crowdest bus stations in Great Curitiba

the feeder buses in small distances, not in the rush hour and around or next to accesses that take downtown. The public transportation system shows its inconsistency and obstacles as the passenger goes long distances, through many connections, especially in the rush hour of

work and study. From the extremes of qualitative public transport we get to the conclusion that the system works better for tourism and leisure than for work and study in the city.

The program of Public Transportation, as presented in the Pluralist-Annual Plan of >>

Evolution of the annual increase of the bus fare, expenses with urban collective transport and annual budget, between 2001 and 2008

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008/09
Bus fare (R\$ 1,00)	1,10	1,50	1,65	1,90	1,80	1,90	1,90	2,20
Expenses in Collective Transport*	356.030	442.115	475.500	546.290	672.000	521.925	638.165	673.640
Annual Budget*	1.537.000	1.690.000	1.940.000	2.250.000	2.425.000	2.353.691	2.824.411	3.911.233

* x R\$ 1,000

Source: Curitiba City Hall website (2008), Secretary of Finances, Information on Annual Budget



A citizen interested to search for information concerning the service results gets frustrated when verifying the city hall site, due to lack of specification of public transportation system in municipal budget from 2001 to 2009

>> Curitiba 2006-2009, aiming to orientate the improvement of mobility through perfecting the transportation system, aiming to attract more users, pointed the expansion of infrastructure of terminals, stations, tubes and vehicles (buses). To reach that, a municipal expenditure of 21,1% of total municipal budget of Curitiba was made (R\$ 2.5 billion between 2006 and 2009), financed by the public fare, the “vale transporte”, among other fiscal resources, being a central phenomenon to understanding urban policy. Even though the fabulous amount of public money is spent – sustained by the fact that the municipal budget of Curitiba is the third largest in Brazil (Table 2) in terms per capita –, the public transportation system is not an exception in the country, concerning access quality by groups that need most of this means of transportation, even by lack of alternative or by option, and especially for those who live in distant places from downtown.

A last fact deserves to be pinpointed: the omission of information of public interest concerning public service offer of transport.

There is no other aspect of municipal public service that has figures so well kept as this service. A citizen interested to search for information concerning the service results gets frustrated when verifying the city hall site, due to lack of specification of public transportation system in municipal budget from 2001 to 2009, detailed in activities and projects, as other programs, such as housing, present there. People interested in urban policies will not find in the diagnostic of urban mobility plan⁵ available information in that site – detailed description of costs and service history (number of people transported) –, under the lack of an objective proposal of mass public transportation system, considering the different conditions of citizens. There is also the registration that

state deputy Tadeu Veneri (PT – Workers Party), during the debate among the authors who write for this publication, insisted, unsuccessfully for eight years, on having access to this kind of information from Urbs.

Curitiba’s public transport has good infrastructure – though it is easier to be presented in its most visible part in some privileged and central areas than to use it

and live it day by day within the whole city, especially for low income people who live and work distantly. The political conduct of the state – by private interests that have perpetuated for decades in the history of the city – has in the companies which offer public transportation service its “spine frame” of the most established structure, leading to fiscal, funding and financing municipal government policies. The strength of this particular movement, concerning public transport, can be represented either by history – which is prior to many of us – or by resource volume and recent oscillations of bus fare and fiscal expenditure.

According to business people’s point of view, the convergence is built by the diversity of complementary projects in the construction of the city, while the divergence happens in the distribution of slices of fiscal resources. Under this aspect the public transportation system business people are the great winners. Under society’s point of view, convergence is built by the concentration of public services for people with better social conditions, in terms of income, while divergence happens in the other extreme – for people with worse income conditions, who have access to the worst public services and infrastructure. That is due to interests linked to speculation, caused by real estate agents who use expansion of infrastructure for their own profit.

A last fact deserves to be pinpointed: the omission of information of public interest concerning public service offer of transport. There is no other aspect of municipal public service that has figures so well kept as this service. A citizen interested to search for information concerning the service results gets frustrated when verifying the city hall site, due to lack of specification of public transportation system in municipal budget from 2001 to 2009, detailed in activities and projects, as other programs, such as housing, present there.



These contrasts of interests, perceptions and life possibilities explain important urban conflicts visible in Curitiba, as they worsen public transport – what leads to influx of vehicles, people and mobility time; and the speculation for emptying estates, built or not – which dismiss the population for more distant places, sometimes inadequate and risky.

The situation presented points to two potential ways out, in terms of public policy. The first, related to availability of essential information for public debate concerning public transportation system policy. And, the other one, reducing the real estate speculation, by means of progressive IPTU (construction/land tax) during the time, leading the unused and adequate lots to housing construction, with subsequent effect of land price reduction, orientating the adequate and available infrastructure areas to the increase of population.

References

1.Dennison OLIVEIRA (2000), p. 137) in

Curitiba e o Mito da Cidade Modelo, presents the case of Curitiba through his historical institutional analysis of urban politics, in conformation with the Curitiba model of planning, for the benefit of businessmen’s in-

From the extremes of qualitative public transportation system, we get to the conclusion that the system works better in the city for tourism and leisure than for work and study

terests in the sector of public transportation, urban soil speculators and constructors of public works. Concerning the public transportation system, he shows an

interesting retrospect of how history constituted 10 private companies which shared this public service in Curitiba.

2.(Ibid, p. 144) Oliveira, in the topic the revolution discussion of public transportation system, shows the resistance of popular and middle class sectors opponent to the voracity of businessmen’s interests in the 80’s crisis.

3.(Ibidem, p. 149) Oliveira explains in more details how businessmen of public transportation sector founded a machine that prints the dynamics of urban policy in last decades, especially centered over the public transportation system of Curitiba.

4.The 10 public transportation system companies of Curitiba are Auto Viação Água Verde Ltda, Viação Curitiba Ltda, Viação Marechal Ltda, Viação Mercês, Viação Nossa Senhora da Luz, Viação Nossa Senhora do Carmo Ltda, Viação Redentor Ltda, Viação Cidade Sorriso Ltda, Empresa Cristo Rei Ltda and Transporte Coletivo Glória Ltda.

5.PHHIS. Municipal Plano of Urban Mobility and Integrated Transportation – PlanMob Curitiba, Curitiba, Municipal City Hall, IPPUC and COHAB-CT 2008.



Terminal Alto Maracanã, in Colombo, one of the most concentrated low-income urban agglomerations in the RMC – a model that sets the poor away from infrastructure



▣ Article

Federative arrangement and income concentration: impacts on metropolitan management and social rights

Civil engineer **José Ricardo Vargas de Faria** explains how the interdependency of cities in metropolitan regions generates common problems, which nowadays are solved separately. In his opinion, the solution goes through the creation of a metropolitan fund, to be managed in an integrated way. Faria is a consultant at *Ambiens Sociedade Cooperativa* (Ambiens Cooperative Society), a professor at *Universidade Federal do Paraná*. He is also taking a doctorate in Urban and Regional Planning at *Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*.

Metropolitan regions aggregate neighbor cities in the same complex of relations, configuring dense urban regions in continuous occupation areas, integrating the same socioeconomic unity. This interdependency between metropolitan cities brings common problems and demands – especially in relation to urban matters, such as territorial planning, housing, basic sanitation, soil use, transport and road system, water resources management and environmental pollution¹.

The management of these regions is a significant challenge, especially towards the precariousness and obsolescence of management instruments and mechanisms suitable to the metropolitan regions' needs. In Brazil, three aspects in the Federal Constitution determine the possibilities of implementing metropolitan management mechanisms. In first place, the treatment of metropolitan matters is attributed, administratively and financially, to the state Executive Power. The second aspect is the consolidation of a planning structure based on public budget, which is consolidated, instrumentally, with the model in three stages: *Plano Plurianual* (PPA – Pluriannual Plan), *Lei de Diretrizes Orçamentárias* (LDO – Budget Directions Law) and *Lei Orçamentária Anual* (LOA – Annual Budget Law), or the budget itself. Finally, as a result



Civil engineer José Ricardo Vargas de Faria

of a strong APPEAL for administrative decentralization that supported the municipal movement in the Constituent Assembly², it was also with the 1988 Federal Constitution that cities were elevated to the category of federative entity³. This aspect has special impact on cities' financial autonomy, mainly in what refers to two matters:

- a) the institution and tax revenue;
- b) the application of local income

This way, [...] the city has to form its own income, as well as administrate its revenue and expenses, through its own incomes or endowments and donations, respecting established relations between cities and other federation entities.⁴

In this institutional outline there are no shared fiscal-financial management instruments that allow the financing of solutions for the common demands – except few experiences of consortiums between some metropolitan cities. In general, financial autonomy is constituted as an element of income concentration and strengthening of intraregional inequalities. Poorer cities with low revenue handle their own demands from metropolitan insertion that are much above their financial capacity.

In order to illustrate this, it is possible to



compare the incomes of each city in the Curitiba Metropolitan Region (RMC) with indicators of housing needs, regarding the housing problem as one of the important references about social demands that present specificities due to metropolitan insertion. Before that, it is important to comprehend the revenue and income distribution between the three governmental spheres – what will lead to a better understanding of the possibilities of metropolitan management financing solutions.

Revenue and institutional capacity of cities

One of the central aspects of the planning structure established by the 1988 Federal Constitution – which was restored with the Fiscal Responsibility Law – is the verification of the effective payment capacity, which sets

the budget income analysis as a base element for financial management. This way, the revenue capacity, especially in what refers to own tax revenues, should have special attention for a diagnostics of municipal financial performance. When the evolution of revenue in the three federative spheres is observed, the increase of municipal revenue is evident; but, constitutional attributions also increased, resulting in more appointments under the responsibility of local governments. It is significant to observe that, despite the increase in the cities' own revenue after 1988 (reaching 5.4% of the total revenue of federative entities), the participation in the distribution of revenues also increased (as observed in graphics 1 and 2).

This fact shows the dependency of intergovernmental transfers faced by the cities, what limits real possibilities for municipal autonomy to attend to local demands. The Federal Constitution idealized

it in 1988. Difficulties raise when we consider the creation of the Fundo Social de Emergência (FSE – Emergency Social Fund), which was later substituted by the Fundo de Estabilização Fiscal (FEF – Fiscal Stabilization Fund) and, after, by the Desvinculação de Recursos Orçamentários da União (DRU – Union Budget Resources Unbind) – all created in 1993 and valid from 1994 on⁵. Initially created in an emergency state to promote the Union's financial stabilization through the reduction of linked resources, DRU became permanent, distorting its initial function and widening federal domination over fiscal funds. Yet, in what refers to own tax revenues, it is also necessary to consider a factor originated in the cities' municipal autonomy, which is valid in the same way for the states: the dissemination of the “fiscal war” to attract companies or private investments.

