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Municipalities: a comparative case-study
between Amadora (Lisbon-PT) and
Diadema (São Paulo-BR)**

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**LOCAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN METROPOLITAN AREAS'
SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITIES: A COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDY
BETWEEN AMADORA (LISBON-PT) AND DIADEMA (SÃO PAULO-BR)**

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Abstract

Amadora and Diadema are two small-sized but densely populated suburban municipalities, territorially contiguous to the metropolises of Lisbon (PT) and São Paulo (BR). In spite of their geographic and socio-economic specificities they both present common and important social exclusion (e.g. housing, unemployment) problems. This paper critically compares the local development initiatives put into practice in these two contexts, evaluating how multiple territorial actors (e.g. political institutions, financial and business associations, NGO's, civic movements) interact and establish partnerships directed to minimize some of the previously identified issues thus promoting these municipalities' populations socio-economic development.

Keywords: Local Development, Endogenous Development, Community-based Development, Social Exclusion, Amadora (Lisbon-PT), Diadema (São Paulo-BR).

1. Introduction

Some of the recent development theories and policies are placing their emphasis on local and endogenous factors. Indeed, since the 1970's, the territorial development paradigms changed from a functional perspective to a territorial perspective and even, since the 1990's, to an inter-territorial perspective, more suited for the current context of

Globalization characterized by increasing flows and networks, either they are of information, of knowledge, of financial capital, of labour, or of other types (Castells, 2003).

Following this point of view, the present paper will compare the local development initiatives put into practice in two different territorial contexts – Amadora and Diadema –, evaluating how multiple actors (e.g. political institutions, financial and business associations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), civic society and associative movements) interact and establish partnerships in order to minimize some of these municipalities' populations socio-economic problems.

In spite of their geographic and socio-economic specificities both these municipalities present relevant social exclusion (e.g. housing, unemployment) problems. Amadora (23.77 km² and, according to estimates from Statistics Portugal (INE), 172 110 residents in 2008) and Diadema (30.65 km² and, as showed by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics, 397.738 residents in 2009) are, are seen by these data, two small-sized but densely populated suburban municipalities, territorially contiguous to the metropolises of Lisbon (PT) and São Paulo (BR).

Structurally, the paper will be organized according to three main subjects, namely:

1. Theoretical questions about territorial entrepreneurship and “new” territorial management;
2. Territorial and socioeconomic comparative characterization of the municipalities of Amadora and Diadema;
3. Presentation of the local development initiatives held in these two municipalities.

2. Territorial Entrepreneurship and the “New” Territorial Management

As previously mentioned, some of the latest literature on development studies considers that local political authorities have greater advantages in relation to the central government regarding the creation of favorable conditions to improve enterprises' productivity and competitiveness. In fact, the local political governments tend to be

increasingly looked at as agencies that can intervene suitably to promote each municipality's sustainable development (Salvador, 2006).

Indeed, if we consider that City Halls² may have more institutional flexibility, when compared with central governments, 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).

As a result of this situation, since the 1990's, regional and local political authorities worldwide have gained increasing importance in terms of economic growth promotion (in terms of infrastructure, ending bureaucracy, increasing participation of the private sector and business rationality of the public administration, search of consensus around "strategic" priorities, among many other aspects), leading some authors to defend that a new type of territorial management was to be developed, which Archer designated as "urban entrepreneurship", Harvey as "public urban management", LeGalès as "urban governing" or Fainstein as "local mercantilism" (Salvador, 2006).

The general perspective is that *«cities [are] competing for globally footloose investment and hence requiring particular priorities in urban policy. (...) It is suggested that a less deterministic approach to globalization could provide opportunities for greater local political choice and participation, leading to a wider discussion of priorities in urban planning»* (Thornley, 2002: 21)

Given this new perspective and since Borja and Castells (1997: 162-163) state that *«estamos convencidos de que un gobierno local promotor no puede funcionar según las formas de gestión y de contratación propias de la administración tradicional»* it also seems important to consider the concept of "Governance", understood as the management of public affairs, in combination with citizens' associations and their

² In Portugal, the *Câmara Municipal* is the executive branch of the local government and the *Assembleia Municipal* is its legislative branch. On the contrary, in Brazil *Prefeitura* is seen as the executive branch and the *Câmara Municipal* appears as the legislative branch of the local government.

organizations, in a broad view of convergence between the interests of the public powers and its citizens, seen in this perspective as a company “shareholders”. In this sense “*Governance*” can be understood as a broader concept of government (as a formal political structure and institutionalized territorial base), although it can be found a considerable diversity of definitions that give some instability in the theoretical and practical definition of this term. (Fermisson, 2005; Branco, 2006)

The entrepreneurial promotion is creating new political practices and social relations, as well as a local agenda determined by urban competitiveness and the development of a more efficient and dynamic local public administration.

On the other hand, the *«globalization of production (...) constitutes the new tension between globality and locality (Stöhr, 1990). Cities are the most differentiated and complex localities of all, hence the growth of competition between them»* (Jensen-Butler et al. 1997: 4). The previous statement means that Globalization – and “its” opening of markets, tendency for worldwide free trade, and technological and transports revolutions – has brought a new tension between local and global. Metropolization can now be seen as one of the primary results of such a tension (Salvador, 2006).

In the perspective of Manuel Castells (2003), the increased importance of cities is related to the new model of “network society”, in which the main element of productivity is based on knowledge and information speed and processing. Indeed going even further ahead, there seems to be a growing perspective that this nation-states’ and central governments’ crisis will lead to the creation of an international network of interdependent and interrelated local governments (Borja and Castells, 1997). This assumption is based on the fact that nation-states are simultaneously too “big” to solve local problems and too “small” to solve the “new” economic and social problems resulting from the advent of Globalization. Like Borja and Castells (1997: 31) summarily state *«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»*.

Nevertheless it is expected that the Nation-States will most likely continue to exist. Indeed the recent financial crisis showed that market regulation and public intervention



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on financial markets is a need and that Adam Smith's "invisible hand" and "*laissez-faire*" policy is, in some extent, "unrealistic". Besides this, once we consider the importance of "economies of scale" and the need to ensure certain costly or technical complex public services (such as armed forces, justice, diplomacy, among others) we understand that it is still necessary a governmental political level "above" municipalities and even regions.

Nevertheless, it is important that Nation-States maintain with local governments a more decentralized, 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).

