A diverse mix of Paulista crowd the bustling commercial area surrounding 25 de Março Avenue. Among the nearly 19 million residents in the Metropolitan Region are the largest Lebanese population outside of Lebanon, the biggest Japanese community outside of Japan, and the third largest Italian city outside of Italy after Buenos Aires and New York City.

Tuca Vieira

Morumbi and Paraisópolis in São Paulo create extreme proximity between rich and poor.

Nelson Kon
LSE Research Team
Philipp Rode
Ricky Burdett
Richard Brown
Frederico Ramos
Kay Kitazawa
Antoine Paccoud
Natnet Tesfay

São Paulo Lead Investigators
Paula Miraglia
Eduardo Marques
Ciro Biderman
Nadia Somekh
Carlos Leite de Souza

Supported by
Miranda Iossifidis
Christos Konstantinou
Richard Simpson
Santiago Escobar

Advisers
Tony Travers
Andy Altman
Enrique Peñalosa
Anthony Williams
José Castillo
Sophie Body-Gendrot

First published 2009.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Cities and Social Equity is a report by the Urban Age Programme at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Urban Age is a joint initiative of LSE and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society investigating the future of cities.

The research for this report was prepared from November 2007 to February 2009 and represents the annual Urban Age research focus 2008, part of the Urban Age South America investigation.

Urban Age would like to thank the key stakeholders and experts that contributed their ideas and time to the workshops that were an integral part of this research study (see list on page 36). Urban Age is further grateful for the continuous support of the South America partners, the State of São Paulo, the Municipality of São Paulo, the University of São Paulo and Getulio Vargas Foundation.

The detailed report and a complete listing of data sources is available at www.urban-age.net.

This report is intended as a basis for discussion. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the material in this report, the authors and/or the Urban Age Programme will not be liable for any loss or damage incurred through the use of this report. Copyright of images is held by the photographer/creator, as credited alongside the image. We have been unable, in some cases, to trace or contact the copyright holder. If notified, the LSE will rectify any errors or omissions at the earliest opportunity.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of the London School of Economics and Political Science, or under existing licence from the LSE.

Published by the Urban Age Programme, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**  
2

**1 INTRODUCTION**  
4  
1.1 Urban South America  
4  
1.2 The Urban Age  
4  
1.3 South America and Inequality  
6  
1.4 Future years  
6

**2 CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES**  
8  
2.1 Urban South America  
8  
2.2 South American cities compared  
9  
2.3 Focus on São Paulo  
15  
2.4 São Paulo – expert perspectives and public opinion  
18

**3 THREE PERSPECTIVES ON INEQUALITY**  
20  
3.1 Crime, public safety and security  
20  
3.2 Mobility and accessibility  
24  
3.3 Regeneration and new forms of urban governance  
29

**4 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE**  
34

**WORKING GROUPS AND WORKSHOPS**  
36
The cities of South America are some of the world’s most vital, but also most unequal, urban centres. While recent years have seen South America’s economies flourish, the gulf between rich and poor remains persistent and pervasive: across Latin America and the Caribbean, the top five per cent of the population receive 25% of national income, and Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Colombia are numbered among the top quintile of most unequal societies in the world.

In 2008, the Urban Age, a joint initiative of the London School of Economics and Political Science and Deutsche Bank’s Alfred Herrhausen Society, undertook and commissioned research on different aspects of urban inequality in South America. The research programme, which brought together data and expertise from five cities (Bogotá, Lima, São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro), culminated in the Urban Age South America conference in São Paulo in December 2008.

The five cities studied have a combined population of nearly 60 million, and have grown dramatically in recent decades. But they remain polarised: gated compounds and air-conditioned malls for the rich sit alongside informal settlements, lacking even basic sanitation, which have grown as rural populations have migrated to booming cities.

Such pervasive inequality can affect every aspect of urban life, threatening social unrest, creating brutalised environments and undermining economic development. To assess the impact of inequality in an urban context, and to stimulate debate among politicians and academics, the Urban Age research team undertook comparative research and data collection in the five cities (including innovative mapping of inequality to identify the pockets of privilege and deprivation in each city), but focused most closely on São Paulo, the region’s pre-eminent city with a metropolitan population nearing 20 million people, accounting for 20 per cent of Brazil’s GDP.

In São Paulo, a survey revealed the extent to which the problems of traffic congestion and crime affected the whole population, and three research projects were commissioned to address different aspects of inequality.

Research into ‘safe places’ compared strategies used to reduce crime and promote safety in rich and poor areas. In the richer areas, safety was created by the exclusion of ‘undesirables’, while the creation of a wider mix of uses had helped in the poorer areas. The overall production of ‘islands of peacefulness’ was not a solution to creating a safer city however, and could even exacerbate alienation and crime.

A study of urban mobility reviewed São Paulo’s transport plans, and proposed a radical strategy to improve both transport and social equity, based on intensive investment in a bus rapid transit scheme (with segregated bus lanes and metro-style frequency) rather than metro railways. The research team argued that BRT systems would be more
effective than rail in tackling polarisation: their considerably lower input cost would enable them to cover many more neighbourhoods and to offer lower ticket prices than rail, and, by taking road space away from cars, they would create a fairer balance in the use of highways.

The third study, on urban development, proposed new approaches to partnership between the public and private sectors, based on an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of current models, in Brazil and elsewhere. While partnerships could aid the delivery of public benefits, the team argued that an inclusive process was needed to make sure that this happened. In too many cases, urban regeneration became gentrification, displacing the people and uses that it was designed to benefit, and thereby contributing to polarisation on a metropolitan scale.