According to a study elaborated by the >>

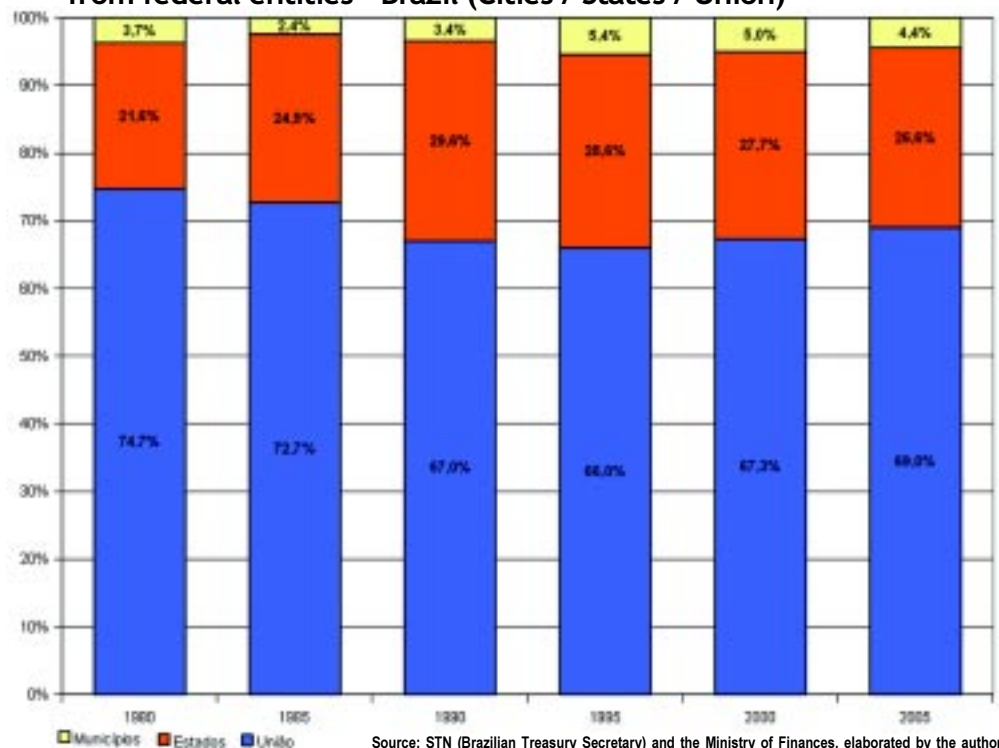
Population, Houses in Precarious Settlements, Basic Housing Deficit, Inadequate Domiciles, Annual Revenue per capita and Declared Expenses in the Housing Function of RMC (Curitiba Metropolitan Region) cities.

City	Population	Houses in Precarious Settlements	Urban Basic Housing Deficit	Urban Inadequate Domiciles	Annual Own Increased Research per capita (2007)	Declared Expenses in the Housing Function per capita(2007)
		% of the total domiciles	% of urban domiciles	% of urban domiciles		
Adrianópolis	6.709	57,7%	11,0%	36,4%	1.170,04	0,00
Agudos do Sul	8.207	0,0%	5,7%	61,4%	739,22	0,00
Alm. Tamandaré	93.060	20,5%	9,8%	66,7%	418,63	0,00
Araucária	111.952	11,0%	6,7%	31,4%	2.448,29	0,00
Balsa Nova	10.696	0,0%	5,7%	50,9%	1.502,28	0,00
Bocaiúva do Sul	9.533	17,6%	5,3%	35,5%	830,01	0,00
Campina Grande do Sul	35.269	11,5%	6,7%	26,7%	151,99	0,00
Campo Largo	97.824	4,2%	5,4%	48,1%	640,94	4,27
Campo Magro	22.443	19,6%	5,5%	32,5%	862,64	4,33
Cerro Azul	17.693	67,3%	5,2%	38,9%	642,17	0,00
Colombo	233.916	14,1%	6,1%	35,6%	350,83	0,95
Contenda	14.800	11,4%	12,1%	75,0%	784,30	0,97
Curitiba	1.797.408	12,1%	6,6%	15,6%	852,09	14,31
Doutor Ulysses	5.956	100,0%	14,0%	92,5%	#N/D	#N/D
Fazenda Rio Grande	75.006	6,2%	7,5%	51,6%	384,05	0,00
Itaperuçu	22.021	19,9%	9,4%	54,8%	571,54	0,00
Lapa	41.677	5,4%	6,1%	34,0%	776,34	0,45
Mandirituba	20.408	14,6%	6,7%	74,8%	752,22	0,00
Pinhais	112.195	5,8%	7,1%	20,7%	772,61	0,00
Piraquara	81.313	7,5%	6,6%	42,3%	576,86	0,00
Quatro Barras	18.133	8,4%	7,7%	37,8%	1.212,39	0,00
Quintandinha	15.901	0,0%	5,5%	48,7%	682,88	6,47
Rio Branco do Sul	31.456	35,0%	9,3%	65,8%	786,00	0,00
São José dos Pinhais	263.633	2,7%	6,8%	28,1%	898,00	7,61
Tijucas do Sul	13.091	0,0%	20,0%	86,5%	929,42	0,00
Tunas do Paraná	5.921	100,0%	8,2%	77,9%	1.296,80	0,00
Total		11,5%	6,8%	23,6%		

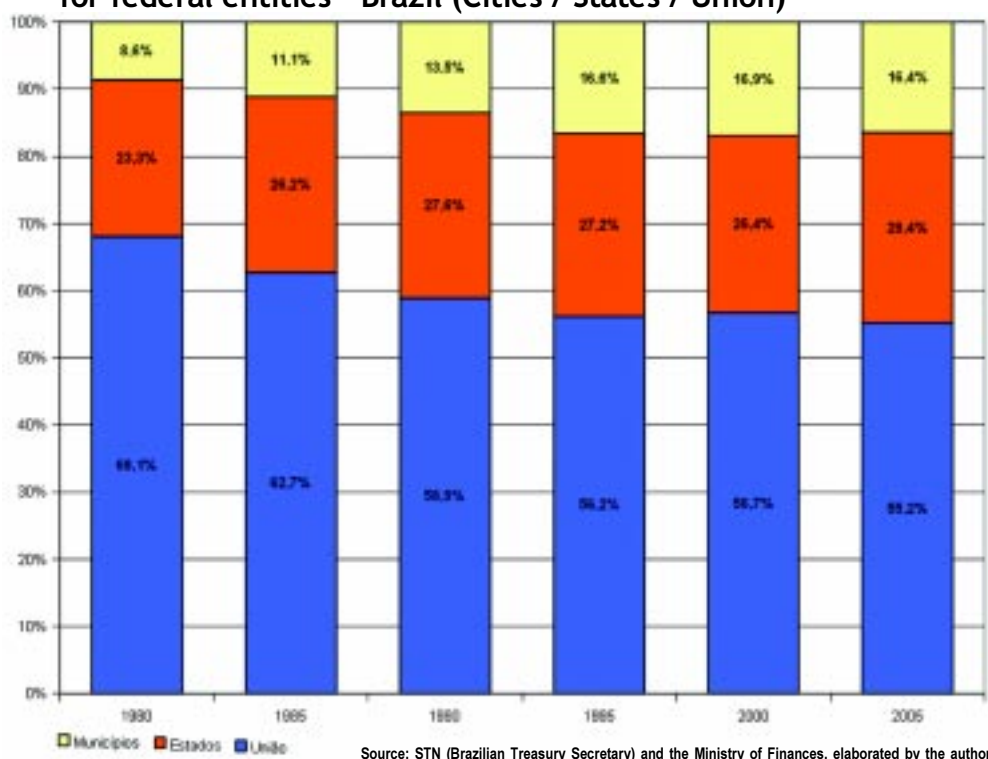
Source: Elaborated by the author based on information from the Brazilian Treasury Secretary, of Fundação João Pinheiro (2000), and the study CEM/MCIDADES (2008).



Percentage of the federative distribution of own revenue from federal entities - Brazil (Cities / States / Union)



Percentage of the federative distribution of available resources for federal entities - Brazil (Cities / States / Union)



>> Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2006 – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) named “Research of Municipal Basic Information”, almost half of the 5,564 Brazilian city halls gave fiscal or non-fiscal incentives – as land cession (in 1,236) or donation (in 1,204), ISS (Services Tax) exemption (in 764), partial Municipal Real Estate Tax (IPTU) exemption (in 747) or total (in 722), among others – for implementing undertakings. Considering that resources from own revenues represent a

reduced portion of total budget incomes, the fiscal war becomes an important limiter of the municipal governments investment capacity – observing that an important portion of governmental transfers are linked resources⁶.

In a study developed for the Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Regional e Política Urbana do Estado de Minas Gerais (Sedru – Minas Gerais State Secretary of Regional Development and Urban Policy), Claudio Paiva adopts the Receita Própria Ampliada

(RPA – Increased Own Revenue) as an indicator for the analysis of municipal public finances. The RPA seeks to demonstrate the cities’ financial capacity to supply the demands of municipality, and considers “not only municipal tax revenue, but also revenues that are assured by the Federal Constitution”⁷. The author advocates that taking non-linked transfer revenues into account is more consistent in the sense that these resources are considered by the cities in the budget planning process.

As the objective of this analysis is less focused on the analysis of the cities’ level of dependency in relation to the resources originated from transfers, and more focused on the capacity to confront the demands of metropolitan cities, we opted to consider as Increased Own Revenue the sum of: (i) Municipal Tax Revenues, (ii) Union and State Revenue Participation Income⁸ and (iii) Royalties Revenues and other financial compensations. These resources are a significant part of total revenues, but they should be considered in relation to the city’s population, in order to have a more consistently evaluation of the supplying capacity of the demands imposed to cities.

This analysis shows that, as pointed by Paiva e Lopreato, the chronic problem of bad income distribution in Brazil involves not only personal income, but also institutional income. Inter and intraregional income disparity is high and the balancing mechanisms are not effective enough, far from reaching a satisfactory stage⁹.

Increased Own Revenue versus housing: analysis of the Curitiba Metropolitan Region

When we compare information about financial capacity with housing needs indicators, in order to have examples of the differences between metropolitan cities in relation to social demands, it is possible to determine a scenario that highlights the disparity. To do so, three indicators were used: (i) the percentage of domiciles in precarious settlements, (ii) the basic housing deficit and (iii) the percentage of inadequate urban domiciles¹⁰. The simultaneous analysis of these indicators might show a first subside to orient the priority of investments in metropolitan cities for solving housing demands. It is important to observe that the income data presented only refers to 2007 and have been used to illustrate the analysis,



and values may present variations that do not necessarily represent the average income in the cities. This analysis, as proposed by Fabrício Oliveira¹¹, is summarized in the following table.

In general, it is verified that the average increased own revenue (RPA) per capita in the Curitiba Metropolitan Region (R\$ 841,30) is less than the Brazilian average (R\$ 979,23). Even when the capital Curitiba (R\$ 852,09) is compared to other cities with more than one million inhabitants, the RPA per capita is rather less than in cities like São Paulo (R\$ 1.345,42), Rio de Janeiro (R\$ 929,34) and Porto Alegre (R\$ 945,35), and above cities like Salvador (R\$ 465,77), Fortaleza (R\$ 524,53) and Belém (R\$ 492,19).

