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LOCAL DEVELOPMENT INICIATIVES: THE CASE OF SÃO PAULO AND ABCD MUNICIPALITIES¹⁰

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Abstract

It was only in 1930's and, especially, in the 50's, that São Paulo (and its Metropolitan Region) became the main industrial hub of Brazil. It was the "*Plano de Metas*" of President Juscelino Kubitschek that led to the introduction of mass manufacturing industries, with emphasis on the automobile industry, located in the southeast industrial periphery of São Paulo known as **ABCD** and corresponding to the municipalities of Santo **A**ndré, São **B**ernardo do Campo, São **C**aetano do Sul, **D**iadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires and Rio Grande da Serra.

São Paulo is the biggest city in Latin America and a "*Global City*", nevertheless, it is also the "*Metrópole das Desigualdades*", with a chaotic process of urbanization, a largely dilapidated housing and with high levels of poverty and social exclusion.

With the oil crises, which occurred in the 70's, the ABCD starts a process of productive restructuring that has led to some industries leaving the area. However, we believe that the conditions are met for the promotion of territorial development strategies based on local and endogenous factors, throughout measures where the local/regional political power interacts and establishes partnerships with other territorial actors: government, companies, financial institutions, business associations, cooperatives, non-governmental organizations and civic movements.

¹⁰ This paper represents a synthesis of our Master Dissertation in Territorial Management (specialization in Territory & Development) presented to the New University of Lisbon. (MARQUES, 2008)



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1. The Studied Area

The State of São Paulo is located in the southeast Region of the country, being the most important in economic terms. Despite occupy only about 3% of Brazilian territory (248209 km²), it concentrates 21,8%¹¹ of the total population and 35,3%¹² of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

The Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP), was created in 1973 and brings together the City of São Paulo and 38 other municipalities¹³, is one of the largest urban areas in the world and the largest in Brazil, with 15444941 inhabitants¹⁴ in an area of only 8051 km². In economic terms, the metropolitan region contributes to over 50% of state's GDP and about 18,5% of national GDP, with a GDP *per capita* of nearly 64000 USD, almost twice the national average¹⁵. «*São Paulo, a Capital, é considerada metrópole nacional por possuir um território de influência que abraça todo o território nacional ocupando o primeiro lugar na hierarquia urbana e, assim, polarizando todo o território nacional*» (LENCIONI, 2004: 153)

In the Metropolitan Region is located the ABCD, an industrial belt originated by the development of manufacturing industry, mainly automobile industry, at the end of the 1940's, early 50's, particularly through the policies of Getúlio Vargas, followed by Juscelino Kubitschek and its "*Plano de Metas*", concerning industrial and import substitution development.

¹¹ According to IBGE, Censo Demográfico 2000 (www.ibge.gov.br) and taking in account that the population of the country was 169799170 inhabitants and 37032403 inhabitants for the State of São Paulo.

¹² According to AZZONI (2001: 135)

¹³ Arujá, Barueri, Biritiba-Mirim, Caieiras, Cajamar, Carapicuíba, Cotia, Diadema, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Francisco Morato, Franco da Rocha, Guararema, Guarulhos, Itapeverica da Serra, Itaperi, Itaquaquecetuba, Jandira, Jquitiba, Maiporã, Mauá, Moji das Cruzes, Osasco, Pirapora do Bom Jesus, Poá, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra, Salesópolis, Santa Isabel, Santana de Parnaíba, Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, São Lourenço da Serra, Suzano, Taboão da Serra and Virgem Grande Paulista. (Note: the ABCD municipalities are underlined).

¹⁴ According to IBGE, Censo Demográfico 2000.

¹⁵ Data from the State Government of São Paulo, in www.stm.sp.gov.br/rmsp.htm.





Figure 1 - Location of the studied area in Brazil and the State of São Paulo

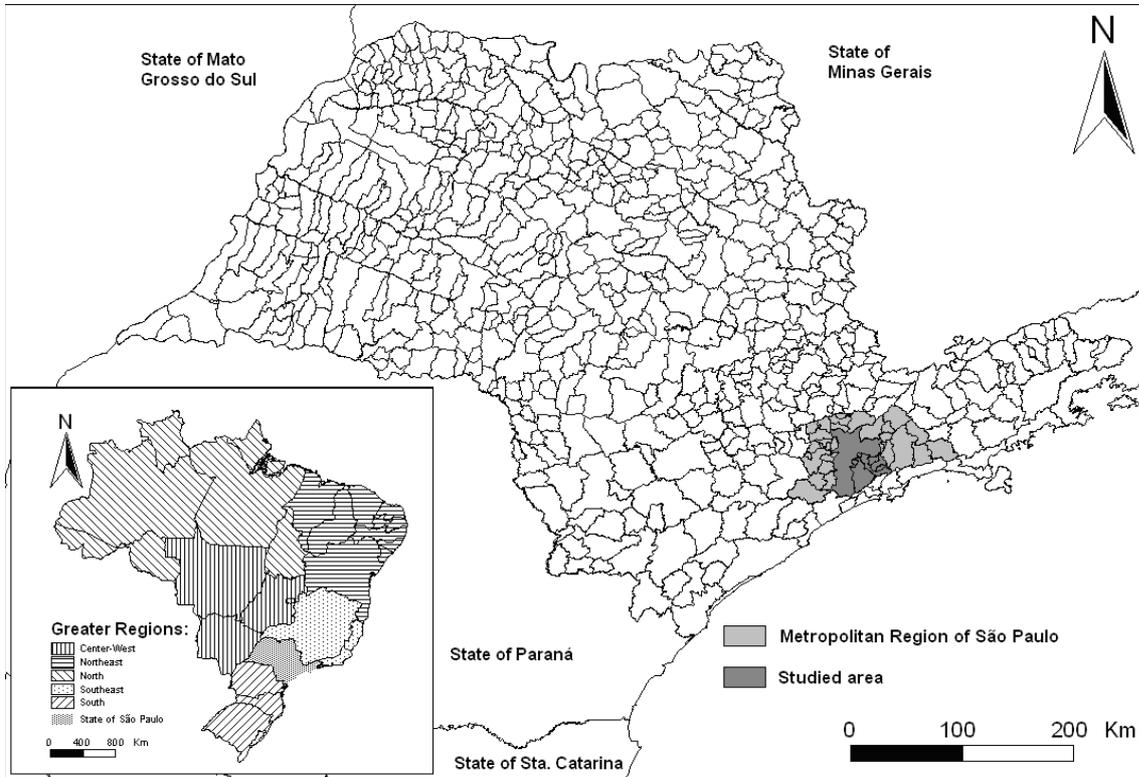
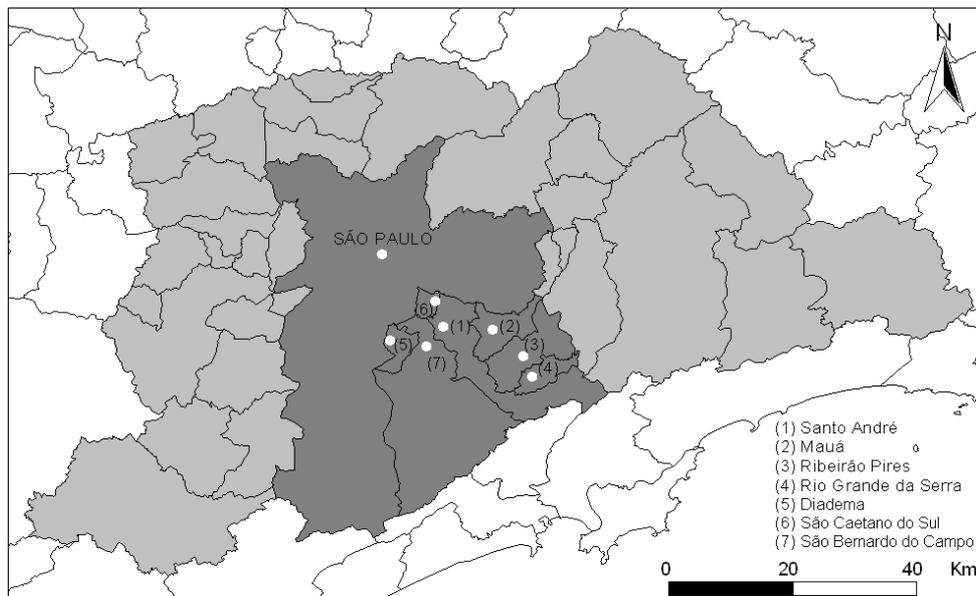