Cities are places of mix, of diversity, of change. This is often exhilarating, but extreme polarisation can be destabilising, inhumane and wasteful of resources. While the research projects commissioned in South America had a specific focus on the problems facing São Paulo, their findings, and the debate at the December 2008 conference, have wider resonance. Some key messages emerge with implications for urban policy across the world:

- If some level of inequality is inevitable in cities, preserving social mobility becomes crucial;
- Planning urban systems, services and infrastructure needs to take into account the potential impacts on equality – positive or negative;
- Limiting horizontal expansion and increasing the overall compactness of cities that includes the less well-off within the core urban fabric is a crucial element of social policy.
- Public space (formal or informal) is a vital public amenity, and should be planned and preserved to meet the needs of all citizens;
- Exclusionary tactics like private security may only displace crime and promote exclusion – more inclusive approaches may work better in the long term;
- Radical changes, and a removal of privileges provided to private car use, may be necessary for creating an equitable transport system;
- Partnership with private developers can deliver benefits, but city governments need to have a clear and inclusive strategy;
- Debates about cities’ future cannot be left to ‘the experts’ but need to involve all sectors of civil society.

Cities may not be able to redistribute private resources, but they can use the powers and resources that they do control to create cities that are more cohesive, where public services and infrastructure form the glue for better civic life. A city cannot control the economy or the national legislature, but it provides something more fundamental – the environment for the day-to-day lives of millions of people.
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 URBAN SOUTH AMERICA

South America is one of the most urbanised regions in the world: more than 80 per cent of the continent’s population live in cities. Like their counterparts across Asia and Africa, South American cities have grown dramatically: one hundred years ago, Buenos Aires was the only South American city with a population greater than one million; today there are 36 such cities. The five largest metropolitan regions – São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Buenos Aires and Bogotá – contain 60 million people, a fifth of South America’s urban population.

The rapid growth of these cities in the early to mid-twentieth century was driven by industrialisation in a post-colonial era. While a combination of political instability and financial crises undermined this pattern of economic development later in the century, urban growth continued unchallenged, though it is now slowing as the cities become less dependent on primary and secondary industry.

In 2008, the Urban Age concentrated on the five largest cities in South America (Bogotá, Lima, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo), and on the causes, symptoms and impacts of social inequality.

1.2 THE URBAN AGE

The Urban Age is an international programme of research projects and conferences investigating the future of cities. The programme, a joint initiative of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Deutsche Bank’s Alfred Herrhausen Society, takes an explicitly interdisciplinary approach to consider the future of cities, and aims to develop and foster dialogue between academics, politicians, policy makers and those responsible for managing and shaping our cities from day to day.

Beginning in New York in 2005, and travelling to Shanghai, London, Johannesburg, Mexico City, Berlin and Mumbai, the Urban Age has explored – through international and interdisciplinary conferences, through data analysis and through interviews with leading urban experts and city managers – some of the world’s most important, diverse and dynamic cities.
The residential landscape around the Paulista Avenue, São Paulo.

Armin Linke
1.3 SOUTH AMERICA AND INEQUALITY

Economic growth has enhanced living standards in South American countries: Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Colombia are all now in the top 50 per cent of countries, according to the Human Development Index; and Brazil is now grouped with Russia, India and China (the “BRIC” economies) as a rising economic powerhouse.

But the fruits of economic growth have not been equally distributed, and Latin America and the Caribbean also exhibit some of the highest levels of inequality in the world: the top five per cent of the region’s population receives 25 per cent of national income, as opposed to South East Asia, where they receive 16 per cent and developed countries where they receive 13 per cent.

The ‘Gini co-efficient’, which measures the extent of inequality in wealth distribution, puts Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Colombia in the 20 per cent most unequal societies. Cities are dynamic environments, and such places are likely to exhibit inequality, especially as their economies develop and attract migrants from rural areas.

But, as the diagram opposite shows, not all developing countries or developing world cities exhibit the acute levels of inequality that many South American cities and states do: among other Urban Age cities, only Johannesburg exhibits higher levels of inequality.

Such pervasive inequality can have malign impacts, especially when it is concentrated spatially – when a city is divided between the fortified gated developments and the heavily-patrolled shopping malls enjoyed by the rich, and the sprawling informal settlements, lacking even basic infrastructure, occupied by the poor.

The UN’s Habitat Programme, in a 2008/09 report on the world’s cities, sets out the scale and potential impacts of this polarisation: urban social inequality can promote social unrest (thereby diverting funds from social programmes to security services), as well as undermine civil society and damage economic prosperity by reducing incentives for participation in the formal economy.

To assess the impact of inequality in an urban context, and to stimulate debate among politicians and academics, the Urban Age research team undertook comparative research, data collection and interviews in the five cities, but focused most closely on São Paulo, the region’s pre-eminent city with a metropolitan population nearing 20 million people, accounting for 20 per cent of Brazil’s GDP.

In São Paulo, three research projects were commissioned to address particular aspects of inequality.
tackling social polarisation:

- unequal access to mobility, in a city with minimal public transport, rapid growth of the number of cars and acute congestion problems,
- violence, crime and the fear of crime, in a city where a reducing homicide rate masks sharp contrasts in crime rates,
- urban development and regeneration, in a city with a declining city centre and little history of effective public-private partnerships

This research was complemented by an opinion poll conducted by Ipsos/MORI, which enabled Urban Age researchers to compare policy makers’ perspectives on the problems facing São Paulo with the perceptions of a representative sample of citizens, and by an innovative approach to mapping social inequality in the South American cities. The research teams, academics, politicians and policy makers came together to discuss the research findings at the Urban Age South America conference in São Paulo in December 2008. This report summarises those research projects, and key highlights of the conference. It is accompanied by a more detailed report which publishes the full reports of the different research teams.