In a more detailed analysis of the composition of revenues, the evidence is that the smaller the city (in number of inhabitants), the greater the dependency on transfer resources – fact expected for the redistributive character of FPM and FPE. A study from the Metropolis Center of Studies demonstrates that in 62.2% of cities with less than 10 thousand inhabitants, own revenue incomes (constitutional transfers excluded) correspond to less than 5% of total incomes. Yet, in cities with more than 100

thousand inhabitants, in 40.6% of them own revenue incomes correspond to more than 25% of total incomes¹². This aspect explains the higher RPAs per capita in many cities with less than 10 thousand inhabitants, because in smaller cities the transfer incomes are proportionally more significant.

By studying data about income and deficit, inadequacy and precariousness, it is verified that some cities present worse results, and among these are: Itaperuçu, Fazenda Rio Grande, Colombo, Cerro Azul, Campina Grande do Sul and Almirante Tamandaré. In these cases, RPAs per capita are very low or low – between R\$ 151.99 and R\$ 642.17 – and indicators of housing deficiency are above the average. This relation indicates the difficulty that the city faces in developing solutions with own resources, what demands its priority in terms of state and federal policies.

However, the combination of these factors is not necessarily considered when directing investments from other government spheres. An analysis of the application of resources from the Plano de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC – Growth Acceleration Plan)¹³ of the Federal Government shows that, in those six cities, investments in housing vary significantly – from expressive figures,

like in Colombo, to total lack, like in Itaperuçu Cerro Azul. Nevertheless, the value applied to the main city, Curitiba, is among the greatest.

Inequality of “institutional income”: how to overcome it?

The proposal of this reading is not to offer a determinant conclusion of the effective institutional capacity of cities to face their problems related to the metropolitan condition. On one side, because a fiscal-financial analysis of cities would demand more details of the composition of incomes and expenses, revenue capacity, commitment with personal salaries, among other factors. Yet, having financial capacity does not mean that problems are effectively confronted. It only demonstrates the cities’ economic conditions (according to available data), with no analysis of political and administrative features that significantly influence the development of public actions and policies.

The key aspect that defends this analysis is that institutional arrangements of the metropolitan management we know hardly confront one of the main problems for the development of public policies: the inequality >>



Poor regions and cities receive less resources for infrastructure than metropolises



>> of “institutional income”. In the example given, it was verified that some of the cities that present the highest indicators of housing deficiencies are exactly the ones that have less resources to realize investments.

Thus, it is necessary to establish criteria for redistributing municipal, state and federal resources, in order to widen the possibilities of an effective metropolitan management. Except for constitutional transfers, the way federal resources are distributed assures privileges to cities that are better institutionally structured – therefore more capable of elaborating projects to obtain resources from federal funds –, or places of interest for the real state and civil construction sectors – especially in what refers to the access to a significant portion of the resources of Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (My House My Life Program), which is destined for private undertakings.

The solution for this problem involves the constitution of metropolitan funds that, on one side, are administrated in a shared way by the various cities that form the metropolitan region and by the State Government – for it is the political entity that is constitutionally responsible for metropolitan matters –, and, on the other, receive significant financial resources from the federal and state spheres. And we should take into account that, even for cities with better financial conditions, municipal revenue is far from attending the commitments of which municipal governments are in charge.

References

¹ MOURA, R.; DELGADO, P.; DESCHAMPS, M.; CARDOSO, N.A. “The reality of metropolitan areas and its challenges in the Brazilian federation: socioeconomic diagnostics and management structure.” Presented in the International Seminar “Challenge of the Management of Metropolitan Regions in Federated Countries”, which was promoted by the Ministry of Cities, House of Representatives and Forum of Federations. Brasília, March 30-31, 2004.

²The dominant feeling associated democracy to decentralization and believed that the domination of tax resources by states and cities would lead to advance on the other sustenance pillar of constitutional works – the social rescue of part of the Brazilian population that was withdrawn from development gains in the military era. cf. PAIVA, Claudio Cesar & LOPRETO, Francisco Luiz. *Evolução das finanças públicas da Região Metropolitana de Campinas – tendências e perspectivas*. In: CANO, Wilson; BRANDÃO, A. Carlos. *A região Metropolitana de Campinas – urbanização, economia, finanças e meio*

ambiente. Vol. 2. p.255-334. Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2002.

³ This comprehension is controversial. There are authors in the field of Constitutional and Administrative Law who understand that cities, despite having earned more autonomy with the 1988 Federal Constitution, have not been elevated to the category of federative entity.

⁴ PONTES, Daniele; VARGAS DE FARIA, José Ricardo. *Direito Municipal e Urbanístico*. Curitiba: IESDE, 2008. p.29

⁵ In November 2009 the Constitutional Amendment 60 was promulgated. It extinguishes the incidence of DRU (Desvinculação das Receitas da União) on federal resources destined to education. However, this factor does not affect the transfers of Participation Funds and does not invalidate the presented argument.

⁶ IGC & IPPUR. *Estudo sobre os Impactos Oriundos de Iniciativas Localizadas no Eixo Norte da RMBH e Definição de Alternativas de Desenvolvimento Econômico, Urbano e Social para o Município de Belo Horizonte*. Vol. II Macro-Diagnóstico Econômico, Urbano e Social. Belo Horizonte: May 2008.

⁷ IGC & IPPUR, 2008. op.cit. p.45

⁸ FPM, ITR, IOF Ouro, ICMS, IPVA, IPI Exportação, CIDE.

⁹ Cf. Paiva & Lopreato, 2002. op.cit.

¹⁰ The first indicator was elaborated by the Centro de Estudos da Metrópole (CEM), in partnership with the Ministry of Cities, and it explicit the number of domiciles in IBGE census sectors that are defined as subnormal or present similar characteristics – housing and infrastructure precariousness, high density and occupation of estate in land. The second indicator refers to the necessity of building new houses estimated by Fundação João Pinheiro, based on data from the 2000 Census, which was elaborated by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). Finally, the third indicator accounts the percentual of urban domiciles that present one or more inadequacy features, according to a study by Fundação João Pinheiro based on data from the IBGE 2000 Census.

¹¹ IPPUR. *Documento Preliminar de Insumos Gerais para o Macrodiagnóstico e de Análise das Finanças Públicas Municipais. Estratégia de Desenvolvimento da Cidade (CDS), com foco na redução da desigualdade social e da pobreza, para o Vetor Norte e Área de Influência do Contorno Viário Norte da Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte (RMBH)*. Belo Horizonte, 2009. (mimeo)

¹² ARRETCHE, Marta (coord.); VAZQUEZ, Daniel; FUSARO, Edgard. *Capacidades Administrativas, Déficit e Efetividade na Política Habitacional*. Brasília: CEM/CEBRAP e MINISTÉRIO DAS CIDADES, 2008. Available at http://centrodametropole.org.br/mc/assets/pdfs/capacidades_web.pdf.

¹³ Brasil. *7º Balanço*: janeiro a abril de 2009. Paraná. Available at http://www.brasil.gov.br/pac/arquivos/relatorioPR_300709.pdf.





>> □ Article

Metropolitan transport and elements of reflection for the integrated net

Professor of the Postgraduation in Urban Management program at PUC-PR, **Tomás Moreira** advocates that urban mobility is more and more determinant in peoples' choices of spaces. Thereby, it is the condition for development. The author defends that planning should be done from the evaluation of mobility, taking essential features into account

In the practice of contemporary urbanism, transport goes through profound changes, of different orders. The consciousness of the high increase, qualitative and quantitative, of urban transit obligates us to reconsider the way of analyzing and managing it. The same way, the search for qualification of physical spaces related to transit brings new considerations. The evolution of metropolitan spaces is reflected on a change of life styles and mobility practices: there is more and more transit, due to increasingly different reasons and more means of transportation.

Mobility is a fundamental value, condition of change and development. It attends the aspirations of individuals in choosing places and contents for their activities, aiming at building their lives in relation to the transit of goods, people and capital linked to economy growth; physical and information transit allowed by the scientific and technological progress; transit of ideas and daily transit of people.

In the Curitiba metropolitan – whose urban population is higher than 90% and especially concentrated in the central area – the capacity of moving determines the way of living, the richness of social relations, the access to studies, work, culture and leisure. Furthermore, transit and mobility difficulties faced by the disabled and people with social and economic problems are critical exclusion factors.

Reflections about transit – as well as its management mobility – are based on the consideration of the complexity of mobility practices, especially in metropolitan areas, as in Curitiba. Five essential features should



Tomás Moreira is a university professor

be increasingly considered in the search for identifying mobility tendencies in the Curitiba metropolitan area: mobility is realized in an increasingly complex metropolitan area; it has a double reference for the territory and for the net; it more and more depends on velocity; it is subject to transport access for everyone; it is shaped by ways of life and more diverse spacious practices.

Curitiba metropolitan mobility is realized in an increasingly complex area

Curitiba urban space quickly evolves and, with the metropolitan effects, its features have been drastically altered. Through the intensive concentration of population and economic activities, the peri-urbanization (urbanization of peripheral areas located beyond the suburbs) is caused by a group of factors: the incessant enlargement of Curitiba Metropolitan Region urban space limits, the greater population growth in non-central cities; the great portion of the occupation is irregular, in peripheral areas; the transit of economic activities, which occurred after new technologies, work profiles and outsourcing of industries; the specialization of areas, which tend to make districts individual according to a specific and the low income capacity of the population in need of transportation services, which is at the same time cause and consequence of an increase of transit and the constant need to redesigning transport services.

>>



Mobility is a development condition, the author says

>> Alterations in the metropolitan dynamics have been heavily felt in mobility. A more complex functioning of urban space in the Curitiba metropolis is, therefore, associated to more and more complex mobility necessities, conditions and practices, in which traditional transport offer has to be necessarily questioned.

Curitiban metropolitan mobility has a double reference to the territory and to the transport integrated net

The reference scale for the analysis of the Curitiban metropolitan area is less topographic and more structured on the net, in a reticular way. In other words, what counts to qualify the distance between places is less the distance itself and more the time spent to go from one place to another. This is because the possibilities of individual transit and the accessibility to all places in the metropolitan area are essential social exigencies – once they determine the access to housing, work, education, culture, leisure, as well as family and social relations.

The net logic is mainly associated to the topographic logic in order to frame transit development. However, physical proximity is not the only necessary condition to provide social interaction anymore – above all, it is space/time. The contemporary Curitiban metropolis is the “variable geography”, or, better, it can be designated under various velocities. Technological and technical evolutions led us to reconsider the values of transit, because they modified the relation of distances, seeking to adapt mobility practices to new metropolis scales.

An effect of this reconsideration was, undoubtedly, the high growth of the vehicle fleet in the last decade – at the same time revealer and perverse. Revealer for it shows signs of the system incompatibility with new transit necessities, besides the weakness of the present transportation model. Perverse for it requires high cost infrastructure investments to the detriment of collective investments. For the metropolis population, the double reference implies the possibility of managing its mobility considering its space

practices. For managers, it engenders the reexamination of the system organization.