Figure 2 - Location of the studied area in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo



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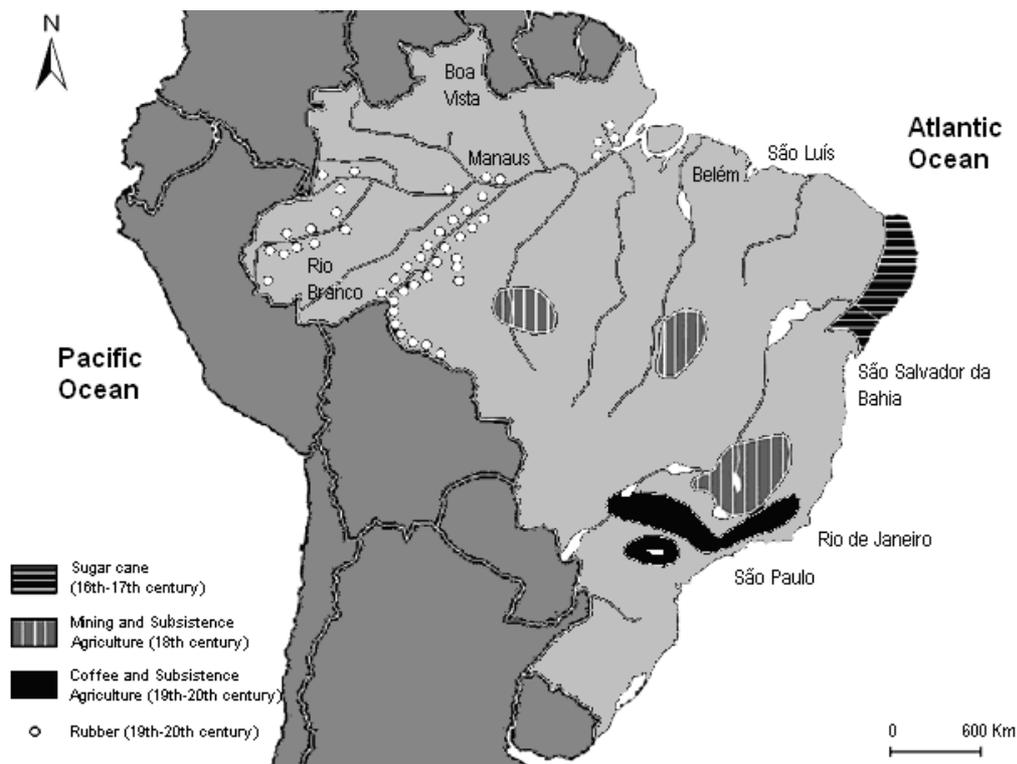


The municipality of São Paulo represents 58,4% of residents in the RMSP. Together with the seven municipalities of ABCD covers 71,5% of the population residing in the Metropolitan Region, with a population about two and a half times higher than the average metropolitan.

The centre of Brazilian economic geography changed over the centuries, depending on the several production-exportation cycles of primary products. For that, it was only in the 19th century that São Paulo, thanks to the importance of coffee production, began to have the current relevance in economic and demographic terms in Brazil.

But it was only in 30's and, especially, in the 50's, that São Paulo (and its Metropolitan Region) became the main industrial hub of Brazil. It was precisely the "*Plano de Metas*" of President Juscelino Kubitschek that, in the 50's, led to the introduction of mass manufacturing industries, with emphasis on the automobile industry, located in the southwest industrial periphery of São Paulo known as ABCD.

Figure 3 - Historical-geographical evolution of economic cycles in Brazil (1500-1930)



Adapted from: ADDAS (2002: 52)



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São Paulo is the biggest city in South America and a “*Global City*”, particularly considering its modern infrastructure, the provision of world standard services and the concentration of coordination and command functions associated with transnational corporations. Nevertheless, it is also the “*Metrópole das Desigualdades*”, with a chaotic process of urbanization, a largely dilapidated housing and with high levels of poverty and social exclusion.

With the oil crises, which occurred in the 70's, the ABCD starts a process of productive restructuring that has led to some industries leaving the area. However, if the process of industrial reconversion allows a more efficient exploitation of the “*economies of agglomeration*”, we believe that the conditions are met for the promotion of territorial development strategies based on local and endogenous factors.

Indeed, the latest Regional and Local Development theories and policies, seem to give priority to measures where the local/regional political power interacts and establishes partnerships with other territorial actors: government, companies, financial institutions, business associations, cooperatives, non-governmental organizations and civic movements.

Therefore, this paper will present a series of local development initiatives¹⁶, concerning the studied area, able to contribute to the resolution of the identified problems.

2. The Evolution of Territorial Development Paradigms

The evolution of paradigms concerning Regional and Local Development has been continuous in the last fifty years. The development of Regional and Local Development theories was rooted in two different perspectives of the territory: a functionalist perspective and territorial perspective.

In the **functionalist** perspective, which follows a “top-down” approach, the territory is seen “only” as hardware for the implementation of development strategies. With an excluding “differentiation” of territories according to their expertise productive - François Perroux’s “*poles of growth*” theory -, where the area in which the pole is located carries a centripetal action over the periphery, preventing or restricting its development. (PERROUX, 1971; 1978) Taking into account these assumptions, the ABCD may be a case that reflects, at least partially, an application of the functionalist paradigm in Brazil.

More recently, since the 70's, the **territorial** perspective emerged, with a “bottom-up” approach, where the link between the various local factors is a *sine qua non* condition for the promotion of Development. In this perspective, the Development comes from the (inter)action of regional and local actors, which underlies the emergence of concepts such as “*Local Productive System*” and “*Cluster*”.

¹⁶ Presented more detailedly in MARQUES (2008).



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In the 90's, a new paradigm or a change in the territorial paradigm emerged, the **inter-territorial** paradigm. This suggests a more flexible and adjusted approach to the current situation, focusing aspects of the interrelationship between different territories and the organization of network structures adapted to the current context of globalization, as defined by Manuel CASTELLS (2003).

