



URBAN MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

**Governance in Public Services in Brazil and
the June Events**

Case Study: São Paulo Transportation System

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Statement of Authenticity of Material

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

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Berlin, January 31st, 2014

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Abstract

The “June events” is an expression coined to describe the enigmatic character of the mass demonstrations that erupted in São Paulo and throughout Brazil in 2013. This study analyzes and confirms the connection between the rapid urbanization process of São Paulo in the 20th century and the disastrous situation of the transportation sector in 2013. It also confirms the link between the low quality of this service and of other public services and the dissatisfaction demonstrated in the protests. It also addresses the impact the demonstrations had in terms of governance, specifically regarding citizenship and civic engagement, transparency and accountability. Finally, it stresses the importance of the debates that emerged from the protests: these raised suggestions on how to improve the current (i)mobility situation and well-being of the inhabitants of São Paulo. This research was based on literature review of governance theories, both prescriptive and descriptive, on studies of the development of São Paulo and on information and different analyses of the June events.

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
CET	Traffic Engineering Company
CMTC	Municipal Company of Collective Transportation
CPTM	Paulista Company of Metropolitan Trains
EMPLASA	Paulista Company of Metropolitan Planning
EMTU	Metropolitan Urban Transport Enterprise
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Metrô	Metropolitan Company of São Paulo
MPL	Free Pass Movement
RNSP	Our São Paulo Network
SPTtrans	São Paulo Transportation S/A
U.N.	United Nations

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1 INTRODUCTION

The surprising number of Brazilians taking part of the demonstrations of June 2013 – around 2.8 million - initially organized against the raise in bus fees in Brazil's major cities, have led puzzled authorities and scholars to try to grasp the reasons behind it and the significance it can have in the country's future.

Although a great variety of reasons have been linked to the protests – from corruption to the low-quality and lack of accessibility to public services – the disastrous conditions of mobility in São Paulo can be pointed out not only as a catalyst for several other demands, but also as a linking point among them.

A city of 11.3 million inhabitants and part of a Metropolitan Region of 20.3 million people, São Paulo concentrates 5.9% of the Brazilian population and 12.4% of the country's GDP. Although it is one of the most important Latin American economic centers, it has extreme contrasts and social and economic inequalities. These inequalities are clear in the unjust distribution of opportunities in the urban space and land use definitions that have highly discriminatory characteristics. They segregate a poorly service-provided periphery from a center properly sufficed with urban infrastructure.

The critical situation of the outskirts of the city is augmented by the low quality of public transportation that connects it to the opportunities and services that determine the inhabitant's quality of life.

More than 80% of the population over 16 years of age in São Paulo consider the transportation system to be bad or awful. On average, residents spend two hours and fifteen minutes to and from their work place to their homes. This number amounts to 12.5% of the work shift, and estimates say that workers spend in average R\$20 (US\$8.50) of their salaries per day because of the extra

time they spend in traffic. This critical situation, aggravated with the increase in the vehicle fleet, from 6.067.707 in March 2008 to 7.412.617 in March 2013, and the constant raise in public transportation fees had already motivated several protests in the past years.

The current situation of the system is linked to the urbanization of São Paulo in the 20th century and the implementation of public policies that prioritized the development of the road system for private automobiles of the upper classes. The number of cars circulating increased immensely since the 1960s and, with economic incentives and the growth of the middle class, even more in the past decade.

I have chosen to contemplate the transportation sector in São Paulo due to its microcosm of how public services have been provided throughout Brazil in the past century. It is, according to Nobre (2013), a model of inefficiency, poor quality and an exorbitant price to pay for a public service. The disregard towards the most underprivileged population's needs, the prioritization of the elite's interests and systematic corruption cases can be clearly seen in this area as well.

Mobility also has a significant role to play in a context of improving living conditions in the country in the past years. As studies increasingly indicate that: “one of the most important contributions to the lives of the urban poor is the elaboration of a low-cost, regular and far-reaching public transport” (UN-HABITAT, 2010, p.59), plans for the investment in the transportation system will affect the quality of life of future generations of the city. This is why this study does not limit itself to the factors that led to the formation of a deficient transportation system in São Paulo, that contributed to the immense dissatisfaction presented in June, but also analyzes the governance shifts since then, given that the demonstrations have demanded that authorities seek solutions for the sector.

In the next chapter I will address theories on both descriptive and prescriptive approaches to governance, on national and local scopes. I will then go into governance principles and practical examples of their implementation, which will define the scope of my study.

2 THEORETICAL REVIEW ON GOVERNANCE

2.1 Definition and Debate

The term “governance” has been used since Ancient Greece. It derives from the word verb *kubernân*, which means “to steer”. It has been since the 1990s, though, that this term has been recurrent in discussions on development and public policy, going through several modifications in its meaning since then.

According to Heinrichs and NuiSSL (2011, p.1), there are three main variants of the concept of governance: (1) governance as the opposite of government, (2) governance as a normative set of rules, and (3) governance as a comprehensive analytical category pertaining to the regulation of publicly relevant affairs at the interface of state, market, and civil society. In this section, I will concentrate on the first and last definitions.

Before being studied at the global level, “governance” as an analytical concept was employed in a generic sense, as a synonym for “government” or the “state of being governed” (Weiss, 2000, p.1). When the discussion was taken further by international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank, as well as analysts of international relations and international civil servants, a distinction from the word “government” was clearly delineated. Governance became conceptually broader than government, since it recognizes the power existent inside and outside of its formal authority and institutions. Parker (2004) affirms that, as opposed to the mono-centrism, hierarchy and prescriptiveness of “government”, governance is highly polycentric, non-hierarchical and non-directive.

Although the term never possessed a standard meaning, it was generally described in the 1990s as “*the exercise of authority or control to manage a country’s affairs and resources*” (Schneider,1999 in Punyaratabandhu, 2004). Being one of the first institutions to promote its usage, this definition seems to

derive from the World Bank's original terminology: 'the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs'¹. It regarded the means in which power in a country is exercised in the administration of its economic and social resources for development, the form of political regime and the capacity of a government to create and implement policies. It was, therefore, restricted to political and economic aspects and did not address the role of the civil society (Weiss, 2000).

Governance is still considered a very important concept for donor institutions and scholars nowadays. Its extension, though, has exceeded economic liberalization and strict-sense democratization processes to include its possible benefits in social and environmental aspects as well. Several revisions have been made in its definition since the 1980s. Most of them recognize the private sector, but also the reemergence of the government and the inclusion of the civil society as key actors, and stress its configuration as a process – that of decision-making. According to the Commission on Global Governance (1995, p.14 in Heinrichs and Nuisl 2011, p.3):

“Governance is the sum of the many individuals and institutions, public and private, managing their common affairs. It is the continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken.”

Another recent view that also broadens the scope of actors involved in governance is that of Gualini (2005 in: Heinrichs and Nuisl 2011), who describes governance as patterns of policy making in which the state, markets and civil society focus on the resolution of collective problems in a manner which can be held accountable to institutions of a representative democracy. The UNDP (1997, p.2-p.3) details the problem-solving aspect in its definition:

“The exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.”

¹ World Bank, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth in Drake, E. et al., 2002.

2.2 Good Governance

2.2.1 The Importance of Good Governance

In its normative sense, the concept of governance became recurrent in the context of the dismantlement of the State-centered economic and political models of the recent post-colonial, post-Cold War period. The severe economic crisis of the so-called “Third World” during the 1980s brought international institutions to the rescue through loans. In exchange for the financial aid, investment and the support to prevent future disasters, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the U.N. and other international organizations promoted “governance agendas”. They prescribed economic liberalization and political democratization and stressed the belief that the private sector should play a more a significant part in the management of public services, while the State should suffer shrinkage. This shift was trusted to lead to a better offer of services with fewer resources needed (Osborne and Gaebler, 1997 in Heinrichs and Nuisl, 2011). These institutions had a decisive role in a series of reforms developing countries undertook in the following years. Evaluating governance became a means to assess these reforms and select the countries that they considered worthy of support.

The goal that was set for developing countries by international aid organizations through a number of principles and rules was coined as “good governance”. According to the Asian Development Bank (2001), good governance refers to a high quality of processes by which decisions affecting public affairs are reached and implemented. Although twenty years ago these decisions were defended to be less concentrated on the government and more on the private sector, recent literature now recognizes the importance of a legitimate solid government as “*a pre-requisite for civil society participation, a well-functioning economic system, and the promotion of democratic practices*” (Stiglitz 1997; UNDP 1997 in Nuisl and Heinrichs 2011, p.3).

Good governance has been seen as beneficial in several aspects such as contributing to development, maintaining a stable and representative democracy, and attenuating the inefficiency of non-market systems (Weiss,

2000). In 1993, the Ad Hoc Working Group on Participatory Development and Good Governance, set up by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) emphasized the importance of good governance to the achievement of the development goals for the twenty-first century. In 1997, The United Nations Development Programme defended good governance as a necessary ingredient to achieve equitable and sustainable growth and development. (UNDP, 1997 in UN-HABITAT, 2004).

More recently, in a document produced by the Asia-Pacific MDG Series in 2007, it was affirmed that good governance is crucial to design strategies for providing basic services and reducing poverty effectively and sustainably. They claimed mechanisms that pursue good governance create cycles of empowerment that have the potential to increment the efficiency and effectiveness of services and empower the poor to become agents of their own development.

In factual terms, research has demonstrated that good governance correlates with positive development outcomes. A survey on governance realized in 165 countries showed that:

“(...) a one standard deviation increase in any one of 6 governance indicators causes a 2^{1/2} fold increase in the income, a 4 fold decrease in infant mortality and a 15 to 25 percent increase in literacy”

These results, according to the Urban Governance Index (2004), prove that there is a link between governance and human development.² The association between good governance and poverty reduction, although questioned, can be defended by empirical evidence that suggests that weak governance reinforces poverty (Punyaratabandhu, 2004, p.15).

² Wescott. Clay (2000); Measuring Governance in Developing Asia, Asian Development Bank, Manila. See also D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay, and P. Zoid-Lobaton (1999); Governance matters, Washington, DC, World Bank in Urban Governance Index (2004), p.12.

2.2.2 Principles

A series of principles that guide the process of good governance were established by international organizations. From these principles, each organization would elaborate the indicators that could measure the results they envisioned. In order to reach the overall convergence of principles used nowadays, there were over twenty years of debate. Although different terminologies are used, the principles that are mostly used today are transparency, accountability, participation, efficiency and effectiveness and equity. Stability and rule of law, planning and predictability, empowerment, sustainability, progressiveness can also be included.

At first, many financial institutions restricted their scope of demands to characteristics of a Western model of democracy, such as the implementation of multi-party elections, a judiciary and a parliament. A more expanded view that included social aspects such the guarantee of the universal protection of human rights, transparent decision-making and accountability was incorporated further on.

Although all organizations have reviewed their concepts of good governance throughout time, some have made more adjustments than others. Thomas Weiss (2000, p.184) points out that the World Bank still prioritizes issues that he considers “linked to sustainable human development but are not framed as central to a conception of and strategy for governance”. He cites for instance their focus on public sector management and the reduction of transaction costs. According to the author, in contrast, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has evolved substantially by supporting tools that focus on empowerment through human rights policies, for example. In order to pursue this vision, another United Nations agency, the UN-HABITAT (2004), defends that actors, mechanisms, processes and institutions must collaborate to reduce poverty. Measures must be taken to promote social inclusion so that the benefits of economic growth are shared more equitably, the productivity of diversity is taken advantage of and local ownership of development processes and programs is guaranteed.

All of these objectives contribute to define the main elements of good governance, as described by the Asian Development Bank (2001, p.31 in UNDP, no date):

"(...) good governance therefore depends on public participation to ensure that political, social and economic priorities are based on a broad societal consensus and that the poorest and most vulnerable populations can directly influence political decision making, particularly with respect to the allocation of development resources. Good governance is also effective and equitable, and promotes the rule of law and the transparency of institutions, officials, and transactions"

2.2.3 Indicators

Although the principles presented above are agreed upon by various organizations today, academics stress the difficulty to reach a consensus on how to measure good governance. Attempts to generalize indicators are unconvincing for many.

According to Suchitra Punyaratabandhu (2004), there are two main explanations for this. First of all, the choice of governance indicators is "endemically ideological". What to measure and which indicators to choose are based on public administration and political contexts, and these are necessarily normative. Indicators may have several and contradictory interpretations, depending on which ideology they are set on. Secondly, some regimes, although forced into compliance by commercial and aid necessities, are unwilling to produce and disseminate governance indicators that may show negative results on their progress on good governance. This reluctance is even higher when indicators are used in cross-country comparisons and rankings.

As part of a project assigned by the Statistical Office of the Commission of the European Communities (EUROSTAT) 2003, the Human Rights Centre of the University of Essex developed a report entitled "Map-Making and Analysis of

the Main International Initiatives on Developing Indicators on Democracy and Good Governance.” The project had among its main goals to produce a summarized review of different approaches and methodological options available for measuring democracy and good governance. However, the final report came to the conclusion that good governance is an “essentially contested concept,” since there is no consensus on its content and each definition leads to a different forms of measuring. Without a precise conceptual framework, the specific tools of measurement to choose from become an issue.

The debate on principles and indicators was brought to a local scale in the late 1990s. A United Nations development report from 1999 affirmed that cities were import nodes in new forms of governance that were arising all over the world. As urbanization intensifies and cities concentrate economic, social and environmental responsibilities, many organizations emphasize the importance of focusing on good governance on a local scale.

2.3 Urban Governance

2.3.1 Analytical Concept

Urban governance is defined by the Global Campaign on Urban Governance (1999) as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.”

Similarly, Jon Pierre (1999) portrays urban governance as a process conditioned by the political, economic and social values from which the urban regime derives its legitimacy, in which local authorities, taking into account private interests, pursue collective goals. In order to do so, he stresses the importance of understanding the capabilities of local organizations as well as the local community’s systems of values, norms, beliefs and practices so as to comprehend urban governance.