1.4 FUTURE YEARS

In 2009, the Urban Age will focus on Istanbul, and on the role of rapidly growing cities in meeting the twin challenges of the current economic crisis and the increasingly acute environmental problems, in particular climate change. The programme will then conclude with a global summit in Chicago 2010.
2 CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES

2.1 URBAN SOUTH AMERICA

During the second half of the 20th Century, the combined population of the five Urban Age South America cities more than quadrupled, as their economies industrialised. Economic crises stalled economic growth in the 1980s, but migration continued, leading to high levels of unemployment and growing inequality. In the 1990s, as the policies of economic and political liberalisation were introduced to remedy structural flaws in many South American economies, the seeds of economic recovery were sown, but levels of inequality continued to rise.

This pace of growth, combined with political and financial instability, has created dynamic but sprawling cities, with low levels of spatial planning and public investment, and extensive informal settlements in peripheral locations. Poor public transport accessibility has reinforced the isolation of many of these informal settlements, institutionalising patterns of inequality into cities’ urban fabric.

In responding to the problems posed by this legacy, however, a new generation of South American civic leaders have been at the forefront of urban innovation in recent years, creating new approaches to meeting the challenges of urban growth in times of fiscal constraint and starting from a baseline of limited scope for state intervention.

In their approach to transport investment, for example, cities like Curitiba in Brazil and Bogotá in Colombia have eschewed the expensive and technologically complex option of seeking to ‘retrofit’ developed cities with underground railways, and have instead created a hybrid mode of bus-based rapid transit systems, which run on segregated roadways, thereby offering speed and ease-of-use similar to metro systems at a fraction of the cost.
2.2 SOUTH AMERICAN CITIES COMPARED

Every hour, the five Urban Age South America cities grow by a total of around 74 people. This rate is slower than it was before 1980 in South America, and is slower than that experienced today in some Asian and African megacities – Mumbai alone adds 42 people per hour – but it is nonetheless significant in a continent that already has the highest levels of urbanisation in the world. In this section of the report, we review data that characterise the administrative geography, urban form, transport, economy, and patterns of inequality in the five cities.

2.2.1 Urban footprint and administrative geography

Across the world, accelerating urbanisation has opened up a gap between administrative geography and the functional extent of cities, between municipal boundaries and the places where citizens actually live and work. In the case of Shanghai, the urban boundary includes extensive areas of agricultural land, but more commonly the problem is one of urbanised areas falling within different administrations. In extreme cases, like Buenos Aires, less than 25 per cent of the population of the conurbation is actually under the administration of the municipal government.

This mismatch can have practical and political consequences. In Bogotá, for example, the city’s boundaries are seen as undermining social cohesion and the city’s tax base, as richer people migrate to suburbs within different municipalities, attracted by lower tax rates and – in some cases – more permissive planning regulations. Urban growth can also lead to under-representation of cities and their interests at the level of national governments: São Paulo accounts for 20 per cent
of Brazil’s population, but only 13.5 per cent of National Assembly and four per cent of Senate seats.

As Eduardo Rojas, Principal Urban Development Specialist at the Inter-American Bank told the conference, the gulf between administrative and functional geography can undermine the relationship between citizens and the state: “cities … right now have functionally fragmented metropolitan structures and lack a lot of the institutional arrangements needed to coordinate action.”

### 2.2.2 Density and urban form

Despite their rapid growth, many of the Urban Age South America cities nonetheless retain their different characteristic urban character, the street patterns and replicating block structures that form the DNA of urban expansion seen within these ‘figure ground’ diagrams. Bogotá, Lima and Buenos Aires have more European block-type layouts, with clearly defined streets, while São Paulo’s prosperous Jardim Paulista district is characterised by relatively isolated high-rise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>metropolitan region</th>
<th>administrative city</th>
<th>central area (within 10km of centre point)</th>
<th>peak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>São Paulo</strong></td>
<td>2,420</td>
<td>7,139</td>
<td>10,299</td>
<td>29,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rio de Janeiro</strong></td>
<td>2,020</td>
<td>4,832</td>
<td>8,682</td>
<td>29,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buenos Aires</strong></td>
<td>3,177</td>
<td>14,867</td>
<td>12,682</td>
<td>49,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bogotá</strong></td>
<td>2,164</td>
<td>3,854</td>
<td>21,808</td>
<td>59,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lima</strong></td>
<td>2,779</td>
<td>2,598</td>
<td>12,620</td>
<td>31,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mexico City</strong></td>
<td>3,796</td>
<td>5,877</td>
<td>12,541</td>
<td>48,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York</strong></td>
<td>783</td>
<td>9,551</td>
<td>15,361</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mumbai</strong></td>
<td>4,090</td>
<td>27,348</td>
<td>34,269</td>
<td>101,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Johannesburg</strong></td>
<td>520</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>2,270</td>
<td>38,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
blocks, set apart from the urban grid, and Rio de Janeiro by a mix of irregularly-shaped apartment blocks and favelas on higher ground behind Copacabana Beach.

Among other Urban Age cities a similar diversity can be observed, from the New York City’s and Berlin’s highly regular block formations, to the more open-textured patterns of Johannesburg and Shanghai, the grand 18th Century streets of London, and the highly compacted layouts of Mumbai.

Population density is also an important factor influencing the way a city works and the quality of life it can provide for its citizens. While very high densities, if badly planned, can result in overcrowding, higher density development also provides the critical mass that can sustain local shops and services, including public transport services. The urban densities found within the South American cities are much higher than many European cities, but lower than Mumbai or Shanghai. Measuring the densities of the central areas of each city, Bogotá has the highest density (reflecting its constraint by farmland on one side and mountains on the other), with Buenos Aires and Lima following behind, with relatively intensely populated centres, and São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro behind them. São Paulo in particular has relatively consistent density spread over a wide area, reflecting the prevalence of high-rise apartment blocks over a large area of the city.
2.2.3 Transport and mobility

The ways in which people travel in cities reflect economic circumstances, as well as individual choices based on the availability of different alternatives and cities’ spatial configuration. Therefore walking is widespread in Mumbai and Rio de Janeiro where many homes and workplaces are near each other, but is also commonplace in Johannesburg, where alternatives are limited for many citizens. Climate and topography can influence choices too: cycling is far less popular in cities like Mumbai and Rio de Janeiro than it is in more temperate Berlin, New York and Shanghai.