In a wider approach and considering the effects of metropolization, one should consider *«the concept of global city-regions [which] can be traced back to the "world cities" idea of Hall (1996) and Friedmann and Wolff (1982), and to the "global cities" idea of Sassen (1991) (...) in a way that tries to extend the meaning of the concept in economic, political, and territorial terms, and above all to show how city-regions increasingly function as essential spatial nodes of the global economy and as distinctive political actors on the world stage»* (Scott et al., 2002: 11).

One key question deals with the fact that this issue of Nation-State restructuring represents a deregulation or to free the central government of much of their social responsibilities and powers, transferring them to the municipalities. As Seixas (2002: 99-100) points out, *«continuing growing mercantile pressures (...), alongside with the concomitant demission of public responsibilities, a direction that, seemingly, drives even more the city before social, physical, even economic unsustainability. (...) This questioning of legitimacy puts a direct focusing in the state attitudes – with its actions, or better said, its re-actions of demission and casuistic regulation»*.

As mentioned earlier, since the 1970's, the "local" perspective has been gaining an increasing importance in terms of economic development. Cities are the "wealth of

nations” and their competitiveness is to be promoted. Social conflicts are also increasingly being transferred from the “territory of the nations” to the “territory of the cities”, no longer seen only as economic centers but also as the new leading political actors (Salvador, 2006).

One of the advantages of the “local” lies in the fact that the capacity for innovation depends not only on an appropriate education system, but also on the existence of certain equipments, research centers and urban services related to issues such as housing, culture, environment and health, which must be able to attract the necessary qualified workforce.

Hence, since the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, new methodological tools such as “Territorial Strategic Planning”, “Territorial Marketing”, “Development Agencies” or “Public-Private Partnerships (PPP’s)”, among many others, have started to emerge, progressively enrolling cities in the sustainable development processes through a paradigmatic evolution that may be addressed to as the “New” Territorial Management.

A brief presentation of these new forms of territorial intervention is relevant, especially if considered that many of the projects and initiatives developed in Amadora and Diadema may fall under these types.

According to Fernández Guell (1997), “Strategic Planning” was born in the Military as the capacity to lead an army in the field and achieve the established goal. Indeed, Strategy results from the combination of the words *stratos* (army) and *ego* (leader) and goes back some 2300 years ago to Chinese general and philosopher Sun Tzu and his book “*The Art of War*”. The Strategic Planning reemerged in the 1960’s as a tool for the private sector to improve their businesses internal organization and operation, but it was only in the 1980’s that several United States’ Cities (San Francisco, Philadelphia, Memphis) and Federal States (California, Ohio, Wisconsin) began to draw up strategic plans aimed at attracting investment, promoting economic growth and urban regeneration and creating the “Territorial Strategic Planning” by reproducing the business strategic planning logics. «*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*



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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).

Applying Strategic Planning to cities and regions represents an effort to produce fundamented decisions and actions that lead a certain territorial “organization” (either municipalities, regions or countries) to achieve its goals. In fact, faced with the renewed context of territorial planning one the most important challenges placed on territories and on the planning process itself is the need to integrate the territorial dimension in a strategic reference framework to be translated into adequate decision criteria. Formulating territorial trajectories of development requires multi-disciplinary cooperation and the building of a consensus around key-ideas constituent of a development project (Fernandes, 2006).

The emphasis put on “action” represents an effort to avoid inconsistencies between goals and actions, often found in “traditional” planning. The “interactive and participatory nature” seeks 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 comes from the supposition that the power is shared between different actors with their own strategies, that need to work together to create a single vision. Transposing these corporate-based strategies to urban management is indeed a viable option since, as stated by Ascher (1995) cities have great similarities with companies: i) they face international competition; ii) their development depends on economic factors; iii) the local politician is increasingly a “manager” of the city.

“Territorial Marketing” can be considered as a local/regional development tool based on a set of marketing and communication techniques designed to create a “trademark” and to establish the “market” position of a territory, as well as advertising and promoting the economic, social or environmental factors relevant for tourists, investors or new residents’ attraction. “Selling” the city has become one of the basic functions of the local governments and an essential field for private-public negotiation. As defended by Salvador (2006) Territorial Marketing is to be approached as an integrated set of policies destined to boost economic growth and territorial competitiveness. It integrates research actions on the promoting of the territories, namely the desires, motivations and needs of its inhabitants and investors and can also include operations directed to boost

local economic actors' networks and businesses. However territorial marketing must not be measured in a strictly quantitative (or market-based) way. It is subject to qualitative aspects such as the satisfaction of the residents or the attractiveness of the territories. As Benko (2006) puts it, territorial marketing implicates the intervention of both public and private actors aiming at the coordination of their actions, which differs it from the marketing of the territorial companies, centred in one specific (and normally institutional) actor.

The growing need and importance of Territorial Marketing comes from the fact that all territories are competing among themselves for investment and/or skilled human capital attraction. In order to be successful, these territories need to develop actions to promote something unique and appealing that they have to “offer”. In depth *«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). In fact, *«as Harvey noted almost ten years ago, there has been a shift in the attitudes of urban government from a managerial approach to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989). This entrepreneurial stance views the city as a product that needs to be marketed»* (Thornley, 2002: 22)

A “Regional or Local Development Agency” may be defined as an operational structure which seeks to identify the territorial development or sector problems existing in a given region. For that it is its mission to promote the implementation of projects adapted to the specific characteristics of each area. These institutions can be viewed as intermediation agencies between the State, the market and the civil society through which the local development strategies are made operational. They can play a large number of roles, namely: i) to provide technical and juridical support to local managers in the decision-making process; ii) to develop diagnosis of the project's situation, proposing measures to help achieve their objectives; iii) to promote and coordinate investments in transports and communications; or iv) to establish a set of mechanisms that allow for a selective productive restructuring, necessary to strengthen local competitiveness (Cabugueira, 2000).



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Indeed, the development programmes organized by the central governments are not always suitable for application in the local contexts, since they are based on national policies and strategies and usually do not take into account the local community's interests. In this point of view it can be considered that the ideal development projects seek to integrate the local community in the processes of sustainable social and economic development, in order to adjust their productive capacity to market trends.

In some occasions, “Public-Private Partnerships (PPP's)” have been emerging 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 même dans le nombre de cas cet effet géographiquement sélectif qui est recherché (projets dits de “développement local”»* (Gilbert, 2002: 191).

PPP's are characterized by allowing long-term associations between public and private entities with the goal of establishing the conception, financing and construction of public infrastructures or services. *«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)

Being a long-term relationship, the public partner is able to transfer to the private one the project's conception risks, since the private partner has the obligation to ensure the contract service throughout the partnership period. For that *«la première fonction du PPP est donc d’établir une interdépendence 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). However, since the risk is transferred to the private partner, it means that the public partner can not always define the requirements for the project development and its role is focused merely on the definition of the results to be achieved and the level of quality desired.