The author defends the study of governance on a local level by stating the importance these affairs have for citizens: most decisions that affect a citizen's life are taken at this level, and most people tend to be troubled by issues that are closest to them. Pierre (2011) also recounts arguments of social scientists to research urban politics. He cites Stone's statement that this scope of study offers a more direct and visible demonstration of economic, social and political forces and the manner in which they shape public spaces and collective action in comparison to the national level.

International organizations such as UN-HABITAT, UNDP and the World Bank have been defending increased investments in urban development for a long while. Their argument is based on the fact that urbanization is increasing with great speed and cities, by concentrating people and resources, can be the best entry point for the efficient and effective use of limited development resources (UN-HABITAT, 1999). Simultaneously, since cities are being pressured to act as territorial units in competitive processes by globalization, they are also suffering intense (social, economic, physical and political) fragmentation (Sassen, 2001b in Parker 2004). They have simultaneously a huge potential as engines of economic and social development – but also of enhancing social exclusion and urban poverty, with a degradation of urban services and the urban environment (UNDP, 2003).

2.3.2 UN-HABITAT's Global Campaign on Urban Governance

In 1999, UN-HABITAT launched the Global Campaign on Urban Governance to support the implementation of the Habitat Agenda goal of "sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world." The campaign's goal is to contribute to the eradication of poverty through improved urban governance. It aims at increasing the capacity of local governments and other stakeholders to practice good urban governance and to raise awareness of and advocate for it around the world (UN-HABITAT, 2004).

UN-HABITAT (no date) defends the following definition of good urban governance:

“Urban governance is inextricably linked to the welfare of the citizenry. Good urban governance must enable women and men to access the benefits of urban citizenship. Good urban governance, based on the principle of urban citizenship, affirms that no man, woman or child can be denied access to the necessities of urban life, including adequate shelter, security of tenure, safe water, sanitation, a clean environment, health, education and nutrition, employment and public safety and mobility. Through good urban governance, citizens are provided with the platform which will allow them to use their talents to the full to improve their social and economic conditions.”

This definition was elaborated based on the agency’s operational experience and the Habitat Agenda, which concludes that good governance is a crucial factor in differentiating a well-managed and inclusive city from one that is poorly managed and exclusive. UN-HABITAT also assures that inclusive strategic planning and decision-making processes are imperative in good governance and sustainable cities.

According to the campaign’s page, the principles of good urban governance are the campaign's “intellectual and operational foundation”. The principles define the essence of the issues in question and seek to encounter potential solutions. Since it is a challenge to reach consensus on the most relevant principles to follow, the campaign is promoting an international discussion in order to develop a series of urban governance principles that would be relevant for any city in the world. According to them, in order to be truly normative, this debate is based on three potential sources of universal norms: international legal instruments such as the Declaration on Human Rights (1948); commitments made by governments at major United Nations conferences, particularly in the 1990s; and the agency’s 20-year operational experience in cities.

The idea behind this purpose is to create a common vocabulary for the exchange of information and experience of key issues linked to the quality of life

in cities. From this discussion the campaign intends to establish universally relevant norms that can be put into practice.

The campaign proposes that good urban governance is characterized by sustainability, subsidiarity, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, civic engagement and citizenship, and security, and that these norms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

2.4 Transparency & Accountability, Civic Engagement & Citizenship

Based on the relevance of studying governance on a local scope – cited in arguments above - I will focus this study on good urban governance principles. Moreover, I will narrow my scope to two of the UN-HABITAT's Global Campaign on Urban Governance's norms: Transparency & Accountability and Civic Engagement & Citizenship.

Transparency and Accountability are related to all decision-makers and stakeholders at a local level. UN-HABITAT (no date) stresses the problems corruption can bring, for example, the subversion of local government credibility and the aggravation of urban poverty. This principle is essential for stakeholders to comprehend how the local government works and who is benefiting from decisions and actions. Another important element is access to information, especially when related to laws and public policies. Lastly, citizen participation is a key element in the promotion of this principle.

They list practical manners of implementing this principle on the campaign page:

- Regular, organized and open consultations of citizens on city financial matters and other important issues, through such mechanisms as the participatory budget; transparent tendering and procurement procedures and the use of integrity pacts and monitoring mechanisms in the process; internal independent audit capacity and annual external audit reports that are publicly disseminated and debated;

- Regular, independently executed programs to test public officials integrity response;
- Removing administrative and procedural incentives for corruption, including simplifying local taxation systems and the reduction of administrative discretion in permit processing;
- Promoting an ethic of service to the public among officials while putting into place adequate remuneration for public servants;
- Establishing codes of conduct and provision for regular disclosure of assets of public officials and elected representatives;
- Developing practically enforceable standards of accountability and service delivery, such as ISO, that will transcend the terms of public office holders;
- Creating public feedback mechanisms such as an ombudsman, hotlines, complaint offices and procedures, citizen report cards and procedures for public petitioning and/or public interest litigation;
- Promoting the public's right of access to city information;
- Providing access to city information to create a level playing field for potential investors. (UNDP, no date)

Civic Engagement and Citizenship are essential tools to implement sustainable human development. According to the campaign (no date), being engaged means people must actively contribute to the common good. Citizens must be empowered by having tools to participate fully and effectively in decision-making processes. Apart from that, the civic capital of the poor must be recognized and supported.

Below are some practical examples of this principle:

- Promoting strong local democracies through free and fair municipal elections and participatory decision-making processes;

- Establishing the legal authority for civil society to participate effectively through such mechanisms as development councils and neighbourhood advisory committees;
- Promoting an ethic of civic responsibility among citizens through such mechanisms as “City Watch” groups;
- Making use of mechanisms such as public hearings and surveys, town hall meetings, citizen’s forums, city consultations and participatory strategy development, including issue-specific working groups;
- Undertaking city referenda concerning important urban development options.

3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine the connection between governance of public services in Brazil and the June events in 2013. My case study is on São Paulo's transportation sector.

I base my analysis on four hypotheses: (1) The transportation system in São Paulo is a microcosm of the of lack of good governance in the provision of public services in Brazil; (2) The demonstrations that grew from the increase of transportation fares in São Paulo translated the population's dissatisfaction with the offer of public services; (3) In the past decade there were improvements in governance of public services in São Paulo; (4) The context of improvements in governance was strengthened by the repercussion from the demonstrations.

Three main research methods shaped my study: (1) content analysis (2) participant observation and (3) literature review.

Since the protests began I systematically collected and divided news and specialists' analysis on the events between (a) possible causes of the protests (b) current situation of the offer of public services - more specifically transportation - in São Paulo (c) the reaction on behalf of authorities and service providers.

During the six-month period of investigation I was able to participate on several different events that discussed the "legacy" of the protests, as well as past, present and potential future conditions of the transportation sector in São Paulo. I was present in four forums on mobility, another related to good governance measures the current municipal government has supported and four other events on how to understand the June events and perspectives for the future. These events were promoted by partnerships among different actors: the

municipality, civil society organizations and the private sector and had participants from all areas.

In order to make a reading of the information collected through newspapers, magazines, blogs, official documents and events, I focused on literature on governance, both analytical and prescriptive, as well as on the history of transportation in São Paulo.

From the literature on governance, I chose to focus on a local scope, coined as urban governance, and to use two good urban governance principles and their practical means of implementation from the Global Campaign on Urban Governance (Transparency & Accountability and Civic Engagement & Citizenship) to analyze the information on public service/transportation provision in São Paulo before and after the June protests.

4 URBANIZATION & EVOLUTION OF THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SÃO PAULO

In order to understand how the transportation sector in São Paulo evolved into its current situation it is crucial to go through its recent history and understand the urbanization process that defines the city today. There is a close connection between the urban expansion of the city and the existing mobility system.

I have divided the history of the city in four different phases overall characterized by trends in the urbanization and governing processes, from the beginning of the 20th century, when São Paulo began to grow, to the prior municipal government, which ended in 2012. The first phase is from 1900s to the 1940s, the second from 1940s to the 1960s, the third from the 1960s to the 1980s and the final one, from the 1980s to 2012.

4.1 Phase I: First Growth Boom

4.1.1 Expanding the city borders

From the beginning of the 20th century until the 1940s there was an intense process of industrialization that brought significant growth and metropolization. The municipality of São Paulo concentrated an increasing amount of people and resources. Before the city reached its growth pattern peak in the 1940s, the transportation system, both collective and private, went through significant alterations.

In the beginning of the 20th century, São Paulo and its surrounding area had extensive coffee plantations. Coffee at that time was a prestigious product it exported. Already during this period, though, the city's embryonic industry began producing goods such as food and beverages. After the 1929 financial crash, when coffee prices collapsed, heavy manufacturing became a vital part

of São Paulo's economy. The city then emerged as the epicenter of manufacturing growth in the country.

The expansion of the city beyond its original city borders was stimulated with the growth of the manufacturing industry, and did not follow a master plan or even a coordinated plan between the City Hall and real estate companies. This consequently permitted huge real estate speculation in the central area of the city. Inflated prices made most of the population move to more remote areas and is one of the main reasons that promoted the expansion of a residential area in the suburbs, which grew especially since the 1930s. Since it was also a moment in which the railway system defined the city's growth, many employees of the railroad stations also found it convenient and cheap to live near them, who along with some middle class foreigners, also bought land in the periphery (Langenbuch, 1968).

4.1.2 Public Transportation in the Beginning of the Century

Up until the mid 1920s, the railway and tramway systems were the main means of transportation in the city. The group responsible for the management of the tramway system, *Light*³, is considered the actor that had most influence over how and where the city would expand to at the time (Pires, 2013).

When the 1929 crisis came, the transportation system came close to collapsing. It did not do so because, in this emergency situation, private owners of buses offered their services, although in a disorganized manner. The demand for an alternative means of transportation was pressing either way, due to the growth of the city. *Light* concentrated its investments in tramways in the noble areas, which was more lucrative, and therefore left the more distant factory workers' areas unattended.

³ *Light* is an anglo-canadian group founded in 1899 in Toronto as São Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company and, apart from managing the tramway system, was responsible for generating and distributing energy in the city.

The emergence of buses in the public transportation system had a huge effect on the city's dynamics. Since it had much more flexibility in routes than the tram, it could offer transportation to an ever-increasing peripheral population to the center of the city where public services and jobs were concentrated. The areas now reached by bus had their property values increased, which further stimulated the migration to new, far-off areas and enhanced more spatial polarization (Langenbuch, 1968). This defined São Paulo's expansion model: a vertically dense city-center and horizontally expanded, low-density outskirts.

Teresa Pires do Rio Caldeira (2000) stresses the contribution of private bus owners to the process of real estate speculation. The author highlights that the areas mass transportation reached were irregular and chosen randomly, favoring interests of real estate agents. Empty spaces between occupied land units were maintained in order to be sold in the future in higher prices. Caldeira therefore concludes that the mass transportation system based on bus transport was crucial for the development of a new urbanization pattern in which the expansion of the outskirts of the city was combined to the increase in bus service provision (Vitte and Imaeda, 2007).

Public authorities participated in this process by bargaining with bus line owners. Both parts tried to extract as many individual benefits as possible: while the business men sought the most profitable lines and autonomy of management, the politicians and administrators sought financial gains or political support in their mandates and future elections (Cheibub, 1985 in Vitte and Imaeda, 2007).

According to Vitte and Imaeda (2007), the defense of private interests and patronage are the main characteristics of the management of mass transportation services. These elements defined the first half of the 20th century as a period in which there were strong limitations to the municipal government's capacity in attenuating conflicts and tension due to deprivation and low quality of both tram and bus services.

4.1.3 The emergence of the automobile

In the 1910s, the first road system plans were developed. Deeply influenced by American culture, the car emerged as a symbol of status for the Brazilian elite, especially for the former coffee-plantation owners and the bourgeois industry owners of São Paulo. The automobile was appreciated as a symbol of modernity and as the main structural attribute to the expansion of the city (Anelli, 2007).

In light of the transformation that the increase of automobiles and buses bring to the city, from 1924-27 *Light* proposed an Integrated Transportation Plan in which a subway system would be articulated with buses and trams to reach all areas of the city. It was a means to negotiate the expansion of the tramway system with the municipal government. This project was rejected by the Municipality, and represents the decline of the tram as a means of transportation in São Paulo (Anelli, 2007), in which *Light* declared not having further interest in 1937.

Simultaneously, the deterioration of traffic flow brought the elite to require enlargements of main streets of the center of the city. Another plan, which is symbolic of the growing importance of the road system, was proposed by Prestes Maia, engineer and head of the secretariat of public works and roads. The so-called "Avenue Plan", with its "Irradiation Perimeter" proposed a ring around city center and had two clear missions: to open the urban tissue to the automobiles (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011) and absorb the expected growth of the city (Vasconcellos, 1999). The plan also included tunnels for a future subway system, but this part was left aside. Such a long-term intervention in the city would only come 40 years later, with the Basic Urban Development Plan (ibid). From this period on, public authorities began to oversee and regulate the transportation service.

4.2 Phase II: São Paulo Metropolis

4.2.1 Transportation as a challenge

During these two decades there is the consolidation of São Paulo as a metropolis. The city center is by the 1940s mostly occupied by the upper-classes, while the expansion of the city both on the local and the metropolitan level is based especially on the railway stations and only secondarily on the construction of roads (Langenbuch, 1968). The poorest section of the population lives in the outskirts of the city.

With a population of around 2 million inhabitants and counting, and based on a horizontally expansive pattern of growth, São Paulo was facing its first real transportation challenges and had to come up with proposals in the following years, although traffic is still not considered a major public issue and therefore not dealt with in this manner.

4.2.2 Plans

In 1945, a plan for a large subway system - already proposed before in the "Avenue Plan" - was elaborated and the first debates on general collective transport conditions in the city were conceived. Although participants suggest a vast subway plan, the mayor signs a contract for the construction of only three subway lines.