Curitiban metropolitan mobility more and more depends on velocity

Presently, it is noticed that the population in Curitiba moves more and for a longer time – many people spend more than one hour and a half in transport. This fact is explained by the depletion of quick means of transportation, or even of transport in general. Travelling long distances in a peri-urbanized metropolis like Curitiba means to spend more time, in longer distances.

It cannot be denied that the metropolis led to the consolidation of an urban space of automobiles to the detriment of the pedestrian and collective transport. This is the urban transition. A transition that can and should be analyzed, considering that a great portion of transit is done on foot.

Certainly, most of the transit is done with automobiles. This kind of transportation is general because it works as a real territorial

Transit and mobility difficulties faced by the disabled and people with social and economic problems are exclusion factors

explorer – it allows almost universal access to different places in the metropolis. About this subject, a study elaborated by the Brazilian Association of Public Transport shows that, in distances up to seven kilometers, it is more expensive to travel by bus than motor-

cycle or car in Curitiba, either using alcohol or gasoline. The perverse effect of this reality, according to the study, is that bus passengers spend three times more than the ones who travel by car or motorcycle. Automobiles transportation is also general because it corroborates the individualization of the ways of live: it allows more autonomy and interdependency in mobility practices.

Curitiban metropolitan mobility is subject to collective transport access for everyone, in a multi and intermodal view

Collective transport is a fundamental instrument for the transit in the metropolis. However, nets are insufficient, in terms of



timetable and peripheral journeys, for the population that has to use this kind of transportation. Another instrument is the multi and intermodal transport. The multiplication of the means of transportation used by the population should be considered a positive phenomenon to be integrated in the renewed transport strategy.

The aim is to facilitate mobility and improve its conditions to be realized, by associating various means of transportation. Thus, strategies of transport development should not be multimodal only, but also intermodal, to facilitate the connection between different means of transportation in the same journey.

In order to think mobility as a whole, it is preferable to determine a transport strategy founded on the complementation of means of transportation, in function of each kind's efficiency considering transit, space or time of the day.

Nowadays, transport has to be organized around change places where intermodality is the rule: they are the change poles. These places belong, above all, to mobility. The challenge of the change pole for the Curitiba metropolitan area is at the same time technical, institutional and conception for a new metropolitan urban space, with high indicators of segregation and exclusion.

Curitiba metropolitan mobility is shaped by ways of life and more diverse spacious practices

The evolution of the Curitiba metropolitan area shows a complexity in what refers to ways of mobility. The non-synchronized urban rhythms break with the binary logic of transit domicile-work-domicile, which has always been very strong and analyzed for a long time. There is a growing increase in time spent in rush hours. People are in transit for very different reasons and they do not work exclusively in the same hours. Night is not a "dead" period anymore – it has become useful for urban activity.

If time is not used in a uniform way, it is essentially because population does not have the same expectancy, needs, exigencies and demands anymore. In other words, the Curitiba metropolitan mobility tends to increasingly reflect

this diversity. Urban mobility is, thereby, a constitutive element: metropolitan processes are more difficult to learn with classical instruments of analysis. In order to provide answers to present challenges of transit management, it is fundamental to take the urban dimension of mobility into account. The identification of mobility tendencies should be done in relation to the tendencies of development of the metropolis.

Transport planning in the Curitiba metropolitan area: what is it destined for?

These elements of reflection for the integrated net of transport allow us to question and review the way in which mobility in the metropolis has been

approached. Mobility needs to be approached beyond the vision and action of widening the existing net from the origin – it should be approached from the present peri-urban dynamics. Because, in the process of metropolitan growth, spaces that grow more are in

poorer cities and the income range to access mobility is increasing. These elements reveal the search for confronting the low capacity of being "moveable", which reduces the quality of social integration and demands a greater need of questioning the destiny of transport planning in the Curitiba metropolitan area.

Bibliography

ACSELRAD, H. A Duração das Cidades: sustentabilidade e risco nas políticas urbanas. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2001.

ANTP. Sistemas de informações da mobilidade urbana. Custos dos deslocamentos. São Paulo, 2009.

ASCHER F. Métapolis ou l'avenir des Villes. Paris: Odile Jacob, 1995.

UITP – União Internacional de Transporte Público. Uma melhor mobilidade urbana em países em desenvolvimento. Material de divulgação. Brussels: UITP, 2003.

VASCONCELOS, E. A. Transporte urbano nos países em desenvolvimento: reflexões e propostas. São Paulo: Annablume, 2000.

WBCSD – World Business Council for Sustainable Development. Mobility for Development: Facts and Trends. Switzerland: WBCSD, 2007. Available at: <www.wbcd.org>.



It is cheaper to travel by car than by bus, according to studies



▣ Article

Urbanization and water resources in the RMC: socio-environmental conflicts and challenges to the urban matter

The history of the formation of urban environments and its reflections in the social and environmental areas are the focus of this article written by **Francisco Mendonça**, Professor of the Geography Department at Federal University of Paraná, and his student at the Doctorate in Geography, **Admilson A. Lopes**. They explain that the formation of urban environments is, in great part, a result of the State inefficiency, added to social inequalities within the capitalist production way and the historical process of political and economic dependency of the less development regions on Earth. In this scenario, they advocate that planning and urban management are fundamental to direct the growth of cities, reducing environmental impacts

The world urbanization process has presented expressive intensification and reached, in the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st, rather elevated levels, resulting today in a mostly urban population. The UNO estimates that the year of 2008 is a landmark in population transition to the urban environment – fact that shall also intensify urban socio-environmental problems, especially in metropolis outskirts in countries in stage of complex socio-economic development, like Brazil. This condition – of a planet dominated by the logic of industrial-urban production – engenders a series of new problems for the comprehension and management of space and society, being the socio-environmental ones highlighted in the cities' context.

Along the previous decades, the metropolises in countries on a complex development stage (MENDONÇA, 2004) have presented a vertiginous process of physical and demographical expansion. As marked by the intense spreading of geographic and sociologic outskirts – sometimes concomitant, sometimes not –, this process leads to the formation of extremely conflicting urban environments,

under the socio-environmental optics.

This materialization and expansion of the urban march around great cities in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean is marked by an intense environmental degradation, mainly promoted by the increment of low-income populations settled

The UNO estimates that the year of 2008 is a landmark in population transition to the urban environment - fact that shall also intensify urban socio-environmental problems, especially in metropolis outskirts in countries on a stage of complex socio-economic development, like Brazil

under precarious housing conditions. It starts to form big areas of extreme poverty in land of great environmental fragility – especially in water sources areas. In this logic, the relation between urbanization,

industrialization and water resources shows a complex and paradoxical conflict.

The formation of these urban environments is, in great part, a result of the State inefficiency, added to social inequalities within the capitalist production way and the historical process of political and economic dependency of the less development regions on Earth. The increase of urban socio-environmental problems – caused by the way this accelerated peripheral process is happening nowadays – has brought great worries and interests from researchers and institutions all over the world.

This conflicting relation between urbanization and the environment – which reflects the relation established between the society dynamics and the nature dynamics – has become a widened discussed subject in the international agenda, which was highlighted in the UN report “World Population Situation/2007” with the following declaration: “Many of new urban inhabitants will be poor. The future of these people, the future of cities in countries in development, the future of mankind will depend on the decisions made now in preparation for this growth (UNFPA, p1)”.



In this known context, planning and urban management are one of the main instruments to direct city growth and reduce impacts on the environment. This is done by elaborating and applying laws and norms that determine regulations for zoning and soil occupation. However, this technical and law apparatus has been insufficient to hold or discipline the advance of urbanization, especially in the metropolises' outskirts in "southern" countries – as in the Curitiba Metropolitan Region (RMC), where the process of occupation of the east part converges to the formation of more and more problematic environments, on the socio-environmental perspective.

This fact illustrates the difficulty faced by the State to promote public policies and find solutions for urban socio-environmental problems and, at the same time, prevent or discipline urban expansion on peripheral areas – mainly the ones that present relevant environmental interest, like the case of water sources in the eastern RMC.

In the late 1990s, Paraná State searched for its insertion in the global economy, abdicating the proposal of restriction to the occupation of the east part of the RMC, presented in the PDI-78. The State started to wholly adopt the neoliberal policy associated to the idea of a competitive city, and to advocate the city expansion through the strategic-competitive planning, as exposed by PDI-2002 – here understood as the one manipulated and in service of the interests of dominant agents and social groups.

This period was marked by the dispute between states in the "Fiscal War", when they started to offer new advantages to

attract transnational companies, by promoting tax exemptions and reductions, land donation, and even by changing laws and reordering the territory with the creation of UTPs (Territorial Planning Units – State Law 12.248/98). This was done in order to increase the offer of urban land, to supply the demand of these companies and other real estate investments – even if areas of relevant interest to environmental preservation had to be changed into urban-industrial areas.

It was in this context that the Paraná State created the RMC Integrated System of Management and Water Sources Protection (Sigprom), supported by the changes determined by Federal Law 9.433/97 (Brazilian Policy of Water Resources) and, later, by the State Law 12.248/98 (RMC Water Sources Protection Special Law). Articles 1 and 2 determine: Art 1 - RMC Sigprom is created with the following objectives: I - assure essential conditions for recovering and preserving water resources for public supply; II - integrate actions of the various institutions and spheres of the state and municipal public power and initiatives from private agents; III - conform actions of environment protection and preservation of water sources for public supply with the policy of soil use and occupation and with socio-economic development, with no harm to other multiple uses; IV - implement actions of planning and management for watersheds according to precepts of decentralization and participation of the Public Power, users and communities; V - provide the implementation of water resources management instruments, recommended by Federal Law no. 9.433/



Admilson Lopes

97, in the ambit of RMC water sources. Art 2 - the System described in art. 1 of this Law is integrated by: I - RMC Water Sources Management Council (CGM), entity with consulting, deliberative and normative powers, with the objective to elaborate public policies for the environmental quality of water sources protection areas in the RMC and supervise their implementation; II - Territorial Planning Units (UTPs), composed by sub-watersheds that supply for water sources of the RMC's interest, in order to facilitate planning, aggregating cities with specificities to be worked together; III - Plan of Environmental Protection and Territorial >>



Population increase, irregular occupations and precarious conditions of sanitation infrastructure led to an intense process of degradation of water sources



Francisco Mendonça

>> Reordering in Water Sources Protection Areas (PPART), which incorporates the basic directions determined by this Law and establishes terms and objectives for interventions in Water Sources Protection Areas (APM), configured as a specific chapter to be included in the Plan of Water Resources of RMC Watersheds, as recommended by Federal Law no 9.433/97 and; IV - RMC Environmental Preservation Fund (FPA), in order to attend the objectives of Sigprom of RMC.

After this law, the State – with proposals elaborated by Comec and the city halls of Pinhais, Piraquara, São José dos Pinhais e Quatro Barras, with Sanepar, Suderhsa and IAP (Paraná Environmental Institute) – implemented a new model of zoning, soil use and occupation for water sources areas in the eastern RMC. It was done through the creation of the UTPs Guarituba, Pinhais, Itaquí e Quatro Barras, based on State Decree no. 808/99, 809/99, 1454/99 and 1612/99, with the main objective of “creating intervention areas to assure adequate environmental conditions to preserve water sources, through the preservation and recovering of the natural and entropic environment with effective control of processes of degradation and environmental pollution.”