The Urban Age South America cities have shown rapid growth in car ownership in recent years, with São Paulo adding nearly one million cars to its streets in the last five years. With the exception of Buenos Aires, the South American cities have far less developed rail systems than many of the other Urban Age cities. Bus use is therefore the dominant mode of public transport: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro both have around 30 per cent bus use, with similar levels of walking, while Lima, following its extreme experiment in deregulation, is dominated by minibus transport.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Public transport</th>
<th>Walking and cycling</th>
<th>Private car</th>
<th>Car ownership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogotá</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than 50 per cent of the inhabitants of Bogotá were born somewhere else, attracted in part by the city’s international acclaim owing to a city-wide renaissance over the last decade.

Giovanna Silva

5 Registro Nacional de Accidentes e Estatísticas de Trânsito 2008

Transport
Source: Urban Age research
2.2.4 Working in the city

The Urban Age South American cities industrialised rapidly in the mid-20th Century, and their economies are now entering a new phase of economic change, as knowledge-based service functions grow alongside primary and secondary production. Lima and Bogotá remain relatively industrialised, though less so than Shanghai, while the sectoral profiles of São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro are more similar to London’s or Berlin’s, with commerce and service sectors dominant.

The shift towards new types of economic production has remodelled the economic geography of cities, creating new business districts – like Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires – to attract financial and business service investors. Economic change also has huge implications for public services within cities, placing a premium on education and potentially marginalising from the city’s economy those with lower skill levels – often those new arrivals who had migrated to the city during the earlier phase of industrialisation. In São Paulo, for example, the Urban Age Ipsos/MORI survey indicated that only 13 per cent of the population have attended university.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>manufacturing</th>
<th>services</th>
<th>GDP as % of national</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>85.6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogotá</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>79.9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>86.6%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.5 Inequality and urban form

While the Urban Age South America cities are relatively advanced in terms of human development, these average figures mask some intense contrasts and inequalities within individual cities. To analyse how these inequalities are manifested across a city’s territory, the Urban Age has undertaken a new form of comparative spatial analysis of inequality, to assess how this is reflected in an urban form. To enable comparisons between cities, educational attainment, which has a high correlation with other factors such as income levels, was used as a proxy for socio-economic status. Four indicators – dissimilarity, diversity, isolation and exposure – were calculated on the basis of four different educational attainment groups and assigned numerical values to statistical subunits (census tracks or blocks) in each of the five cities.

The maps on this page show the distribution of the least educated group in the five cities. All cities display a clear centre-periphery divide in terms of educational attainment with peripheries generally suffering from higher levels of poorly-educated groups. However, this pattern is less pronounced in Bogotá and Lima with an overall more even distribution. Most parts of Buenos Aires are further characterised by low levels of poorly-educated. This results in a strong concentration of these groups at the very fringes most remote to the urban core.

The metropolitan-wide comparative analysis for the four key indicators for inequality showed that the most problematic pattern of exclusion is related to the isolation of the least educated section of society along the city fringes. Here little compensation through either access to public infrastructure (in particular transport) or indeed

---

6 The analysis compared four of the five cities (comparative data was not available for Lima), analysing data at the level of census tracts. It reviewed dissimilarity (the extent to which specific areas deviated from the average distribution), isolation (the extent to which specific groups were isolated from other groups), and exposure (the extent to which different groups – in this case people with the highest and lowest educational attainment – were exposed to each other in different parts of the city).
access to better educated population groups is possible to mitigate educational inequalities.

In addition to the metropolitan-wide pattern for each index, an analysis of building typologies found in the most extreme cases of each indicator allowed important insights into the inscription of inequality into urban form. Although a range of typological patterns and their dominance for the various extremes were established, an overall conclusion will have to emphasise that no building typology by itself seems to ensure greater diversity or inclusion by itself. However, besides a greater resilience of areas with mixed typologies in accommodating difference, certain typologies can easily be excluded as an option for inclusion. Obviously, slum and informal housing will mostly cater to the least educated sections of society while large detached houses and apartment towers create zones of exclusivity for the most educated.

More flexible in terms of social composition are a range of concentrated housing, city block and slab typologies.
While data were collected for all five Urban Age South America cities, more detailed research was undertaken for São Paulo, the largest conurbation in South America, and the power-house of the Brazilian economy.

São Paulo is a city of the 20th Century. 100 years ago, its population was less than 300,000; today the municipality has a population of 10 million, with 18 million living in the wider São Paulo Metropolitan Area. The city was established in the 16th Century as a Jesuit mission, and its first period of intense growth was as a coffee exporter, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This vital role as a trading city, occupying space alongside two major rivers, between fertile agricultural land and Santos, South America’s largest port, also attracted the first waves of immigrants, laying the foundations for the diversity that would soon become one of São Paulo’s defining features.

São Paulo’s second surge of growth came with industrialisation, and became most intense between 1950 and 1980, when the city’s GDP increased tenfold and its population quintupled. During the financial crises of the 1980s and 1990s, continuing population growth led to a 20 per cent fall in GDP per head, and to dramatic rises in unemployment (which has begun to fall again since 2000). At the same time, São Paulo’s economy has begun to de-industrialise, and to shift its balance to the services sector. Today, the city is responsible for around 20 per cent of Brazil’s GDP.

São Paulo’s economic geography has changed too. The city’s central business district has gradually moved to the south west over the past century, from the old central district around Praça da Sé, to Avenida Paulista and the Jardins district, to the new developments alongside the River Pinheiros. This has left the central district relatively depopulated, especially in the evenings,

---

7 The stop of the city that could not stop. Andre Urani presentation to Urban Age Workshop, April 2008
with the attendant problems faced by ‘hollowing out’ cities across the world – relatively high levels of crime and self-reinforcing fear of crime.