In 1949, a Public Improvement Plan for São Paulo was elaborated by Robert Moses. This plan, which demonstrates the American influence on the urbanization in São Paulo, proposed a series of highways that would receive traffic from roads, ignoring the pre-existent urban tissue of the city (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011). Simultaneously, Luis Ignácio Anhaia Mello⁴ submits another plan in which he suggests a model based on polycentric city, with auto-sufficient centers. Moses' plan is chosen, and although not entirely implemented, the city receives a series of highways.

⁴ Luis Ignácio Anhaia Mello was the previous mayor of São Paulo and the founder of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo

In the same year, the First City Traffic Congress occurs in São Paulo. During the congress most participants agreed on the necessity of municipalizing the administration of the transportation sector, prioritizing mass transportation and of elaborating a master plan for the benefit of the city (Vasconcellos, 1999). Nonetheless, municipalization only occurs in the 1970s, São Paulo's first master plan is elaborated in 2002, and the prioritization of mass transportation is only nowadays being discussed as fundamental.

In 1956, Prestes Maia, develops the "Anti-Proposal of a High-Speed Metropolitan Transportation System" as a extension of the "Avenue Plan" envisioning the improvement of the connection between the eastern and western areas of the city. Again a subway plan is proposed but is not prioritized (Anelli, 2007).

4.2.3 The Bus Service

In 1948, São Paulo's first public collective transportation company was created: The Municipal Company of Collective Transportation (CMTC). However, in the 1950s, the bus service is mainly maintained by private companies – sixty-six different ones – apart from the CMTC.

4.3 Phase III: Growth Crisis

4.3.1 The peak of population growth

In the 1960s São Paulo had over 3.6 million inhabitants and population growth reached its apogee. Traffic deteriorates intensely and becomes a visible issue (Vasconcellos, 1999). From the 1960s to the 1980s the city expands and the metropolitan area increases, with a higher number of commuter travels. From this moment on, a great number of studies and plans are elaborated in order to resolve this problem, though most of the recommendations that prioritized mass transportation were ignored.

In the 1970s, because of its central role as an industrial pole especially due to the high number of automobile factories, São Paulo attracted a very high number of migrants from the Northeast of Brazil, which suffered from droughts and lack of employment. Most of this impoverished mass of workers ended up living at the outskirts of the city, joining the poorest population of the city. Spatial segregation between the rich and poor inhabitants was higher than ever due to the price structure of land. São Paulo was undergoing a growth crisis with physical structures that had run-out capacity and were on the brink of collapse (Deák, 2002).

Finally, this period is also one of authoritarianism and corporatism: from 1964 to 1985 Brazil was under a military dictatorship and politics were highly centralized in the national government.

4.3.2 Massification of the automobile

Since there is great pressure on the State to respond to demands envisioning the improvement of mobility, it decides to expand the road system to solve the problem. The investment in roads becomes a priority from this moment on, and the percentage of the municipality's budget spent on the sector reflects this: from 1965 to 1970 it corresponded, in average, to 27%. This was the first stage of State intervention in traffic flow, in which investment was made on road infrastructure that would permit physical integration between city areas (Vasconcellos, 2013).

The car fleet in the city grew at a very high rate in the sixties: from 200 thousand in 1961 it rose to 350 thousand in 1965, reaching 640 thousand in 1970. With the growth of the automobile industry that employed a significant number of people in the country and the increase of cars owned by a middle class – growingly influential in public policy decisions - the government does not increase the fleet of buses on the streets in order to avoid conflicts over space with cars users (ibid).

4.3.3 The Development of the Subway System

In 1967, buses were responsible for 57% of inner-city travels and 93% of public transportation travels. Since the participation of private companies in the municipal transportation system happened in a very rapid and disorganized manner, during this period the Municipal Transportation Secretariat was created as a way to strengthen the power of the mayor's office and CMTC in the management of the transportation of passengers in the city.

Although there were many efforts to improve the CMTC's performance, it had to give space to the creation of the Metropolitan Company of São Paulo (Metrô) for the administration of the subway system. It was created in 1968 to manage 3 lines in 66km of extension. In 1974 the first subway line is finished and activated, thus giving some alternative to the low-quality bus operations.

Although the subway becomes an option in the center of the city, it does not connect the periphery to the center. Thus, although it reduces the participation of buses in public transportation travels, it still maintains a high share of public travel in 1980: 81%.

4.3.4 Plans & Studies

In 1969 the second largest transportation plan of São Paulo was designed: the Basic Urban Development Plan. It was based on a series of studies on the growth of the city and how it could be controlled through a more extensive highway and subway system. The objective of the plan was to reduce travel time in order to offer more residence and work alternatives and services all throughout the Metropolitan area, and presented several recommendations for mass transportation. Most of its recommendations on the public transportation sector were not put into practice.

In 1971 the first broad studies on the traffic flow were elaborated, which led to the development of two plans for the city: the Express Highway Plan and the Immediate Traffic and Transportation Action Plan. The strategy defined to

improve urban mobility had as a priority the investment on mass transportation and the development of a rail structure that would be fed by buses.

The 1973 oil crisis, however, prevented the huge highway plan from being implemented. New plans in favor of public transportation and the control of urban growth were elaborated especially due to pressure from NGOs and social movements. In this context of pressure from civil society, a demand that had been postponed for years, the municipalization of traffic control (that was previously the responsibility of the state government) was finally concluded.

This is when a second stage of State intervention in traffic commences: the expansion of the road system is interrupted and most investments done were operational, with a high number of human and material resources utilized during this period. These resources, however, were not effectively used and their negative consequences are proven with the increase of congestions in the 1990s (Vasconcellos, 2013).

In the following year, Sistran, the Great Plan of Metropolitan Mass Transportation, is introduced. The program proposed the integration of mass transportation systems of São Paulo municipality and included quality standards, an operational system and measures CMTC should adopt in order to reach the objectives of the plan. Studies on bus corridors are made, the first time this measure is considered. The plan is believed to be the first to present a series of guidelines that would define the mass transportation policy of the municipality of São Paulo in the next few years (ANTP et al, 2013).

4.3.5 Public Pressure for Improvements

In the mid-seventies a high number of protests against soaring transportation fees and bad quality of public services in general are constant. In the southern region of the city emerge movements that advocate improving the mass transportation system. Following popular pressure for solutions, a series of recommendations are presented in 1976 to give guidelines to mass

transportation development. Objectives envisioned are, among others, to reduce travels and negative social impacts from low-quality transportation, better distribution of benefits between social classes and increased resources to be provided by car users to finance the road system, among others.

In the process of improving the organization of the transportation sector, the Traffic Engineering Department (CET) is created. This is the peak of this stage of State intervention, in which planning and operationalization of the road system is the responsibility of the municipality of São Paulo (Vasconcellos, 1999). In a context of improvements, from 1973 to 1980 the municipality has higher expenditures on mass transportation.

In 1977, the Metropolitan Urban Transport Enterprise (EMTU) is created as a state organ responsible for the planning and coordination of the different segments of the mass transportation system that connect the Metropolitan area, including buses, trains and subway. However, only 2 years later, EMTU is absorbed by The Paulista Company of Metropolitan Planning (EMPLASA), meaning the end of a short period in which there was unified planning of the mass transportation systems in the metropolitan region of São Paulo.

4.4 Phase IV: National Economic Crisis

4.4.1 Recession & Stabilization of Population Growth

In the 1980s São Paulo had almost 8.5 million inhabitants and population growth was finally stable. Migration flows decrease significantly since high inflation and recession stem the previous economic success that drew so many people to the city. Unemployment and poverty rise significantly. The real value of the minimum wage in São Paulo is calculated to have diminished by as much as forty-six per cent during this decade. In 1970, informal, illegal settlements, mostly set in the outskirts of the city gave home to an average of one per cent of the population - but by the early 1990s the number went up to almost twenty per cent.

Meanwhile, residents of the center of the city start to move to other parts. São Paulo's elite and middle class began to seek newly constructed exclusive neighborhoods in intermediate and peripheral areas while maintaining some of the older, now-depopulating, elegant ones such as Higienópolis and Jardins. Real estate speculation sky-rocketed with the new demands for safe residences far from the urban decay of the centre and its impressive rise in crime rates. Annual growth rates between 1991 and 2000 illustrate the city's growing segregation: the downtown areas that had the highest concentrations of businesses and apartments went through negative growth and depopulation; intermediate areas grew at rate of 0.01 to 2 per cent; and the periphery grew at a astounding rate of 2 to 13.4 per cent. This means some *favelas* and informal settlements doubled their population in seven or eight years.

This period was also one in which conurbation occurred with neighbouring municipalities - by then thirty-eight - to form the current metropolitan region. The peripheral areas around other municipal centers merged to form practically a continuous urban zone of unplanned and non-service-provided but technically urban area (UN-HABITAT, 2010). This area was composed mostly by the 'ABC'⁵ region, which was the original heart of the automobile and metallurgical industries — the engine of São Paulo's industrial success.

This period was also one in which the democratization process that began in 1985 played an important role: it induced the decentralization of decision-making in the following years.

4.4.2 The Impact of Recession and the Oil Crisis on Transportation

From 1977 to 1987, the use of collective modes of transportation decreased due to national policies (related to the acute recession the country was going through) that had negative impacts on salaries. Shorter distances started being done by foot.

⁵ "ABC" corresponds to the municipalities of Santo André, São Bernardo and São Caetano. Recently Diadema was also included in the sprawl area.

Although in the 1980s the subway concentrates a progressively higher portion of collective travels - 6.6% in 1977 to 12% in 1987 - because of higher dependability and efficiency when compared to the bus service, most people still have no choice but to use the bus since the subway system was still restricted to the central area. The bus was the main feeder for the subway system.

In 1983, with less results than expected from 1974 Sistran's proposals, CMTC elaborated a new plan for the municipality. It proposed a trolleybus plan and affirmed the priority of buses in the road system. A broader plan involving the entire metropolitan area, the Metropolitan Plan for Transportation, was developed by EMPLASA that same year. Its highlights were the reduction of fuel consumption, better infrastructure for the region and the rationalization the mass transport corridors. Free transfer between different transportation modes was also envisioned, although only implemented four years later.

Because of the first oil crisis, in 1973, the Federal government developed the Pro-alcohol program in 1975. The idea was to substitute gasoline by alcohol as fuel for automobiles in order to depend less on the imported oil, and some financial incentives were created so as to achieve this goal. After the 1979 oil crisis, this plan gained even more weight since now 46% of the Brazilian's expenses on imports was on fuel.

Once again the prioritization of the individual transport is evident. Instead of investing in suitable mass transportation alternatives, the solution proposed focused on finding an alternative for car users to continue using their automobiles as their main means of transportation (ANTP et al, 2013).

Simultaneously, social movements in favor of improvements in transportation were weaker due to a few events. First of all, there was the political opening in 1985 which incorporated several movements into the political sphere; workers had less expenses on transportation with the creation of public transportation

vouchers in 1987⁶ and some improvements in mass transportation such as the expansion of the subway system and the first bus corridor of the city.

With the democratization process and the new constitution in 1988, decentralization occurs in the transportation sector. The federal government ceases having the huge influence it used to exert in this area, considering it is now the municipality's legal responsibility to manage mass transportation within the city's borders. It still maintains responsibility over inter-state and international mobility, but intermunicipal transportation is delegated to the state government. This division stimulated conflicts between municipality and metropolitan spheres, which continue until this day unresolved (ANTP et al, 2013).

High inflation during this period paralyzed investments in infrastructure in all spheres, especially because state and metropolitan governments need private funds in mass transportation. Collective transportation suffered deterioration and the emergence of clandestine transport came to fill the gap in provision. Inflation also had an impact on private transportation: more people started leaving their cars at home.

4.4.3 The Increase of investments in the road system in the 90s

After decades of very high rates of population growth, in the 1990s, the municipality of São Paulo had 9.6 million inhabitants and the Metropolitan area with its nearly 15.5 million residents, concentrated half of the state's inhabitants and a tenth of the country's population.

Real estate projects in new economic centers in order to increase São Paulo's role as an economic and financial pole enhanced socio-spatial segregation, removing inhabitants in *favelas* in surrounding areas and pushing them further to the outskirts of the city in order to build roads and highways that would

⁶ Public transportation vouchers obligated employers to pay for their employees' transportation costs.

connect the new economic centers (Barat, 2001). According to Vasconcellos (1999), it was an attempt to save the model of reproduction of the most privileged sectors. This explains the high expenses of the municipality's budget invested on the expansion of the road system, especially from 1994 to 1997 when it reached 18% - half of which was spent on upper class areas, while scarce resources were invested in bus corridors.

From 1989 to 1992 the resources the municipality used, though, corresponded to only 9% of its budget. While Luiza Erundina was mayor, she also changed the method of calculation of the fee price from passenger transported to kilometers ridden and performance, which was a strive towards guaranteeing more investments in quality and better service. However, the following mandate went back to be calculated by passenger.

Due to the debts left by São Paulo city's mayor from 1994-97, Paulo Maluf, the investments on the sector were also low in 1997. Meanwhile, São Paulo state's governor created the Integrated Transportation Plan in order to integrate different means of transport administrated by the state government.

4.5 The Economic Boom & The Growth of Demand for Transportation

In the 2000s São Paulo city had almost 10.5 million residents and was part of a 17.8 million metropolitan area. The country's economic situation had a substantial improvement and there was a significant rise in income. This had an impact on urban mobility: higher demand for mass transportation as well as individual transportation, which consequently increased congestion. More buses meant higher fees, which, combined to the deterioration in services, led users to switch to private transportation. In this context, the option was to open more space for the road system and indirectly stimulate migration to individual transport or create a specific space for mass transportation (ANTP et al, 2013).