Regardless of the various theoretical reflections on the role of geographic concentration in Regional Development – “*Local Productive Systems*” for Becattini and Garofoli, “*clusters*” for Porter, “*Milieux Innovateur*” to Castells and the GREMI, “*Learning Regions*”, etc.. It should be noted that different authors always recover some aspects of Alfred Marshall's research on the issues of location, «*according to an old saying of regional economist, there are only three important variables in regional growth: location, location and location!*» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 62)

«*In regional science different theoretical frameworks are used to study the formation of networks in geographical space. Some refer to old theoretical approaches like the Marshallian industrial district and externalities (Becattini 1989), and some refer to more recent developments like the innovative milieu approach (Aydalot and Keeble 1988; Maillat 1991), the “New Industrial Spaces” (NIS) approach (Scott and Storper 1992; Storper 1997), the network approach of innovation (Lundvall 1992; Gregersen and Johnson 1997; Morgan 1997). Despite the distinct theoretical starting points, there is general agreement on the importance of geographical space for innovation among these authors (...)*» (OERLEMANS et al., 2001: 340)

Indeed, what is important is that the competitive advantages and regional specificity of territories should continue to be crucial in the future. The question is to what extent the “*Industrial Districts*” are indeed the territorial structure better suited for the challenges of globalisation.

Thus, to “survive” in a globalized world, regions need to (re)discover new forms of competitive advantage, based not only on purely economic aspects but also in the interaction between social, historical, cultural and economic aspects. Do not forget that «*(...) the new economy, like the old one, has losers as well as winners. Whereas some sectors, communities, and populations have benefited, many others have been left behind.*» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 9)

3. Territorial Entrepreneurship and New Territorial Management

Several ways have been found by territories in order to reconcile the territorial competition for attracting public and private investment, with the ideals of participatory democracy and human development of communities.

Presently it is considered that the local authorities have comparative advantages in relation to the central state regarding the creation of conditions favourable to productivity and competitiveness of enterprises. In fact, «*as Câmaras Municipais tendem*



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a ser cada vez mais vistas como agências que podem intervir para levar os municípios na trilha do desenvolvimento sustentável (económico, social, ambiental e político).» (SALVADOR, 2006: 327)

Indeed, if we consider that the City Halls have more institutional flexibility, when compared with the central government, and greater capacity of representation and political legitimacy, the municipalities may be more effective in attracting and supporting economic activities in its territory, so *«el gobierno local capaz de dar respuesta a los actuales desafíos urbanos y de construir un proyecto de ciudad y liderarlo debe ser un gobierno promotor» (BORJA and CASTELLS, 1997: 151)*

Thus, since the 90's that the local political power, a little bit throughout the world, has gained an increasing "role" at the level of economic growth (infrastructure, ending bureaucracy, increasing participation of the private sector and business rationality in public administration, search of consensus around "strategic" priorities, etc.), *«levando autores a defender que se estaria a criar um novo tipo de gestão do território, designado por Archer de "empreendedorismo urbano", por Harvey de "gestão pública urbana", por LeGalès de "governança urbana" ou ainda por Fainstein de "mercantilismo local".» (SALVADOR, 2006: 327)*

Here, it is extremely important the concept of "Governance", understood as the management of public affairs, in conjunction with citizens' associations and their organizations, in a broad view of convergence between the interests of the State and its citizens, seen in this perspective as "shareholders" of a company, *«(...) estamos convencidos de que un gobierno local promotor no puede funcionar según las formas de gestión y de contratación propias de la administración tradicional.» (BORJA and CASTELLS, 1997: 162-163)*

The "speech" of entrepreneurship is thus justifying new political practices and social relations, as well as an agenda determined by urban competitiveness and the requirement of an administrative "machinery", increasingly, efficient.

Moreover, given the geographical dispersion of Transnational Corporations and the increase on trade and financial flows, the functions of management, control and innovation tend to concentrate on big cities, *«a globalização – com abertura de mercados, tendência para o comércio livre a nível mundial, revolução tecnológica e nos transportes – veio trazer uma nova tensão entre o global e o local. Um traço fundamental desta tensão é o fenómeno da "metropolização" (...).» (SALVADOR, 2006: 327)*

Thus, the "Global Cities" emerge as nuclear points of markets' spatial organization and articulation. These cities have different functions in the new International Division of Labour, constituting themselves as financial centers, Research & Development centers, headquarters of international institutions, business centers, among others (SASSEN, 1991).

In the perspective of Manuel CASTELLS (2003) the increased importance of these cities is due to the new model of network society, in which the main element of productivity is based on knowledge and information speed and processing.



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For Saskia SASSEN (1991) the process of production activities dispersion and concentration of decision-making processes is due to the fact that the higher level tertiary functions tend to focus on the “*global cities*”.

Given the demographic “gigantism” of São Paulo, the largest metropolis in South America, but mainly to its infrastructure, the provision of world standard service and the concentration of coordination and command functions associated with transnational companies, São Paulo can be describe as a “*Global City*”. Even though São Paulo is also the “*Metrópole das Desigualdades*”, with high levels of population living in poverty and social exclusion, coupled with a chaotic urbanization and a dilapidated housing infrastructure, it also has in certain areas of the city (Avenida Paulista, Marginal Pinheiros, Avenida Luiz Carlos Berrini), a large number of companies, infrastructures and equipment and highly qualified workforce, capable to match with the main worldwide “*Global Cities*”, such as New York, London or Tokyo.

Although there is a growing perspective that the nation-states crisis will lead to the creation of an international network of interdependent and interrelated local governments. (BORJA and CASTELLS, 1997). In this line of reasoning, the globalization arises as a result of an international restructuring led by developed countries, which began to accept a common regulation and also impose it to developing countries.

The Nation-States are therefore at the same time, too “big” to solve local problems and too “small” to solve the “new” economic and social problems resulting from the process of globalization. In the words of Manuel Castells and Jordi Borgia, «*sus competencias no son suficientes para controlar los flujos globales y su organización suele ser demasiado rígida para adaptarse a los cambios constantes del sistema mundial*» (BORJA and CASTELLS, 1997: 31)

Nevertheless, the Nation-States should continue to exist, even just for the sake of “*economies of scale*”, and to ensure certain costly or technical complexe public services (armed forces, justice, diplomacy, etc.), that for financial and political reasons are impossible to be provided by local authorities.

Thus, it is assumed that the Nation-States should maintain with local governments a more decentralized, more contract based and less hierarchical relation, «*la reconstrucción de un estado flexible y dinámico, articulado entre sus diferentes niveles, parece la única posibilidad histórica de superar las tendencias disolventes de la sociedad de la información inscritas en la dicotomía entre los flujos de poder y el particularismo de la experiencia, al introducir una nueva perspectiva en la gestión de las ciudades.*» (BORJA and CASTELLS, 1997: 31).

Despite this perspective, we must not also fail to consider that this whole role of Nation-State restructuring, represents a deregulation, to free the central government of much of their social responsibilities and powers, transferring them to the municipalities.



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As had the opportunity to explain previously, from the 70's, with the boost of "Local Productive Systems", "clusters" or "Industrial Districts", among others, that the "local" has been gaining an increasing importance in terms of economic development, «as cidades são a "riqueza das nações", cuja competitividade deve ser potenciada. [Tem] havido uma transferência de arena onde os conflitos sociais se [desenvolvem] – o território das nações – para o território das cidades. Assim as cidades seriam não apenas centros da economia mundial, mas também os novos protagonistas políticos.» (SALVADOR, 2006: 330)

One of the advantages of the "local" refers to the fact that the capacity for innovation depends not only of a proper education system, but also to the existence of certain equipment, research centers and urban services related to issues such as housing, culture, environment and health, able to attract the necessary qualified workforce.

