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## Program *Ações Locais* (Local Action) and Citizenship: A Shared Management experience in the Historic Town of São Paulo City

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*Shared management between businesses, governments and society in the historic town of São Paulo city began concurrently with the growth of nonprofit organizations (NGOs) in the 1990s. The program Ações Locais, coordinated by the NGO Associação Viva o Centro is housed in this context and its mission is to bring together individuals, businesses and local governments for economic, social and political development as to build up the citizenship in that area. This study provides a historical background on formation of Brazilian citizenship and, from that reference, analyzes the performing citizenship in the program Ações Locais. The main conclusion of the analysis identified that the program have been consolidated, despite the enormous quotidian difficulties, especially in the social inclusion actions for the poor. The dilemma about how bring in the excluded segments of the population may indicate a new field of research and future studies.*

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Keywords: Shared Management; Historic Town Centre of São Paulo city; Nonprofit organizations (NGOs); *Associação Viva o Centro*; The program *Ações Locais*; Citizenship

JEL Classification: H77; I30; L30; N96

*La gestión compartida entre las empresas, los gobiernos y la sociedad civil en el centro histórico de la ciudad de São Paulo comenzó simultaneamente con el crecimiento de las organizaciones sin fines de lucro (ONG) en la década de 1990. El programa Ações Locais, coordinado por la ONG Associação Viva o Centro está ubicado en este*

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*contexto y su misión es reunir a los individuos, las empresas y los gobiernos locales para el desarrollo económico, social, político y educación de la ciudadanía y en esa zona geográfica. Este estudio proporciona un contexto histórico en la formación de la ciudadanía en Brasil y, desde esa referencia, analiza el ejercicio de la ciudadanía en el programa de Acciones Locales. Las principales conclusiones de este estudio confirman que este programa se ha establecido, a pesar de las enormes dificultades del día a día, especialmente en las acciones de inclusión social de los pobres. El dilema acerca de cómo incluir a los sectores excluidos de la población puede indicar un nuevo campo de investigación y estudios futuros.*

Palabras clave: gestión compartida, Centro Histórico de la ciudad de Sao Paulo, Organizaciones sin fines de lucro (ONG), *Associação Viva o Centro*; Programa de Acción Local; Ciudadanía.

Clasificación JEL: H77, I30, L30, N96

The intensification of partnerships between businesses, governments, society organizations and other institutions, which work in the historic town of São Paulo city, are the main promoters of the actions that began to be perceived by the population early this century. The NGO *Associação Viva o Centro*, created in 1991, was the first organization formed to promote the development of the central area of the city and has been a major catalyst for urban projects implementation and to improve the relationship between governments and society alike. The major aim of these partnerships is to create collective solutions for the local daily problems.

The program *Ações Locais* is the main reference on the participatory experiences that have been conducted in the historic town of São Paulo city. The first project, coordinated by the *Associação Viva o Centro – São Paulo: uma nova abordagem* (a new approach), started in 1991 and was completed in 2000, is the nine years' result of studies on the recurrent problems in the central area of São Paulo city, characterized mainly by environmental degradation, set off by the evacuation of buildings and the transformation of public space in shelters for the excluded population.

The gentrification of the historic town involves several activities as building, squares, train stations recovery projects and such. However,

these actions are not enough. There is a need to improve management around the recovered places, which involves the participation of all actors articulated in these areas.

In this way, the program *Ações Locais* began in 1995. The São Paulo city centre was divided in 50 micro-regions and each one was encouraged to create a team consisting of residents and goers of historic town in order to develop a shared management of public spaces. The mission of each team is to bring together individuals and companies established in their operational area to collaborate with the *Associação Viva o Centro* in the local development of their functional aspects, such urban, economic, cultural, social, environmental, educational, tourist and leisure. Another major demand of the teams is encouraging the spirit of fellowship, citizenship and responsibility in everyone who lives in or attends this region (Viva o Centro, 2010). The municipal government also has implemented convergent policies to these initiatives, such as decentralization of public administration, through the creation of 31 sub-districts which have been investing in culture, leisure and tourism expansion projects.

The growth of NGOs is a worldwide phenomenon and marks the transition to the twenty-first century, by the perception of society that the dual model - governments and corporations - is insufficient to solve contemporary problems. Therefore, the governments are developing a more entrepreneurial attitude and companies are becoming more sensitive to environmental issues. The evaluation business criterion is beginning to incorporate organizational values that are beyond economic performance and financial gain. It also includes values like environmental preservation and quality of life. Cappellin (2002) notes that successful companies are that which know how to tune with their surroundings and catalyze society efforts to solve local problems.