The UTPs planning model – supported by the federal and state laws mentioned – showed significant changes for treating urban and environmental matters linked to the

expansion of urban area for preservation and recovering of environmental conditions, seeking for the sustainable development of the east part of the RMC. However, what can be observed, after a decade of law changes (1999-2009) and effective implementation of this planning model, seems at least contradictory. Law changed some water resources areas into UTPs, what increased the offer of new areas of urban land in the east part. But this fact attended the interests of transnational companies, like Renault, and the real estate market, with the elevation of land income, due to urban soil subdivision – what resulted in lots and construction in luxury country condominiums, like Alphaville Graciosa and Pinheiros.

However, what was most expected with all these legal and technical changes for an area of relevant environmental interest did not happen. It is possible to clearly observe the continuity in the processes of invasion and irregular occupation of APPs (Permanent Preservation Areas), as well as the lack of sanitation infrastructure and the increasing pollution and degradation of eastern watersheds – even in UTPs. At this point, the State – the main urban space modeler –, through an excluding urban planning, reveals its inefficiency and incapability to find answers to this problem. On the contrary, it is possible to see it as the other social agents, when it stimulates the occupation of areas that should be protected and preserved for relevant environmental reasons.

The increase of population – added to areas of irregular occupation and associated to the precarious conditions of sanitary infrastructure to supply local population’s basic needs – has generated an intense process of degradation and pollution of eastern watersheds, affecting the water quality. Nowadays, watercourses in the Highest Iguaçu Basin (which form the Iraí

subsystem), over which the RMC urbanization has been developed, present high levels of degradation and pollution (Report on the Quality of Water in RMC Rivers – IAP, 1992-1995), which were analyzed according to the Integrated Evaluation of the Quality of Waters (AIQA).

Of the 21 sample points analyzed from the Iraí subsystem, 14 were classified as polluted, three as medium polluted, two as

Law changed some water resources areas into UTPs, what increased the offer of new areas of urban land in the RMC west wing. But this fact attended the interests of transnational companies, like Renault, and the real estate market, with the elevation of land income, due to urban soil subdivision, what resulted in lots and construction in luxury country condominiums, like Alphaville Graciosa and Pinheiros

little polluted and only two were classified as good (RQA/IAP, 2005, p31). This scenario clearly shows an expressive paradox, which reflects a set of inadequate ways and procedures of appropriation and exploration of the nature by different human societies, in natural resources that are vital for the population. The high degradation of water resources of this city reveals the weakness of the policy of urban environmental sanitation. It is a characteristic of countries in stage of complex socio-economic development, in which governors’ neglect in relation to

the quality of life of the population is manifested in the partial and unsatisfactory coverage of clean water and sewage system.

A significant portion of Brazilian environmental problems is generally due to the serious deficiencies in the process of territorial management, which cannot promote an adequate use of natural resources and originate an increasing process of environmental degradation, mainly in urban environments (MMA, 1996). To solve these problems, it is necessary to have a better scientific-technical understanding about them, which – allied to processes of environmental education and responsible state management with social participation – can result in effective medium and long-term actions towards the recovering of environments. Therefore, the improvement of city planning and management models



aiming at solving present problems and socio-environmental inequalities—established by the “power game” between the dynamics of society and the dynamics of nature, in the formation and expansion of the urban environment in the metropolis outskirts—is one of the great challenges to researchers and planners of urban and environmental matters.

Considering the urban-industrial explosion of the present days and of a very near future, its particularities, when situated in the sociological and geographical outskirts of capitalism, and the increase in the demand for water resources, it is estimated that the discussed problems will be intensified and more complex. The challenge to their comprehension and management is, thus, in a permanent state of shortage.

Bibliography

ACSELRAD, Henri. (Org). *Conflitos ambientais no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará: Fundação Heinrich Böll, 2004.

ANDREOLI, Cleverson et al. *A crise da água e os mananciais de abastecimento*. In: ANDREOLI, C. V. (Ed). *Mananciais de abastecimento: planejamento e gestão/estudo de caso do altíssimo Iguaçu*. Curitiba: SANEPAR, 2003.

COMEC – Coordenação da Região Metropolitana de Curitiba. *Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado da Região*

Metropolitana de Curitiba: propostas de ordenamento territorial e novo arranjo institucional. COMEC, 2006.

The increase of population - added to areas of irregular occupation and associated to the precarious conditions of sanitary infrastructure to supply local population's basic needs -has generated an intense process of degradation and pollution of the east wing watersheds, affecting the water quality. Nowadays, watercourses in the Highest Iguaçu Basin (which form the Iraí subsystem), over which the RMC urbanization has been developed, present high levels of degradation and pollution

CORRÊA, R. L. *O Espaço Urbano*. São Paulo: Ática, 1995

GEORGE, Pierre. *O meio ambiente*. Difusão

Européia do Livro: São Paulo, 1973.

IAP – Instituto Ambiental do Paraná. *Monitoramento da qualidade das águas dos rios da Região Metropolitana de Curitiba, no período de 1992 a 2005/Instituto Ambiental do Paraná; Curitiba: IAP, 2005.*

LEFEBVRE, Henri. *O direito à cidade*. São Paulo: Moraes, 1991.

LIMA, Cristina de A. *A ocupação da área de mananciais na Região Metropolitana de Curitiba: do planejamento à gestão ambiental urbana-metropolitana*. Thesis (Doctorate in Environment and Development) Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2000.

MMA – MINISTÉRIO DO MEIO AMBIENTE E DA AMAZÔNIA LEGAL. *Secretaria de Coordenação dos Assuntos do Meio Ambiente. Os ecossistemas brasileiros e os principais macrovetores de desenvolvimento – Subsídios ao planejamento da gestão ambiental*. Brasília, 1996.

MENDONÇA, Francisco de A. (org.); *Impactos Socioambientais Urbanos*. Authors: Carlos Augusto de Figueiredo Monteiro... [et al.]. - Curitiba: Ed. UFPR, 2004.

PARANÁ - Lei Estadual 12.248/08 - Lei Especial de Proteção dos Mananciais da RMC, Curitiba, 2008.

SANTOS, M. *Metrópole Corporativa Fragmentada: o caso de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Nobel, 1990.

SANTOS, M. *A Urbanização Brasileira*. São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1994.

UNFAP – The United Nation Population Fund - *World Population Situation 2007: unleashing the potential of urban growth*. UNFPA/ONU, 2007.



The high degradation of watercourses reveals the insufficiency and weakness of the policy of urban environmental sanitation



▣ Article

Why doesn't metropolitan management get concrete?

The management of a metropolitan region should be orientated by “public functions of common interests to more than one municipality and by strategies of regional development”, says the PhD in Geography **Rosa Moura**. So, she defends a model of shared management among public sector, private sector and society, to make the power of decision democratic. Rosa Moura is also a researcher for network Metropolis Observatory and Ipardes and technician for the Urban Development State Secretariat of Paraná

Metropolitan spaces are defined by the nature of their configuration and not by the institutional condition they assume; that is, it is not enough to create a metropolitan region to acquire metropolitan nature. The institutional condition, for it is not ruled by technical criteria in relation to the concept of metropolis, creates units that, many times, keep only characteristics of urban agglomerations. In 2009, Brazil had 25 Metropolitan Regions established (RMs)¹ and three Development Integrated Regions (RIDEs)². From those units, only 15 were recognized as polarized by metropolis (RIBEIRO, 2009).

Two complementary objectives should orientate the management of metropolitan agglomerations; the public functions of common interests to more than one municipality and the strategies of regional development; while the first function contemplates the day by day relationships between municipalities of the continuous occupation spot, the second one faces the larger space polarized by agglomeration, which many times transcends the institutionalized limits. Though clear, they are objectives which demand articulation, integration and cooperation from the parties involved.

In general, the management of those spaces is a hard task. Despite the economical weight, power, capacity of wealth generation, knowledge and innovation existing in metropolitan spaces, which set the phenomenon of urbanization and multiply in the contemporary history of Brazil, they



cover themselves with increasing social problems of difficult solutions and with an apparent condition of non-governability. What makes this difficulty to be so far away from solutions? This is the question which orientates the considerations below.

Heterogeneity among municipalities and space corporatization – Distinct are the roles performed by the municipalities of the main metropolitan agglomeration in the countries, as the different levels of integration in dynamics of agglomerations, some municipalities with notorious unfamiliarity of the main dynamic (RIBEIRO, 2009). Within the municipalities, next to districts where indicators point at good social economical conditions, there are poverty pockets, deficient housing, complete lack; on the opposite side, there are deluxe housing developments entering poor areas of metropolitan outskirts.

While in the 60's the process of accumulating industrial capital was one of the vectors of development and physical expansion of most Brazilian metropolitan agglomerations, in the 90's, with the productive restructuring, the service sector assumed an expressive weight, centered in the metropolitan poles, for having the new demands of a global and diverse economy made concrete. Besides the existing asymmetry among industrialized or non-industrialized municipalities, a new problem became evident: the space corporate production (SANTOS 1990, 1999). In that production, the resources invested come back preferably in ways of infrastructure



improvement of urban environment, instead of bringing solution to social demands, such as housing, public transportation systems and others. By equipping the city only for capital demands marks the inequality in the agglomeration.

The strategies of the great urban projects also activate a fragmentation vector which refrains and substitutes the urban policies and democratic regions, reinforcing the corporate production of the metropolis – the mobilization for the World Cup 2014 and for the Olympic Games in 2016, conducted by capital interests, will definitely confirm that. When talking about urban management, it is necessary to think about the city as a whole. Some great projects are thought for a part of the city, away from the rest, not always including the totality of agglomeration, depending if there is or there is not a dialog between government and society, which is kept away from those dialogs. The great projects do not come from urban policies, but they are punctual interventions. There are theories which admit that some of those interventions cause positive effects in the city as a whole, which is not true, because they induce the qualification of the immediate neighbor space, increasing the intra-metropolitan contradictions, with no compatible revenue for most distant areas. They are well located highlights of capital

interests, corporate, as Milton Santos reminds, and, in its prevalence the corporate metropolis gets concrete, with its incomplete modernity.

Planning and democratic management are then necessary – The inequality present in those agglomeration result, therefore, from the current development model, based on the concentration of investments, in the free

The RMC demands a well articulated and democratic management system, which gives space to the stage of conflicts and keeps constant dialog, the democratic debate and sets legitimate pacts between the parts

market flow, in the accumulation and maintenance of capital interests on the contrary to those of the collectiveness; and in the existence of many power levels being disputed, with a great diversity of actors. Therefore, a well articulated and democratic management system is required, which gives

space to the stage of conflicts and keeps a constant dialog, the democratic debate and sets legitimate pacts between the parts; which works in an integrate way the municipalities interests, with public policies towards the region development, privileging social issues, without splitting the territory between the inserted ones and the outcasts.