Thus, since the end of the 70's, beginning of the 80s, have emerged new methodological tools such as the Strategic Planning, Territorial Marketing¹⁷, Development Agencies, or Public-Private Partnerships (PPP's), among others, and that you can configure what is called "New Territorial Management".

Not being by far the purpose of this paper to study deeply these "new" forms of territorial intervention, we can only make a brief presentation and definition of them, especially if we consider that many of the projects and initiatives developed in the area under study, fall in these types.

The Strategic Planning emerged in the 60's as a tool of the business sector to improve the internal organisation and operation of businesses.

In the 80's, several US Cities (San Francisco, Philadelphia, Memphis) and States (California, Ohio, Wisconsin) began to draw up strategic plans aimed at attracting investment, promoting economic growth and urban regeneration, creating the Territorial Strategic Planning, reproducing the logic of business strategic planning, «strategic planning is the most appropriate approach for all communities. This is a future-oriented approach that builds a local economy on the basis of local needs. (...) The strategic style of planning thus boils down to doing the everyday business of local government with one additional long-term objective firmly in mind: economic development.» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 93-94)

The implementation of the Strategic Planning to cities and regions represents an orderly effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that lead a certain territorial "organization" (municipalities, regions, countries) to achieve the objectives previously proposed.

¹⁷ According to G. Rosa and J. Lúcio, «o Planeamento Estratégico, e, mais recentemente, o Marketing Territorial, definem-se como "ferramentas" a que se pode recorrer para conhecimento e delimitação de estratégias que visam a promoção do território». (ROSA and LÚCIO, 2002: 156)



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In fact, «*perante o novo contexto de planeamento, um dos desafios que se coloca no processo de planeamento é a integração das dimensões das mudanças sócio-territoriais num quadro de referência estratégico e a tradução de princípios estratégicos em critérios de decisão adequados (...). A formulação de trajectórias de desenvolvimento do território requer um esforço de cooperação multidisciplinar e de construção de consensos em torno das ideias chave do projecto de desenvolvimento (...).*» (FERNANDES, 2006: 43)

The emphasis on “action” comes from the desire to avoid inconsistency between goals and means of operationalization often found in traditional planning. The “interactive and participatory nature” seek to incorporate a broad spectrum of actors in the decision making process, in order to join forces and achieve consensus.

The importance given to actors’ participation, more than related to ethical reasons, comes from the assumption that the power is actually shared between actors with their own strategies that should be compatibalized.

ASCHER (1995) believes that the cities have great similarities with the companies:

- They face international competition;
- Their development depends on economic factors;
- The local politician is, increasingly, a manager and not the “owner” of the city.

The Territorial Marketing can be considered as an approach to Local and Regional Development based on a set of marketing and communication techniques aimed to create a “trademark”, establishing the “market” position of a given territorial entity, as well as advertising and promoting the economic, social or environmental factors, capable of attracting tourists, investors or new residents, «*(...) “Vender a cidade converteu-se numa das funções básicas dos governos locais e num dos principais campos de negociação público-privada”. Trata-se pois de um conjunto integrado de políticas destinadas a impulsionar o crescimento económico, que englobam a totalidade da agenda pública voltada para a competitividade dos territórios.*» (SALVADOR, 2006: 336)

The Territorial Marketing can be used to:

- Improve the image and attractiveness of a site;
- To develop its economy;
- Build and foster a local actors’ network in an integrated and sustained development logic.

The Territorial Marketing integrates research actions on the promoting territory, namely the desires, motivations and needs of its inhabitants and investors and may also include operations of boosting local economic actors’ networks and businesses¹⁸. However, «*(...) o marketing territorial não se mede à luz de critérios quantitativos, como sejam as quotas de mercado. Com*

¹⁸ On the use of GeoMarketing in Territorial Marketing actions, see ROSA and LÚCIO (2002: 156).



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efeito, o marketing territorial está submetido a critérios qualitativos, como a satisfação dos residentes ou a atractividade do território. (...) Por outro lado, o marketing territorial é sensivelmente diferente do marketing político. Este último procura convencer os eleitores, num determinado momento. Pelo contrário, o marketing territorial dirige-se tanto ao público existente como ao público potencial (...). É conveniente distinguir o marketing territorial do marketing das colectividades territoriais. De facto, o marketing das colectividades territoriais respeita apenas a um actor, institucional, enquanto que o marketing territorial implica a intervenção de actores privados e/ou públicos, cujas acções visa coordenar.» (BENKO, 2006: 12)

The growing need for Territorial Marketing arises from the fact that all territories compete among themselves for investment and skilled human capital attraction, for such they need to promote actions about something unique and appealing they have to "offer". For that «marketing a community is very much like marketing a product. Product and market research are employed to determine what type of assets a community has to offer, in what markets, and to what type(s) of clients» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 292)

A Regional/Local Development Agency is an operational structure which seeks to identify the territorial development or sectoral problems existing in a given region, for that it uses a set of measures for the implementation of projects tailored to the specific characteristics of each area.

We can consider the «agências de desenvolvimento como sendo organizações de mediação entre o Estado, o mercado e a sociedade, através das quais se instrumentaliza a estratégia de desenvolvimento local. (...) As agências de desenvolvimento podem realizar várias funções, nomeadamente: prestar assessoria pontual aos gestores locais na tomada de decisões; os seus técnicos podem diagnosticar o estado da situação dos projectos e propor medidas para os ajustar aos objectivos que as organizações locais pretendem; podem promover, impulsionar e coordenar a realização de investimentos em matéria de transportes e comunicações; podem estabelecer mecanismos que permitam a reestruturação produtiva de carácter selectivo, necessária para fortalecer a competitividade local.» (CABUGUEIRA, 2000: 132)

Indeed, the Local and Regional Development programmes organized by central governments do not always present models compatible with local realities, since they are based on their own policies and strategies and, usually, do not take into account the local community interests. In this view, it is considered that the ideal development aims to integrating the local community in processes of sustained social and economic development, in order to adjust their productive capacity to market trends.

In this process the individual business actions can not act alone and need to be integrated in working groups, involving the local public and private actors in a concerted manner, in order to create new models of production, trade and services. This is the "embryo" of a Local Development Agency, «development corporations, or "joint power" organizations, that involve government as well as business and community are the most used form of organization because such organizations



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continue to enjoy government and private support. In some instances, however, the organization is given too little power or responsibility from either the private sector or government agencies.» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 347)

In some cases, are the Public-Private Partnerships (PPP's) that present themselves as the most efficient method of promoting local development. In fact, *«une attention particulière doit être portée à la dimension “locale” des projets conduisant à des partenariats public-privé. D’abord, la plupart de projets partenariaux public-privé ont dans les faits une dimension territoriale très marquée. Ils mettent souvent en oeuvre des collectivités territoriales; leurs effets s’inscrivent dans des espaces géographiques circonscrits; c’est meme dans le nombre de cas cet effet géographiquement sélectif qui est recherché (projets dits de “développement local”).» (GILBERT, 2002: 191)*

The PPP's are characterised by setting a long-term relationship between public and private entities in order to establish a service and may, or not, require the conception, financing and construction of public infrastructure for this purpose, *«la notion de partenariat public-privé recèle en effect une idée nouvelle, par rapport aux institutions que l’on vient d’évoquer, celle d’une association et d’une solidarité entre les associés. En ce sens, elle s’oppose à la représentation traditionnelle que donnent les doctrines libérales des rapports entre l’État et l’économie, et qui est fondée sur l’idée de leur séparation.» (MARCOU, 2002: 14)*

As a long-term relationship, allows the public partner to transfer to the private partner the risk of the project conception, since it is for the private partner to ensure the provision of the contract service throughout the period of the partnership. For that *«la première fonction du PPP est donc d’établir une interdependance et une solidarité entre l’engagement de la puissance publique et celui du secteur privé. Cette solidarité est le support d’une mutualisation des risques.» (MARCOU, 2002: 37)*

This risk transfer to the private partner means that the public partner can not always define the requirements for the development of the project, and its role is focused only on the definition of results to be achieved and the level of quality desired.