The NGOs, which are formed at the boundaries of the companies, improve the scenario of collective actions which the primary purpose is to promote collective benefits, as defined by Olson (1971:18): The nature of collective benefits is that they are indivisibles, widespread and applied to all members of an organization regardless their participation in the process that led to the achievement of benefits. In this way, the displacement of the collective actions concept to the city management is justified by the fact that the contemporary discourse on the new models of organizations and institutions can be applied to the cities because when we are analyzing a city as an organization, we perceive ideas and metaphors which

characterize the complexity, diversity, contradiction and ambiguity that both have (Fischer, 1996).

The political integration between public and private spheres in the management of Brazilian cities is a very recent and highly doubtful, if we analyze the performance of the social and political actors and the results because such process is closely related to the spirit of citizenship, which is only developed into democratic political regimes.

Unfortunately, the historical formation of Brazilian citizenship is strongly related to the political authoritarian regimes, centralized power and predominance of the paternalistic tradition, which have prevailed throughout the centuries since the beginning of the colonization. In this way, it is worth asking what kind of citizenship is being promoted with the program *Ações Locais*: is it an alternative project in which the exercise of citizenship occurs from a perspective of inclusion and human valuing life? Or is it a 'corporate citizenship', which recovers public spaces to benefits the businessman interests rather than popular interests? This citizenship contributes to the empowerment population for transforming their lives and their environments? How does occurs the citizenship process through the implementation of these projects?

These are the questions which will guide the present research, aiming to identify what kind of citizenship is performed from the program *Ações Locais*. We propose, then, to analyze how the process of political integration occurs between public and private management of public spaces in these localities.

## METHOD

The methodology for development of this study consisted in a historical research about the formation of Brazilian citizenship; documental research of the NGO *Associação Viva o Centro*, specifically on the program *Ações Locais*; field research in order to interview and collect testimonials of the participants and authorities. Finally, we did direct observations in order to capture visible artifacts for double checking aim related with testimonials and interviews. We carried out the research in different localities between 2004 and 2005. The structure of the text consists basically from a theoretical framework about the historical Brazilian citizenship, followed by analysis on the program *Ações Locais* and the conclusion which discusses the main results of the analysis and suggests future studies on this matter.

## BRAZILIAN CITIZENSHIP HISTORICAL FORMATION

The emergence of participatory management coincides with the intense movement of creating nonprofit organizations (NGOs) throughout the 1990s, in almost all parts of the world. The Brazilian Constitution (1988) established the formal framework for the partnership processes and enshrined the principle of participation of civil society alike. This principle is explained by Dagnino (2004) as the consolidation of two major trends: the first relates to a bet on the possibility of joint actions for deepening democracy, in which the state management could be shared with society. The second trend is the emergence of a Minimum State Project, which progressively exempt from governments their role of the provider of collective rights and the shrinking of their social responsibilities, which are transferred to the society. This project constitutes the global process' core of the neoliberal model produced by the Washington Consensus<sup>1</sup>.

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In this way, the transition of the millennium is characterized by a shift of roles between governments, businesses and the society due the embeddedness of ideals of social transformation in the collective thinking. The success of this process depends upon the key-attributes such effective integration between the public sphere and society and strategic projects development for the cities, which result in sustainable development on in economic, social, political and cultural terms.

The development of the idea of citizenship is related to the historical process of civilization in which humanity learns to live in society, to solve conflicts and to define rights and obligations among its members. It must yet, be thought as an economic development process through which that same humanity learns to work together, divide the work, allocate resources, cooperate and compete for the social product.

Lopes (2005) writes that among animals, some are loners, some are

<sup>1</sup> The term Washington Consensus was coined by economist John Williamson (1989) and it is used to describe the outcome of a meeting held at the International Institute for Economy, Washington D.C., in November 1989. The U.S. government officials, international organizations and American economists have discussed a set of key reforms for developing countries, including Latin America, to break through the economic crisis and to reassume the path of growth. The main requirements imposed on Latin American countries were the following: reduction of public deficit, trade liberalization, reform management policy (state privatization as much as possible); easing of labor relations and the practice of international prices. The conclusions of this meeting came to be known informally as the Washington Consensus. NA.

gregarious. The man belongs to the second group, like the dove, tuna, bee and such. The gregarious animals can act in the face of this common work, like the bees and the men. However, the men are the only one of them who are able to think, which makes it unique in their ability to reflect critically on their past, present and future actions. This human ability alone can result in a lifestyle that expresses his natural ethics sense: life in the city.