At the same time, informal favelas have grown up, both in pockets of occupied land near the city centre (like Paraisópolis, which is situated alongside Morumbi, one of São Paulo’s wealthiest neighbourhoods), and around the periphery of São Paulo, where they also exist alongside huge social housing projects like Cidade Tiradentes. In many cases, these peripheral favelas are in environmentally sensitive locations (e.g., on the banks of the southern reservoirs that are crucial to São Paulo’s water supply), thereby creating enforcement dilemmas for politicians and policy makers (see Box 3, page 26). It is estimated that 13 per cent of households in the metropolitan region of São Paulo are located in such favelas.8

These extremes are not, of course, the whole story, but São Paulo does in places exhibit intense polarisation between informal settlements and single-tenure social housing developments on the one hand, and pockets of wealth – gated, fortified and patrolled – on the other. Given the scale of the city – São Paulo Metropolitan Area extends over nearly 8,000 square kilometres – and the traffic congestion that clogs the city’s streets and makes daily journeys from the outskirts to the centre lengthy if not impossible, these different Sãos can seem very remote from each other.

In recent years, many of São Paulo’s problems have been laid bare through the Cidade Limpia (“clean city”) policy, which mandated removal of the visual pollution of billboards and neon signs from the city’s buildings. But, as Mayor Gilberto Kassab explained at the Urban Age South America conference, the programme has also strengthened civic pride: “citizens have discovered their own city. They have recovered their self esteem and the fact that they are proud living here.”
2.4 SÃO PAULO – EXPERT PERSPECTIVES AND PUBLIC OPINIONS

As in other Urban Age cities, the research team canvassed the views of policy-makers, academics and other opinion-formers in relation to the problems facing São Paulo. In 2008, Urban Age also commissioned opinion polling to allow comparison of these perspectives with those of a representative cross-sample of citizens. The polling was undertaken by Ipsos MORI, who undertake a similar exercise in London every year, so the results can be compared with public opinion in another Urban Age city, as well as with the views of experts within São Paulo.

For Paulistanos and Londoners, the attractions of living in a world city are similar: the range of shops and job opportunities are regularly cited as cities’ most attractive features. Levels of satisfaction were lowest at the margins of the population – among the highly educated and among favela-dwellers.

Londoners, however, value cultural facilities, transport and the diversity of the city’s people more than Paulistanos, who are more impressed with sports facilities and schools (and perhaps take ‘diversity’ for granted as a foundation stone of their city, rather than as a recent phenomenon).

The two polls diverge more sharply when considering their cities’ problems: for Paulistanos, health services and transport services are major concerns, while Londoners focus on traffic and the cost of living. In both cities, crime is a major issue, with similar proportions of the population expressing concern, despite a considerable difference in crime levels – for example, the homicide rate in London is less than one-tenth that in São Paulo.

Crime is a more important issue for people within the City of São Paulo, while inhabitants of the wider metropolitan area are likely to focus on health services. Education is seen as a priority for action by Paulistanos, perhaps as a response to the perceived problems of crime and personal safety.

Despite high levels of fear of crime in London, interviewees’ actual experience of crime is very different in São Paulo: more than 50 per cent of respondents in São Paulo had direct (personal or family) experience of robbery and 47 per cent knew someone who had been murdered. 70 per cent of Paulistanos felt unsafe walking outside in the evening in their local neighbourhood, compared to 35 per cent of Londoners. Despite the heavy spatial concentration of crime within favelas, fear of crime was more closely related to education level, gender and personal experience, rather than to residence (and therefore to actual risk). Most Paulistanos argued that a more visible police presence on the streets and tougher penalties for young offenders would be most effective in tackling crime, though many also argued that relatively low cost interventions like improved street lighting would also make a difference.

In relation to transport, respondents argued that journey times to leisure destinations as well as workplaces were unacceptable. Seven per cent of interviewees spent more than three hours a day travelling. Nearly 40 per cent of those polled said that their main journey was made on foot, with a further 30 per cent mixing walking and bus use. The limited reach of São Paulo’s metro system is reflected by the fact that only one per cent of interviewees said that they used the metro on their daily journey.
Despite the clear awareness of traffic congestion as a problem, more than 80 per cent of those polled said that they would buy a car if they could afford one, and use it for daily journeys, though residents also identified expansion of rail and bus networks as more important policies than more road building, and 80 per cent also said that they would change their mind and use public transport if provision improved. An impressive 73 per cent are in favour of policies reducing car use and supporting public transport, walking and cycling. There was limited support for measures such as congestion charging, though support rose when the potential positive impacts of such schemes were outlined.

Crime is an issue on which São Paulo’s expert opinion coincided with popular opinion. For most experts, however, crime was overshadowed as a challenge by transport and housing, with planning and downtown revitalisation also featuring as significant concerns. This perhaps reflects the extent to which traffic congestion has grown worse in recent years, thereby rising up the policy agenda (while crime rates have fallen).
3 THREE PERSPECTIVES ON INEQUALITY

Poverty and inequality are persistent problems for South America, but civic leaders in South America are also at the forefront of seeking solutions. In doing so, a distinction can be drawn between conditions of material inequality, that is to say inequality of income and private wealth, and social inequality, which lies in unequal access to the rights, opportunities and benefits that can be realised from civic life and public amenities – from public transport, health and education to public space for recreation.

While most modern politicians reject the extensive redistribution of wealth that would be needed to address material inequality over short timescales (which would in any case be a matter for national rather than municipal governments), civic leaders can and are taking the opportunity to redress social inequality by providing the social infrastructure that previous political regimes had neglected. While this is a modern South American trend, it can be seen as analogous to the civic entrepreneurialism of late 19th Century civic leaders in European and North American cities.