The first necessity is to make institutional arrangements have such a management integrating the public sector – municipalities, states and the country –, private sector and the many other segments of society. These arrangements should promote actions in the formulation and implementation of public policies, set between sector organizations, government levels and society articulating power in an efficient and fluid way. The coordination of an arrangement like this one may be placed, but not mandatorily, in state levels, which have competence to institute regional units for planning and execution of public functions of common interest – Metropolitan Regions, urban agglomeration and micro-regions, according to Article 25, § 3º from the Federal Constitution. Despite that attribution, the constitutional regulating and the practice of creating regional units did not complete in that level with power to decide, of right and taxing, making the state level not to be strong enough to guarantee >>





>> the coordination of articulate management.

The current model is of a superior level of articulation, but gets the power from the management units, making them subject to municipalities autonomy, which are only pieces of a larger city formed by the metropolitan agglomeration, and to the power to decide sector administrative structures or of large corporations. Sector organizations and some municipalities, particularly the poles, many times have more power than the metropolitan organization. Besides that, the dialog between state and municipal governments is hard and not continuous, due to different political/party interests. And other interests are under dispute. The great failure of the proposed model is exactly the lack of mechanisms which make the power to decide de-mocratic, respect the interests of municipalities and regulate the social control.

It is not the institution of a fourth power, which would only aggregate one more resort, with no guarantee to become effective, in a state structure which is already very complex. There are legal ways, mechanisms and instruments to be explored to format an effective pact which breaks the current structure of conservative autonomies and allows a larger articulation among the state levels and pieces of society, reinforcing a coordination resort. However, more than the definition of a manager of this new model, it is of total necessity to think actions established in a concrete way and under the idea of space totality, formed by the pole and municipalities agglomerations.

Among the not so much used legal devices are the consortiums, which open concrete possibilities for the articulated management of themes related to metropolitan regions, and which are supported by legislation. However, a few experiences were put into practice and demonstrated good results. An example of success was the consortium in the Grande ABC, in the Metropolitan Region in São Paulo, even so, breaking the regional unit, because it was related to part of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo and not to its totality. The difficulty in relation to consortiums refers to the fact that they can be formed by groups of municipalities which,

aiming to defend their interests, do them away from others of the same grouping. If there is no structure to articulate the many consortiums and, have them dialog among themselves, the inequalities specific to the regions will be strengthened, and once more the integrated management will not be possible. Initiatives like this one are weakened if not orientated by regional strategies of development which articulate the action of institutional organisms and the necessary resources for implementing their decisions. They are strategies which are not viable in the lack of a national metropolitan policy, based on permanent resource supplies.

Some critical points of the existing model – Study done by the Observatory of Metropolis (Observatório, 2009) about the institutional arrangements of Brazilian metropolitan regions, searched for changes in management style: from political and technocratic centralization, typical in the term before, to the decentralization and democratization of metropolitan management foreseen for the post-constitutional period. Their results emphasize the difficulties existing within the federative relationships (country, state and municipality) towards the definition and the facing of metropolitan

The great failure of the proposed model is exactly the lack of mechanisms which make the power to decide democratic, respect the interests of cities and regulate social control

problems, and identify some regional alternatives. Some innovative experiences in Minas Gerais are pinpointed, with a more complex management structure that include the Metropolitan Assembly, the Deliberative Council for Metropolitan Development, the Metropolitan Development Agency. The one in Belo Horizonte is strengthened by a Metropolitan Governance Group and a Metropolitan Forum; and in Recife, functioning in a Metropolitan Management System, Development Council, Development Foundation and executive secretariat for technical support. There are metropolitan funds in Belém, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Vitória, Vale do Aço and Maceió. Those models were partially incorporated in some state legislation of new Metropolitan Regions, but not yet evaluated in their effective functioning.

Many authors point that, among central difficulties of metropolitan management, the intervention in a “territorial part in which



there are many political-territorial jurisdictions, contiguous and over themselves, State and municipalities” (GRAU, 1978, p127) seems to be the most known. Grau’s observation goes back to the first stage of institutionalizing Metropolitan Regions, reaching its peak with the intensification of relationships from the grouping spaces.

Other criticizing issues lie over the fragilities of legal framework and over the resources provision. The juridical-institutional order finds its limits even in governmental fragmentation – considering that the presence of different government resorts not always involves harmonious relationships and the political/party disputes harm the process of decision taking in

regional terms- and also in the dispersion of sector agencies in charge of planning and execution of public functions, developing, in the same way, power disputes. Besides that, the management practice gets blocked in front of layers of functions, in a not clear horizon, to conduct the common and opposing competences among governmental resorts. In the core of the problem, even considering these are spaces for economical and social expressions, rights are not reserved, because the units instituted do not include territories able to rule, tax, decide or perform power, being in a hiatus between municipality autonomy and those of other government levels and corporate capital interests.

The inadequacy of financing resources, the asymmetries from inter-governmental transferences and the lack of redistributing funds harm municipalities of larger population size of metropolitan outskirts, particularly the “dormitories” or those with environmental functions which limit productive activities. This, among others reasons, makes the institutional cutting of the Metropolitan Region internally fragmented. The partnership alternatives among municipalities for common problems solutions still do not represent an adequate solution, due to the fact they are away from structure issues related to the legitimacy of action happening in a regional establishment. Besides that, according to Brandão (2007, p208), to “perfect those actions which go over the local

scale, it is necessary to set a pact, with definition and clearly stated in contracts, the fund contribution, clearly stating the parts contribution in terms of managerial capacity, participation in the community, equipment sharing, teams, and so on”. And that does not happen.

Garson (2009) shows the difficulties to draw financing mechanisms for metropolitan territories, due to budget toughness, credit limitation, lack of coordination fiscal instruments, and, fundamentally, to the growth of federal government transferences, what deepens the loss of coordination capacity of States for metropolitan policies. The fact that some municipalities with a smaller productive capacity, some “dormitories” depend on this kind of transference, particularly from the Fund of Municipalities Participation, results in an asymmetric condition of investment capacity and maintenance of day by day demands, what asks for any kind of intergovernmental system of compensation or cooperation.

Ribeiro (2004) pinpoints that governments have refused such roles of a public actor able to promote cooperative actions. Such role would have an important impact in the establishment of metropolitan development strategy, being able to induce mechanisms for negotiation among economical, social and public segments, and overcome the concept of public policies inherent to planning models, formulating federal policies of selective incentive to metropolitan cooperation.

The analyses also converge in relation to the fragility of regional articulations due to diverse territorial scales. In those agglomerations, the phenomena happen from a universe of relationships in networks, with simultaneous performance of local, regional,

national and global functions. Each phenomenon has its own scale and expresses conflict relationships, for distinct interests which interact in the production of space. However, any acting on these spaces should mandatorily respect the trans-scale dimension, either in analytical approaches or in the construction of political strategies (VAINER, 2002; BRANDÃO, 2003; 2007).

Brandão (2007) says that it is not about analyzing the same phenomenon in different scales, but to define and characterize the nature of the problem and its determination. The problem should be faced from the articulation of power levels important to the issue, knowing that the supra-local scale is complex, though necessary. To ensure having the scales, levels and spheres together is possible, it is necessary to use varied instruments, politicize relations, build citizenship and fight against conservative coalitions, which try to preserve their privileges.

Between the local and the global, the fragility of metropolitan scale – The institutional scale of Metropolitan Region, because it was created to impose itself as the scale which has constitutional attribution to lead the process of planning and execution of public function of common interest, and due to the fact it is emptied of power for that, keeps a vacuum of action, as it cannot even articulate processes which contemplates the multiple dimensions of denser areas of those groupings.

Not always related to the urban fact that comes in the country “metropolization”, but limited in relation to territorial interests, those units express the anachronism of a fixed scale which goes over other scale resorts in movement, being between the local and global scales.

On the opposite side of a regional scale articulation, the local emphasis, as if the local scale had limitless powers (VAINER, 2002; BRANDÃO,

2003), goes against the structural issues of the Country and region, ignoring the real or formal existence of the metropolitan phenomenon, and underestimates the limits for local regulation, not only stimulating practices of municipality origin, but also transferring alternatives and local speeches >>

If there is no structure to articulate the many consortiums and, have them dialog among themselves, the inequalities specific to the regions will be strengthened, and once more the integrated management will not be possible

Governments have refused such roles of a public actor able to promote cooperative actions, what would have an important impact in the establishment of metropolitan development strategy



>> to metropolitan spaces, showing invalid reproduction to the depth of relations. The rhetorical incorporation and the definition of common measures to the strategic planning of cities are inserted in metropolitan plans. They are simply reduced for the agglomerations environment without any mention, not even making them compatible with the Municipal Direction Plans.

According to Brandão (2007), in command of the movement to break the mobilization of intermediate scales – including that of Metropolitan Region –, the transnational networks assume the representation of new ways of coordination and governance, a new policy of relations with a distinct spatiality. While the scale spatiality is associated to relationships among political entities defined territorially, the networks go through space instead of going over space, beyond borders they define these political entities.

According to Santos (1999), the vertical relationships of a set of adequate points to the hegemonic productive tasks get an extreme importance under interests of segments which put together advanced regions, technologically capable, inserted in

the dialog of world relationships. Those relations happen in a time period which speed is not compatible with the slowness of their surrounding areas, in opposition to their horizontal organization, representative of the interests of collectivity. Aiming profits at an

To ensure having the scales, levels and spheres together, it is necessary to use varied instruments, politicize relations, build citizenship and fight against conservative coalitions, which try to preserve their privileges

attraction level, the pacts generated in the global scale do not expect articulation among the set of scales of the grouping. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that there is a scales policy which comes from decisions and

ideologies unfamiliar to these agglomeration spaces, and that these are, and not inexorable objective tendencies, the ones which produce and reproduce fragmentation, making the efficiency of managing these spaces not viable.

Heterogeneous, powerful, different, the common fact is that in all urban agglomerations, independently from being metropolitan, there is always the challenge of planning and management. Challenge that cannot be postponed to make the positive side of an inherent potential viable, which can be thrown in the direction of negative externalities. To recognize, assume and manage democratically the metropolitan agglomeration, as a complex and singular space. This is the challenge, apparently not reachable, due to segregation, violence, segmentation, chaos and environmental aggression, usually emphasized as representative of metropolitan spaces, over the creative, innovative potentiality and subjacent policy to the same ones.

References

BRANDÃO, C. A. O modo trans-escalar de análise e de intervenção pública (The trans-scale





way of analysis and public intervention: notes for an anti-local manifest). In: NATIONAL ANPUR MEETING, 10., 2003, Anais... Belo Horizonte : ANPUR, May 2003. 1 CD-ROM.

BRANDÃO, C. A. Território & Desenvolvimento (Territory and Development): as múltiplas escalas entre o local e o global (the multiple scales between the local and the global). Campinas: UNICAMP Publisher's, 2007.