For Plato (428-347 BC), “the groundwork of the city is our needs”. And perhaps for that reason, in his point of view, managing a city would be the same as running a household, since the city would be like a family community, only with a larger number of people to be governed: the difference would be quantitative, not qualitative. This is a contention point between Aristotle (384-322 BC) and Plato (428-347 BC). Aristotle points that “It is inconsistent with the truth, because the difference between a magistrate and a head of household could not be only a quantitative difference. It is a difference in species”<sup>2</sup>. The man, more than a bee or an ant, is a political animal because he is also rational. So he does not live only to satisfy the demands of their survival needs, but most of his life is spent to perform his best feature, his rationality (Lopes, 2005:25).

In this sense, Bresser Pereira (1997) writes that living in society means solving the problems of collective action, which falls on the State. The solution of economic problems, which presupposes working together and the competition for the social product, falls on the institutionalization of the markets. The processes must walk together so that the distribution of power, income and wealth, among the participants, would minimally satisfy the political objectives for order, welfare, freedom and social justice. He defines a citizen as a member of the Nation State, empowered with rights and that is able to interfere in the making of the law. The citizenship sense expands and maintains itself in the society where the individual acquires rights and enlarges their role in the making of their own law. Therefore, the rights are the core of the creation of the Law System, the State and Citizenship.

The rights that constitute citizenship are always the achievements of a historical process through which individuals, groups and nations struggle to acquire and enforce them. However, the social achievements that only reassert themselves through struggling and that happen through the time, gradually are related to the defense of new ways of freedom (Bresser Pereira, 1995:5).

<sup>2</sup> *Politica*, I, 2, 1253a, 7-18, cited by Lopes, 2005.

The historical statement of citizenship, in Marshall's analysis (1967), encompasses the assertion of civil rights, political rights and social rights. The fight for the rights and citizenship is mainly the acquisition of the civil and political rights, resulting from the achievements of citizens against the authoritarian state, as well as a result of a historical process through which individuals, groups and nations strive to acquire and enforce them. On sequence, it comes the social rights. The social rights are defined as the right to dignified survival, easy access to education, culture and health. If the society has material resources to ensure these needs, they become rights. However, these rights cannot be assured if the social resources are excessively concentrated in the hands of a small group of capitalists and senior bureaucrats from public or private sectors, as noted by Bresser Pereira (1997:11). Social rights could also be understood as the employees' rights against their employers and the peoples' rights against their own society, in so far as the organized society feels the weight of the economic and social powers.

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In the second half of the twentieth century the civil, political and social rights were joined under the 'human rights' assignment by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Bresser Pereira (1997:2) examines the formation of citizenship from that point, while recognizing that these rights have not yet been fully secured, in Brazil. He introduces and analyzes the fourth right - the Republican right - not yet embedded in emerging countries societies, due the long periods of undemocratic regimes that prevailed throughout their histories. The 'Republican right', which expresses the concept of citizenship, in its broadest sense, refers to the right that every citizen has: the right to public economic assets which is effectively public property of all and for all. It is not only the tangible assets such as historical, cultural or environmental resources. They are the citizens' rights against the individuals who to try misappropriating the public goods, that are or should be everyone's, especially the public economic heritage. In the words of Bresser Pereira (1997:11), the economic public assets are mainly the state's patrimony. In so far as it is everyone's and for everyone, it tends to be poorly defended, therefore permanently threatened. Depending on how these resources are spent, there will be a public use or a private misappropriation of the *res publica*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The latin term *res publica*, could be understood here, in its strict sense, as something public owned and used by all, that gave rise to the word *república* which designates the political system, theoretically in force in Brazil since 1889 (Bresser Pereira, 1997).

The Republican rights definition expands and strengthens that the vision of citizenship which was tied to the idea of collective interest and civic values. It becomes evident that citizenship is self complete only when citizens are aware of the public interest, which is possible only through the democratic process. The participatory movements have the major aiming of developing an active society to solving its problems.

On the other hand, Dagnino (2004) believes that the social participation in the citizenship processes is only superficial, meaning the State transferred its responsibilities for public policies to the society, however without counterparts, such as tax reduction and so on. As the public policy management was displaced for the society itself, Dagnino (2004) proposes rethinking the relationship between society and the state, because this approach of citizenship brings along relevant issues to solve, which can be a fundamental obstacle to participation and democratization. The creation and discussion of common political projects can help the recognition that State and society must rethinking their relationship, to define what are the role of each one, despite their internal diversity.

The historical development of citizenship in Latin America, Brazil included, does not resemble the theoretical basis reported by Marshall (1967), which was conceived from the analysis of the citizenship in socially developed countries. Generally, the historical formation of the Latin American citizenship rarely describes participatory episodes and, in a few situations when it occurred, was limited to the intellectual elites. Worth to be mentioned the process of urbanization in Latin America in the sixteenth century is an example: in the interpretation of Rama (1984:29), the Spanish conquerors brought a preconceived model of urban design for Latin American cities, based on a rational design focused on how to get future outcomes. The king's words, related to the urban design of New World cities, express the authority of the colonizer over the people to be colonized: from top to down, from Spain to America: "The head of power –through the social structure that it imposes– defines that the physical design of the city should retains the social form (...) and the order must be established before that the city exists to prevent, this way, future disorder".