During this decade, the percentage of investment in the road system doesn't reach the level of the second half of the 90s, but in the last years it does exceed

the beginning of the decade. From 2001 to 2004 mayor Marta Suplicy made a high investment in mass transportation, except for the last year of her mandate. In the first years of the decade many exclusive bus corridors were built, as well as more bus terminals and a new fleet of buses. A very significant improvement was the introduction of the “Unified ticket”, a smart card for fee control. It permits the use of four buses within three hours for the price of one ticket, and half the price of the bus or subway ticket if used in this period after using another means of public transportation. With it, there was the rationalization of the system. The following years, from 2005 to 2006 the following mayor interrupted the investment in bus corridors and in mass transportation.

Long-term plans were developed with more public participation. The first one, in 2000, was PITU 2020: allegedly an answer to the challenge of mobility in São Paulo, envisioning actions for the next 20 years. It was a broader and better structured long-term investment plan. It proposed policies to create a more structured, integrated and efficient transportation system within 20 years. It was the first plan to have the participation of all relevant actors, including those from civil society (Barat, 2001).

Six years later PITU 2025 was developed. It broadened and updated PITU 2020. The plan proposed the densification of the central area, stressed the importance of land use definitions, of habitation policies in the center and the expansion of the subway/train system in 110km by 2025.

The last mayor of the city, Gilberto Kassab (2006-12), with the investment in a major road project in 2007, lowered investments in mass transportation, that only grew again in 2009.

In the following chapter I will detail the consequences of the urbanization process described above, that can be visualized in the configuration of the transportation system in 2013, just before the demonstrations began.

5 THE CURRENT TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SÃO PAULO

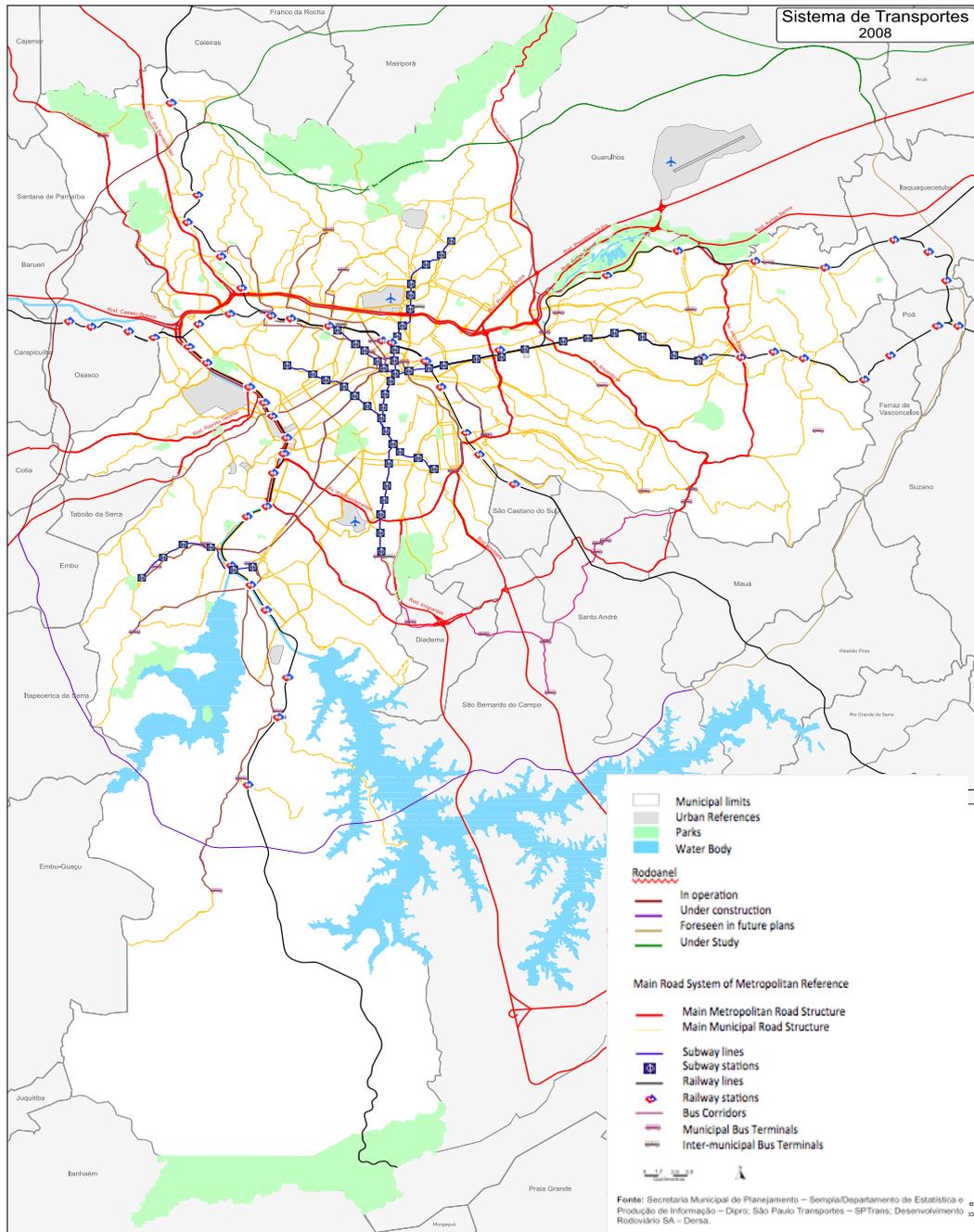


Fig. 1. Map of the Transportation System of the Municipality of São Paulo in 2008
 Source: Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2008. Translated by the author

“As widely recognized, the current urban mobility model adopted by the country’s municipalities, overall in the big cities, is unsustainable mainly due to the inadequacy of the offer of mass transportation and the low priority given to the sector; to negative externalities caused by the intense usage of automobiles (congestion and air pollution); to the lack of public investment and sources of financing for the sector; to the fragility of public administration in municipalities; low political support to viable public transportation alternatives because of the low credibility in its usefulness and to the necessity of public policies articulated in a national scope.” (IPEA, 2012 in ANTP et al, 2013, p.45)

5.1 The Management of Transportation Services

The management of the transportation system in the municipality and in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo is shared by two levels of government: the state government and the municipality. They maintain five different state companies: Metrô, Paulista Company of Metropolitan Trains (CPTM), EMTU, CET and São Paulo Transportation S/A (SPTrans).

The government of the state, through the Metropolitan Transportation Secretariat is responsible for the management, infrastructure development and the rail system operation through Metrô and CPTM. The management of the inter-municipal bus service is the responsibility of EMTU. The municipal government, on the other hand, through the Municipal Transportation Secretariat, is responsible for the administration and infrastructure development of the municipal bus service within the municipality through SPTrans, and for the management and organization of the municipal road system through CET.

5.2 Mobility in São Paulo in 2013

“Overcoming the rampant inequalities in transportation and developing a functional transport system that meets the needs of São Paulo’s diverse population remains a challenge, considering the vast size of the MRSP. The MRSP incorporates 39 municipalities and is home to more than 20 million people. The MSP is the region’s largest municipality, but the central zone and the area covered by the Metro and overland rail networks is tiny compared with the vast sprawl of irregular and semi-regulated poor housing that characterizes the peri-urban majority of the MRSP.” UN-HABITAT, 2010, p.58.

In the last years the population of São Paulo has answered a questionnaire on the quality of 25 different services offered in the city. Transportation, along with social inequality and transparency and political participation, is among the worst graded. Its grade in 2012 was the worst until now.⁷

As a consequence of a series of problems in the city’s growth, São Paulo today lives a critical situation in regards to transportation. The system is now in the verge of collapse (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011).

5.3 The Prioritization of individual transport

The prioritization of private transportation in detriment to collective means led to the expansion of the road system that would at first relieve traffic, but congest once more with the increase of cars. With a 100% growth in numbers just from 2001 to 2012, the car fleet in March 2013 had a total of 7.412.617 cars.

According to Samuel Pessoa⁸ (2013), traffic congestion is the result of a market failure. It is generated when a public good transforms itself into a private one: when the “product” cannot be used by everyone at the same time. According to a recent inquiry, more people are using their cars on a daily basis in São Paulo: 27%, compared to 23% in 2012. Although people imagine traffic at peak hours

⁷ IRBEM 2013 study developed by Rede Nossa São Paulo and Ibope with well-being indicators for the population of São Paulo.

⁸ Doctor in economics and professor at Fundação Getúlio Vargas.

is generated because all cars are on the streets, actually only 15% of the fleet is being used (Vasconcellos, 2013).

In the past ten years income growth was high and new middle class members bought their own automobiles. Apart from that, with the 2008 economic crisis, one of the Brazilian strategies was to stimulate the car industry. The construction, infrastructure and automobile industry employed a lot of people and incentives were created to stimulate the acquisition cars. It was perceived as a correct approach in economic and social terms since the country was able to avoid suffering the worst of the world crisis - although nowadays the immobility issue has to be dealt with (Wilheim, 2013).

The incentives that benefit car users are done at the expense of nearly 70% of the population that uses public transportation. Furthermore, more than 50% of the investments in road systems this decade were made in high-class areas (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011). Although according to the Urban Mobility Law every city must provide equity in the use of public space, the reality is that nowadays seventy-eight per cent of the streets and avenues are occupied by cars; fifteen per cent by motorcycles; and only four per cent by urban and chartered buses.

The municipal plan to sooth the mobility crisis in 2011 envisioned investing even more in road system. "Ring roads" that connect neighbor cities, based on the 1930s model of the "Avenue Plan", were designed. Another example of favoring private transportation through public policies is parking spaces.

Studies show road lanes have to be from 5m to 6m wide to permit a two-way flow – but they are generally 8m to 10m wide in São Paulo. By law there should be extra space in case of traffic, but in neighborhood streets they normally are not used. This extra construction space cost about R\$21 billion (US\$8.8 billion) in 2012, plus another R\$424 million (US\$180 million) in maintenance only to be used in favor of car users as free parking spots (Vasconcellos, 2013). There is also a high amount of space reserved for garages built for new buildings. Fifty per cent of the constructed area for new buildings between 2002 and 2012 were designated to parking lots, an amount the São Paulo zoning law obliges.

The advantages given to cars, such as the reduced tax over industrialized products (IPI) for this product, stimulate higher car consumption, which also has implications in the health system. Many studies show that traffic corridors are the “chimneys of modern cities”, in which 70-90% of air pollutants are produced. In the metropolitan area of São Paulo, around four thousand people die every year due to problems linked to air pollution. More cars also correspond to a high number of fatalities and accidents on the road system: in São Paulo there were 1471 deaths in 2011.

Estimates say around US\$1 trillion was spent in the city in the past fifty years due to low quality of transportation and traffic problems. Today, annually, about R\$40 billion (US\$17 billion) is lost, which corresponds to the annual budget of the city of São Paulo (ANTP et al, 2013). The traffic caused by cars, however, is paid by the public transportation users. A study in 1998 in 10 Brazilian cities showed that traffic in SP made the operational cost of buses increase 15,8% - amount transferred to bus fees. Today estimates are that these costs have reached 25%, the equivalent of R\$1.4 billion (US\$600 million) (Vasconcellos, 2013).

Unfortunately, as can be observed with the examples above, public policies related to traffic flow are not a series of procedures that seek the common good. There is a restriction in the consumption of public roads and streets by most of the society due to lack of financial conditions and transportation equipment. Only those with private cars can make use of its immediate consumption (Vasconcellos, 1999).

5.4 Public Collective Transportation

Although the investment in mass transportation was evidenced as an important priority in plans since the 1960s, it was always treated as a second hand issue. One of the reasons for this, according to Martin Gegner (2013) is a dominant political class that associated public transportation to lower classes and therefore only concentrated on the prices, and not on the quality of the service⁹. According to information from the last Origin and Destination survey, the amount of time spent by public transportation users is 2,13 times higher than those who use private transport.

The structure of public transportation is so inadequate that nowadays even if car users decide to migrate to public transportation, it wouldn't have enough capacity to absorb the demand. According to Deák (2002), investment in urban infrastructure was not compatible with urban growth, especially in the 1980s.

Buses are the most used means of public transportation in São Paulo. It is one of the only cities in the world that has over 10 million inhabitants and relies its mass transportation system on buses (ANTP et al, 2013). This service provides 82% of all collective travels in the municipality and approximately 8.2 million travels daily. The city has around 15.025 vehicles, 1321 lines that extend through 4500km and in 2012 it transported 2.916.954.960 passengers. In an effort to address the pollution problem, the city has put 1,900 buses on the streets that are fuelled with a bio-fuel and diesel mix. However, problems related to the bus service can be summarized below, by Marilena Chauí:

“In the case of transportation by bus, of municipal responsibility, a cartel dominates the sector completely without being held accountable: buses are made from structures developed for trucks and therefore are made for the transportation of things and not people; the fleet is old and quantitatively insufficient for the population's needs, above all those of the city's peripheries; lines are extremely long because this makes them more lucrative, in a manner

⁹ Martin Gegner has a doctor's degree in urban sociology in Technische Universität Berlin and is a visiting professor from The University of São Paulo: <http://www.dw.de/transporte-melhor-esbarra-na-mentalidade-do-brasileiro-diz-especialista/a-17147470>.

in which passengers are obliged to take absurd routes, spending hours to get to work, to school, to health services and come back home; there are no lines connecting points of the center of the city, neither inter-neighborhood lines, in such a way that the use of automobiles becomes inevitable for smaller routes.” (Marilena Chauí, 2013)¹⁰.

Bus companies, throughout most of São Paulo’s history, were paid by the number of passengers they transported. Consequently, they would provide as few buses as possible, thus uncommitted to comfort, to the renovation of fleet and the modernization of their systems. It is not a dependable transportation method because buses are never punctual, bus stops provide no information on routes, and most stops do not have a proper shelter to protect people from rain or have benches for people to sit while they wait.

Big companies that manage the bus system have accumulated a lot of influence. Contracts have clauses that permit operators to reject government proposals to make changes in services. Governments are hostages of operators. In São Paulo, this difficulty is clear in the struggle to make changes in lines and services in the past years (Vasconcellos, 2013). According to SPTrans, the profit margin of companies in the sector is of around R\$400 million (US\$170 million) per year. Between 2011 and 2012, bus companies in São Paulo reached a liquid profit raise of up to 2056%.