GARSON, S. Regiões metropolitanas: por que não cooperam? (Metropolitan Regions: why don't they cooperate?). Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital: Observatório das Metrôpoles, 2009

GRAU, E. R. Análise, crítica e implementação da legislação metropolitana, (Analysis, critique and implementation of metropolitan legislation). In: TOLEDO, a> H> and CAVALCANTI, M. (orgs.). Planejamento urbano em debate (Urban planning in debate). São Paulo, Cortez and Moraes, 1978.

OBSERVATÓRIO DAS METRÓPOLES. Arranjos Institucionais para a Gestão Metropolitana (Institutional Arrangements for Metropolitan Management), Relatório Final (Final Report). Observatório das Metrôpoles/Institutos do Milênio-CNPq, 2009, 120p. Available at:

www.observatoriodasmetrôpoles.ufjf.br/relatorio_arranjos_gestao_metropolitana.pdf.

RIBEIRO, L. C. de Q. As metrópoles e a sociedade brasileira: futuro comprometido? (The metropolis and the Brazilian society: future at risk?). In: RIBEIRO, L. C. de Q. (Org.). Metrôpoles. Entre a coesão e a fragmentação, a cooperação e o conflito (Between cohesion and fragmentation, cooperation and conflict) São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo; Rio de Janeiro: FASE – Federação de Órgãos para a Assistência Social e Educacional: Observatório das Metrôpoles, 2004.

RIBEIRO, L. C. de Q. Hierarquização e

identificação dos espaços urbanos (Hierarchy and Identification of Urban Spaces), Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital: Observatório das Metrôpoles, 2009.

SANTOS, M. A natureza do espaço (The nature of space). Técnica e tempo (Technique and Time) Razão e emoção. (Sense and Emotion) 3. ed. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1999.

SANTOS, M. Metrôpole corporativa fragmentada: o caso de São Paulo (Fragmented corporate metropolis: the case of São Paulo). São Paulo: Nobel, 1990.

VAINER, C. As escalas do poder e o poder das escalas. O que pode o poder local? (The power

scales and the power of scales: what can local Power do?) Cadernos IPPUR: Planejamento e Território: ensaios sobre a desigualdade (Planning and Territory: essays about inequality). Rio de Janeiro, v.15, n.2/v.16, n.1, p.13-32, Aug./Dec. 2001 – Jan./Jul. 2002.

Notes:

1 Metropolitan Regions in Aracaju, Baixada Santista, Belém, Belo Horizonte, Campinas, Cuiabá, Curitiba, Fortaleza, Goiânia, João Pessoa, Londrina, Macapá, Maceió, Manaus, Maringá, Natal, Porto Alegre, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, São Paulo, Vale do Aço, Vitória, São Luís e Sudoeste Maranhense. It is necessary to say that in Santa Catarina six Metropolitan Regions were created by the end of the 90's and extinct in 2007.

2 The Federal District, Teresina and Petrolina /Juazeiro, approved by federal laws for gathering municipalities of more than a federative unit, as stated by Federal Constitution. many consortiums and, have them dialog among themselves, the inequalities

specific to the regions will be strengthened, and once more the integrated management will not be possible

Heterogeneous, powerful, different, the common fact is that in all urban agglomerations, independently from being metropolitan, there is always the challenge of planning and management

To recognize, assume and manage democratically the metropolitan agglomeration, as a complex and singular space. This is the challenge, apparently not reachable, due to segregation, violence, segmentation, chaos and environmental aggression, usually emphasized as representative of metropolitan spaces, over the creative, innovative potentiality and subjacent policy to the same ones.





□ Article

Agrarian regularization in watershed areas

Simone Aparecida Polli, from *Ambiens Sociedade Cooperativa*, analyses the skirting and responsibility of public power in agrarian regularization in watershed areas. “The way as the skirting happened, with the lack of presence from the State, with plots kept empty, demonstrates the high social costs for urbanization and the extraordinary profits of owners and real estate developers”, she says. The author also analyses the legality of irregular settlements and the arrival of infrastructure in such areas, which she considers “essential”, because it promotes the consolidation of settlement and minimal health conditions”

The trajectory of urban planning implemented in Curitiba restates the inequality and reinforces the polarizing effect of the capital in relations among municipalities (center-outskirts), not considering the metropolitan scale. With no doubts, the metropolitan region was historically affected by relations of power and by instruments of urban policy. If in the 1970s the precarious urbanization occupied the immediate outskirts of the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba (RMC), nowadays the occupation is spread further more to watershed areas, putting in risk the water consumption for the whole population.

More recently the relations among municipalities have been affected by the strategic planning and by the city marketing applied to the capital. The other municipalities, which aim “success”, copy the ideal policies for the model-city, establishing a mimetic relation which brings thought about the domination logic – the power relations and interdependency between municipality-pole (Curitiba) and municipalities in outskirts. However, it is necessary to observe the outskirts and understand the situation offered to those that have been removed from modernization benefits and that are inserted in the “order” that corresponds to environmental risk, to segregation and to outskirts slum areas.

In the process of urban expansion, the space production as in outskirts is fundamental to capital, because it means the costs reduction of work power reproduction, being an alternative way used to shelter

workers who are attracted by economical activities in cities. And the way this skirting happened, with the lack of presence from the State, with plots being kept empty, demonstrates the high social costs for urbanization and the extraordinary profits of owners and real estate developers.



Simone Aparecida Polli

zation and the extraordinary profits of owners and real estate developers.

Oliveira (2000) in *Curitiba e o Mito da Cidade Modelo* (Curitiba and the Myth of Model-City), questions the functional metropolis. For the author, the metropolitan

area helped the consolidation of the model Curitiba of development. The watershed areas, located mainly in the municipality of Piraquara, and the skirting are examples of how the capital solves its problems. Nowadays, we see that the metropolitan agglomeration has strong importance in the city trans-nationalization, accommodating productive activities and establishing new relations center-outskirts.

It is in this moment, when business people strongly participate in the definition of city paths, that Milton Santos (1990) questions the role of the State and the formation of corporative metropolis. For the author, the State historically performs an active role in urban development, through urban revitalization policies, through its acting and priorities established. However, the State, in general, is more worried about attending the elimination of diseconomies than about promoting the social services necessary to community welfare.

Therefore, the rigorous planning process in Curitiba started a social selectivity in land use. The place occupied by different social classes is clearly defined. The little visibility of irregular occupations, the planning history, the lack of housing policies, the number of urban empty plots, the city marketing, the synthesis-image of the city and the built consensus happen exactly in the border of outskirts municipalities, loaded with a series of precariousness. The transformed outskirts serve to consolidate the model Curitiba and to attend the interests of hegemonic authors, who perform pressure and influence the



planning way and public policies implemented by the State.

Illegality in the city production

According to some researchers as Fernandes and Alfonsin (2003) and Davis (2006), the illegality, for a long time, has not been the exception but has been the general way of city production. However, illegality does not reach only the poorest classes, but also individuals of a higher income, putting into check the character of urban and environmental legislation. As Maricato defends, the illegality may be considered functional “(...) for archaic political relations, for a restrict and speculative real estate market, for the arbitrary application of law, according to favor relation” (2002, p123).

Illegality offers citizenship restrictions to population and controverts other social relations, even in those which apparently have nothing to do with land or housing. The illegal conditions offer scope to interpretations which associate the situation of dwellers in urban irregular condition to the position of social outskirts, evoking negative effects over other life spheres and over human condition itself. In the case of the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba, Schussel's studies (2007) show how irregular occupations are growing exactly in municipalities which have importance for

public supply, that is, Piraquara. According to the author, this happens basically because the State does not have control over land use and needs to improve management techniques. This contradiction is classic in the Brazilian urbanization model, in which irregularity assumes many dimensions.

The 1990s decade was marked by the depletion of the watersheds preservation model, based on the exclusive use of restrictive legislation of urban soil use and occupation

The environmental restrictions established in legislation impose an aggravating issue for this situation. The legislations of preservationist and forbidding character make the value of those areas go down in land market, which make them target for illegal speculators. At the same time, the lack of housing policies to offer new housing makes the alternative presented for low income population to grow the informal and illegal market. And, in this vicious circle, there come the regularization policies of settlements which, as housing policies, are unable to solve an irregularity

process which is structural in the Brazilian capitalist urbanization process.

Among lawyers, there is the predominance to say that this type of conflict happens because of lack of compatibility among legislations, that is, among civil, urban and environmental rights. In other terms, the distance between the fact situation and the legislation itself. Under the perspective of counselors of Urban Law, as Fernandes says (2006, p357), the conflict between housing and environment is introduced as capable of reconciling: “Both are values and social rights constitutionally protected, having the same conceptual root, whatever, the principle of social-environmental function of property”.

The Experiences of Agrarian Regularization in Brazil

There are understandings when talking about the term regularization in Brazil. It may mean the simple regularization of ownership and property, the urbanization of slum areas aiming integration in city tissue, the physical regularization of settlement and combined action of urban and agrarian aspects, making use of important instruments such as the Special Zones of Social Interest (Zeis).

According to Alfonsin (2001), it is important to conceptualize regularization policies as “process lead in partnership with >>

Arquivo/Companhia de Pesquisa de Recursos Minerais



Capivary Dam: occupations in watershed areas endanger the population water supply



>> Public Power and beneficiary population, involving legal, urban and social dimensions of an intervention which aims legalizing the permanence of dwellers in urban areas occupied irregularly for housing". According to Alfonsin, the agrarian regularization policies are recent experiences, from the 1988 Constitution, being inevitable work this kind of policy taking it for granted the Brazilian urbanization process. The author, in research, states the cases of Recife, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Diadema, Santo André and São Bernardo, considered innovative proposals.

Nowadays, the Ministry of Cities recommends sustainable agrarian regularization policies, reinforcing the worry about environmental impacts in urban environment. The incorporation of environmental dimension is defined by the sociologist Buttel (1992) as an urban "environmentalization" process in which "environmental worries are introduced in political and economical decisions, in scientific and educational research institutions, as well as in geopolitics. Environmentalization is the concrete expression of broad greening powers of institutional practices." (1992, p2)¹

Nowadays the debates around environmental issue are multiplied. According to Fuks (2001, p18), "the definition of

environment as social problem has become, nowadays, object of intense dispute", appearing in many different ways: knowledge production, taking sciences related to environment out of laboratories; appearance of many agencies in public administrative levels (municipal, state and fe-

The sustainable agrarian regularization policies should be understood as part of a broader housing public policy with, preferably, agrarian regularization instruments (ZEIS, prescription and concession of special use for housing) applied in a collective way.

deral); arguments in sectors of society (environmental groups, household association); the green party appearance; environmental education in schools; appearance of the so-called "green market" and "sustainable development" by business sectors; and legal instruments which aim social life regulation in its relation with environment.

The Conama resolution 369/2006 comes to help the agrarian regularization by recognizing the possibility to authorize vegetation removal in APP in order to have sustainable agrarian regularization of urban area, as far as it is authorized by the environmental agency in charge and following some demands and conditions established in the ruling.

What is in the game in regularization processes?