Some narratives of the Brazilian history confirm that the relationship between the government and the society has been expressed, almost always without the legitimacy conferred by popular participation. The Brazil's independence did not result from fights, like socially developed countries as EUA, France and such, but, it was the combination of outside interests

and internal pressures alike. In this way, the colonial rupture between Portugal and Brazil was practically peaceful and the political and social structure was kept quite intact.

Prado Jr (1999:45) writes that the Brazilian independence occurred without people's knowledge. This process results in a paradox: if the one side, the people were spared from sacrifices by the absence of power struggle, on the other, they were completely kept away from the new political order. The independence of Brazil is much more a result high social class' interests than people's in order to consolidate a democratic nation.

The political events that followed themselves –the Republic Proclamation (1889) and the coming up of the *Estado Novo* (New State, 1937)– should open an important space for popular participation and strengthen the citizenship of the Brazilian people. However, they occurred without popular participation, as well. The main issue involved in these cases is that the State was unable to perceive the citizen as an individual who has rights and duties towards the state. Therefore, the Brazilian economic and political elites were built a model of citizenship, driven in by their own goals: standardized, ordered and, above all, over looked by the society. People were left out from the building of the State and they followed their normal routine, used to paternalistic traditions. So, the Brazilian citizenship was only a similar design of the model adopted by the government.

On the other side, this 'consented citizenship', given by the people, generated opposite effects: the people developed the desire for misappropriating public resources and searched for opportunities for favoritism. As reported by Carvalho (1989), the newly installed Brazilian republic, which was indifferent to the popular reality, it brings some surprise for govern rulers, because they would expect a popular political participation as there was occurred a hundred years before, in French Revolution (1789), because the Brazilian Republic Proclamation was both idealized and performed according to this model. However, the cultural features between Brazil and France were and still are very different.

This counterfeit citizenship model sets off an exclusion regime, for both political and social participation. The excluded population found unusual ways to react: the people showed indifference or strong reaction against the political instruments proposed by govern. The indifference for proposed policies were seen by governments as apathy, but, in fact, it could be a form of people to deny the new govern and to keep themselves away from the regime. One of the strongest reaction by people against the

proposed policies by government was related to the mass vaccination against smallpox in 1904.

The omission, apathy and expectation for any favoritism, embedded in the Brazilian culture, have represented some characteristics of the Brazilian citizenship ideas until now. The people did not refuse the government mechanisms, but, disregard them or linked them to the expectation of material earnings. On the other hand, the strong reaction against mass vaccination was analyzed by Carvalho (1989) as the refusal of the people against interference of the State in their lives, which was considered by people as a violation of their civil rights.

Despite the popular indifference over policy imposed by the new republic, the feeling of collaboration and partnerships is a feature of Brazilian citizenship, which is visible since the beginning of the century, through the popular mobilization and participation in events sponsored by religious organizations, especially the nature charitable or employee associations. What happened, at the time of the New Republic, was a popular rejection against the political system in place, based on French Revolution model, which did not fit within the Brazilian reality. In this way, the relationship between government and society was deemed impractical at that time.

The consciousness of the collective needs is focused, by the people, voluntary actions and can be understood as a historical characteristic which has contributed for the formation of the recent Brazilian citizenship (Carvalho, 1989). In this way, worth to mention the relationship between society and State does not work if it is based in preconceived models, and must be through social inclusion mechanisms which reflect the desires and features of all social segments.

The same equivocated process happened in the first *Governo Vargas* (1937-1945). Duarte (1999) makes an interesting narrative about the social changes proposed by the president *Vargas*' team. They have idealized a citizenship model which not considered the reality of the several existing social segments. The Brazilian social context, in that time, was formed by economic, social, cultural inequalities, but the citizenship model proposed by the government was meant for the 'ideal citizen': the good man, virtuous householder, loyal worker and so on. Informal workers, elderly and women, for example, did not fit in the citizenship model idealized and imposed by the State.

The citizenship imposed by the Brazilian State was so incompatible with the quotidian needs that the people could be able to incorporate the

inflexible rules to perform citizenship. Therefore, according to Duarte (1999), the popular segments brought themselves out of the system and away on the margin of the society and, as result, the criminality was considerably increased.

The successive political regime in Brazil cannot be able to capture the truthful feelings, motivations and expectations of the people. Therefore, the sparse democratic processes were proved to be fragile while the authoritarian regimes inhibited the critical reflection resulting in poor participatory process of citizenship.