Another important aspect to be considered is that a PPP can only be justified if the efficiency levels achieved are sufficient enough to offset the financial costs. Therefore it is essential to develop a financial model that is able to allow the establishment of a comparable public cost. «*The hallmark of the U.S. experience in local economic development – whether in government or in the neighborhood – 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).

Projects that may fall under PPP classification are numerous and diverse and range from equipment management or provision of public services to strategic planning, territorial marketing, numerous types of contracts and programmes (cooperation with the central government), or even urban design projects (replacing the traditional legal framework and regulation on land use and occupation). This means that, in some cases, the PPP's have become the basic foundations or urban policies. Salvador (2006) notices that tax incentives directed to construction companies, public loans, or leasing financing have all increased exponentially in the last years as well as the practices of countermeasures in the use of urban lands or even infra-structures.

In summary, it is at this point understandable that local political authorities (i.e. Municipalities) can play (and have been increasingly playing) an important role in the establishment of connections between the different stakeholders present in their territory (whether they are companies, financial institutions, business associations, cooperatives, NGO's or civic movements) therefore providing the necessary institutional framework for an endogenous or community-based Development.

Endogenous Development corresponds, as the name clearly identifies, to the endogenization of the technical progress, understood here as the efficiency increase in using the traditional production factors (land, labour and capital). In the current global competition context, the capacity to innovate and generate new knowledge and competences susceptible to make the territorial system of production evolve is an essential asset. Endogenous Development is therefore the laying of attention to the innovation process and not only to the mere distribution of productive resources (Maillat, 2002).

In the 1980's, in close relation with the previously mentioned Endogenous Development theory, the emergence of the Social Capital theory took its place as well. One of the distinguishable characteristics of social capital is the fact that the trust in each other and the development of social relationship chains and norms is seen as a public good – similarly to what happens with knowledge within the Endogenous Development theory – contradicting the “conventional” capital definition which is usually based on private financial resources.

On the other hand, Community-based Development can be understood as a process that tries to create the conditions for a community economic and social progress, with the active participation of its population and based on their own initiatives. Ezequiel Ander-Egg (1980, *apud* Carmo, 2007) characterizes it as a social technique directed for the promotion of the “human-being” and for the mobilization of human and institutional resources through the active and democratic participation of the population in the study, planning and execution of community-based programs destined to improve these communes life-standard. Traditionally used as a development instrument in rural areas and developing countries, in the last decades, it has also been applied in problematic urban areas around the world (Carmo, 2007), especially in contexts facing important social exclusion issues (for example, areas of strong concentration of immigrant population) as it happens in the case-studies of Amadora and Diadema, that are to be described next.

3. Comparative characterization of the Municipalities of Amadora and Diadema

3.1. Amadora Municipality

The municipality of Amadora was created in 1979, through the separation of a portion of the Oeiras Municipality of whose Amadora was a *Freguesia*³ (Civil Parish). Integrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LAM), this municipality has a privileged position in terms of accessibility, being located in the Portuguese capital city's (Lisbon)

³ In Portugal there are over 4.200 “*freguesias*” (civil parishes) that resulted from the transformation, after the administrative reform of 1836, of formerly strict religious parishes into civil ones. Civil parishes have elected officials and among their functions one can find local roads, kindergartens, retirement houses, parks, cemeteries, and many others. *Freguesias* have both executive (named *Juntas de Freguesia*) and deliberative (called *Assembleias de Freguesia*) branches.

first peripheral ring (Figure 1). This relative position to the country's most important city soon conditioned Amadora's development pattern. With the opening of Sintra suburban railway in the late XIXth century, Amadora gained a strong accessibility to Lisbon, which was soon to be reflected in its exponential demographic growth⁴, which became even more intensive in the second-half of the XXth century⁵.

Indeed the suburban growth of this area was intensified during the 1950's and 1960's throughout an expansion following a radioconcentric structure coming from the metropolis. The industrial delocalization from Lisbon's centre to its periphery – where Amadora is included -, as a result of a tertiarization process in the second-half of the XXth century, originated an exponential demographic growth in the region where this municipality is currently located. This remarkably “spontaneous” growth was not guided (or even cared for) by the public authorities through urban plans, thus creating a dense and unqualified urban tissue, with severe housing deficiencies and lack of public equipments, and with a strong dependency of Lisbon in terms of access to services.

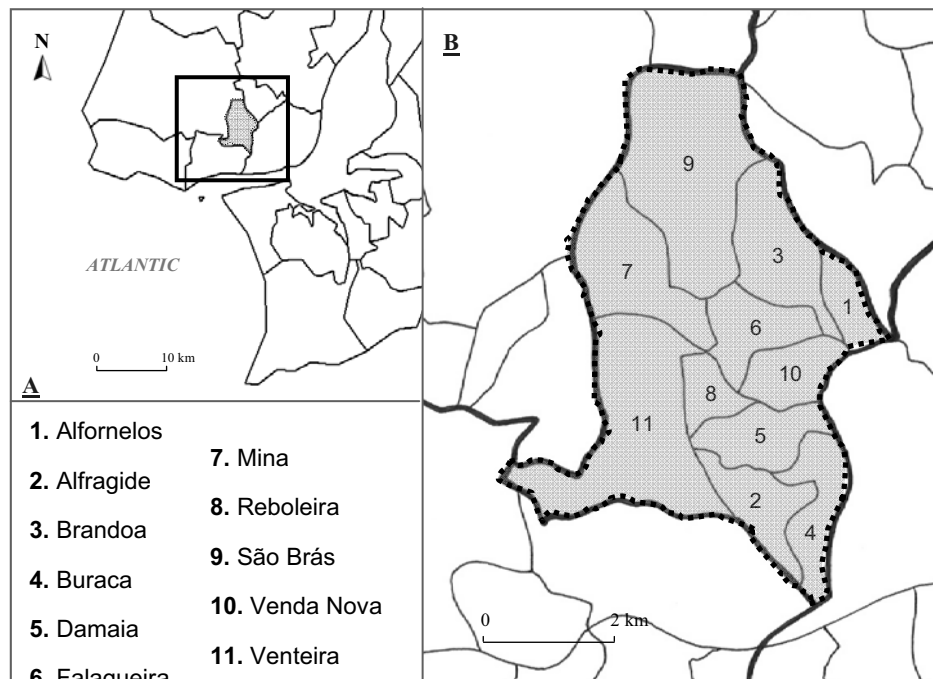
In terms of territorial dimension, Amadora has only 23.8 km² (0.03% of the total territorial surface of Portugal), but it is home of over 170 thousand inhabitants⁶. Its population density – which is strongly connected with urban and environmental pressures – is one of the highest in the country, around 7 200 residents/km². From a sub-local point of view, the municipality is divided in eleven Civil Parishes (Figure 1).