A partnership can only be justified if the efficiencies achieved are large enough to offset the financial costs. Achieving these gains in efficiency implies the establishment of a partnership for the ably conception and implement of the project, free of restrictions other than those strictly necessary to meet the public interest. To assess the justification of a partnership is therefore essential to develop a financial model that allows a comparable public cost, *«the hallmark of the U.S. experience in local economic development – whether in government or in the neighbourhood – is the combination of the resources of the public and private sector in just the correct balance to attain objectives neither could attain alone.» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 97)*



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Projects likely to be considered PPP's are very diverse: equipment management, provision of public services, strategic planning, territorial marketing, contracts, programmes (cooperation with the central government), urban design projects (replacing the traditional legal framework and regulation on land use and occupation). Indeed, in some cases the PPP's «(...) *tornaram-se a base da política urbana: os incentivos fiscais de base local às actividades privadas em construção – empréstimos públicos, isenções fiscais, financiamento em leasing - aumentaram exponencialmente. Também se divulgaram as práticas de contrapartidas em terrenos ou infraestruturas.*» (SALVADOR, 2006: 329)

Indeed, local political authorities can play an important role, through linkages between the various stakeholders in the territory, providing the necessary conditions for the “*Endogenous Development*” and/or the emergence of the “*innovative milieu*”.

Therefore and considering that the most recent Regional and Local Development theories and policies, such as the ones described in this chapter, seem to give priority to measures where the local/regional political power interacts and establishes partnerships with other territorial actors: government, companies, financial institutions, business associations, cooperatives, non-governmental organizations and civic movements.

The next chapter presents a selection of local development initiatives, concerning the studied area, which we believe are able to contribute to the resolution of the identified problems.

4. Local Development Initiatives in the Municipalities of São Paulo and the ABCD

As we have seen previously, local authorities may have a key action in encouragement, promotion and implementation of actions and measures that seek local development, particularly if associated with the central power and, especially, local economic actors.

In the case of Brazil, from 1988, with the promulgation of a new and democratic Constitution, the Brazilian state has become highly decentralized, promoting the municipalities to the category of autonomous entities of the Federation, with autonomy to manage their own public policies, something that so far, was nonexistent in Brazil. However, to promote this decentralization, the Brazilian state has made a huge step towards the process of economic development, since the policies would be specific to each sub-national level, respecting the particular characteristics of each region, contrary to what happened before, when the policies were centralized. «*Both the federal government and local officials have tacitly agreed that national government should remain in the background, using its money but not muscle is to bring about economic change.*» (BLAKELY and BRADSHAW, 2002: 42)



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The establishment of best practices for Governance becomes fundamental for a correct interaction between civil society organisations, companies and public power; specially since this model of economic development involves all actors, with their different experiences, cooperating in order to create a virtuous cycle of learning and dissemination of knowledge. (LOPES and SILVA, s.d: 2).

However, there is a need to incorporate a long-term vision of management in public places, because: «*As gestões municipais no Brasil nunca se caracterizaram por planejamento de ações, muito menos o planejamento estratégico orientado para a construção das condições de sustentabilidade do desenvolvimento, equacionando o desenvolvimento econômico com a melhoria das condições sociais e com a preservação do meio ambiente. (...) Poucas são as prefeituras que realizam algum tipo de planejamento de ações ou planos de desenvolvimento articulados com sociedade e com os potenciais agentes promotores do desenvolvimento. (Hoffmann, 2003, p. 26).*» (LOPES and SILVA, s.d: 11)

Far from being an exhaustive choice, the selection of projects and initiatives presented in this paper represent only a part of those studied in our previous work (MARQUES, 2008).

Thus, we present a set of initiatives in areas such as entrepreneurship, taxation, education, vocational training, environment or tourism, which we believe that can contribute decisively for local development in the area.

The perspective that we tried to undertake in this work is based more on a local economic growth logic. In this sense, it becomes clear that measures related with the education, vocational training and support for entrepreneurship have been privileged, as opposed to direct actions focused on combating poverty, such as food distribution and housing.

In fact, «*na formulação de políticas e programas destinados a superar pobreza é possível (...) formular outros tipos de políticas (sem dúvida, não excludentes com as anteriores), cujo objetivo essencial seja identificar e impulsionar novos projetos produtivos e atividades geradoras de emprego em nível local, a fim de criar fontes endógenas de crescimento econômico e complementar assim as ações de tipo redistributivas antes citadas com iniciativas locais de desenvolvimento.*» (ALBUQUERQUE, 1998)

The group of projects and initiatives that we will present, referring to the eight municipalities under study, is classified into four main thematic categories: *Business/Entrepreneurs and Production Incentives; Vocational Training and Qualification; Accessibility and Transport; and Tourism and Environment*. In the case of Rio Grande da Serra, because of multi-thematic nature of the project “*Establishment of the Forum for Sustainable Development of Rio Grande da Serra*”, focused on three main axes, (Economic Development, Social Development and Urban Development and the Environment), led us to create a new category entitled *Constitution/Participation in Development Promotion Organizations*.



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The analysis of the summarized table (in Portuguese) immediately highlights the preponderance of projects in the area of *Business/Entrepreneurs and Production Incentives*, followed by the *Vocational Training and Qualification* and in a relatively smaller number by *Tourism and Environment* and *Transport and Accessibility*.