Plans for the subway system were successively shelved. It was supposed to reach 450km until 1990, but today it has only 74.3km of extension; along with the train system that has an extension of 260.8km, it amounts to 335.1km of extension. Although it is of excellent quality and important as a structural element, its share in daily travels in São Paulo city is of only 22%, of which 5% can reach their destination with it while 16% need to use some other transportation (ANTP et al, 2013). Only 11% of municipal travel is done through trains, due to its limitation as a connector to collective transportation in the city.

¹⁰ Marilena Chauí is a head professor of Philosophy and Brazilian Philosophy History at the University of São Paulo: <http://www.viomundo.com.br/denuncias/marilena-chauí-o-inferno-urbano-e-a-politica-do-favor-clientela-tutela-e-cooptacao.html>.

Although the bus and subways systems have their quality and extension limits, pedestrians are the ones that have more difficulties in the city. Along with cyclists, they are considered second hand citizens. Sidewalks are under the legal responsibility of the owner of the plot, which rids the public power of the onus of building and repairing them. This also stimulated a great number of different types of sidewalks, many of which are dangerous and uncomfortable. In 2012, 9.5% of people who went into the Emergency Room of Clínicas Hospital¹¹ were there due to falls on sidewalks. Crosses are also not designed for pedestrians and there is a lack of standardisation. Most have to guess when to cross, and the more than fifty different signs for pedestrians are confusing. New construction work considers firstly the necessary size of the street for cars, then measures for pedestrians (Vasconcellos, 2013).

Many of the faults in public transportation, both motorized and non-motorized, are related to difficulties in the interaction between different stakeholders of transportation. There is a lack of broader strategies and policies due to coordination issues between actors (Barat, 2001). Nowadays there is the metropolitan secretary to coordinate actions for the whole area, but even so, there is a need to coordinate actions between, national, state and municipal scopes.

5.5 Socio-territorial Inequality

“The periphery is synonymous with neglected infrastructure, informality and insecurity. There, transport services struggle to meet the needs of a teeming population and workers acutely sense their place in São Paulo’s social hierarchy. Low-income residents are excluded through a de facto socioeconomic separation from the amenities at the city’s core, although historically, the periphery has never been better served in terms of infrastructure and low-cost public transportation as it is today.” (UN-HABITAT, 2010, p.23).

The low quality of public transportation has immediate impacts on the quality of life especially of the poorest section of the population, the one that uses it the

¹¹ Complex of health institutions of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of São Paulo.

most. In the 1990s, 80% of public transportation was used by families with up to four minimum salaries; while 80% of private cars were used by families with at least 30 minimum salaries. Therefore, mobility by individual transport during that period was seven times higher in upper classes and higher income means more road space and energy consumption (Vasconcellos, 2013).

Deployed from having work and citizenship opportunities in the outskirts of the city (Barat, 2001) since they are historically overlooked areas by politicians, the inhabitants of these areas spend a high amount of time and money in travel to reach the center of the city where public services and jobs are concentrated. A study developed by the Institute of Applied Economic Research revealed that the poorest 10.7% of Brazilian families spend 10.7% of their income on public transport, while the richest 10% spend only 0.5%. In other words, they are the ones that most suffer from immobility and inequity.

The socio-spatial segregation, “socio-territorial inequality”¹² or “social apartheid”¹³ in São Paulo, with its acute spatial and social contrasts has its origin in the beginning of the century. With the growth of its urbanization process, São Paulo was split into two: central areas in which the State provided services and was governed by special laws, while the neglected surroundings existed irregularly and lacked urban infrastructure (UN-HABITAT, 2010).

Many reasons explain this scenario: intense urbanization and the disorganized expansion of the city’s limits, combined with real-estate speculation are the main ones. Another component is land use. Historically, there is a disconnection between land use and occupation in Brazilian cities and mobility projects, which is a factor responsible for the traffic situation (Klink, 2013).¹⁴ The municipality of São Paulo until 1972 had few effective tools to control urban land use and occupation. From 1972 to 2004, land use came under the zoning law jurisdiction that established uses and indexes of capacity of use permitted.

¹² Term used by Nabil Bonduki, head professor of The Department of Planning of the University of São Paulo, at the ANTP Mobility Forum 2013.

¹³ Many social analysts use this term to describe the center-periphery dichotomy in São Paulo.

¹⁴ Joroen Klink has a doctor’s degree in architecture and urbanism: <http://www.mobilize.org.br/noticias/5245/frota-nacional-de-veiculos-em-2020-devera-ser-75-maior.html>.

In chapter 6 the June events – its facts and interpretations - will be addressed so as to comprehend how the protests were influenced by the dissatisfaction with the current transportation system, and how the events themselves were a factor of change.

6 THE JUNE EVENTS



Fig. 2. The sixth protest against the raise in the bus fee with over 60 thousand participants in São Paulo, June 17th, 2013. Source: Silva, 2013

6.1 Facts and Figures

“Results from the 2012 Americas Barometer Survey indicate that the current protests in Brazil are truly unprecedented in the country’s recent history” (Moseley, 2013, p.0).

Months before the first protest against the raise of bus fees on June 6th, the mayor of São Paulo, Fernando Haddad, had already announced the raise of the bus, train and subway fees from R\$ 3.00 to R\$ 3.20 on June 1st. Being the first year of his mandate, Haddad had defended the raise on his electoral campaign the year before, arguing it would be below inflation. The Free Pass Movement

(MPL)¹⁵ then organized the first protest against the raise through Facebook a month and a half before it would be effective.

As recently as 2012, Brazil registered one of the lowest rates of protest participation in region, with only 4.7 percent of Brazilians claiming they had taken part in protest, rally or public demonstration in the previous year. However, in thirteen days, from June 17th to June 30th, 775 protests were organized – mainly through the internet - in 433 municipalities in which over 2.8 million protestors participated in. Although this period does not include the first demonstrations that began on June 6th, it refers to the weeks in which the protests spread through the country, encompassing various demands, in higher intensity and involving more participants. (Aguillar, 2013).

These extraordinary mass demonstrations, inflamed by police brutality against protestors, are the largest and most contentious in Brazil since 1992, when protestors called for and eventually achieved the deposal of a sitting president. (Moseley, 2013)

Already on June 19th, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro announced they would renege on the proposed fee increase, and in the following days, other fifty cities would follow.

6.2 Multiple Demands

A survey made just before the last protest in June showed that the population of São Paulo believed that, among the reasons that brought 65 thousand people to demonstrate two days before was the raise in transportation fees (67%); corruption (38%); specific political representatives (35%); better transportation quality (27%); security (20%); against police brutality (18%) and World Cup expenses (5%).

¹⁵ The MPL is a horizontal, autonomous, independent and nonpartisan movement whose main goal is to guarantee free and high quality public transportation in Brazil. They state themselves as a “means for the construction of another society” in which public transportation is a right for all citizens and cannot be treated as merchandise: <http://saopaulo.mpl.org.br/apresentacao/carta-de-principios/>

Although these were pointed out as the main reasons for the protests, the enigmatic character of events of June remains. Various political scientists, sociologists, journalists have tried to decipher the reasons and factors behind the dissatisfaction that led Brazilians to demonstrate.

The explanations given until now can be sorted into two different categories: one linked to the political system and its representatives, the other, to the urban model the country's largest cities were molded into. Both are closely linked.

One common understanding about this moment is that it is one of discontent with the functioning of the Brazilian political system. For Marcos Nobre (2013), the way our political system works, where politicians from the executive build an "allied base" with different parties in order to have their proposals approved, has frustrated the population. As close as in 2012, less than 35% of Brazilians believed that politicians were interested in what they wanted. For the federal deputy and the president of left-wing Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL), Ivan Valente, the demonstrations are the symbol of the end of a cycle.

A very recurrent complaint related to Brazilian politics is corruption, one that has surpassed in the democratization process due to increasing scandals denounced by a free media. It was a strong flag once the demonstrations increased. In 2012, around 65 per cent of Brazilians perceived the political system as a corrupt one. This figure is not necessarily high by regional standards, but contributed as an individual level determinant of participation in protests (Moseley, 2013).

From a politico-economic point of view, Samuel Pessoa (2013) explains that during the re-democratization of the Brazilian state, there was an political balance which had two characteristics: a growing increase in the tax burden and the social tendency of consuming private goods. According to him, as a consequence of a society that has an enormous social gap and in which most people are not interested in economic growth - since it does not benefit all - the political balance comes from the high tax burden which guarantees economic transfer and grants the capacity to produce private goods. Once these private goods are satisfactory, people start demanding public goods.

In a similar line of thought, Marcelo Neri (2008) stresses the importance of the emergence of a new and highly consuming new middle class, with more access to education and information and communication technology in the protests. For him, all these elements combined to the cultural valuation of citizenship generated more participatory willingness and the unacceptance of situations that, in the past would have been tolerated.

For Jorge Wilhelm (2013), people are not only reclaiming public goods, but their rights as citizens to be entitled to public spaces as well. In this sense, Slavoj Žižek defends that these demonstrations have to do with the strengthening of democracy and the disappointment related to the expectations deriving from it.

Also connected to the democratization process, Paulo Arantes (2013) claims the protests have been building up for years with the exhaustion of social movements. During the development of democracy in the 1990s, many of their demands were promised to be dealt through formal government institutions. In 2012, Brazil ranked 22nd among 26 countries in the Americas in support for national political institutions. According to Booth and Seligson (2009), this type of disenchantment with the political system can motivate individuals to adopt more aggressive forms of political participation in an effort to make their voices heard. Thus, the low levels of support for key national political institutions observed in Brazil might have created an environment where mass protests could potentially take hold, even if they have not yet appeared in Brazil.

The dissatisfaction with the results of the fulfillment of demands through these institutions and the “state of exception” in which special laws are implemented in order to have the infrastructure for the Mega Events in the next years¹⁶ ready in time are, for Arantes, essential explanations for the demonstrations.

Raquel Rolnik (2013) contends that many of the protestors were questioning the essence of the project for the World Cup itself: for whom it is being done and who is being affected. In her opinion, this has to do with an excluding city model in which the population is not part of the decision-making process. The leader of

¹⁶ 2014 World Cup in twelve Brazilian cities and 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.

the *Movimento Sem Terra* (The Landless Movement), João Pedro Stedile, also agrees that the current urban model of Brazilian cities contributed to the uprising. He connects it to a phase of international capitalism that brought real-estate speculation and income growth that financed automobiles and filled the streets with traffic.

This urban model, which determined the frenetic, uncontrolled and unequal expansion of the city of São Paulo, in which the lack of political will to implement what was envisioned by specialists in plans for the city; in which private automobiles were privileged in public policies and public transportation lacks quality to ensure higher profit of some companies; in which the poorest sector of the population, due to real-estate speculation and no land use regulation, was pushed to the brinks of the city far from jobs and services concentrated in the city center where they take long travels to reach; combined to produce a complete breakdown in mobility in São Paulo.

6.3 The raise of the bus fee as the catalyst for the demonstrations



Fig. 3. Protestors holding banner saying “If the fee does not drop, the city will stop”. São Paulo, June 14th, 2013
Source: Leblon, 2013.

While the increase of cars filled the streets until they were impassable, the rise of public transportation fees in the past years weighed heavily on the low-income population's pockets in exchange for a poor service. Between 1997 and 2002 the fee was 14% above inflation. In Brazil's biggest cities it is cheaper to use a motorbike for distances of 7km or shorter than taking public transport (Vasconcellos, 2013).

The quality of transportation, different from other public services, can be analyzed objectively and has enormous consequences on the quality of life. Access to mobility determines the opportunities one can have: jobs, studies, leisure, social encounters.

Low quality of services, suspicions of corruption and lack of transparency in contracts in the sector, the high costs with transportation – elements detailed in the previous chapter - and the impact of mobility on the population's daily lives are the aspects that can explain how the raise in transportation fees had the role of the "catalyst" of the June happenings.

The dissatisfaction demonstrated in the protests derived from a historical process that produced the flaws, frustrations and reproach towards the Brazilian political system and the urban model that is dominant in its cities and restricts access to better quality public services. The discontent towards the current political system and the urban model, and the services they provide, can be easily perceived in the transportation sector due to its fundamental role in urban areas.

In the next chapter the impacts the demonstrations have had - addressed in chapter 8 - will firstly put into context, one of improvements in well-being in Brazil and São Paulo in the past decade or so, and then linked to the improvements in governance in the city: both regarding the overall management of the city and that of the transportation sector.

The improvements in governments were then connected to the two good urban governance principles from the Global Campaign on Urban Governance I have chosen to analyze this context with: Transparency and Accountability, and Civic Engagement and Citizenship, and their practical means of realization.

**7 BRAZIL & SÃO PAULO: DYNAMIC CHANGES IN
THE PAST DECADE**

7.1 Poverty Reduction and Inequality

Brazil and São Paulo are undergoing a process of dynamic change that has been dramatically affecting and shaping the lives of the urban poor. The São Paulo of the 1970s and 1980s is quite different from the city today. In a context of changing demographics and changing opportunities, the policy instruments, protections and social provisions for the poor have significantly improved. The rising middle class in the midst of these changes challenges the traditional bipolar analysis of the past. (UN-HABITAT, p.24)

Poverty has fallen in Brazil in the past decade and continues in decline. It is the result of a series of factors: increased average earnings, cash transfers and the efficiency of social programs. According to official statistics, the number of Brazilians below the poverty line fell considerably between 1990 and 2005, from fifty-two per cent of the population to thirty-eight per cent (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Following a national trend, São Paulo had a twenty per cent reduction in the number of people below the poverty line in the metropolitan area.