⁴ Around 245% between 1890 and 1911 (Source: CMA, 2010).

⁵ Around 250% between 1950 and 1960 and around 580% between 1950 and 1970 (Source: CMA, 2010).

⁶ A total of 172 .110 in 2008 (INE estimates) representing around 1.6% of the total Portuguese population.

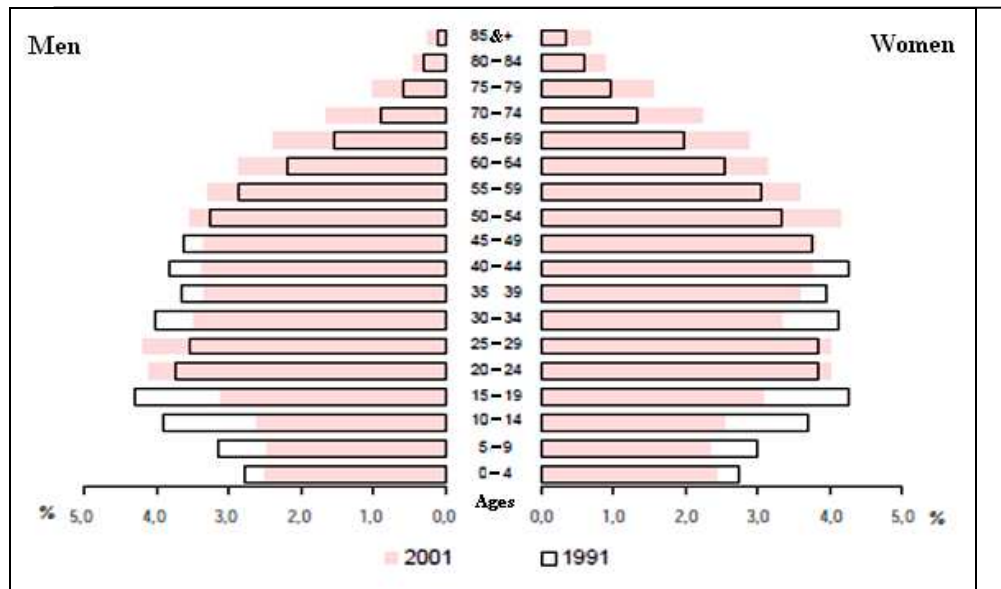
Figure 1 - Location of Amadora in Lisbon Metropolitan Area (A) and its eleven Civil Parishes (B)



A comparative analysis of the population pyramids of the municipality for the years of 1991 and 2001 allows to understand a clear population ageing, visible both on the bottom (less population with 15 years of age or less) and on top (more population with 65 years of age or more) of the pyramid (Figure 2). This is a characteristic situation somewhat all around Portugal, following the trends happening in the generality of the Developed Countries. Nevertheless, the proportion of elder people in the municipality's total population (14%) was according to the Census of 2001 still slightly below than that of the young population (15%). The old-age dependency ratio (20%) was, for that year, less than that of the LMA as an average (23%) (CMA, 2010).

Besides a progressive ageing process, another aspect shown by the two pyramids concerns to the increasing manifested in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups, which may be a continuation of the tendencies shown in the last decades that place Amadora as a strong destination for international immigrants, coming especially from the former Portuguese African colonies and more recently from Brazil and Eastern Europe.

Figure 2 – Population Pyramids for Amadora in 1991 and 2001



Source: INE, Census 1991 and 2001

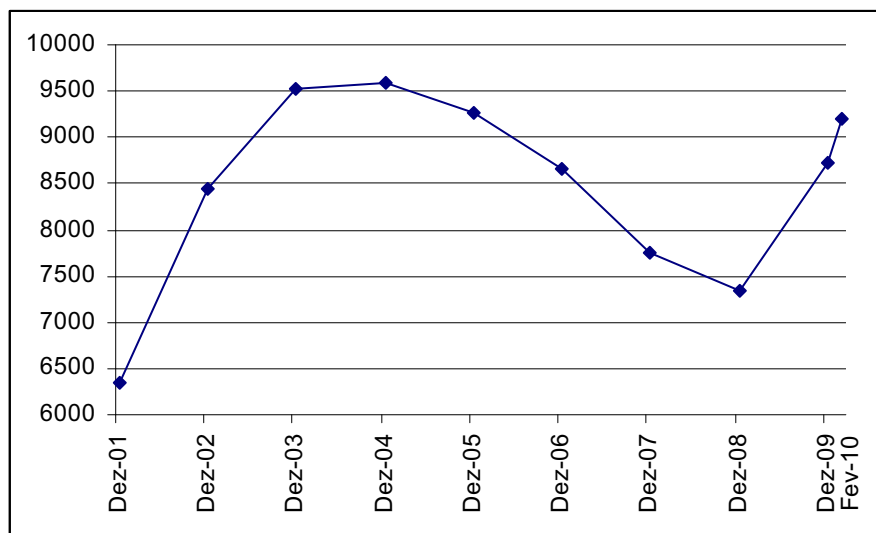
Despite the arrival of this immigrant population, the municipality’s migration rate was, for the same intra-census period, negative (-,4%). This means that, in spite of the strong immigration flows, the entrance of population in the municipality was not enough to compensate the massive exits (almost 15 thousand inhabitants) verified during the 1990’s. Indeed recent demographic estimates undergone by INE show a continuity in this “negative” trend of the migratory indicators (-2,1% residents for the period 2001-2008). This situation may be connected with the degradation (of some) of Amadora’s housing and social tissue, viewed (by the public opinion) as problematic areas in terms of criminality and insecurity.

The birth rate, although still above the national average, has been declining in the last decades, being 11.7‰ in 2001 (CMA, 2010). In terms of mortality rate, a growth can be identified (from 7.0‰ in 1991 to 8.2‰ in 2001) related with the increasing of the ageing process. Still this rate was, in 2001, around 2‰ lower than the national average. All these data show that not disregarding the fact that the natural growth of population in Amadora was still positive in 2001 a decrease has happened in the last decades, from 8.1% in 1991 to 4.4% in 2001 (CMA, 2010).