The Urban Age South America conference, held in São Paulo in December 2008, focused on three of the most important challenges facing São Paulo – the relationships between crime and security, between transport and access to the city, and between public and private sectors in planning the reuse of derelict urban land. Debate at the conference was informed by research projects on these three themes, and highlights of the debates and the research projects are set out below; the in-depth results of this research are published in the detailed report.

Each of these challenges is closely linked to inequality: crime has very different impacts for different communities within São Paulo, the lack of extensive public transport can be seen as reinforcing spatial inequalities within the city, and a relatively laissez-faire attitude towards planning has allowed inner city dereliction to take hold as investment has moved out from the centre.

3.1 CRIME, PUBLIC SAFETY AND COMMUNITY

Latin American and Caribbean states have some of the highest homicide rates in the world. Brazil has 27 murders every year per 100,000 citizens, nearly five times the rate in the USA and ten times that in the UK. In São Paulo, however, the homicide rate has fallen dramatically in recent years, from nearly 60 murders per 100,000 in 2000, to less than 20 today.

Paula Miraglia, Director of the Brazilian office of the United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime, and Eduardo Marques, Director of the Centre for Metropolitan Studies, led a research team investigating the factors driving this fall in crime rates, and the different ways in which cities and communities create ‘safe spaces’ – ranging from private security systems, to control by organised crime, to high levels of community participation, to informal ‘occupation’ by ‘juvenile tribes’. Could the city itself become part of the solution to the problems of crime and personal security, rather than simply the stage on which they were played out?

The research team compared the central Jardim Paulista neighbourhood – one of São Paulo’s richest areas – with Cidade Tiradentes – a huge social housing complex developed over the past three decades, 30 kilometres east of the city centre. Jardim Paulista, with three homicides per 100,000 citizens in 2005 (and no recorded homicides in 2007) has an average household income nearly 20 times the minimum wage, and a highly educated and extremely homogeneous population.

Cidade Tiradentes, where the homicide rate in 2005 was 21 per 100,000, is much more mixed, with a 50 per cent black population, a historically marginalised group, and an average household income 1.4 times the minimum wage. While the murder rate in Cidade Tiradentes is significantly higher than in Jardim Paulista, it represents a dramatic fall from 2000 when the rate was 100 per 100,000, and is significantly lower than other peripheral neighbourhoods like Jardim Ângela.

The factors underpinning this fall in homicide rates are extensively debated. Paula Miraglia and colleagues identified improvement in policing management and technology, reduced availability of firearms, the work of non-governmental organisations and churches, and even the resolution of territorial disputes between rival
gangs as potential factors.

But the neighbourhoods themselves had changed too. Jardim Paulista had sought to reduce crime through defensive design and social interventions that intensified its homogeneity. Measures included widening pavements and re-phasing traffic lights to reduce through traffic and create a better pedestrian environment, building up defences around buildings, and removing from its streets those beggars and street vendors seen by local residents as threats to peace and safety. In a metaphor used by a local residents association, neighbourhoods like Jardim Paulista could protect their residents by creating “true islands of peacefulness within an inflamed territory”.

Cidade Tiradentes, on the other hand, had become more heterogeneous. The cessation of gang hostilities had been accompanied by a gradual transformation of the district from a mono-cultural social housing project lacking even basic shops, to a more mixed neighbourhood, with improved shopping and transport links, and the patterns of sociability and connection that make more cohesive and secure conditions.

Residents identified the presence of both private shops and public services as important signals of commitment to the area, and also identified street lighting and the re-use of dead space for civic amenities like play areas as crucial in creating the conditions for animated streets and enhanced safety. In the words of one resident, “criminals don’t like movement”.

While the tactics of physical and social exclusion of ‘undesirables’ from rich neighbourhoods creates localised benefits (‘safe places’), Paula Miraglia argues that such interventions are short-sighted, and do nothing to improve the overall security of the city. Indeed, when matched with heavy-handed policing, they can boost the sense of alienation and exclusion that can provide fertile ground for breeding criminal behaviour. Rather, if police and civil...
authorities can work together on crime reduction and on urban designs and promote safety, we can create streets, buildings and districts that encourage sociability and occupation – the conditions of safety for all our citizens. In Paula Miraglia’s words, “either the entire city is safe, or no one is.”

At the São Paulo conference, participants debated the role that fear of violence played in the marginalisation and stigmatisation of young people (from Paris to São Paulo), and the ways that populist art forms like graffiti and hip hop music were responses to and re-inforcers of that marginalisation. Gareth Jones, Senior Lecturer in Development Geography at LSE, suggested that the focus needed to shift, “from securing the city from young people; whereas what we should be doing, economically, socially and culturally is securing the city for young people.”

The conference also heard how the delivery of public infrastructure improvements had helped to reduce crime and the fear of crime in cities that were previously regarded as some of the most dangerous in the world (see Box 1).

Participants also suggested that it was policing in partnership with and accountable to communities, not just increasing police numbers that was the crucial tool in reducing crime. Lee Baca, Los Angeles County Sheriff, emphasised that it is fundamental “that everything the police do is with the public’s approval.” Cities needed to draw their citizens together if they were to prove resilient, in response to local crime as well as in response to global terrorism or financial crises.
Box 1

CREATING THE CONDITIONS OF SAFETY IN MEDELLÍN

Medellín, Colombia’s second largest city, is reversing its reputation as an urban battleground, through projects that create better links between communities and the life of the city. In 1991, Medellín was the most violent city in the world, with 381 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants; in 2007, the rate was 26 per 100,000.

Investments in new libraries, schools and public transport connected to public squares, restaurants, parks, recreational places, cultural areas and jobs have improved quality of life for Medellín’s formerly excluded urban poor. Integrated investment plans, developed with local communities, have been targeted at some of the most violent slum areas. New bridges, walkways and cable cars have connected these slums, mainly located in the hills on the edge of the city, with each other, and with the city centre, creating new physical and psychological links between different communities.