The political reform included in the Federal Constitution (1988), commonly diffused as the 'Citizen Constitution', is being considered the threshold from the democratic approach, because it reorders the roles of the governs and the society in their participatory processes. Gradually, the paternalistic tradition should make room for a major participation of the society in the public management.

The greatest challenge of the new political process is related to the management of cities, because the decentralization of the municipal administration increases their autonomy in terms of decision making, but the counterpart is a higher responsibility of the public management. This way, the society will be encouraged to participate in the solution of quotidian issues.

To summarize, the cities undertake a prominent position in the Brazilian political scene, which their strategic relevance encourages the development of articulatory mechanisms between municipal power and the society, shaping the citizenship.

#### **THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE AND THE SÃO PAULO CITY**

Observing São Paulo's routine, it is very easy to perceive many symbols that characterize São Paulo as a 'labor city'. A chorus repeats everyday in the morning journal on radio station named *Joven Pan* goes like: "*Vambora, vambora! Tá na hora, vambora, vambora*" (Hurry up! Let's go! It's time! Let's go!) represents the ideas about São Paulo. Miranda (2004) remembers other phrases which are embedded in the collective thinking: "*aqui se trabalha, São Paulo não pode parar, o paulistano é sério e não sabe se divertir, está sempre com pressa, mora dependurado*" (In here, people really works, São Paulo can't stop; the *paulistano* (citizen from São Paulo) is grumpy and can't enjoy themselves, is always in a hurry, lives hanging) . These popular marks testify the pattern which is developed in the collective ideas about the experience of living in São Paulo. The city which welcomes to the labor it seems to exclude the

possibility of leisure, pleasure or fun. Then, the people from São Paulo do not feel an affection or have an esteem for the city.

Due to lack of employment, people from São Paulo tend to struggle to keep their jobs and face daily challenges, imposed by the cold and impersonal metropolis, to look for snugly refuge in the country side or on the beach weekends. This relationship between people and the city makes them not to develop a belonging feeling. Therefore, if the people feel left out, citizenship could not be shaped.

On the other side, it is important to highlight that citizenship can be performed differently depending on the neighborhood or street where you live, as noted by Oliveira (1999): it is not an absurd to say that the people are better or worse citizens according to the localities which are inserted. The people can perform the citizenship on the street where they work or they live.

Before examining if participatory experiences between public power and society contribute to the empowerment of the population, it is necessary to define the concept of the citizenship proposed for this study.

The meaning of citizenship, in the context of participatory experiences for revitalizing and managing the historic town of São Paulo, falls on the attitude that leads the individuals to place themselves in society through the acquisition of their rights and, thereby, increase their ability to propose collective actions to better represent well being and improve the environmental quality.

In this way, the program *Ações Locais* was born from the perception that citizenship could be performed on the street where you live, with an active attitude which encompasses the negotiation with the government to obtain improvement and solving problems in that area. It was a successful experience regarding the mobilization of society to create a new way of managing their cities, which was defined by Cavalcanti (2005:48) as 'organizational modeling'.

The concept of organizational modeling does not disregard the conventional management features, but, in this arrangement seems to prevail the non-rational elements which are very important to achieve the objectives of projects. He believes that the organizational modeling is an improvisation daily exercise: a mutant being resulting from ongoing processes of organizing, changing, cooperating and conflicting set off by the human relationship. The assumptions, which lies behind these ideas, is that the organizational design predicts continuous and dispersed

activities, which depends more on the ease in handling resources than the resources themselves.

Despite the organizational modeling has not, yet, a fully consolidated theoretical framework, it is worth to analyze the experience of the program *Ações Locais* in this way, because it is possible to build a solid bridge between organizational theory and organizational changing practice according to recent experiences. The leaders actively participate in the ways of organizing jobs, in order to achieve sophisticated results synchronized with the fast changing business world.

The organizational modeling experiences, set off by the public sector management reform, aim to overcome the difficulties and inconsistencies of bureaucratic public administration. The core of the public sector management reform consist in delegating to society some governmental responsibilities which are not strategic for the country, such as infrastructure, security, the control of the national boundaries, international relationship and so on.

The assumption of the public demands by the society is summarized in the expression 'publicness' (to make public), which encompasses all forms of nonprofit production of public goods and services. The process occurs through the transformation of public institutions providing services to nonprofit private entities, with the governmental support. The legal mechanism used is a management contract established between governments and society alike mediating from a kind of council, called as *Organizações Sociais* (OS) (Social organizations) or *Organizações da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público* (OSCIP) (Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest). The basic precept of the OS is to enable a more flexible and agile management for institutions, without, however losing their ability to control them, since they work in essential areas for the population (Cavalcanti, 2005:77).