In terms of employment, Amadora had an economic activity rate of 53.4%, one of the highest in LMA, in the year of 2001. In terms of unemployment, the figures in

Amadora, as well as those of the country as a whole, have been rising in the last two years (Figure 3). This situation is motivated by both domestic and international economic problems, which led to the closure of important local industries such as the Bombardier train factory. In terms of economic activities, commerce (both in wholesale and retail), social and personal services (e.g. housekeeping), civil construction and manufacturing are the most important sectors in job numbers, with location quotients higher than 1.

Figure 3 - Number of registered unemployed people in Amadora (2001-2010)



Source: IEFPP – Concelhos – Estatísticas Mensais

The previously mentioned unemployment levels and population job profiles are both indicators of potential problems in terms of professional and academic qualifications of the population. Indeed, the illiteracy rate faced a slight growth in Amadora between 1991 and 2001, from 5,1% to 5,5% (CMA, 2010), which is a divergent situation from the national and LMA tendencies. A possible explanation for this situation may be related with the African immigration flows (which “brought” many illiterate individuals), as well as the departure of some population with more economic capacity and education (as demonstrated by the general residents decrease during the period 1991-2001). Even in terms of population with higher educational levels, Amadora (8%) is quite below the LMA average (12%) (CMA, 2007).

In housing aspects, Amadora showed significant changes from 1991 to 2001. Being one of LMA's municipalities with stronger habitation growth during the second-half of the XXth century – around 50% of Amadora's buildings were built between 1960 and 1990 –, Amadora experienced, since 1991, a decrease in the growth rate for new lodging construction. Indeed during this period, its 12% growth in accommodation was lower than the 18% average verified in the LMA. Also in the number of construction permits issued since 1991, Amadora had some of the lowest values of the LMA for the same time-frame.

However, in spite of this recent reduction in urban growth, which may be related with the lack of expansion areas – it is important to recall that Amadora is one of LMA's smallest municipalities – Amadora's figures reveal that this municipality is still (and after the capital city of Lisbon) the second most dense area in terms of housing of the LMA (CMA, 2007).

More importantly that the single strong construction pressures is the fact that Amadora inherited a territory marked by precarious neighbourhoods in terms of housing, which had their origin during the 1960's and were progressively enlarged and made more dense in the following decades. Considering the lack of an integrative local housing policy capable of resolving the lodging offer deficit and its high prices, many of the immigrants arriving to this area in high fluxes (especially preceding from Portugal's rural areas in the 1960's and from the former African colonies, in the post-colonial period – 1970's and 1980's) started to resolve by themselves their housing problems by occupying and constructing illegally large “*bairros de barracas*” (slum neighbourhoods) in public and private un-urbanized lands. The result of this is the fact that, in 1993 Amadora registered almost 5 thousand slums (inhabited independent constructions made of old and re-used materials without a determined plan), the second highest value in LMA (just after Lisbon), which were located in 35 different critical neighbourhoods with over 20 thousand inhabitants, around 12% of the municipality's total population (CMA, 2007).

3.2. Diadema Municipality

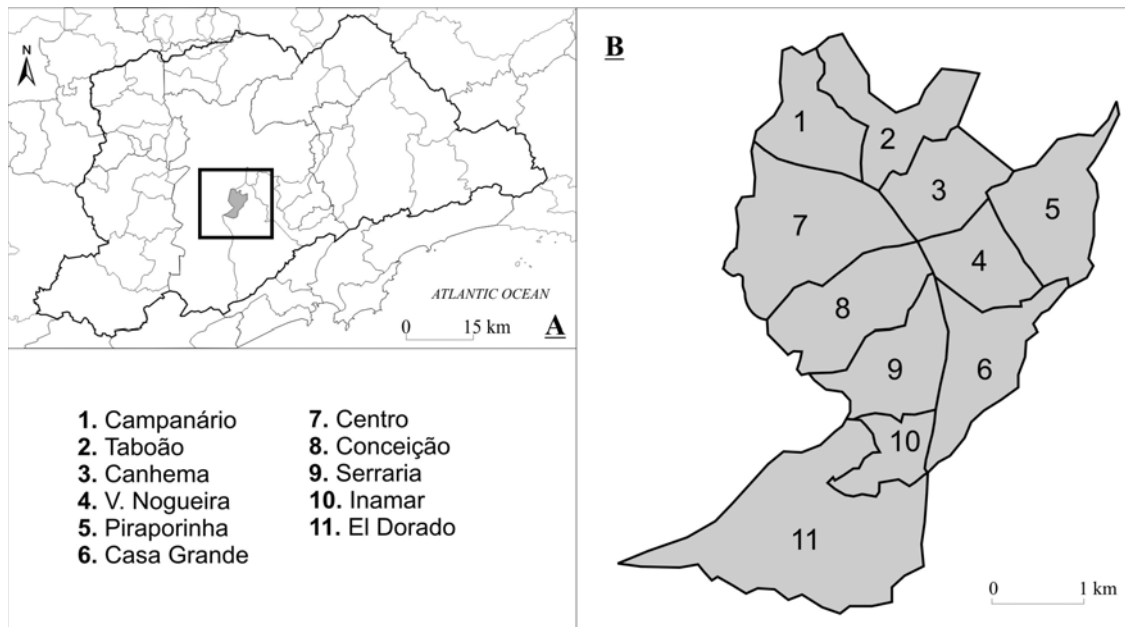
São Paulo is the most important metropolis of the South American sub-continent and a true “Global City” (following the definition of Saskia Sassen) equipped with modern infrastructures, able to provide world standard services and concentrating coordination and command functions associated with transnational corporations. The city and its metropolitan region (SPMR) work as the true economic capital of Brazil. Nevertheless, it is also known as the “*Metrópole das Desigualdades*” (Sachs, 1999) holding a chaotic process of urbanization, a largely dilapidated housing structure and high levels of poverty and social exclusion.

Diadema is one of SPMR first peripheral ring municipalities. With a relatively small size – only 30.7km² – this municipality was created in 1959, after being part of São Bernardo do Campo’s Municipality, curiously a situation very close to the one verified in Amadora. This municipality is also part of the so-called ABC or ABCD region⁷ located southeast of São Paulo, an industrial belt originated by the development of the manufacturing industry – mainly in the automobile sector – at the end of the 1940’s and early 1950’s, particularly through the policies of Getúlio Vargas, followed by Juscelino Kubitchek and his “*Plano de Metas*” that was concerned with the establishment of industrial and imports substitution macroeconomic development policies.