In midst of the improvements in income and well-being, the middle class has increased significantly and a higher share of the population has access to private goods. The gains the population did not imply, however, in better access to public services. Claudio Dedecca (2013)¹⁷ explains that while *Bolsa Família*¹⁸ was a very important social program since it eased poverty and hunger, but that from now on overcoming poverty will depend on improving the educational, public transportation, health and housing systems. These have not had a level

¹⁷ Economist and researcher from the Economy Institute of Unicamp: <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/impresso,reduzir-pobreza-agora-e-melhorar-os-servicos-,1092643,0.htm>.

¹⁸ *Bolsa Família* (or Family Allowance) is a social welfare program of the Brazilian government described by The Economist as an "anti-poverty scheme invented in Latin America" (which) "is winning converts worldwide."

of improvement – in terms of accessibility and quality - that could satisfy the expectations of this emerging class.

Although inequality has dropped in the last decade - the average national Gini coefficient fell from 0.60 in 1997 to 0.57 in 2009 - even in critical areas of basic needs and services, Brazil continues to be one of the twelve most unequal countries in the world. São Paulo is an extreme example of this inequality. According to a UN-HABITAT (2010, p.25) study on São Paulo:

“A rather limited reduction in income disparities reflects structural problems in the distribution of wealth that may have long-term consequences not only in terms of income polarization, but in access to opportunities.”

From the perspective of the city’s inhabitants, according to the Urban Inequality in Latin-American cities perception research in 2012, 76% of the people questioned consider inequality in the city high or very high. Along with Paraguay, it is the highest rate among all ten cities heard, even higher than the average of the study: 61%. Identified as one of the main challenges in the city by urban planners, it is one of the main focuses of the revision of the Master plan.

7.2 Governance Issues in São Paulo

High inequality is linked to the city’s history of governance of public services, in which private companies have a decisive role and citizens are practically excluded from the decision-making process. Ladislau Dowbor (2013), points out how the interests of real-estate agencies combined with traditional politics weigh more than public interest, as an example of the flaws in governance in the city. The deliberative process on how to allocate the city’s resources is, according to him, one of the main problems. While decisions are taken in a centralized and non-transparent manner, among groups that benefit each other mutually and are not focused on the management of public interests, it is very unlikely that measures that benefit the city will be taken, even if they are

obvious and cheap. In order for the population to be included in the decision-making process it is indispensable to enhance citizenship. In other words, decentralized, participative and transparent systems that guarantee citizens information in the most local scope possible.

Although the decision-making process is basically still concentrated in the same hands and Dowbor's recommendations in terms of good urban governance are essential, there is no question there have been improvements in the past years; so as to facilitate the study I will concentrate on the ones the current municipal government has been responsible for.

7.3 General Context of Improvement in Governance

The municipal government recently promoted the event *São Paulo Aberta* (Open São Paulo) from October 23rd to October 27th, 2013. On the description of the occasion on its webpage, the municipal government declares that it understands that transparency, access to information, technologic innovation and social participation are the fundamental guidelines of the improvement of management and of public policies in the city. These are the principles of the so-called "open government", a concept they declare to strengthen as a governing method. The event brought together representatives from all sectors, as well as important Brazilian thinkers to discuss themes such as "The open government we want", "A government open to participation" and "A government open to transparency and participative control".

The effort to implement the principles stated above is noted in the process of revision of the city's master plan. The 2002 master plan was an important advance, but very meagerly applied in practice since there was little effort in regulating its application. It was considered to contain flaws that consequently generated in a very unequal and asymmetric development of the city in the last ten years. The previous mayor had prosed to revise it, but a great number of complaints from NGOs and other non-profit organizations arose due to the removal of forty-seven articles of the master plan that addressed strategic

actions for social and urban management benefits for the city such as urban agriculture, leisure, health, education and culture, employment and income. It was accused of benefitting the civil construction sector instead. The lack transparency and public participation in all stages led to a processing deadlock of the proposal in court.

The current master plan incorporated main elements from the previous plan; however, it has the aim of presenting instruments that can make its implementation feasible.

The master plan is the first stage of the revision process of the regulatory framework of the municipality. It proposes a series of urban management tools that will be used in the urban and environmental systems, which the municipal government declares being necessary in order to regain balance in the type of management of the city that the population wants: done by and for all. It is a form of promoting Civic Engagement and Citizenship by enhancing strong local democracies through free and fair municipal elections and participatory decision-making processes.

The Municipal Secretariat of Urban Development maintains a page in order to discuss urban planning projects in São Paulo. There is a specific section with all issues related to the Master plan: the revision bill, the explanation of what the plan consists of, its sections and its phases, São Paulo maps related to proposals for the city, all steps taken towards the revision of the plan and videos of the meetings that have been carried out. For a few months, inhabitants were also able to access a map of the city and point out where and what changes they would like to see implemented and make suggestions of alterations in the bill. In the first phase of the process, twelve participative activities were developed in which 1804 people and 1847 contributions were made to thematic evaluations; dialogues with different segments were engaged with 269 NGOs, popular movements, universities, councils and companies, and the 6th municipal conference brought together 9636 people.

The second phase consisted of collecting the proposals and suggestions from the workshops carried out in all 31 sub-municipalities¹⁹ and through the website. There were 5895 participants in workshops in which 1696 proposals were presented, while 1826 proposals sent through online forms, summing up 3522 proposals in total.

In the third phase the systematization of received proposals was performed, by dividing them by number of suggestions sent by each area of the city and the most debated objectives. The fourth and final phase that ended on December 20th was one in which feedback on the minute of the bill was given either through a series of thematic and subprefecture public hearings or commenting on excerpts online.

The establishment of a participative council for the city of São Paulo, a long-awaited demand from the civil society, is another stride towards transparency and accountability, under the Global Campaign on Urban Governance's sub-item (no date):

“Regular, organized and open consultations of citizens on city financial matters and other important issues (...) and the use of (...) monitoring mechanisms in the process.”

The participative council was created and announced by the municipal government on August 1st, 2013. It is a new popular participation organ that is constituted in all 32 subprefectures of the city, composed by representatives elected by its inhabitants. Its attributions include monitoring the budget execution, the evolution of public service performance indicators, the execution of the target plan and other social control tools that have a territorial basis in each subprefecture. It was considered by organizations of the civil society as a milestone that initiates a process of administrative decentralization in the city of São Paulo and a political force that can reflect the main necessities of the population in terms of quality of life, administrative transparency, rational usage of public resources and the construction of public policies that can improve the lives of all.

¹⁹ Currently 32 municipalities as one was recently added.

As an advance in terms of transparency, from last year to 2013, municipal transparency indicators composed of ninety questions that evaluate the level of transparency in Participation (public hearings realized and complaint mechanisms) and Information (content disclosed to citizens) dimensions showed a significant improvement in transparency in São Paulo, although still grading low. Last year it had 18.81 points (very low grading) reaching 38.15 points (low grading) in 2013. The creation of a Municipal Transparency Council is contemplated in the 2016 Target Plan of the current administration, which maintains a Transparency Portal in which information on the administration of the city, public accounting, budget laws, the city's Target Plan and on Social Organizations and data on public accounts, public servants, subprefectures and indirect administration (companies that are hired for public services) are displayed.

The background for these advances in transparency is the Access to Information Law that came into force on May 16th, 2012. The law ensures that all public organs must facilitate citizen access to public administration-related information by creating an information service with appropriate conditions to meet and orient the public and inform on the processing of documents and requests to access information. The main means for this to be achieved is by supporting popular participation, mainly regarding public hearings and consultations. These initiatives guarantee transparency and accountability by establishing codes of conduct and provision for regular disclosure of assets of public officials and elected representatives and promoting the public's right of access to city information.

Concerning governance specifically in the area of transportation and mobility, the new urban mobility law that came into force in January 2012, after seventeen years to be voted in Congress, was considered a milestone in the management of public policies in Brazilian cities. The amount of time it took to be approved can be seen as a sign of the indifference the country had toward the issue of urban mobility, as well as a consequence from the shock of interests and influence of several lobbies in discussions. This is an

understandable environment after years of transportation studies, projects and discussions that lacked a systemic and sustainable view (ANTP et al, 2013, p.46).

The law establishes the principles, guidelines and objectives of the National Policy of Urban Mobility. Its principles are very much aligned to good urban governance principles: universal accessibility, sustainable development of cities, equality in access to public transportation, efficiency and effectiveness in service provision and in urban movement, democratic management and social control of planning and evaluation of the National Policy of Urban Mobility and fair distribution of benefits and onus of different services and modes. Among its guidelines, the integration to urban development policies and the prioritization of collective non-motorized transportation are the highlights.

The law also includes the rights and responsibilities of users. Among the rights, it determines that they should receive an adequate, efficient and effective service and be informed in accessible and comprehensible language about their rights and responsibilities, the quality and quantity standards as well as rights and obligations of the service operators. The law guarantees the population can participate in planning, supervision and evaluation of the National Policy of Urban Governance through Urban Mobility Councils.

One of the main objectives of the policy is to increase the share of collective and non-motorized transportation in population travels. Urban Mobility plans should be elaborated containing policies and deadlines in order to strive for this aim. Every municipality with over 20 thousand inhabitants must create their own mobility plans until 2015 so as to receive federal budget resources for urban mobility works. São Paulo is now in the process of elaborating its own through the Municipal Council of Transportation and Transit. Campaigns promoted by organizations such as Greenpeace Brasil, *#Cadê o Plano de Mobilidade Urbana* (*#Where is the Urban Mobility Plan*) show which Brazilian cities already have their plans ready, gives access to related documents and stimulates citizens to support the campaign by requiring the elaboration of the plan from their representatives and helping promote the campaign itself.

The National Policy and the Mobility Plan are a step towards the improvement of citizenship and civic Engagement by making use of mechanisms such as public hearings and surveys, city consultations and participatory strategy development.

Several other initiatives from civil society organizations have helped create pressure to implement these measures. According to Dowbor (2013)²⁰: “Civil society organizations are multiplying, not only to fill the gaps in which the State fails, but because participating in the construction of our life conditions is part of life. Adding participative democracy to traditional representative mechanisms is not an “ideological” vision, it is respecting people, articulating decision-making processes on spaces that belong to all.” He then defends *Rede Nossa São Paulo* (Our São Paulo Network) as an embryo of these articulations. RNSP mobilizes several sectors of society to, in partnership with governments and other institutions, build and commit to an agenda and a group of goals, articulate and promote actions, aiming for a just and sustainable Sao Paulo. Apart from transmitting information on initiatives and actions performed by the municipality and work groups on specific topics - governance for instance - they promote campaigns, such as the World Day without a Car, and surveys on well-being in the city. They campaigned in favor of the creation of the Participative Council especially through their work group on governance and also in favor of the Municipal Council on Transportation and Transit – which will be explained in the next chapter - for the past six years.

Other initiatives by independent organizations are more related to virtual platforms. Sampa CriAtiva defines themselves as a collaborative channel of expression and articulation that proposes a space for citizens of São Paulo to think about their city and reflect on how to improve it. They exhibit successful examples of innovative forms in which citizens from other parts of the world contributed to their cities based on five different categories: governing together, business, social innovation on the streets and new channels of dialogue and

²⁰ <http://dowbor.org/2013/01/por-uma-sao-paulo-inteligente-espacos-de-governanca-janeiro-20138p.html/>.

transparency. Inhabitants from São Paulo can also send proposals for changes in the city in all different areas, that can be visualized and commented on the website.

In the next chapter, improvements specifically linked to the June events will be discussed, both in terms of discourse and of practical measures taken.

8 IMPROVEMENTS IN GOVERNANCE POST-JUNE EVENTS

8.1 Reactions from Authorities

“this week’s protests brought important lessons: the fees were lowered and the demands of the protesters gained national priority. We have to take advantage of the strength of these protests so as to ensure more changes that can benefit the entire Brazilian population. (...) This message requires more quality in public services. It wants high quality education; it requires high quality health services; it wants better public transportation and a fair price for it; it wants more security. (...) we need to find mechanisms that can make our institutions more transparent, more resistant to misuses and, above all, more permeable to the influence of society” (President Dilma Rousseff, 2013)²¹.

The first reaction of authorities such as the president, the mayor and the governor of São Paulo to the demonstrations was to resist negotiating with protestors. According to MPL, “Dilma demonstrated having a high incapacity to comprehend the moment the country was going through.” President Dilma’s government approval rate fell drastically in two weeks: from 57% to 30% (Aguillar, 2013). This relates to the crisis of representativeness as a factor that gave impulse to more protests, explained in chapter 6. The crisis brought a series of changes in authorities’ discourses and actions, from local to national ones all across the country.

After the revocation of the raise in transportation fees throughout Brazil, the demonstrations were legitimized, supported by president Dilma’s “pacts”. These “pacts” proposed a series of changes such as a national urban mobility plan that would favor public transportation, the most significant one being a plebiscite on a political system reform through a constitutional amendment that would

²¹ <http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/brasil/dilma-comenta-os-protestos-no-brasil-leia-a-integra-do-discurso>)

determine alterations in campaign financing, the electoral system, votes in Congress, alliances among different political parties and the replacement of senators. In the following weeks, she met with more leaders of social movements in her office than during two years and a half of her government.

When improvement in mobility was recognized as an essential need, the National government also announced an investment of R\$50 bi (US\$23 bi) among states and capitals of the country, which was part of a “mobility pact”. The pact envisioned improvement in the quality of public transportation, fee reduction, more transparency and social control. As part of this investment, on October 25th, she also declared to release R\$ 5.4 billion (US\$ 2.3 billion) to be used in transportation infrastructure works in the state of São Paulo. These resources will be allocated to the expansion of the subway and train lines and to the implementation of an urban train system that will connect the eastern area of São Paulo to Guarulhos airport²², apart from the modernization of nineteen metropolitan train stations. On December 13th, São Paulo Municipality received R\$ 2.04 billion (US\$ 863 million) that will be invested on 94km of bus corridors and one bus terminal. The president also announced to provide a credit line in the amount of R\$ 33 billion (US\$14 billion) that will be financed throughout 30 years.