Down there are brief considerations about regularization processes. Firstly, what is in the game is the definition of sustainable. Acslrad (1999) affirms that sustainability is not a concept because it does not explain the real. It is a term being under dispute, questions its different meanings and affirms that it is applied, in general, according to convenience. At the same time, there are many international nets which defend the legalization of areas.

Among them the UNO/Habitat, which proposes the acknowledgement of social right to housing, the World Bank, which defends the individual right to property and, more recently, the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, who sees in regularization an entrance door to so called "dead capitals" in the formal market. De Soto (2000) defends

Carlos Ruggi/Cohapar



In Guarituba, the disordered occupation is getting near Sanepar's clean water canal, what might definitely jeopardize the water quality of Irai river



the regularization of informal settlements from a merely economical perspective. The author makes clear that the “illegal ones” are an invaluable potential and that after reanimated (via regularization), they can be part of economy transforming themselves into net capital, have access to credit, reactivate economy and solve the problem of urban poverty.

Despite being applied in many countries in Latin America, mainly Peru, Mexico and Colombia, De Soto² has been criticized due to the functioning simplification of formal and informal land markets and to the evaluation of programs applied in those countries. Fernandes (2007, p51) also questions the Peruvian economist stating that the sustainability of legalization policies depends on political, economical, legal and environmental issues. “The informal settlement dwellers have to be included in the political-economical order of the city, at least to minimize the risk of regularization programs increasing spatial segregation”.

At the same time, the sustainable agrarian regularization policies should be understood as part of a broader housing public policy with, preferably, agrarian regularization instruments (ZEIS, prescription and concession of special use for housing) applied in a collective way. The population is not only called to participate, but to become the

leading figure of the process. The varied forms of illegality production discussed before, give the impression that the regularization policies are kind of “ice shrinks”. However, the Brazilian urbanization way shows they are essential policies. The experiences with regularization

When thinking about the regularization in watershed areas it is fundamental to understand how the illegal land dividers produce the urban outskirts. In this way, the occupation in preservation areas cannot be conceived as an “incident” or something transitory, but as in an appropriate logic for the informal land market.

show that it is necessary to combine other policies of structural character for the whole city, which favor land access.

At the same time the regularization policies are important for the consolidation of diversified strategies of the whole housing

policy, the way of implementation has a serious of misfits and can be used, in some cases, as an instrument to build political alliances³ which combine individual projects of political promotion and private earnings (Polli, 2006)

When thinking about the regularization in watershed areas it is fundamental to understand how the illegal land dividers produce the urban outskirts. In this way, the occupation in preservation areas cannot be conceived as an “incident” or something transitory, but as in an appropriate logic for the informal land market. Abramo (2005), when researching about the mechanisms which make the access of families to urban land and housing viable, shows three “logics” which co-exist in Brazilian cities: “logics of market, logic of State and logic of necessity”.

And, at last, attention is drawn to the fact that with the land, infrastructure is the great “knot” of the regularization process in watershed areas. This is essential, promotes consolidation of settlement and minimal health conditions. On the other hand, infrastructures brings, via real estate incorporation, land valorization, resulting processes related to the “white expulsion”, due to income conditions of population. At the same time, when proper basic sanitation connections are done, there is improvement >>

Prefeitura de Piraquara



It is fundamental for us to comprehend how lot sellers work in urban outskirts



>> in indicators of water quality in watershed areas.

Another issue is that infrastructure constitutes the most expensive item of budgets, with its benefits privately incorporated by speculators. It can be seen, in many Brazilian capitals, the formulation of an emergency plan to keep irregular occupation in watershed areas by applying high resources. However, the State is opaque in terms of democratic management of public resources. In programs such as Guarapiranga, in São Paulo, made from 1991 to 2000, despite the R\$ 325.2 million⁴ applied, there were not meaningful improvements in levels of water quality (Ancona, Lareu, 2002). The necessity of a channel for participation and monitoring of public resources invested is fundamental to guarantee that the objectives, theoretically proposed, are reached. The agrarian regularization in watershed areas is still a field for experimentations and challenges, due to higher complexity of environmental factors involved.

References

ABRAMO, Pedro. O mercado de solo informal em favelas e a mobilidade residencial dos pobres nas grandes metrópoles. (Land informal market in slum areas and housing mobility of poor people in large metropolis) 2005. Paper presented in the Urban Research Symposium 2005: Land Development, Urban Policy and Poverty Reduction. Promoted by the World Bank.

ACSELRAD, Henri. Discursos da Sustentabilidade Urbana (Speeches of Urban Sustainability). In: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais. Nº 1, May/November 1999, p. 79-90.

ALFONSIN, B. M. Regularização Fundiária: Justificação, Impactos e Sustentabilidade (Agrarian Regularization: Justification, Impacts and Sustainability). In: Edésio Fernandes. (Org.). Direito Urbanístico e Política Urbana no Brasil. (Urban Law and Urban Policy in Brazil) 1st ed. Belo Horizonte: Del Rey, 2001, v. 1, p. 195-267.

ANCONA, Ana Lúcia e LAREU, Stetson. Avaliação do Programa Guarapiranga - Custos e Componentes de Infra-estrutura (Evaluation of Guarapiranga Program – Infrastructure costs and components). In: ZENHA, Mari; FREITAS, Carlos Geraldo Luz de (coord). Annals of Seminar on Evaluation of IPT projects on housing and environment: precarious urban settlements. São Paulo, 2002, 174p. Available at <http://habitare.infohab.org.br/pdf/publicacoes/arquivos/45.pdf>.

BBC BRASIL. De Soto believes that capitalism keeps solution to poverty. News. September 19, 2002 – Published at 10h34 GMT. Available at: www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/020919_desoto3rg.shtml. Accessed in January 2008.

BUTTEL, Frederick H. Environmentalization: Origins, Processes, and Implications of Rural Social Change. In: *Rural Sociology* 57 (1) 1992 p. 1-27.

DAVIS, MiKe. *Planeta Favela. (Planet Slum)* São Paulo: Editora Boitempo, 2006.

DE SOTO, Hernando. *El misterio del capital.* Lima: Editora El comercio, 2000.

Another issue is that infrastructure constitutes the most expensive item of budgets, with its benefits privately incorporated by speculators. It can be seen, in many Brazilian capitals, the formulation of an emergency plan to keep irregular occupation in watershed areas by applying high resources. However, the State is opaque in terms of democratic management of public resources. In programs such as Guarapiranga, in São Paulo, made from 1991 to 2000, despite the R\$ 325.2 million applied, there were not meaningful improvements in levels of water quality (Ancona, Lareu, 2002).

FERNANDES, E. ALFONSIN, B (orgs). *A Lei e a Ilegalidade na Produção do Espaço Urbano (The Law and the Illegality in the production of urban space)*. Belo Horizonte, Editora Del Rey. Lincoln Institute, 2003.

FERNANDES, E. *Preservação Ambiental ou Moradia? Um falso conflito.*

(Environmental Preservation or Housing? A false conflict) FERNANDES, E. ALFONSIN, B. (coords). *Direito Urbanístico. Estudos Brasileiros e Internacionais (Urban Law. Brazilian and International Studies)*. Belo Horizonte, Editora Del Rey. Lincoln Institute, 2006, p. 356-358.

FERNANDES, Edésio. *Perspectivas para a renovação das políticas de legalização de favelas no Brasil (Perspectives for policy renewal to legalize slum areas in Brazil)*. In: ROLNIK, Raquel... [et al.] *Regularização Fundiária Sustentável: conceitos e diretrizes (Sustainable Agrarian Regularization: concepts and guidelines)*. Ministério das Cidades, Brasília, 2007.

FUKS, Mário. *Conflitos Ambientais no Rio de*

Janeiro: ação e debate nas arenas públicas (Environmental conflicts in Rio de Janeiro: action and debates in public arenas) Rio de Janeiro, Editora da UFRJ, 2001.

MARICATO, E. ARANTES; O. VAINER, C. *A cidade do pensamento único. Desmanchando consensos. (The city of unique thought. Breaking concepts)* 3rd edition, Petrópolis: Vozes, 2002. 192p.

OLIVEIRA, Dennison de. *Curitiba e o mito da cidade modelo. (Curitiba and the myth of model-city)*. Curitiba: Ed. da UFPR, 2000, 201p.

POLLI, Simone. *Curitiba Metrópole Corporativa. Fronteiras da Desigualdade. (Curitiba Corporate Metropolis. Master's Dissertation)*. IPPUR/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, 2006.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa. *Notas sobre a história jurídico-social de Pasárgada (Notes about the legal-social history of Pasárgada)*. In: SOUSA JUNIOR, José Geraldo de (org). *Introdução Crítica ao Direito (Critical Introduction to Law)*. 4th edition. Brasília: UNB/NEP/CEAD. *Série o direito achado na rua (Law found on street series)* v. 1, 1993. p.42-47.

SANTOS, Milton. *Metrópole corporativa fragmentada: o caso de São Paulo. (Fragmented Corporate Metropolis: the case of São Paulo)*. Nobel, São Paulo, 1990.

SCHUSSEL, Zulma. *A Metrópole de Curitiba e os Mananciais de Abastecimento Público: as expectativas de Convivência e Sobrevivência (Curitiba Metropolis and Watershed areas for public supply: the expectations of Coexistence and Survival)*. In: *Annals of National Seminar on Treatment of Permanent Preservation Áreas in Urban Environment and Environmental Restrictions to Land Division - APPURBANA*. São Paulo, 2007.

1 In the original: By environmentalization, I mean the concrete processes by which green concerns and environmental considerations are brought to bear in political and economic decisions, in education and scientific research institutions, in geopolitics, and so on. Environmentalization is thus the concrete expression of the broad force of greening in institutional practices.

2 “Where many see slums, Hernando de Soto see a potential set of micro and small companies and properties, which together, have an extremely high value – more than international organisms for assistance, such as the IMF, have lent to the same countries for them to solve their financial crisis”. (BBC Brazil, September 19, 2002)

3 To understand this process, in case of Curitiba, check: POLLI, Simone. *Curitiba Metrópole Corporativa. Fronteiras da Desigualdade. (Curitiba Corporate Metropolis. Master's Dissertation)*. IPPUR/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, 2006.

4 See ANCONA, Ana Lúcia e LAREU, Stetson. *Avaliação do Programa Guarapiranga - Custos e Componentes de Infra-estrutura (Evaluation of Guarapiranga Program – Infrastructure costs and components)*.



Magazine of the project *Região Metropolitana de Curitiba em Debate*
World Urban Forum 5 *special edition*. March 2010.
Syndicate of Engineer in Paraná State (Senge-PR)



IN SEARCH OF A DEMOCRATIC METROPOLITAN MANAGEMENT

Report □ Present management model raises difficulties for towns, mayors say - P.3

Articles □ Valter Fanini (Senge-PR) P. 6 Luis Maurício Borges (Ambiens) P. 9 José Ricardo Vargas de Faria (Ambiens) P. 14 Tomás Moreira (Puc-PR) P. 19 Francisco Mendonça e Admilson Lopes P. 22 Rosa Moura (Ipardes) P. 26 Simone Aparecida Poli (Ambiens) P. 32