It is, therefore, a shared management model in place with a simple format, as we can see in the following statement: The program *Ações Locais* depart from the detail to the whole, because it is easier for a person to take care of their own door than the entire neighborhood (...). The social mobilization process has multiplied quickly over the ten years of the program: The pilot project was designed to test the idea. Since then, it has continued to expand (Almeida, 2005).

The recovered and revitalized urban projects, such as *Vale do Anhangabaú*, *Praça Ramos de Azevedo*, *Praça da Sé* and so on, encompasses diversified solutions which involve shared management among governments,

financial institutions, private companies and NGOs. The financial resources were mainly obtained from the government and a small part from large companies that located surround these places. Klink (2001) explains the interest in recovering urban projects by private corporations covers issues such: labor-skilled workforce which does not accept to work at companies located in degraded areas also inflicting in corporate branding. However, the architectural and urbanization actions in buildings, squares and streets to embellish the cities are not enough to achieve deeper outcomes. The 'urban make-up' (cited by Dowbor, 1999) is only the threshold of revitalization which requires social actions from residents in order to bring back and keep on the 'productive life' in the locality.

Jaimer Lerner (2003), former mayor of *Curitiba* (PR-Brazil), defines the local actions as *acupuntura urbana* (urban acupuncture). The expression is an allusion to the alternative medicine for their similar features: they are punctual, quickly and economic due their independence of municipal strategic planning, which requires much time of public sector bureaucracy to approve some projects that are not planned a priori. Therefore, this urban acupuncture helps to develop the sense of citizenship, as long as the people care about the streets where they live and work in order to seek improvements in quality of urban life. Jaime Lerner (2003) said that these local actions act as a spark that spreads in a process of attitudinal change, which effects are incorporated in the quotidian life and, then, the people come to admire and to respect their city (...). There is not any ugly place in urban areas which could not be embellished (...). Schools must also encourage their pupils to learn drawing their city, because every child that can draw it would be able to love and to respect it.

Despite enthusiastic opinions about these participatory experiences to improve the urban life, Cavalcanti (2005:80-81) warns that these organizational models could be themselves crystallized throughout time, due to the mutual dependency between bureaucracy and preferential groups. It is crucial to identify the mutual dependency relationship between governments and preferential groups, because, the same way that bureaucracy helps maintaining the influence and power for these groups, they provide political support to governments. This support may be, for example, the release of relevant budgetary resources for political campaign, or the propose of technical and administrative standards, which aim to perform strong political influence in order to control the adoption of consistent public policies with their own interests.

Another relevant issue, pointed by Cavalcanti (2005:81), is the possible inconsistency on these organizational designs, related to teamwork. Professional groups are formed by individuals, who have diversified professional skills and they are arranged in several functional units. There is a possibility that misunderstand may occur, related to communication and coordination of the actions. One of the most damaging aspects is related to the priority for social issues rather than financial and administrative ones, because they have higher visibility and it is easier to acquire popular recognition from them. It meets demands directly linked to the people's apparent vital needs, but, it could mean lack of awareness regarding to actually relevant issues.

The program *Ações Locais* is quite recent and it is not, yet, subject to review the features mentioned above by Cavalcanti (2005). However, there are some issues which are worth to be analyzed. The main one, directly observed on the *Vale do Anhangabaú, Praça Ramos de Azevedo e Praça da Sé* (*Anhangabaú Valley, Ramos de Azevedo Square and Sé Cathedral Square*), is related to their major function as public transport connection. The public transport system requires that passengers walk around these places for their daily bus-subway-bus interconnection. Consequently, this huge population, who only walk around these areas commuting to and from work, not being able to develop an emotional relationship with these places and not considering recreation, sightseeing or entertainment there.

On the other side, the financial and economic potential of this mass (estimated in 2 million people by Meyer, 2000), who daily circulate through São Paulo historic town, attracts the informal trading and mendicant.

Fioratti (2005:27) thinks that informal trading is an environmentally harmful habit, but it becomes worse due the serious aspects apparently invisible such as the criminality issue. The informal trading is a bad process, because, besides causing the deterioration of the public space, it makes the predatory competition to formal shops. Most of the sold products have their source from criminal activities such as smuggling, cargo theft and piracy (...). The informal traders on the street act as receivers and sellers of goods from these illegal activities. All of this is a crime, because as they do not pay taxes, their products are sold cheaper than those sold by formal trading, and consumers, eager for low prices, collude with this criminal network and lawlessness.