Its close location towards the city of São Paulo (Figure 5) soon contributed to the predominance of the industrial and residential land uses. Indeed, the territorial transformations that happened in Diadema since the 1960’s, all followed the metropolis’ own productive activity dynamics, leading to important economic activities and land use changes consistent with the growing industrialization and housing densification processes.

⁷ ABC or ABCD stands for Santo André (A), São Bernardo do Campo (B), São Caetano do Sul (C) and Diadema (D). More recently Mauá, Ribeirão Pires and Rio Grande da Serra municipalities have also been considered part of this region forming the so-called enlarged ABCD.

Figure 1 - Location of Diadema in São Paulo Metropolitan Area (A) and its eleven neighbourhoods (B)



During the 1960's and until the 1980's Diadema had a strong population growth, knowing average annual growth rates of around 20% during 1960-1970's period and 11% in the following decade. In the 1990's, the annual growth rhythm slowed strongly (around 3%). In spite of that, the absolute figures were still impressive during that decade with a resident's increase of around 50 thousand individuals, meaning an augment of about 17% during the first half of the last decade of the XXth century (IBGE *apud* Romeiro and Laviola, 1996). IBGE estimates also indicate an 11.4% population growth between 2000 and 2009.

The 2000 Census demonstrated that Diadema had a quite young population structure, with almost 40% of the residents having less than 20 years of age. The population with over 60 years was around 5% (IBGE *apud* Marques, 2008).

It is in the municipality's industrial expansion that one can find the basis for the previous demographic dynamics, as well as, indirectly for the aforementioned population structures. In the year 1960, the municipal industrial sector had only 632 workers; ten years later that figure increased up to 9 622. The manufacturing sector,

through the creation of new jobs, led to a migrants' attraction process. Immigrants started to arrive here coming from all across Brazil, especially from the “*Nordeste*”⁸.

Romeiro and Laviola (1996) synthesize the most important economic and productive characteristics of Diadema in the mid-1990's, most of them still maintaining today:

- The industrial sector was the biggest employment sector of the municipality. Therefore, the productive restructuring that started in the 1970's still had visible consequences at that time, namely in terms of the local unemployment;
- Unemployment in Diadema is a cyclic and conjuncture phenomenon, dependent of the region's industrial dynamism. Nevertheless, since the 1980's, there has been a tendency of stabilisation of the unemployment rates around the numbers 15-17%, which represents a high value, even in the SPMR context;
- Diadema's manufacturing sector structure is characterized by local industry integration with the larger regional automobile industry, specially in the auto parts sub-sector;
- There is an important informal sector in the local economy, mostly related with non-specialized retail, automobile repair, personal and domestic objects selling and increasingly personal domestic services and civil construction;
- The services sector has been starting to display a known and positive dynamics, associated to the process of modernization of the local economy and to the real estate expansion verified in the municipality, as well as to the increases in transport, storage, communications and services to the companies.

In the social domain it is important to underline some interesting aspects. One of the first refers to the clandestine urbanization phenomenon extension in Brazil, in São Paulo and, more specifically, in Diadema. This raises several important questions concerning the local population development levels. In this field, the child mortality rate is an

⁸ The Northeast Region (“*Nordeste*”) of Brazil is composed of the following states: Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia. With 1.558.196 km² and over 50 million inhabitants this is the poorest region of Brazil.



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important indicator to be used. Although Diadema still presents high values on such a datum, the evolution is remarkable, from 108‰ in the year 1970, to 37‰ years 20 years later, a figure quite below the Brazilian average of around 50‰. In the following years this reduction tendency continued, reaching 21‰ in 1994 (Romeiro and Laviola, 1996).

Curiously, comparing these figures with those of Amadora (12‰ according to INE), show us the differences that in spite of the multiple similarities found between the two spatial contexts still exist between them. Also the average life expectation in that same period – around 63 years for Diadema – show us a difference of almost 10 years between these two territories, with a clear advantage for the Portuguese municipality.

In educational terms, Diadema has some serious problems. Its illiteracy rate in 2000 (12%) – one of the highest in SPMR, whose average is less than 9% – was more than the double of that of Amadora (5.5%). Around 34% of the population with more than 25 years in Diadema did not finished the first four years of education, and almost 75% did not completed more than eight years of formal tutoring. The population in Diadema holding a higher education diploma was less than 3%. On the other hand, Amadora – which has for itself a very low figure for the LMA context – had more than 8%.

In terms of housing, Diadema is also facing some serious problems. The population growth in the last decades had, obviously, extreme repercussions in terms of the municipality's lodging quality. The formal sector's inability to build sufficient new houses, associated with the migrant population's economic difficulties and the lack of "available" land in this reduced-size municipality, strongly conditioned the lodging quantitative and especially qualitative increase in Diadema's slums. The result of this is the existence of serious social problems in terms of poverty, social exclusion and marginalization, both in terms of housing and employment, as well as in Diadema's environmental sustainability.

Yet, important progresses have been made in the last decades, especially since the late 1980's and early 1990's. Indeed, houses and neighbourhoods' infra-structuring has improved importantly in the last 30-40 years. Only 71.4% of Diadema's houses were made of durable materials in 1970; currently, according to IBGE, the same value is above 98%. Only 35.9% of the houses had proper water supply in 1970; this has risen to

an actual total of circa 97%. In 1970, just about 29% of the houses were equipped with proper sewer facilities. IBGE notices that the current value is above the 75% figure (Romeiro and Laviola, 1996).

Finally, in what concerns to the numbers of “favelas” (or slums) and their corresponding population it is also possible to find some important improvements. Presently there is a total of 75 “*favelas*” in Diadema (almost 15% of SPMR’s total number of slums), which represent a total of 40% of the municipality’s population, around 130 thousand inhabitants. These figures, although still very significant, represent a massive reduction from the 97 “favelas” found in Diadema in the year 1980, which comprised more than half of the residents in this territory. This evolution is even more significant when contextualized in the general tendencies of the country’s territory, since it represents a “counter-movement” to the one verified both in the Brazilian and the SPMR context, which still are currently facing a high growth in the number of slums and its inhabitants (Hereda and Alonso, 1996; Romeiro and Laviola, 1996; Sachs, 1999).

Despite all of their peculiarities, some important similarities have been found between the general characteristics of Diadema (Brazil) and Amadora (Portugal). They both faced heavy industrial growth in the second half of the XXth century, result of their territorial proximity to their respective country’s economic centres. They both are small-sized but densely populated territories – individualized form larger municipalities in the second half of the XXth century – with severe social exclusion problems (mainly housing issues) related to the massive arrival of immigrants in result of the aforementioned industrialization processes. Their current educational, social, economic, habitational and demographic profiles are similar (obviously adapted to each country’s context) and show clear reflections of these social and economic evolving profiles. All the previous factors determine the interest of their comparison in terms of their local development initiatives, which are going to be synthetically presented in the following section.