Figure 4 - Summarized table for the presented initiatives



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	São Paulo	Consórcio Inter municipal	Santo André	São Bernardo do Campo	São Caetano do Sul	Diadema	Mauní	Ribeirão Pires	Rio Grande da Serra
Incentivos às Empresas/ Empreendedorismo e à Produção	Concessão de Incentivos Fiscais às Empresas Incentivos à Criação de Micro e Pequenas Empresas Fundo de Abandono ao Emprego Programa de Apoio às Pequenas e Médias Empresas (Banco do Povo) Projecto Fibra Verde Projecto de Criação de "Roteiro Móvel" Programa de Modernização da Gestão Projecto de Apoio Produtivo Social Organização do Polo de Negócios Parques Público-Privados Atas do Trabalho e do Desenvolvimento	Política Regional de Incentivos Subvencionados Pesquisa de Emprego e Desemprego (PED) Aumento da Competitividade das Cidades Produtoras do ABCD Mantimento da Competitividade no Comércio Varejista Desenvolvimento de Pequenas e Médias Empresas Incubadora de Empresas Aranjo Produtivo Local (APL) Promoção à Instalação de Bancos e Linhas de Crédito Medidas de Apoio à Exportação	Promoção Empresarial do Município Projecto Eixo Tamanduaibhy Programa Cidades Politécnicas Programa Incubadora de Cooperativas e Associações Banco do Povo Iniciativa Pública de Economia Popular e Sólida Programa de Fomento ao Comércio Centro Público de Emprego, Trabalho e Renda Apoios à Inovação Tecnológica das Empresas Sistema de Apoio à Exportação	Promoção Empresarial do Município Concessão de Incentivos Fiscais às Empresas Projecto Arapuzi Projecto Incubadora de Empresas Fomentos à Exportação Banco do Povo Paulista Conselho de Desenvolvimento Económico de São Bernardo	Promoção Empresarial do Município Instituto de Tecnologia de São Caetano do Sul Banco do Povo Paulista Rondas de Negócios Sectoriais Associação Comercial e Industrial de São Caetano do Sul	Promoção Empresarial do Município Banco do Povo Paulista Criação de Fólos Industriais Projecto Incubadora de Empreendimentos Auto-Gestionários Concessão de Incentivos Fiscais às Empresas Compra Directa Local da Agricultura Familiar Projecto Empreendedor Populaz Programa de Iniciação de Municípios no Comércio	Promoção Empresarial do Município Concessão de Incentivos Fiscais às Empresas Programa MAEX (Mauní Apoio à Exportação) Projecto Incubadora de Empresas Programa Nacional do Património Emprego Projecto de Aquisição de Alimentos e Apoio à	Promoção Empresarial do Município Concessão de Incentivos Fiscais às Empresas Programa de Financiamento Fiscal para Pessoas Físicas e Jurídicas Económico Participação no Projecto do Banco do Povo Paulista Organização do I Encontro de Empreendedores da Cidade	Instituição dos Títulos de Empresário Exento da Indústria, do Comércio e da Criação de Incentivos Fiscais Subvencionados para o Desenvolvimento Socio-Económico Adopção de Incentivos Fiscais às Pequenas e Médias-empresas Criação de Incentivos Subvencionados para o Desenvolvimento Económico Participação no Projecto do Banco do Povo Paulista Organização do I Encontro de Empreendedores da Cidade
Formação e Qualificação Profissional	Implantação de Cursos de Formação Centro de Apoio ao Trabalho Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos Ampliação da Inchaço e Literacia Informática	PLANTEQ – ABC Movimento Regional de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos Projecto Alquiaria Projecto de Inchaço e Literacia Informática	Implantação de Cursos de Qualificação Profissional Alfabetização de Adultos Projecto Feas Cidadania – Inchaço Digital	Implantação de Cursos de Qualificação Profissional Alfabetização de Adultos Curso Técnico e Superior Empreendedorismo nas Escolas	Alfabetização de Adultos Programa Cidadaz Universidades Públicas do Município Projecto Aprender São Caetano Implantação de Cursos de	Projecto Mov@di Implantação de Cursos de Formação Implantação do Campus de Diadema da UNIFESP Alfabetização de Adultos	Curso Técnico e Superior Alfabetização de Adultos Implantação de Cursos de Formação Alfabetização de Adultos	Escolas Técnicas e Centros de Formação Profissional Implantação de Cursos de Formação Alfabetização de Adultos Implantação de Cursos de Formação Alfabetização de Adultos Profissionalizantes	Colaboração Mútua com a Fundação MUDES Alfabetização de Adultos Implantação de Cursos de Formação Profissionalizantes
Turismo e/ou Meio Ambiente	Planejamento e Estratégias Turísticas	Colectores, Tonco e Água Industriais Promoção e Desenvolvimento do Turismo Regional	Vila Turística de Parapijacaba	Promoção Turística do Município Parque Municipal Estoval	Medidas de Preservação Ambiental Roteiro Histórico de São Caetano do Sul	Festival dos Sabores de Diadema	Medidas de Preservação Ambiental	Criação e Promoção do Festival do Chocolate e Outros Organização de Cursos Turísticos Promoção do Ecoturismo Medidas de Preservação	Criação do Conselho Municipal de Defesa do Meio Ambiente Criação do Conselho Municipal de Turismo e de Fundos Municipais para o Turismo Promoção Turística
Transportes e Acessibilidades	Ferrovial, Rodoviária e Anúncios			Investimentos em Logística e Acessibilidades		Melhoria e Promoção dos Transportes e Acessibilidades Municipais		Obra Pública com vista à Melhoria das Acessibilidades	
Contribuição/Participação em Entidades Promotoras do Desenvolvimento									Instituição do Fórum de Desenvolvimento Sustentável de Rio Grande da Serra

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Source: MARQUES (2008: 193).

In the city of São Paulo, the construction of the Subway Line no. 4, in 2005, was made under a Public-Private Partnership. Since then, other public-private partnerships have allowed the construction of the Airport Express, the Garulhos Train and the Campinas-Vale do Paraíba-Porto de São Sebastião Export Corridor. The 2004-07 plurianual plan also expects that financing from private initiative can be applied in projects related to health, sanitation, transport and communications and education.

Regarding the initiatives of the *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC*, there is the implementation of the Structural Axis no. 6 - *Regional Identity and Institutional Structures*, in order to encourage the establishment of public-private partnerships for the development of investment, modernization of the political and institutional municipal organization, as well as promoting the appearance of a regional civic community capable to support small local based businesses.

Considering the influence of literacy and education levels in the capabilities and potential of Human Capital, in labour, technical, and even technological and organizational innovation terms, we understand the importance of this program, and other similar, in promoting the “*take off*” for economic growth and development in the ABCD.

In fact, as we saw in the summarized table, there is a wide group of initiatives under the *Vocational Training and Qualification* which demonstrate the political and social relevance of these actions, besides the above mentioned importance in economic and development terms.

In this sense, the case of MOVA (*Movimento Regional de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos - Regional Movement for the Youth and Adult Literacy*) emerges as one of the most important initiatives of the *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC*, not only because it is present in six of the seven municipalities of the ABCD (São Caetano do Sul being the exception), but also because it has an important role in improving population literacy and education, especially children, who had no opportunities for education. This project also stands out because it aggregates efforts of several entities, such as City Halls, entrepreneurs, trade unions, churches, popular movements and universities.

Besides the above mentioned adults' education, there are also initiatives for training in the fields of: computer science, vocational and technical training, higher education and entrepreneurship promotion.

Indeed, the promotion of entrepreneurship, self-employment and the creation of micro-enterprises is a constant presence in several of the initiatives presented and grouped in the category of *Business/Entrepreneurs and Production Incentives*.



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In the city of São Paulo, the “*Banco do Povo*” opened in 2007, an entrepreneur assistance post in the Eastern part of the City, one of the poorest and most problematic. The success of this initiative, led to the opening of new units in other parts of the city. Also the Centers for Labour Support have been supporting the micro-entrepreneurs.

Even in São Paulo, the Agricultural Pole of Parelheiros has a training and entrepreneurship center. Even the Social Productive Arrangement Program, the result of a partnership between the City Hall and IBRATEC, undertakes various initiatives, including the promotion of entrepreneurship.

Under the initiatives of the *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC*, the Export Support System (SAX - *Sistema de Apoio à Exportação*) offers training in entrepreneurship.