Giancarlo Mazzanti Arquitectos’ Biblioteca España, located in the former murder capital of Santo Domingo, is but one example of an ambitious city-wide regeneration programme directed by architect Alejandro Echeverri, Director of Special Projects for the Medellín Municipal Company of Urban Development under Mayor Sergio Fajardo.
3.2 TRANSPORT AND ACCESS TO THE CITY

São Paulo’s rapid growth in the mid-20th Century fast outpaced the development of the city’s transport infrastructure: the city only has 313 kilometres of rail and metro, compared to nearly 1,800km in London, 1,400km in Berlin and 500km in Mumbai. Commuting patterns reflect this lack of infrastructure: cars account for 30 per cent of motorised commuting trips, with around ten per cent using rail, just under 30 per cent using buses, and the remainder travelling on foot – in many cases, because the alternatives are unavailable, not because walking is positively encouraged by transport planners: people on lower incomes make 60 per cent of their journeys on foot.9

Transport accessibility and commuting times vary strongly in relation to income level too. The Secretariat of Metropolitan Transportation (STM) estimates that the poorest 20 per cent of the metropolitan population commutes for two hours a day each way.10 As the diagram on page 27 shows, poorer people rely far more on public transport than risher people do (and the gulf is widening). This same group also spend eight per cent of their total family expenditure on transport (as against four per cent for the population as a whole).11 The symptoms of this growing crisis are visible both in the the endless traffic jams on São Paulo’s streets and in the light of workers sleeping in city centre streets as a result of the sheer difficulty of managing a daily commute.

Against this backdrop, the STM, working with the municipalities that make up the São Paulo Metropolitan Area, recently published its Integrated Urban Transport Plan (PITU 2025). The Plan proposes doubling expenditure on public transport, and a dramatic increase in provision of rail and ‘bus rapid transit’ (BRT) systems. A research team led by Ciro Biderman, Professor at the Centre for the Study of Policy and Economics of the Public Sector at Fundação Getulio Vargas, reviewed these plans against the systemic problems in São Paulo’s transport provision, and made their own proposals, based on a more fundamental reconsideration of whose interests transport policy is designed to serve.

10 Mobility, integration and accessibility in SPMA: public policies and strategies, Ciro Biderman et al, 2008
The research team reviewed changes in transport patterns on São Paulo since 1967. In that period, conditions on commuter railways deteriorated, but maintained their overall share of trips; private car use doubled its share while buses lost share. São Paulo’s population has been growing in this period, and its transport system has had to balance the needs of passengers with the needs of freight; around 45 per cent of all truck trips within the State of São Paulo pass through SPMA. While the new orbital road and railway systems will relieve the pressure of freight on the city centre’s roads, a dramatic modal shift to public transport will be required if São Paulo’s congestion is not to worsen in coming years, with a persistent and disproportionately negative impact on the poorest people in the city.

The research team reviewed the experiences of bus rapid transport systems within South America, developed as an alternative to the technically challenging and prohibitively expensive option of retrofitting metro systems to developed cities. Curitiba was the first city to adopt such a system, in 1974, and many other cities across Brazil and South America followed. Among these systems, those adopted in Curitiba and Bogotá were probably the most advanced. The included passing lanes at stations, fully segregated corridors, express services, pre-payment of fares and high level entry. These were all features that made their BRT systems genuine alternatives to metro systems – in terms of speed and convenience – rather than just premium bus services.

The team observed that, while car-based commuting had grown in São Paulo, it remained lower than in London and Berlin; the time was right to create a viable and extensive alternative to continuing car growth. Fiscal and physical constraints meant that this should be based on BRTs rather than metro rail.

The alternative plan prepared by the research team would increase the total length of bus corridors, commuter rail and metro rail by three times, to create a network longer than New York’s, at 1,300 km (or 800 km, if one kilometre of rail is seen as equivalent to two kilometres of BRT), and one that would complete critical orbital routes.
around the city, thereby enabling more diverse travel patterns. This would be achieved at a per kilometer cost one-tenth that of subways.

The team estimated that their proposals would reduce cars’ share of passenger kilometres from 36 per cent in 2025 (based on current investment plans), to 24 per cent (or as low as 15 per cent if accompanied by congestion charging). Buses’ share would rise from 32 to 35 or 43 per cent under the same scenarios.

But the advantages of BRT went wider than lower cost, the team argued. Metros had often been preferred, the team argued, because they did not take away road space that was seen as the entitlement of private car users. “Metro lines don’t challenge the status quo of organising transport on the surface”. These solutions, the team argued, “use the underground to protect car users at an extraordinary price”.

To illustrate the social changes that could be achieved by rethinking the priority accorded to different road users, the team undertook an in-depth case study on the Minhocão (or Elevado Costa e Silva’ to use its proper name), a 3.4km-long elevated express way in the centre of São Paulo. Currently, cars travel along the expressway, while buses are relegated to the area beneath it, though the road is closed to traffic and becomes a “concrete urban park” on Sundays.

The presence of the Minhocão can be seen as a blight on surrounding neighbourhoods, as one of the factors that has contributed to population loss from São Paulo’s central district, and particularly to an exodus of those middle class residents for whom alternatives are available. Reconfiguring the Minhocão, so that only buses, pedestrians and cyclists could use the privileged space along the expressway, with bus stops integrated with metro stations, could offer a way to create a better and more mixed urban environment in the local areas, if balanced with creative and consistent use of planning tools (to avoid wholesale displacement of poorer residents).

Through integrating land use policies and transport projects in this way, a transport system that is designed to achieve progressive, environmentally sustainable and redistributive aims at a metropolitan scale can also have a beneficial impact on individual local communities.