4. Local Development Initiatives in Amadora and Diadema

4.1. Methodology

Following the territorial characterization of the two municipalities target of the present paper some of the development initiatives directly and indirectly relevant for the enhancement of the local economies developed in the last years in the two case-study areas will now be synthetically demonstrated. Before that presentation, a brief note containing some necessary explanations about the empirical methodology applied will be undergone.

The research about the local development initiatives was made possible by the intensive use of the Internet. The websites of local relevant political, administrative and economic actors were thoroughly analysed. Far from being an exhaustive process, the selection of the projects and initiatives to be included was based on their real or potential contribution for the local economic development.

Based on previous research developed by Amaral Filho (1996, *apud* Marques, 2008), five great thematic areas were to be privileged in this process, namely:

1. Education, health and food security, which stand out as the basic foundations of the human capital. Investing in these areas is to invest in one of the most important production factors, the labour force;
2. Science and technology, or research and development, simultaneously extensions and products of the human capital that constitute the qualitative foundations of the economic development (either public or private);
3. Information and knowledge. Fast flow and inter-change of information about the markets and the processes of production is of fundamental relevance once it has the ability to boost the productive system's productivity;
4. Institutions, either public or private, visible and invisible, at several scales (with privilege to the local and regional levels of interaction), since they play an instrumental role in market boosting and regulation and in the preparation of the civil society for the ever-evolving challenges of the global economies;
5. Environment, meaning the sustainable use of resources and the reduction of the ecological impact (or the externalities) of a given production process.

The adaptation of the previous directives to the peculiarities inherent to the two case-studies and to the objectives of the current paper determined that subjects like the stimulus to the local entrepreneurialism, formal and informal education, environmental sustainability, land use legislation, or tourism were granted a greater relevance, answering to their potential towards the promotion of Local Endogenous Development. So, the initiatives identified were grouped into one of the following four categories: i) Incentives granted to the entrepreneurs and the enterprises and/or to the production processes themselves; ii) Education and professional qualification of the population; iii) Transport networks and accessibilities; iv) Tourism and environmental preservation.

In spite of an exhaustive presentation of all the initiatives identified in the municipalities – which would succumb faced with the paper’s analytical objectives and dimensional constraints – it was to decided to present a synthesized comparative brief of the projects identified in the two spatial contexts, trying to identify (and compare) some common points and specificities inherent to each one of them.

4.2. Results: A Comparative Synthesis between Amadora and Diadema

A synthetic demonstration of the most relevant local initiatives identified in the two municipalities is presented in Table 1, organized according to the four themes considered methodologically. The organization of the initiatives considered in the two municipalities in a single table aims to promote a better comparison of these two territorial contexts.

A first aspect to be underlined is the fact that there is a similar relative importance conceded to the four axis of analysis in the two municipalities. Axis 1 and 2 – respectively the incentives to local entrepreneurialism and education and professional qualification of the municipality’s population – gather a higher number of programmes. This is a trend already verified in a similar study developed for the SPMR (Marques, 2008). An interesting fact is to be seen in Axis 4 (Tourism and Environment) where the municipality of Amadora displays higher and more intensive concerns. Areas of intervention like the promotion of a strategic local sustainable development, or the recycling and individual and corporate waste disposal – perceptible in the Amadora case – are not as prominent in the municipality of Diadema.

In what concerns to transports and accessibilities two aspects are to be noticed. The first one respects to the fact that both the municipalities do not have an integrated local (territorial or strategic) transport programme. The second allows noting that there are no consistent initiatives concerning these matters neither in Amadora, nor in Diadema. A possible explanation for such aspect might be the fact that the transport and accessibility sectors are commonly (and as it may be seen in several countries) developed at a regional level. So is the case of Diadema, where transport management is being placed as a competence of a regional institution – the Intermunicipal Consortium of the ABCD region. Intra-municipal transport and accessibility management are normally cared for not by specific programmes but in the context of larger and more general urban rehabilitation operations hence the fact that the projects identified in the axis related to the transports tend to be scarcer than the rest.

	Amadora	Diadema
Incentives to Local Entrepreneurialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Amadora Empreende”: Municipal Program of Social Entrepreneurialism (public economic development agency); - Project “Quem não Arrisca, não Petisca” destined to grant support to local and unemployed small entrepreneurs; - Project “Quick Amadora” directed to support local young entrepreneurs to settle their businesses in Amadora; - MODCOM initiative: system of financial incentives to projects directed to modernize the traditional commerce; - “Housing Pockets” (directed to overcome the constraints verified at this level and stimulate the local housing market); - Programmes to promote immigrants’ entrepreneurialism (“Contamos Consigo”, “Geração” and “MILE”); - Sector programmes: “Mulher +” (entrepreneurialism among women), “Vantagem” (directed at disabled peoples); and “Conseguir” (specifically destined to ex-convicts); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marketing and promotion of the municipal enterprises (alongside with the infra-structuring of industrial parks); - Creation of the “Peoples Bank”, institution that grants micro-credit to local and small entrepreneurs; - Implementation of strategic Thematic Industrial Centres (on the Cosmetics and Automobile sectors); - Project: “Self-Managed Enterprises Incubators” (free advisory and financial incentives to small companies); - Fiscal incentives granting to promote the establishment of local enterprises and the constitution of Cooperatives; - Incentives to market distribution and purchase of local agricultural products (delivered to social institutions); - Project: “Popular Entrepreneur” (destined to boost small-sized informal local enterprises and entrepreneurs); - Program Exporta-Cidade (destined to promote industrial companies’ insertion in the International trading systems).
Education Professional Qualification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social Development Local Contract (several axis of action including support in adult’s education and digital inclusion); - Intercultural School of Sports and Professions (educational offers adapted to local and regional labour markets needs); - Centre “Novas Oportunidades” of Amadora (national-based initiative destined to promote adult’s education); - Several initiatives under the European-based programmes URBAN II and EQUAL; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Project: “Mov@di” (destined to promote the digital inclusion of the population through multiple initiatives); - Professional qualification courses (adapted to the local productive system’s specificities and local social needs); - Stimulus for implantation of the campus of Diadema of the Federal University of São Paulo (PPP developed with local and regional enterprises associations); - Project MOVA Diadema (adult’s alphabetization program).
Transports Accessibilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interventions in the ambit of the program PROQUAL (axis directed to improve inner-municipality accessibility); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local and regional programs to improve public transports and accessibilities in the municipality (and to its exterior).
Tourism Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Action Plan of the Local Agenda 21 (to be developed in Coordination with state, academic and private institutions); - National Comics Festival (following the creation of the National Centre of Comics and Image in Amadora); - PROCICLA, City Hall’s program destined to promote selective waste disposal by individuals and companies; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Festival dos Sabores” (gastronomic festival organized by the City Hall and private investors of the lodging sector).