Also in the city of Santo André the “*Banco do Povo*” supports and assists the implementation of micro-enterprises. Moreover, the Public Incubator for Popular and Solidarity Economy (IEPS - *Incubadora Pública de Economia Popular e Solidária*) supports popular and solidarity ventures in order to create independent and self-managed working places. Under the Food Festival, the Santo André’s Department of Economic Development and Social Action, with SEBRAE and the *Jornal do Grande ABC*, provides support for Marketing and Entrepreneurship initiatives.

In São Bernardo do Campo, the City Hall promotes entrepreneurship through its monthly publication “*Boletim Económico*”. Another important issue is the possibility of introducing a discipline of entrepreneurship in all schools of the city under the Young Entrepreneurs Program.

In São Caetano do Sul, the Commercial and Industrial Association also offers support and management services to the entrepreneurs.

In Diadema there is a project for Self-Managed Incubated Initiatives, through a support program for new businesses, formalisation of informal enterprises and legal advice for entrepreneurs. In this context, tax incentives can go to 80% in tax reduction.

In the city of Ribeirão Pires, the Tax Financing Program supports entrepreneurship. Also, the municipality has enabled unemployed citizens to attend training courses in partnership with the Hidelpa company, which includes courses in entrepreneurship. Note also that, under the “*Festival do Chocolate*”, have been conducted courses in entrepreneurship.

The Rio Grande da Serra City Hall awards the title of Emeritus Entrepreneur, recognizing private initiative and entrepreneurship in the city. As in other municipalities reviewed, the “*Banco do Povo*” finances potential micro-entrepreneurs. Its important to mention that, in 2007, was held the First Meeting of Local Entrepreneurs.



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Yet under the *Business/Entrepreneurs and Production Incentives* is important to focus on the creation of Business Incubators, which aim to create an “*Innovative Milieu*”.

The *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC* promotes several initiatives in this direction. Considering the importance of the secondary sector in the region, it seeks to create conditions for the maintenance of automobile industries already installed in the region, as well as the regional industrial park of car components, by supporting the creation of technology-based firms’ incubators, industries cooperatives and the strengthening of capital-labour relations.

Also the initiatives supported by Structural Axis no. 11 - Education and Technology, seek the establishment of a Technological Pole in the ABCD made of: Research & Development and Dissemination of Technology Centers, University Research Centers, Technological Incubators and Technology Parks.¹⁹

In 2000 there was a plan for the installation of five incubators in the Region of ABCD, in partnership with the *Agência de Desenvolvimento do Grande ABC*, which coordinates and manages the processes. The municipalities provide the land and SEBRAE offers financial resources and technology. These incubators emerge as support and development structures for micro, small and medium enterprises. Companies chosen to participate in this project will have the infrastructure, administrative support, provision of equipment and the workplace at low cost, as well as access to professional qualification courses.

The *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC* offers the Incubator Programme for Cooperatives and Associations, which offers monitoring and advice in legal, administrative, accounting, economic, products dissemination and training areas to companies willing to join.

In the municipality of Santo Andre, the Public Incubator for Popular and Solidarity Economy, framed by the Public Employment, Work and Income System, offers favourable conditions for the development of productive chains and networks of enterprises and popular solidarity, boosting the local economic development.

In São Bernardo do Campo we can also find a project for business incubators, where the municipality, in partnership with SEBRAE, the Furniture Industries Association of the Greater ABC, the Bank of Brazil and the State of São Paulo Industries Center, offer to companies, technical and management support, as well as a place for settlement.

In São Caetano do Sul, the Technology Institute develops a, technology-based, business incubator which will come into operation in early 2008.

¹⁹ For a presentation and analysis of the portuguese main technological park, *TagusPark* see, for example, MELO and BAPTISTA (2002: 51-79).



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In 2007, the São Caetano do Sul City Hall promoted an agreement with the Maua Institute of Technology (ITM) with the perspective of approaching industries and scientific investigation. The initiatives covered by this partnership include the promotion of IMT courses and degrees throughout the local enterprises, the creation of new courses adapted to the companies' needs and the encouragement of investment, from local businesses, in technology.

Again, Mauá also have a project of business incubators, in partnership with the SEBRAE and *Agência de Desenvolvimento do Grande ABC*, which seeks to encourage the materialization of new businesses, but also the formalization of existing enterprises. The sponsoring entities provide facilities for new ventures, as well as technological support and management.

Another interesting aspect in all the initiatives described is that they encourage the “*economies of proximity*” or, if you prefer, seeking the creation of “*clusters*” or “*Local Productive Systems*”.

In the city of São Paulo, particularly in Itaim Paulista, there is a project which seeks to install community farms, linked to a processing plant. At the same time they encourage local producers and try to attract new farmers, through partnership training with the School of Agronomy at the University of São Paulo. The expectation is to create a center of micro and small agricultural entrepreneurs in the region, allowing the emergence of economies of proximity.

The *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC* presented in 2004 a project to develop a Local Productive Arrangement (or “*Local Productive System*”), with technical and financial support of SEBRAE, which aims to sustain growth of micro, small and medium enterprises in cars components, tools and plastics sectors. It also promotes the integration and cooperation between entrepreneurs who were former competitors and now enjoy the benefits of working together. This project also provides partnerships with universities in terms of Research & Development.

This latter project can be of great importance for local and regional economy, where the automobile industry (and other related sectors, with emphasis on the car components) have a great importance in terms of output and employment.

Taking into account the analysis and characterization of the territory under study, we can see that we are in the presence of a heavily urbanized and industrialized area, which contains important “pockets” of urban poverty. Thus it is a somewhat surprising that there is a very reasonable number of initiatives in the tourism sector.

Indeed, initiatives such as the Municipal Tourism Plan, the Roadway Tourist Sinalitation Project and the “*Stay Another Day*” program, have demonstrated the growing importance of tourism in the city of São Paulo, specially in terms of consumption tourism and, mainly, business tourism (5 million tourists/year, almost 50% of total tourists received).



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On the other hand, events such as Formula 1 Grand Prix at Interlagos, the motorshow, the Biennale of Arts, the Film Exhibition of São Paulo and Boat Show show the importance of São Paulo as a major tourist destination. In 2007, São Paulo was even elected as the third best city for sightseeing by brazilian magazine *Viagem & Turismo*.

The *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC*, throughout the applying of Structural Axis no. 4 - *Diversification and Strengthening of Production Chains*, seeked to boost regional sustainable tourism, with emphasis on the sectors of ecological, business, cultural and sports tourism.

In 1999 was set up a Regional Action Plan based on the National Program for Tourism Municipalization and in 2002, a document entitled "*Turismo Grande ABC – 7 Estrelas*" was created, which presents the main sights of the seven municipalities. The image of the region has also been promoted by creating the slogan "*Grande ABC. Aqui Você Tá Com Tudo*".

Note also the production of a institutional film about the ABCD, the creation of a tourism supplement and a gourmet guide in partnership with the *Jornal do Grande ABC*, the recovery and restoration of monuments and rural pedestrian paths, for example, the *Caminhos do Mar – Pólo Ecoturístico*; the use of the Serra do Mar and Billings dam for activities such as fishing and amateur boat tours; dissemination of cultural events, and the construction of a Convention Center in the ABCD targeted for business tourism.