On the other side, São Paulo's trade association director, Roberto

Mateus Ordini (2005), believes that the most of the informal traders want just to work: achieving social inclusion of these individuals and help them to escape being unlawful are key initiatives to end the criminal activities associated with their works. In his point of view, it could be possible through legal mechanisms to be proposed by government and accepted by society. However, several informal traders prefer staying on the streets, because they believe that staying inside the popular shopping centers, they would not sell as much. This statement was taken from an informal interview by a street seller who sells clothes on Dom José de Barros street, near Largo do Paissandú, both in historical town of São Paulo (Fioratti, 2005).

The informal trade issue is one of the most complex conflicts in São Paulo's historic town and the intensive policing it not be able to solve it, because it is a global phenomenon, as stated by Castells (1999); Meyer, Grostein and Biderman (2004); Fischer (1996). The power shift between formal institutions and illegal business in contemporary societies is a trend which tends to grow due the reach of virtual networks which extend themselves beyond the federal systems rules. Therefore, it is almost impossible tracing the origin of this informal trade which covers all countries in the world. The palliative solution for the informal trade could be reducing taxes for small businesses in order to create effective incentives for people buying legal products and gradually, the informal trade would be legalized.

The mendicancy issues are also relevant for the program *Ações Locais*. Despite the creation of the *Projeto Travessia* in 1996, which the major aim is to take care of homeless children and elderly, there are several of them who are still seen on the streets. The partnership between the NGOs and government received about 95% of public resources in 2004, but starts 2005 with previous debts. There are several partnerships between NGOs and public spheres, such as *Programa para Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (PETI) (Program Eradicate Child Labor) (PETI), *Centro de Referência da Cidadania e do Idoso* (Reference Center for the Elderly Citizens), which remain the major programs to prevent and combat child labor and to support services for elderly. However, it is important to recognize that the success of these programs is far beyond the management competence, because everybody knows that the poor children living in the metropolis get relevant amount of money in the streets. Despite issues related to lack of familiar structure, where the parents encourage the children to stay in the streets, we cannot disregard the exclusionary tendencies, increasing in recent years, especially in emerging countries such as Brazil. The testi-

mony of Rose Pereira (2005), *Secretaria de Assistência Social (SAS)* (Social Services Department) advisor during Marta Suplicy's mandate (2001-2004) confirms this point of view: the major villain is the neoliberal globalized economy. Generally, the children go out to the streets because their families bet on the children labor as a survival alternative, disregarding the social damage which they cause (...). The poverty, increased by unemployment, was higher than 20%, in 2004. Pereira (2005) believes that the education of parents, uncles, grandparents and other relatives would be a way of combating the exclusion of minors. However, the familiar education is not enough because the success of the social inclusion programs depends on increasing labor for the whole family.

Florian Pesaro (2005), former chief of SAS, thinks quite different from Rose Pereira (2005) and proposes a specific action: a strong campaign against financial assistance for the poor who begs on the streets in order to discourage the mendicancy. However, this project sets off an enormous controversy, mainly for religious institutions. Despite this, Pesaro (2005) has a strong conviction about his view: if each person who gives spare change would save those pennies in a money-box and, after a year, donate the amount to an assistant homeless organization, we would have better outcomes (...). There are over 600 NGOs which have several activities from homeless sheltering to specialized ones as laundering (...). These NGOs are accessible to any person who wants to contribute. They can be contacted by phone or visiting. This is citizenship. However, giving spare change at a traffic light to someone who has no choice other than living on the street, does not mean citizenship whatsoever.

The solution proposed by Pesaro (2005) is not an effective solution, in order to reduce exclusion through self-sustaining actions, such as education and job creation for excluded people. It seems just a mechanism which standardizes the financial assistance from the volunteer people and centralizes the collected money in NGOs before reaching the excluded population. The main reason of this propose, but is not visible at first glance, is that the municipal government exerts and frees itself from the mendicancy issue in historic town, because the excluded population shift towards less strategic locations.

The effectiveness of the occupational programs, offered to children, adolescents and homeless, do not satisfy the needs for social inclusion, due the scarcity of jobs. The government financed programs such as *Bolsa-Escola* (scholarship); programs to inhibit the volunteers feed and educate the poor people and replace the spare change offered directly to

beggars for donations to charity institutions are palliative actions that do not guarantee the sustainable social inclusion. Porter (1999) writes that the social programs, which just touch the individual needs for survival and are shaped similarly to palliative care programs, do not purport the sustainable economic development.

Despite the divergent points of view about the best way for solving informal trade and mendicancy issues, there is still mobilization of minority groups known as *amantes do centro histórico* (historic town lovers), composed by intellectuals, architects, artists, journalists and other opinion maker groups committed to the 'voluntary collective actions', that could help to shape the citizenship through actions of popular visibility diffused by national media which aims to share citizenship values with a large number of people. Olson (1971:32) has a widespread view about this concept: the voluntary collective actions perform a specific function which satisfies the demand, reaches the objective or meets the need for a large social excluded group, because the small groups are not able to perform it in the modern societies.