According to Marilena Chauí, the MPL was successful in defining transportation as every citizen’s right, thereby affirming the base of the democratic practice: the defense of rights through the expression of social and political rights. The recognition and legitimization of one of the main demands from the demonstrations – transportation as a social right – became part of the justification for the mobility pact.

A proposal of a constitutional amendment that places transportation among other constitutionally recognized social rights was elaborated in 2011, but after the June happenings its processing was accelerated. Approved by the congress on December 4th, 2013, the proposal can bring significant changes to the

²² International airport of São Paulo that is located in the municipality of Guarulhos.

financing of public transportation in Brazilian cities if approved by the senate. Although it would not have immediate effects, it is considered a first step in treating transportation as a social right and therefore, treated as a universal one to be provided by the State.

As seen in chapter 6, another issue mentioned in the protests was corruption, a problem recurrent when involving huge contracts in infrastructure development - which is the case in the São Paulo transportation sector. Suspicions of corruption aroused in this area in midst of the discussion on reasons for bad quality in the service, and details concerning resource flows were not clear.

On June 27th, a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Transportation in São Paulo was installed to investigate urban transportation in São Paulo city. It was criticized by some councillors for having, among its participants, councillors connected with interests in the transportation area. Regardless, it was seen as an important initiative towards transparency, since it is promoting the public's right of access to city information. It is bringing light on how the transportation fees amount to their current prices and how resources from the Municipal government were transferred to bus companies and cooperatives that provide their services to the city.

After analyzing documents released by the secretariat of Transportation, councillors declared that references and methodologies used in the spreadsheets of payrolls, diesel and maintenance of these companies were out of date. Apart from that, it was observed that these spreadsheets contained only estimates of expenditures, which obliged the government to cover additional costs – amounted to R\$ 800 million (US\$ 340 million) in 2012. This led to the suggestion that these “fictitious spreadsheets” should be eliminated.

The committee also investigated the corruption denouncements. Among them was the formation of cartel by service providers of the Metrô and CPTM between 1999 and 2003. Several scandals followed. For instance, Siemens confessed they formed a cartel with seventeen other companies such as Alstom, Mitsui, CAF and Bombardier and declared they would reimburse public funds if

it was proven that the company had damaged the treasury by participating in a cartel. Alstom was also accused of paying bribes to the previous director of CPTM (denounced by the Swiss Public Persecution service). Suspicions are that the scheme can have affected the bus fees – since there is integration of train, subway and bus systems in São Paulo.

Mayor Fernando Haddad postponed bidding processes for bus companies that will provide services of around R\$45 billion (US\$19 billion) for the next fifteen years until next year, after the committee finishes its investigations. This measure was considered important by social movements in order to take a decision that will favor users.

A demand of the civil society for several years, on August 2nd the municipal government created the Municipal Council of Transportation and Transit, also as a reaction to the protests, establishing the legal authority for civil society to participate effectively through such mechanisms and thereby promoting civic engagement and citizenship. The council is composed by thirty-nine representatives – thirteen from the municipal government, thirteen from service operators and another thirteen from the civil society – and nine other guests. It has the role of enhancing “popular participation and a democratic management of transportation” in order to discuss important issues in transportation such as the mobility plan for the city and the bidding process in order to renovate concessionaries’ and authorized contractors’ contracts. Although according to the MPL there is an inferior number representatives from the civil society than it should and only has an advisory (and not deliberative) role, it is a first initiative from the government to discuss the course of transportation in São Paulo in a participative manner.

Another immediate effect was the discussion of urban mobility not only within politicians, but also in the media and among civil society. According to Samuel Pessoa (2013), the protests had the purpose of making us look at a problem that was close to blowing up. From July to December 2013 at least four urban mobility discussion forums that brought together a wide array of important urban planners, economists and sociologists, technicians, municipal and state

authorities as well as representatives from the private sector, social movements and civil society were promoted. Other events that debated mobility and the right to the city were also organized, all of which explicitly linked the promotion of the events and the deepening of the discussion on those topics to the June protests. The municipality also stimulated the population to get involved in proposing solutions through a “Hackathon²³” for the development of applications that can improve public transportation in the city. From October 25th to the 27th, information on the transportation system was used in order to develop these applications.

8.2 Concrete Results post-protests

Haddad also announced a series of measures to be implemented in the transportation sector already in 2013. The secretary of Transportation of the city, Jilmar Tatto declared that as a direct consequence of the actions in June, the objective of implementing 150km of exclusive lanes during the whole mandate was increased to 220 km only in 2013. This measure has increased the velocity of bus circulation in up to 50%: from 13.8km/h to 20.4km/h. A study by the Traffic Engineering Company also concluded that passengers gained, in average, 38 minutes every day in comparison to last year. The year has ended with 300km of lanes in operation. In 2014, the municipality has announced it will mainly concentrate on bus corridors.²⁴ Out of the 234 km that are envisioned to be implemented in the next two years, 64km should be ready already by March.

After a study developed by the municipal administration pointed out that the presence of taxis on the 101 km throughout nine bus corridors affected the velocity of buses from 25.5% to 31.6%, the Public Prosecution office of São Paulo will revoke the permission for them to ride on these lanes by the end of

²³ A Hackathon is an event, typically lasting several days, in which a large number of people meet to engage in collaborative computer programming

²⁴ Exclusive lanes for buses work on specific hours and are normally situated on the right side of high flux avenues. Cars still have to circulate on it to make conversions. Bus corridors are on the left side and are dedicated to the circulation of buses full-time. The advantages of the second one are that, although they are more costly and laborious since they require an environmental license, buses can circulate on higher velocity.

January. It is a measure that will positively affect the great majority of the users of those lanes, since although taxis are considered a public transportation, they are an individual (and restricted to the elite since it is a very expensive service) and not collective one.

Tatto also promised to put into practice, in 2014, commitments made in the beginning of 2013. These include making applications for phones (those from the Hackathon, for example) available to the population in order for people to know the localization of buses, as well as wi-fi in bus stops. He declared the inclusion of air-conditioning in buses is also being discussed, to ensure more comfort for passengers.

In this chapter the importance of the high frequency of debates on mobility in the months following the protests was addressed. In the following one, I will describe the possible contributions of the content of these discussions for the future of transportation in São Paulo. The richness of the debates relies on first-hand studies and information provided by the State, private companies, specialists and citizens that experience the conditions of transportation in the city.

The municipal and metropolitan secretariats of transportation and urban development presented, during several forums, the priorities in terms of transportation development in São Paulo. These plans relate to the announcements mayor Haddad and president Dilma made little past the June happenings.

9 DEBATES THAT CAN DEFINE THE FUTURE

“Never have we debated so much on urban mobility. (...) Now, differently than in other moments, all interested parts seem truly interested. Suddenly, political will, legal conditions, financial resources and popular pressure have combined in favor of the construction of a new agenda for mobility.” Rafael Teles, 2013²⁵.

9.1 Priorities of the Municipal Government & Other Options

In the mayor’s Multiannual Plan²⁶, in which the priorities of the mayor’s mandate are exposed, the investments in mobility are the highest: 32.1% of the R\$ 36.1 billion (US\$ 15.2 billion) estimated to be spent by the Municipal government in the next years. These expenses will predominately be in benefit of public transportation: bus corridors and the modernization of traffic lights in the city.

The basis for the elaboration of the plan was the 2013-2016 Target Plan, discussed in public hearings. The works will amount to R\$ 23.7 billion (US\$10 billion) until the end of 2016, an investment feasible due to the R\$ 2.04 billion from federal resources and R\$ 33 billion (US\$ 14 billion) credit line announced by the president.

The massive investment in public bus service is aligned with the municipal government’s plans for mobility in São Paulo. For officials, improving the quality of the public transportation system is to improve the quality of the bus service (Souza, 2013). The most critical problems identified are related to the management of the operation of the system; thus, it is crucial to create space

²⁵ <http://www.antp.org.br/website/noticias/ponto-de-vista/show.asp?npgCode=5CAE6B87-4C00-477A-827C-77629F634CCE>.

²⁶ The Multiannual plan is a médium-term planning instrument and establishes the guidelines, objectives and targets of the Public administration in the period of 4 years. : <http://www.segplan.go.gov.br/post/ver/115737/plano-plurianual-2012-2015>.

for buses to flow and implement adjustments that guarantee availability, flexibility, reliability and offer regular service. The reorganization of lines, stops and connection areas, display of information about the buses on stops and online, monitoring and integrated services (with other transportation modes) are targets SP Trans is aiming at. Lastly, it is necessary to road-related adjustments to give continuity and improve the capacity of the existing infrastructure and give priority to the bus in the road system.

In order to maintain comfort and punctuality of the buses, they should not have to dispute space with other transportation modes – thus the importance of bus corridors, recognized by specialists as well as the municipal government. A good corridor system is essential for the city, but it has to operate with high velocity and regularity so that people can plan their travels. If the management problem were solved, the bus service can reach the capacity of the subway system (Souza, 2013) – although never superior (Wilheim, 2013).

Although more efficient and of higher quality, subways cannot compete in offering the same services and the solution to improve transportation in the city as the bus because of the current display of the city and the reachability each of these modes offer, according to SPTrans representatives (2013).

The social and environmental advantages of the subway system, though, are various. It is less time and energy consuming, has a much more reduced number of accidents and pollution emission. According to the World Bank, without the subway system of São Paulo, the financial costs of these elements would amount to R\$ 6.444 million (US\$ 2.726 million). More subways could have a positive impact on the GDP as well, up to 1.6% (Deák, 2002).

These reasons lead Vasconcellos (2013) to affirm that a railway system in a city with the dimension of São Paulo is necessary to correspond to demands with high velocity and regularity. Eizenberg (2013) agrees that every major Brazilian city should have long subway lines, and that there's no alternative compatible to it. São Paulo has insufficient lines that are overcrowded during peak hours, and although most of the population would agree that the solution would be to

expand the service, for Samuel Pessoa (2013) subways are an expensive investment for Latin American countries and they take too long to be built. Even so, the plans for São Paulo include extending the 74.3 km of lines in 2013 to 100 km by the end of 2014. The company responsible for the subway system, Metro (2013), declared that the massive investment on the system has medium to long-term impacts that will only be visible in twenty to thirty years.

A similar alternative to the subway system is the monorail²⁷, which is currently being implemented in São Paulo and in other cities in Brazil. This choice is being intensely debated among specialists in urban development and politicians. The advantages compared to the subway is that it is cheaper and quicker to be built, which, due to the forthcoming world events in Brazil, is why this was the option adopted. The downside is that it has a bigger impact in the surroundings of the stations and require more expropriations – and that is why so many specialists are against it (Pires, 2013). In São Paulo the 17-Gold line of the rail system (monorail) is predicted to start operating next year.

Light Rail Vehicles (VLT) are also similar to monorails and are considered in the future of the transportation system. In São Paulo though, although they have the capacity to transport more people per hour than buses, they cannot substitute long bus lines. Nor the subway, since it can transport twice as many people per rail coach. That is what leads specialists to say that it will saturate rapidly in a city with São Paulo's dimensions. However, they can be a convenient for connecting neighborhoods (Wilheim, 2013) and in integration with other transportation alternatives, are clean if electric (and not diesel), silent and can be ten times cheaper than building subway lines. Compared to monorails, VLTs are cheaper to be maintained and operated.

Another alternative, already operating in the city, is the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system: the Tiradentes Express. It operates similarly to the VLT, but instead of rails, it has wheels. The system today has an approval rate of over 80%. For many economists, it is the most economically viable solution for Brazil (Pessoa, 2013).

²⁷ A monorail is a rail-based transportation system based on a single rail that is its sole support.

The majority of those who analyze São Paulo's current (i)mobility situation agree that ideally, the metropolitan area should be connected through different modals: those more adequate for longer distances with others that can have the function of feeders to the main systems. Buses lines should be adapted to the real necessities of the population with long routes that favor the necessities of the population from the outskirts and not bus company profits.

Another essential aspect to be considered is the attractiveness of the public transportation system. Improving their conditions through better monitoring and organization systems is necessary because car users will only prefer to use them only when it is a more favorable option – quicker and cheaper than private transportation (Pannunzio, 2013). This will only be possible when there is better coordination among actors: municipal, state and federal governments and their respective companies (ibid) and through integrated planning among different municipalities. It is also necessary to have more transparency in the definition of contracts and payment of costs of operators, and ensure the strengthening of the government's management power (Vasconcellos, 2013).

9.2 Defining the fair transportation fee

“The problem is that fee is defined without clear criteria or is simply copied from other cities, what makes it possible to infer that there is super-profitability of the operators.” (Vasconcellos, 2013)²⁸

As pointed out before, the protests began because of the raise in transportation fees in São Paulo, perceived as unjust. In most debates after the June events the subject of public transportation pricing was central.

Three main motivations for the debate that can be highlighted: 1. Perception of an “unjust” price for the fee, because its too high for people to pay; 2. Fees too high for the service offered; 3. Private operators perceived as dishonest and that should not receive more for their services (Vasconcellos, 2013).

²⁸ Location 305

Those that most radically stress the three motivations exposed above, such as MPL, are in favor of a zero rate policy for public transportation. As the Brazilian president accepts to categorize public transportation as a social right, then, according to the defenders of zero rate, it is a service that cannot envision profit. This is especially because in the current system, the ones that provide the companies' profits are the users - mostly the poorest population of the city. This argument is the basis for the amendment (explained in chapter 8) that will legally categorize public transportation as a right. Its proponents expect the universalization that it ensures will obligate the government to make it free and give citizens the right to the city and its services.

Some argue the costs would be too high, and that negative impacts would be superior than the positive ones. According to Vasconcellos (2013), for bus rides to be free would cost R\$ 6 billion (US\$ 2.2 billion) a year for São Paulo, or 20% of the city's budget – which could be considered unfeasible.