The municipality of Santo André created in 2001, a program to revitalize the railway and industrial town of Paranapiacaba, which has increased the number of tourists in more than 500% between 2001 and 2006. In this town is still held the Winter Festival of Santo André which is already in its 7th edition.

Also at a city's tourism promotion level, Santo André City Hall conducted campaigns through distribution of maps, postcards and leaflets. We should also mention the support on the creation and promotion of tourist business and agencies in the city.

On the other hand São Bernardo do Campo has created a brand image: "*São Bernardo – Capital do Automóvel*". This project, which includes the deployment of tourist infrastructures and leisure and entertainment complexes, will be financed in 80% by the Federal Government.

São Caetano do Sul created a history roadmap, which includes the most significant moments in the history of the city; churches; infrastructure linked to old railways, a former industrial park and a historical museum of the city, with the objective of creating income in tourism and benefit from the historical legacy of the city.

The municipality of Diadema, in partnership with the city's food establishments and the ABCD's Union of Accommodation and Alimentation, organized this festival to promote the city and the development of tourism.



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Ribeirão Pires hosted a Chocolate Festival that in 2007 was already in its third annual edition. This initiative has been a success and has become one of the characteristic elements of what is already known as the “City of Chocolate”.

There have also been organized cycling tours monitored by trainees of the courses taught under the *Ciclotur* and *Citytour* projects.

Given the hydrological features of Ribeirão Pires there was a bet on the “*Estância Turística de Ribeirão Pires*” targeted for ecotourism. Another important activity was the organisation of the 1st Ribeirão Pires Tourism Seminar, where topics such as Sustainable Planning, Ecotourism and Planning and Management of Tourist Trails were discussed. As a result of this seminar, initiatives to promote activities such as hiking, bike and motorcycle path, climbing or rappel were taken.

In Rio Grande da Serra, was created the Municipal Council of Tourism, as a deliberative body whose main function will be the deployment of municipal policy on tourism for the development of “Sustainable Tourism”, seen as a factor of development and environmental preservation. Related with this Council it was created, in 2002, the Municipal Tourism Fund, and, in 2004 the Municipal Fund for Support of Sports, Recreation and Tourism.

The city has also developed radical tourism, encouraging the practice of various sports, such as rappel, walking and jeep paths, among others.

Other initiatives are related with environmental protection measures, largely focused on issues related to basic sanitation. In the city of São Paulo the Green Factory Project has sought to defend the water springs from the “invasion” resulted from population and urban growth.

One aspect developed by the *Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC* under Structural Axis - *Urban Environment Quality* concerns the implementation of programmes of sanitation, collection and processing of solid waste and environmental and landscaping remediation of public areas.

In Santo André the Eixo Tamanduatei Project covers several objectives at the level of urban, economic, social and environmental requalification of the historic industrial area located in the floodplain of Rio Tamanduateí and along the railway.

In 2007, São Caetano do Sul joined the State project Município Verde, which seeks the development of policies for preservation of the urban environment. They have also set targets, which aim to improve environmental conditions in the city. São Caetano do Sul will be the first municipality in the metropolitan region of Sao Paulo with coverage rates of treated sewage, solid waste and supply of drinking water of 100%.



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Mauá established in 1999, the guidelines for environmental planning in order to set up programmes of organising municipal environmental management system and strategies that will guide the qualification, protection, restoration and environmental regeneration in the city. That document also includes several strategic areas of intervention, including Environmental Education, collection and separation of waste and sanitation.

Under the Environmental Education and the collection and separation of waste, it is particularly highlight the AGIR-Mauá program, created in 2007 and result of a partnership between the City Hall, the Regional Directorate of Education, the Suzano petrochemical company, the School of Mauá and Santo André Foundation.

Ribeirão Pires have been carried out awareness campaigns on environmental and signed up several protocols and partnerships aimed at environmental and landscap preservation, with special emphasis on recycling of waste and use of alternative energies.

The city also joined the State project Município Verde, with the aim of promoting successful measures at the level of environmental preservation, that can be reversed in public funds to be applied in new campaigns for environmental protection.

In 2007 began the biggest sanitation work ever held in the city, which will ensure safe drinking water, the cleaning up of the Billings dam and sewage treatment, resulting from a partnership between the City Hall and the State of São Paulo's Sanitation Company. Ribeirão Pires is also the first city of the ABCD with stations for monitoring underground water quality, through a partnership between the City Hall, SABESP and Saenge and AOS contractors.

Rio Grande da Serra created in 1994, the City Council for the Environment Defence as a mainly advisory body with the goal to propose guidelines for implementing the municipal environmental policy. Since then, it have been carried out numerous environmental awareness and training campaigns, among entrepreneurs, students and general population. As well as campaigns for technological modernization of industries; planting of trees; collection of garbage; decrease of sewage and toxic gas emissions, improving the quality of water and sewerage system and urban interventions in areas of environmental risk.

An important aspect of the presented initiatives refers to the administrative modernisation and improvement on decision-making instruments available to municipal services, particularly through the implementation of Geographic Information Systems (GIS's).



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The city of São Paulo, implemented the Atlas of Labour and Development, installed in a GIS, which 200 thematic indicators on education, health, income and work, which is used as a tool to support decision making on public and private initiatives, using geomarketing techniques.

Santo André created in 1997 an Administrative Modernisation Project that led to the development of several initiatives to improve access information and contact between the various municipal departments. This project sought to develop a new form of Governance - the Electronic Government, which seeks the creation of online services with the aim to provide better communication with citizens and local businesses. In this context there is also the e-project *SIGPro* which is an initiative in order to provide free information throughout the City Hall website based on a GIS software.

Other similar initiative was the acquisition by the Municipality of São Bernardo do Campo of statistical data and making them available by creating a tool of *WebGIS* called *GeoPortal* and accessible online. Among the features available there is a Municipal Statistical Compendium, Thematic Mapping, Cadastral Information Sheets and textual and spatial information on the municipal town planning legislation.

In summary we can say that the number of local initiatives development for presented is extremely varied. It shows there is a municipal dynamism, in which public entities (local, state or federal) act alone or in partnership with the private sector and with non-governmental or non-profit organization (3rd sector), with the aim of promoting local Development.

5. Final Remarks

The participation of the interested groups or beneficiaries in the definition, implementation and monitoring of "*Endogenous Development*" policies is crucial. The arguments in favour of participation highlight its importance to the effectiveness of the Development Policies, good Governance, sustainability, training and accumulation of Social Capital, as well as for the democratization and strengthening of civil society.

In short, it can be noted that the number of local development projects and initiatives presented is extremely diverse, although many of these initiatives are still fairly recent (or not being so recent, do not have yet measurable results). There seems to be a dynamic in the analysed municipalities, in which the various public bodies, local, state or federal, "combine" with the private sector, NGO's or non-profit organization (the so-called 3rd sector), with the aim of promoting a local and sustainable "*Endogenous Development*", with the ultimate aim of promoting the improvement of the populations' living conditions.



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Far from being an end in itself, this paper presents some potential “paths” for the future of São Paulo and the ABCD. In this sense, the lines of enquiry to follow should monitor the implementation of the presented measures, its degree of adaptation to the reality and the positive impacts generated.

Another interesting line of research could be the implementation of the analysis conducted for the remaining municipalities of the metropolitan region of São Paulo or even to the regions of Campinas and Santos, especially considering the polarization exerted by São Paulo and the expansion of its metropolitan influence area in direction of these regions.

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