The Brazilian voluntary collective actions have characteristics which permeate the Brazilian behavior are related to an associative feeling for voluntary action, mainly from the charitable nature, due the strong religious influence transmitted by Jesuit settlers throughout the Brazilian colonization. In this way it is possible to affirm that the proposed programs which contemplate a shared management between govern and society must consider these historical characteristics in order to get effective outcomes.

Despite the undeniable progress in democratic processes in Brazil over the last decades, there is still a solid barrier to overcome: the setting of minimum level of citizenship according to the republican rights, since civil, political and social rights were fully insured in Brazil yet (Bresser Pereira, 1997).

## CONCLUSION

Shared management experiences between governments, businesses and society have being practiced and diffused in almost all countries of the world, mainly in the last twenty years, supported by the generalized contemporary belief that these kind of organizational modeling would be the best way to solve the public demands in which the State is not able to responsible for. This collective idea is based on the capitalist logic of globalized economic system and it is quite strong in the poor and emergent

countries, due their environmental, social, economic and political problems being more serious than in developed countries.

The cities would be the most adequate platform for these experiences because the urban public management covers several contemporary and complex issues. In this way, the embellished cities acquire a globalized exposure and would attract foreign investment, either through the establishment of transnational corporations, or financial loans from international agencies, and also, develop the potential source of tourism. So, the implicit promise is that it could be a way to generate mass employment and, consequently, to solve questions related social inclusion.

However, it is not possible yet to say if the shared management experiences between governments and society, which act in the historic center of São Paulo, are effectively sustainable over time. The organizational modeling is a very recent organizational experience and there are not enough details to evaluate it and neither there is information to assert if the effectiveness of the partnerships result from the consistent institutional arrangements or from the personal leadership of the actors involved on it. We consider that the 'non-rational' elements, such as leadership, power, culture and political orientation are relevant for shaping the collective actions and could transform people's values and beliefs to enforce the level of trust among partners.

The participatory movement, which was intensified by NGOs, has contributed to minimize chronic problems related to the social exclusion. However, we agree with Dagnino (2004) when she asks if this would be the best way for solving urban public issues. The organizational modeling leads the society to assume the State's responsibilities and it does not seem quite fair. The role of the NGOs would be more efficient if it would promote discussions about political projects and act as a mediator between public authorities and the society. The process of shrinking the State functions and the gradual transfer of their social responsibilities over to society, as has been happening in the last years, would confer a perverse dimension to these new experiences. The NGOs are in a dilemma and question their own political role: What are we doing here? Which project are we strengthening? Would not the role of the NGOs be to prioritize the social mobilization in order to discuss the roles of the State and the society rather than work together with the State, executing its functions? (Dagnino, 2004:98).

We identified other three issues that deserve attention: the first is related to the welfare culture which is embedded in all sectors of the

country: government, private companies, society and NGOs. If the society bets only in the progressive philanthropy to solve social inclusion issues, it could inhibit the citizenship to be shaped according the republican rights concept, due the passive attitude sets off by long periods of paternalistic traditional regimes. The Brazilian people would not be encouraged to develop the sense of rights and obligations related to the *res publica*, the groundwork for consolidating the republican rights.

The second is related to the urban public recuperation and revitalization. Despite of all benefits which these projects could bring in to the city, we cannot ignore the financial valuation that certainly occurs. In this way, the degraded space is recovered, valued is added and there is an involuntary popular segregation. Therefore, the recovered urban public spaces turn the cities into 'commodities' (cited by Sanchez, 2003). The business speculation, set off by financial elites, will predominate and, consequently, the social exclusion will be intensified.

The third issue is related to the councils which mediate the government and the society. We perceived, through the field research, the council that manages the program *Ações Locais* does not predicts some representative leadership to care about the interests of the less favoured segments. In this way, these socially excluded people are not perceived as citizens neither as active agents acting in that reality. Therefore, they do not participate of the citizenship construction. They are considered, by the community, in fact, as a problem to be solved. The program *Ações Locais* have been focused mainly on the operational performance of the teamwork organizing and embellishing public spaces. However, little attention has been given to excluded people's political development preparing to act as citizen and help to provide collective urban public solutions.

Finally, the shared management model of the program *Ações Locais* seems to repeat the Brazilian historical pattern of citizenship, despite the evident progress in the organizational model adopted. However, there is still a detachment between citizen who participate the urban public solutions and citizen who remain excluded. The dilemma about how to change the excluded segments in to social agents ready for changes, could be a new field research for future studies.

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