

# THE POLITICS OF URBAN POLICIES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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By 2018, UN estimates that 55% of the world population lived in cities, with averages of 82% in North America, 78% in Latin America and 74% in Europe.

In that same year, 47 cities had more than 10 million inhabitants, all of them facing very complex problems, specially in poor or in inequal countries.









São Paulo, specifically, has 12 million inhabitants in a MR of around 20 million. It has 120,000 civil servants and gigantic daily tasks: 20,000 tons of residential garbage and 7,000 kms of streets to sweep, 9,400 bus rides, 110 Kms of traffic jams every evening and 3 million inhabitants in precarity.

Its budget is less than 43% of sum of the 33 London Councils, per capita. How is this city governed?







In fact, we know very little about how city governments work and how urban policies are produced in general.

For sure we know techniques about traffic, water, sewage etc, but policies are not technical operations, but are the political and social processes that organize and lay behind the use of these technical elements.

About those, we do not know much.









This gap is caused by a mutual lack of interest in local political institutions by:

- a. political science that since the 1970s considers them as miniatures of the national ones;
- b. urban studies (geography, planning, sociology) that believe that important processes are in society, outside the State.









Therefore, within recent urban governance debates, we at CEM have been developing comparative research on the governance patterns that shape urban policies and politics in the last decades in São Paulo, Paris, London, Mexico City and Milan.



















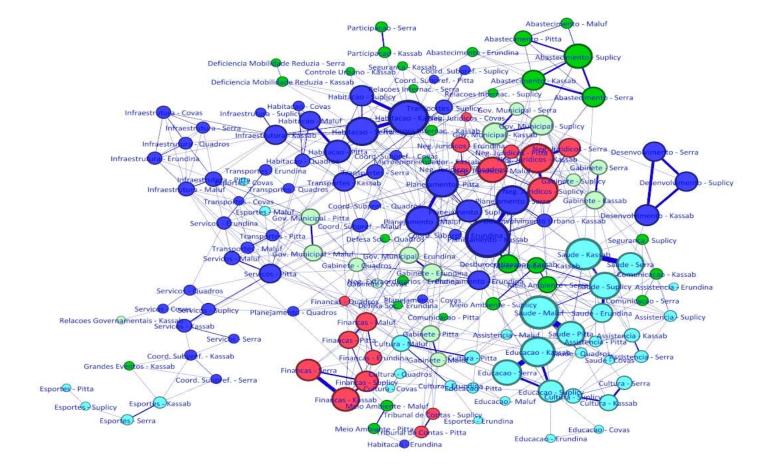
Some examples of what we have been doing:







## Mapping policy elite circulation





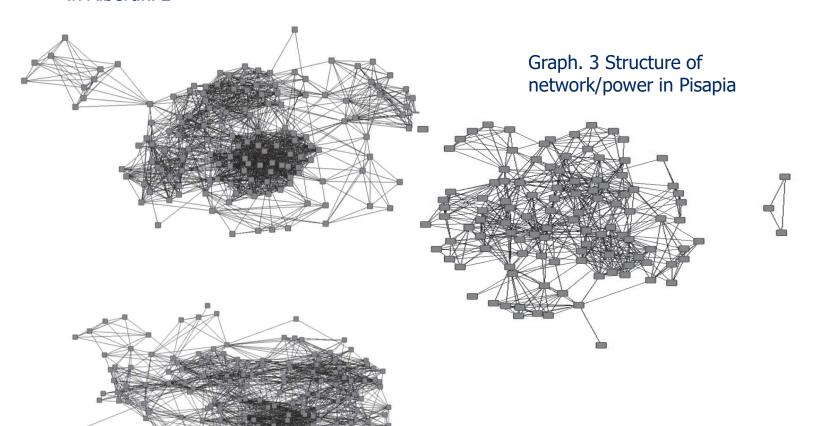








Graph. 1 Structure of network/power in Albertini 2



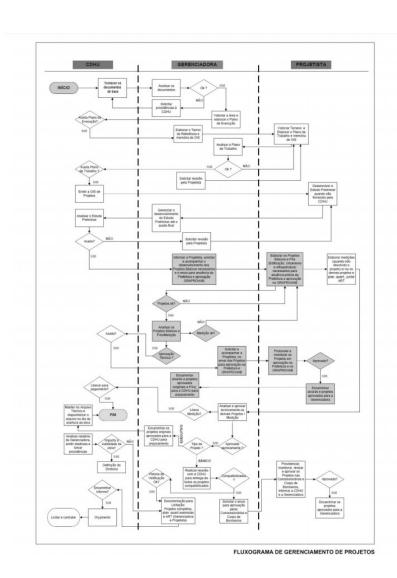












## Or policy activities

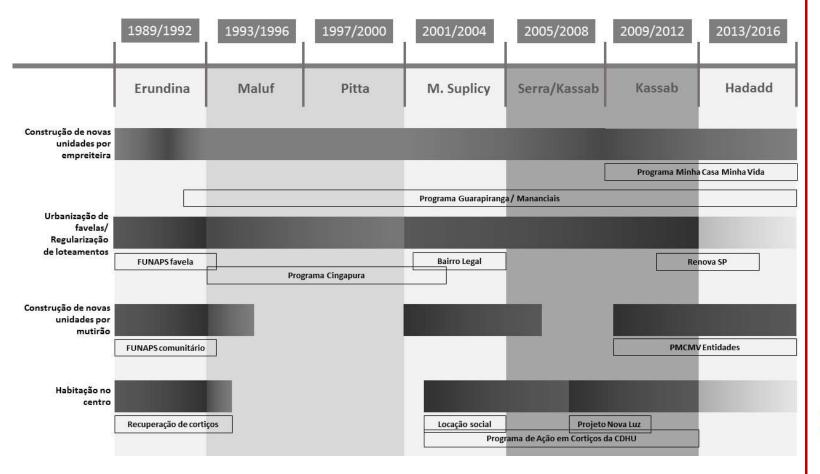








## As well as the creation of policy solutions.



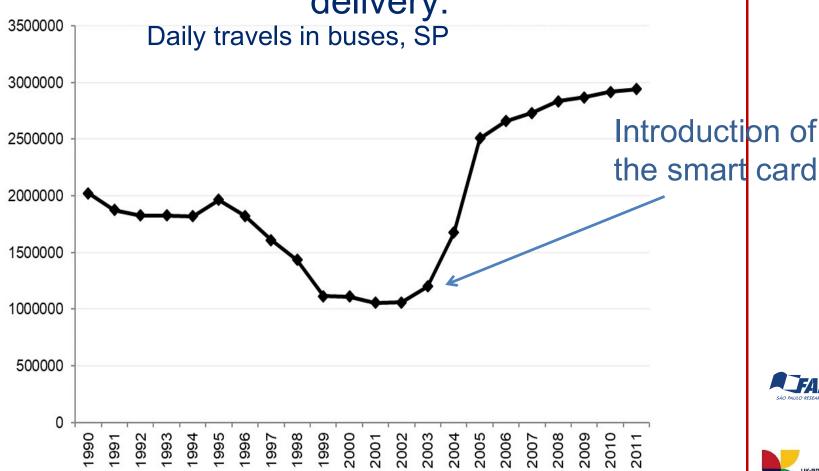








# With large consequences for service delivery:





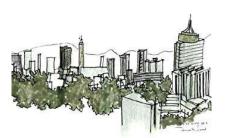








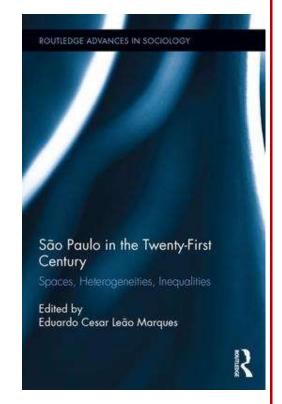
Lo que se gobierna y lo que no se gobierna en una gran metrópoli



Patrick Le Galès Vicente Ugalde (editores)

EL COLEGIO DE MÉXICO













# Some findings:









Theoretically, the cases suggest:

a. Urban policies and politics have specificities due to their relationships with space:

Spatialities (space is constitutive of politcs);

Perceptions (space organizes actors` preferences);

Propinquity (everything is located, creating neighborhoods and distances).

Not just a scale, but also a scale.









## b. Specific actors:

- Local politicians (more specific than considered);
- Local bureaucracies (more capable and present);
- Different urban private companies (Development, Services, Construction and Consulting);
- Urban social movements (less relevant than usually considered).









- c. Peculiarities of the policy process:
- Policy cycles are shorter, more interactive and more exposed politically;
- Implementation is nearer to the street level, with spatialized delivery structures;
- The actors' interests are spatialized, generating spatial path dependence;











d. Governace patterns integrate these elements (they may coexist and contradict each other).

This specifies who governs what, and who governs what the govern does not govern in each policy field, with State and not State actors, formal, informal, legal and illegal ties, inside historically constructed institutions and urban spaces.

These elements are general, although in highly specific combinations, making it central to compare the North and the South.







#### Summarizing São Paulo findings - analitically



## Analytically, the cases suggest:

- Political and institutional contexts were relevant, as federalism and finances, but not determinant;
- New actors, capacities and institutions in more varied policy formats, with larger participation of a heterogeneous private sector. New instruments, specially for regulation.
- Politics and elections were central, but the Legislative had a small role, mainly in spatial political mobilization. Decisions were insulated, although permeable to elites.







### Summarizing São Paulo findings - analitically



- Several policy innovations appeared, mainly caused by electoral competition and learning processes inside policy communities.
- Policies did not face the demand, but impacted inequalities and redistribution, although differently in governments and policies.
- In the long run this created an incremental policy progressivism that is usually not accounted for by the literature, especially forlarge metropolises of the South.









## Thanks

FAPESP SÃO PAULO RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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