Table 1 – Comparative synthesis of the local development initiatives identified for the municipalities of Amadora (Portugal) and Diadema (Brazil)



Education and professional qualification is an important area of intervention in both the municipalities. It is possible to find clear similarities between the types of initiatives developed in Amadora and Diadema. Even though they have particularities driven by the need to be adapted to each context, in both the case-study areas one can find programmes directed at: i) the alphabetization and professional qualification of adults; ii) the development of “alternative” (formal and non-formal, at multiple levels of qualification) educational offers, more suited to face the challenges of the local and regional labour markets; iii) the digital inclusion of the municipal population.

Nevertheless, it seems to be possible to identify two distinctive aspects in this matter, being one the fact that the municipality of Amadora is directly beneficiary of a greater amount of public investments in education coming not only from the national government but also from funding granted by the European Union. So is the case of the projects developed under the local implementation of two European Initiatives, namely URBAN II and EQUAL, both of them financed through European Structural Funding. The isolated projects funded by these two programmes must be developed through the establishment of PPP’s between the local city hall and other local and national institutions.

The other relevant and differential aspect to be elevated is the fact that Amadora’s City Hall, understanding the importance of the educational sector, gathered the initiatives developed in this axis and decided to make them official through the establishment of a local municipal public enterprise named Intercultural School of Sports and Professions. Created in 1999 with the support of the Enterprise Association of the Region of Lisbon (AERLIS) and Cooptécnica – Professional School Gustave Eiffel, its objective is to present alternative educational courses specifically directed to the professional and labour integration of individuals with low qualifications or in the merge of school abandonment.

A rather different situation can be found in what respects to the projects developed under the scope of the promotion of the municipal entrepreneurialism and the granting of incentives (financial or not) to the local productive system. Apart from some very similar initiatives – small-businesses “incubators” or the constitution of local advisory teams – the projects and programmes identified in the two municipalities were distinct,



displaying interesting adaptations to each territorial context, from the local to the macro-regional levels.

The initiatives developed in Diadema are more directed at the industrial sector than the ones identified in Amadora, reflecting the more advanced state of economic tertiarization presented by this last municipality where the retail and traditional commerce, and the housing sectors (either one is talking about the construction, the selling/purchase or the renting markets) are directly addressed through specific programmes.

Although being a reality in both the cases, the informal sector is also treated differently in Diadema and Amadora. In Diadema – where the informal sector is, as it has been seen before, extremely important – one can find specific measures directed at the promotion of these practices (in a first phase) aiming at their future legal regularization (in a second phase). In Amadora the situation is different. Although there were found no specific initiatives concerned with the informal economies, the creation of an official municipal “housing pocket” – destined to boost the formal local housing markets – may be seen as an attempt to overcome informality in one of its most important sectors.

Another interesting aspect relates to the strategic, integrative and coordinated character of Amadora’s initiatives in this ambit, since most of them are developed under the tutelage of a single local institutional programme (implemented through the establishment of multiple public-public and public-private partnerships) called “Amadora Empreende”, which is now a public municipal agency. The remaining are generally promoted and financed at a national or European level. On the other hand, in Diadema, the programmes identified are more detached from each other not constituting an integrated and well-organized consistent set of initiatives.

The creation of cooperatives and sector associations is a concern in the Diadema case, while in Amadora the individual entrepreneurs are normally the focus of the initiatives. Entrepreneurial incentives are more demographically and socially fragmented in Amadora than in Diadema, where generally all the municipality’s inhabitants are eligible to apply to the projects developed. In fact, that is one of the most relevant characteristics of the incentives presented in Amadora. Several specific programmes could be identified, directed to women, international immigrants (particularly intensive



and relevant and adapted to the local socio-ethnic scenario), unemployed individuals, youngsters, disabled people or ex-convicts.

The previous distinctiveness is also visible by the fact that monetary incentives (like access to micro-credit) are more common in Diadema. On the contrary, in Amadora, the incentives tend to come under the form of indirect financing, like advisory and tutoring on how to build a business, integration in business networks, tax and infra-structural incentives, among other practices.

Conclusively, and accounting for the aforementioned, it is possible to notice that, even though the concept of entrepreneurialism implies both social and economic dimensions, one can say that in Amadora the incentives to entrepreneurial activity are more “socially-driven”, while in Diadema they tend to be more “economically-motivated”.

5. Final Remarks

Aiming at the accomplishment of a comparative study (between two suburban municipalities, Amadora and Diadema, respectively in São Paulo and Lisbon’s metropolitan areas) respecting to the theme of local development strategies, a set of initiatives implemented in the two case-study areas was analysed.

The projects identified were grouped into four main areas, namely entrepreneurship, education, transports and accessibilities, and tourism and environment. Multiple programmes were analysed enabling the understanding of the existence of some focal points in what concerns the implementation of local strategies of development.

Amadora and Diadema present interesting local territorial resemblances. They both are small-sized and densely-populated municipalities, placed in the first ring of the two economic capitals of their respective countries. Their recent socioeconomic background was driven by industrial expansion, which led to chaotic and un-planned demographic growth (due to intense immigration flows) with multiple social problems attached to this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, and even though one is not disregarding the existence of some similarities between the initiatives developed in the contexts, it is possible to conclude that differences imposed by the recent socioeconomic evolutions of the two municipalities – many of which are due not only to the local levels but also to the changes happened at



the national and even macro-regional contexts (for example, the entrance of Portugal to the European Union) –determined the existence of different profiles on the initiatives developed.

One of the most important outputs of the present work is the reaffirming of the current importance of local contexts in the establishment of sustainable development strategies. The stimulus to local entrepreneurialism (especially in the form of small and medium enterprises) is a reality in the (two) suburban areas, and so it is the notion that factors such as technology, accessibility, environmental protection and especially education (knowledge) play a truly instrumental role in the promotion of Endogenous Development initiatives. And – even though presenting several adaptations to their territorial contexts – this seems to be an unequivocal belief of both the suburban municipalities analysed, as shown by the concerns displayed through their local development initiatives.

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