MPL, however, believes this idea is possible through a tax reform in which progressive taxes are implemented in the municipality. It would establish that the richest would pay higher taxes, the middle class would pay less and those who could not afford to pay, would be exempt. They also propose to better distribute the municipal budget, separating an amount that would subsidize transportation instead of it being spent on marketing, corruption and infrastructure works that do not meet the real needs of the population.

The campaign in favor of the municipalization of an already existent tax on gasoline, the Contribution of Intervention in the Economic Domain (CIDE), an option to collect resources for public transportation, is strong – it has over thirty-eight thousand supporters. Defenders of the idea, say it will cheapen and possibly permit free public transportation. Another option is to increase the price of gasoline in a small amount. A study from the Getúlio Vargas Foundation shows that a fifty-cent raise on every liter of gasoline would cheapen the fee in R\$ 1.20 (US\$ 0.50), thus decreasing its cost from R\$ 3.00 (US\$ 1.25) to R\$ 1.80 (US\$ 0.75). In any case, many defend to penalize car users for the pollution they generate, simultaneously investing on public transportation.

Recently the Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea)²⁹ elaborated a proposal that would exempt 7.5 million people who do not have the financial conditions or have difficulty to access the transportation system today. Aiming at achieving the objectives of the “mobility pact” proposed by president Dilma – improvement of the transportation system, reduction of fees, more transparency and social control – the study proposes technological solutions for their execution and the simplicity of instituting a social card. The beneficiaries of the exemption would be informal workers, idle people and students, according to social and income conditions. These gratuities would be paid through Federal government subsidies instead of users.

9.3 Dealing with the excessive number of private vehicles

Vasconcellos (2013) argues there should be the elimination of incentives for the usage of the car and more restrictions to their use, such as two days a week in which certain car plates are prohibited from circulating during peak hours (today it is only one), some streets should not be allowed to park on and there should be better traffic supervision.

Penalizing car users for the extra space they occupy and pollution they generate is also viewed as a fair solution (economically and socially). For Garcia (2013), making travels by car within the city more expensive is one of the paths to ensuring a transportation economy that was successful in Bogotá, London and Copenhagen, and can be one for São Paulo to follow as well, as long as the resources generated for the public budget be well administered.

On the other hand, many of the debates stressed that there should not be the “demonization” of the car. What most specialists agree on is that the problem is not the number of cars that people own, but the quantity and frequency in which they circulate (Carmo, 2013). Therefore, the most important fact is the number

²⁹ Ipea is a federal public foundation linked to the Strategic Affairs Secretariat of the Presidency. It provides technical and institutional support to government for the formulation and reformulation of public policies and development programs in Brazil.

of daily travels by car. While in Monaco there is an average of 0.8 cars per person, in São Paulo there are 0.4. However, São Paulo has much more congestion because the use of cars is irrational (Garcia, 2013).

9.4 Non-motorized Transportation

Pedestrians and bicycles correspond to 30.80% of daily travels. As seen in chapter 4, the number of pedestrians have increased greatly since the economic crisis of the 80s, when the poorest population had to opt for walking because public transportation was too high of an expense. Today there are, on average, 12 million travels per day on foot. This growth, however, was not followed by better conditions for pedestrians, who, according to Traffic Engineer, Horácio Figueira (2013), should be prioritized.

Suggestions for improvements for pedestrians should include alterations in physical and management aspects. Obvious elements in need of investment are traffic lights for pedestrians, inclusion of obstacles for vehicles to drive slower in areas with a high number of pedestrians, safety measures for crossings and bigger and better kept sidewalks. A step towards this last aspect would be to transfer the responsibility for the maintenance of sidewalks, currently of the owners of lots behind it, to the State. Campaigns to ensure respect for pedestrians by cars are also an essential step, since the number of incidents involving pedestrians and cars is very high. An experimental one in 2011 in the central area was perceived as successful and should be replicated in other areas of the city (Vasconcellos, 2013).

The culture of using bicycles as a mode of transportation, as opposed to a leisure activity, is relatively new in São Paulo. This is due to the predominance of cars on the streets and lack of cycle lanes that which increase the difficulty and danger of riding bikes through the city. Apart from that, bicycles are expensive. The Brazilian government taxes bicycles (40.5%) more than they do cars (32%). The lack of incentives for bicycle use is clear when comparing the tax over industrialized products (IPI): 10% for bicycles, 3.5% for cars.

The number of travels by bicycle in the municipality has increased substantially since the 1990s and its importance as a non-pollutant means of transportation has, according to the government, placed it among the Municipality's main guidelines. The Municipal government states it will create more incentives for its use in transportation and the investment in the implementation and enlargement of the current cycle circulation infrastructure. Nowadays there are 246.81 km of lanes and 141 public bicycles stations that offer around a 1400 bicycles for the population.

On the other hand, associations protest against not having a chair among the thirteen representatives of the civil society in the Traffic and Transportation Committee of the municipality. Although there are more daily travels by bicycles than taxis since 2007 – 303 thousand against 90 thousand – three taxi entities compose the committee while cyclists have no representation at all.

9.5 The Revision of the Master Plan & The National Policy of Urban Mobility

“An efficient management of urban mobility should dispose of mechanisms that not only design and optimize the offer of mass public transportation services, but also influence the demand behavior for individual transportation that has immediate consequences of the road system's capacity and on the levels of environmental pollution.” (National Front of Mayors, 2013, p. 19).

The proposal of the new master plan is supported by three major strategies: metropolitan structuration, development of a structural axis and the diminishment of social and urban vulnerability.

One of the main focuses of the revision of São Paulo's master plan is on improving mobility as a means to reach the aims cited above (Bonduki, 2013). It proposes the densification of properties in areas surrounding collective transportation routes, such as trains and subway lines, as well as bus corridors. If approved, areas 150 meters from passage corridors and 450 meters surrounding stations will have a special high construction potential. These areas

will be located especially in the southern and eastern zones of the city and will connect neighborhoods in the outskirts to the center of the city. Professionals from the real-estate market declared this will be an important growth inductor.

The strategy is part of the concept of bringing new residences closer to commercial areas and will be decisive in the future development of the city. It contains the ideal of creating a more integrated, mixed-use, and comfortable city, one of the main demands of urban managers in order to promote a better life quality.

Other highlights of the plan that contribute to this ideal are the fiscal exemption for companies that install themselves in the eastern zone of the city; the limitation to parking spaces in parking lots in new buildings; and the creation of residential buildings in areas already equipped with infrastructure. It also stimulates employment in populous regions. These are crucial aspects of the plan that aim at encouraging the use of public transportation and creates several different “centers” in the city which spare people from traveling long distances on a daily basis and greater a more balanced city.

The new law of urban mobility has also been considered an advance in terms of defining measures that will diminish urban mobility issues.

One of its main objectives is to increase the participation of mass and non-motorized transportation in the share of population travels (Frente Nacional de Prefeitos, 2013). Apart from that, the policy should integrate urban planning, transportation and transit and act in favor of the principles of social inclusion and environmental sustainability. As noted in the previous chapter, São Paulo is among the municipalities that still have not elaborated its plan and has 2015 as its deadline; in case it does not, the municipality will not receive federal resources for the area.

Our São Paulo Network is collaborating in the elaboration of the plan and in their proposal they define the following elements as crucial to be included: decentralization of jobs and public services; prioritization of public transportation as opposed to private; densification of central areas with infrastructure and

mixed uses; control of population and of urban expansion; social housing in central areas; regulation of the use and occupation of Urban Operation³⁰ areas with prioritization of mass transportation; and introduction of housing with social interest. They also stress the necessity of control of real-estate valuation of areas affected by public transportation networks.

9.6 General Perspectives and Suggestions

From the debates that have occurred in the past months, some additional suggestions can be highlighted.

First of all, any decision regarding investments in transportation in the city must envision the whole metropolitan area, since there is a high number of commuters from neighboring municipalities which affect the system. Since within the municipality itself there are many inhabitants that live in the outskirts travel daily to the center of the city to work or study, it is also crucial to connect these extremes. Consequently, any means of transportation must be integrated to the others (Brasiliense, 2013).

Another consideration that has to be taken into account is population characteristics that may define changes in needs in the future. Examples are a higher number of women working and therefore making daily travels to work, and more elderly, and therefore some facilities are required for them to travel around the city.

Finally, although the focus of government investment has to be on public transportation, it is obviously a requirement to consider the role of private transportation in future plans, since they affect each other mutually (Deák, 2002).

³⁰ Urban Operations are those in which there is an alteration of the urban reality with the objective of obtaining a new configuration of the area.

10 CONCLUSION

“the city went through the third and fourth centennials (1854 and 1954) insisting in ignoring land use and occupation that, if structured by a transportation plan, could have allowed us to live in a richer city, with a better quality of life and more business attractiveness. Simultaneously a city with less pollution, congestion, traffic accidents and hospitalizations, and lower transportation fees.” (ANTP et al, 2013, p.9)

Going through the history of the development of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, some crucial factors can be pointed out as main contributors to the dramatic situation of the transportation system in 2013 and prove that the transportation system in São Paulo is a microcosm of lack of good governance in the provision of public services in Brazil, hypothesis (1). First of all, the weakness of public administration in the control of the expansion of the city permitted that real-estate speculation led to a disorderly horizontal spread, with the poorest population being pushed to the edges of the city without the correspondent investment in infrastructure.

Another aspect is related to the implementation of plans for the city. Ever since congestion was recognized as a public issue in the 1960s, several plans were developed in which the city’s main problems – traffic, low quality of mass transportation alternatives, and so forth - and the priorities for action were identified. Priorities such as the investment in public collective transportation (the expansion of the subway system, the improvement of the bus service and the creation of exclusive bus lanes), better transportation conditions and services for those who live in the outskirts of the city, and the requirement of financial contributions from car users to the improvement of the public transportation system. Although these were highly recommended by specialists,

they did not please the growing middle and upper-class car owners, the proprietors of bus and construction companies and the politicians who benefitted from mutual interest “pacts”. These plans lacked political will, tools and sufficient pressure from civil society to be fully implemented.

What followed was the execution of public policies that prioritized the elite’s demands: more space for private transportation. This, combined to the growth of a highly consuming middle class and the diverse incentives to the purchase of cars implied the unequal distribution of roads - which are a public asset - among individual and collective means of transportation.

As elaborated in this thesis, transportation is a critical element in social exclusion. According to UN-HABITAT (2010, p.22):

“Some urban studies show a lack of mobility as one of the factors causing social exclusion, because without reliable transportation, people are hard-pressed to get jobs or access key services such as healthcare and education.”

This is precisely the dynamics of São Paulo today: a segregated city with services and jobs concentrated in the expanded city center. While most of the richer population has easy access to the city center, the poor suffer in average 2:15 h every day in the insufficient and/or low-quality public transportation to reach it. The conclusion is that the raise of the already perceived as expensive transport fee was a catalyst factor for the explosion of dissatisfaction with the political system and its representatives and the urban model most Brazilian cities follow. This urban model produces low-quality services, one of the most explicit reasons for the demonstrations, which confirms hypothesis (2): the demonstrations that grew from the increase of transportation fares in São Paulo translated the population’s dissatisfaction with the offer of public services.

Nevertheless, there have been significant advances in Brazil and São Paulo in the past decade, both in poverty reduction as well as advances towards good urban governance, seen in chapter 7, affirming the veracity of hypothesis (3): in the past decade there were improvements in governance of public services in São Paulo.

The promotion of events such as Open São Paulo, in order to discuss principles such as participation and transparency in the municipal administration, the creation of instances such as the participative council, the Access to Information law that guaranteed more transparency in public administration and the model of discussion of the revision of the city's master plan are part of strives in accountability, transparency and civil engagement and citizenship.

After the mass demonstrations that took everyone by surprise, more promising steps towards good urban governance have also been taken in Brazil and especially in São Paulo, as demonstrated in chapter 8, proving hypothesis (4): the context of improvements in governance was strengthened by the repercussion from the demonstrations, was correct.

The prioritization of public transportation in authorities' agendas and subsequent financial investment in their quality, the creation of the Municipal Council of Transportation and Transit in São Paulo, the installment of a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee to investigate corruption and demand transparency in future contracts and the debates that emerged proposing changes in the current system enlightened solutions for the future of São Paulo.

Incontestable changes in the present situation are the necessity to abolish all incentives to car use and to invest heavily in quality of the bus system (since it is the one that reaches most of the city) as well as the integration of diverse other means of transportation to it.

The population must take part actively in these transformations through city planning, and therefore must have spaces for their participation ensured. They must be able to place their priorities and suggest solutions. Macro-solutions depend on the social commitment established in order to build the project people want for the city. It has to be designed according to what the majority requires.

There must also be a shift in the urban pact. Not only must contracts in the sector be transparent and fair, but there must be a rupture in the dominant

coalition in urban policy in which politicians and businessmen benefit each other mutually by generating low-quality services and damaging the public budget.

The content of the Master plan, together with the tools it offers for implementation are the background for the significant positive transformations in the city. Its focus on creating more job and service centers scattered throughout the city, along with the densification of transportation corridors can improve mobility immensely in the next years, if political will permits it. One of its guiding principles is the right to the city, described as the process of universalization of access to benefits and commodities of urban life by its citizens, may that be through the offer and use of services, equipment and public infrastructure, or through the mass participation of the inhabitants of the municipality in decisions that are of public interest. This objective can be achieved with the support of the Mobility Plan to be elaborated in São Paulo by guiding a new city model through the future investments in transportation.

Finally, these advances can promote the transition from a representative democracy to a participative one. One in which the population will build and have the right to the city they live in by being able to access services, jobs and public spaces. The very concept of “public”, which in Brazil generally is linked to “belonging to no one” can transform itself to something that is everyone’s to share, maintain and enjoy.

According to Bonduki (2011) *“Reducing urban inequality is a challenge that synthesizes the improvement of cities.”* Only with these improvements that guarantee more good urban governance will one of Brazil and São Paulo’s main challenge - inequality - be surpassed.

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