Participants at the conference reflected on the need to think radically about the interests served by transport systems, and the extent to which motor cars have historically been privileged. In

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Walking</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Transport</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motorised Private</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Train</th>
<th>Subway</th>
<th>Bus</th>
<th>Private*</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the words of Alexandre Gomide from the São Paulo Institute of Applied Economic Research “we often talk about subsidies to public transport, and how we could have used those funds for other purposes, but actually automobiles receive a lot of subsidy in terms of space, public funds, congestion, pollution, etcetera.”

Several South American cities have begun to rethink the way that they invest in transport; sometimes, as in the case of Lima (see Box 2 on the following page), this has led to a radical re-appraisal of the priority given to different forms of transport.

This re-appraisal of transport priorities is not confined to South America: Fabio Casirio, Professor in Transport Planning, Politecnico di Milano, observed how even Los Angeles, “the paradigm of a sprawling ‘car city’”, had begun to invest in new rail infrastructure: “even the car cities are capable of designing a better life”.

Janette Sadik-Khan, New York City’s Transport Commissioner, explained the philosophy underpinning her city’s Sustainable Street, strategic plan: “the choices we make about how we travel on our streets, how we design our streets, what we do with the space between buildings, whether we allocate that space for plazas and sidewalks…can profoundly affect the economy, the quality of life, the environmental health and the sustainability of our cities.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subway</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rail</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Bus</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company Bus</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Bus</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>91.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Lima, the government transport strategy is focused on creating greater access for pedestrians rather than allowing unmanaged growth of private automobiles to dominate urban mobility. Investments include the creation of 150 kilometres of new stairs to connect communities located on the hilly outskirts of the city’s central areas.

The ‘stairs of solidarity’ programme provides basic access routes to 2.5 million of the metropolitan region’s 8.5 million inhabitants, typically the least educated and least well served by public infrastructure. While providing environmental conservation of precarious areas, this programme attempts to reduce the marginalisation of the city’s poorer residents. The programme is being implemented alongside a massive overhaul of road infrastructure and new pavements, creation of new bus corridors and investment in an integrated public transport system for the greater metropolitan region.
3.3 REGENERATION AND NEW FORMS OF URBAN GOVERNANCE

As São Paulo has grown, the hubs of wealth creation and the homes of the wealthy have moved out from the city centre, in a centrifugal process common to many American cities. While the downtown area (‘Centro’) remains active during the day, its residential population is continuing to disperse to private cities – gated communities in surrounding areas – leaving a ‘hollowed-out’ city at night. Around this downtown area are former industrial sites, which have also been deserted as industrial production has moved to new locations within São Paulo or to neighbouring metropoles like Campinas.

A research team led by Nadia Somekh, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, and Professor Carlos Leite (both from Mackenzie Metropolitan University), reviewed the processes and practices used to regenerate these urban areas in São Paulo, and to ensure that their revitalisation achieved wider social as well as narrower financial objectives. Focusing in on a nine square kilometre area of the regeneration axis known as ‘Diagonal Sul’, they worked with private sector partners to develop a new model for inclusive urban regeneration within São Paulo.

The processes of economic change in recent decades, and particularly de-industrialisation of inner urban areas, pose huge challenges for the maintenance of harmonious and cohesive cities. At the same time, the growth of megacities covering thousands of square kilometres throws into question the very possibility of comprehensive ‘urban design’.

The response promulgated in the late 20th Century – the modernist/utopian project to remodel or reshape entire cities – has lost credibility and is widely seen as having failed. Smaller projects and the use of private capital to develop have come to dominate, but these ‘urban regeneration’ processes deliver results that may not benefit all sections of society: new employment created may not match the skills of local people, and changes in property prices may lead to displacement of local populations as gentrification takes hold. But many governments were seen as lacking the mandate, the skills or even the tools to shape and manage that investment, so that individual development projects contributed to a broader vision for urban development, stretching from the neighbourhood to the metropolis.

2008’s global financial crisis, which was unfolding as the São Paulo conference took place, threatens even this public-private model of urban development.

In São Paulo, the team argued, as in other developing cities, the challenge of attracting and channelling investment is exacerbated by the widespread availability of sites (including more profitable ‘greenfield sites’). Competition for investment from these sites means that the incentives or tax breaks that have to be offered to bring investment to a deteriorating inner city area have to be increased, thereby increasing the cost to the public purse overall. In Brazil, therefore, the key instrument for delivering regeneration projects were the Operações Urbanas Consorciadas (Urban Intervention Partnerships), which provide for the financing of public works by selling the...
Environmental protection creates social equity in São Paulo, Brazil

A joint venture between the city of São Paulo’s housing agency and SABESP, the State of São Paulo’s water company, shows how measures aimed at protecting natural resources can also provide social equity and foster community cooperation.

A World Bank scheme to improve water supply for São Paulo’s residents has also created 3,000 new homes and improvements to the living conditions of 160,000 residents of informal settlements around the Guarapiranga/Billings reservoir to the south of the city.

Investments in environmental measures include installation of new water and sewage lines, improved drainage, and new pavements. By engaging residents in the area’s transformation, new recreational spaces and sidewalk pavements prioritise pedestrian access and help to ensure a shared community identity and sense of belonging.
right to build, with much less residual public investment than is seen in other cities reviewed by the research team.

But these Operações are not provided with the strategic context or the local engagement to create genuine success in regeneration terms. São Paulo’s current strategic plan, the Plano Diretor Estrategico 2002-12 (PDE), has determined that Operações should cover 20 per cent of the city’s area. However, the Operações have been criticised for their lack of a comprehensive vision for urban design and environmental sustainability, nor have they benefited from what the research team calls an “expanded public roundtable, which includes civil society and goes beyond the traditional and unique state responsibility for transforming the contemporary urban territory”.

São Paolo had, the team argued, “failed to deliver an effective and democratic urban vision”. Piecemeal interventions risked displacing and eroding existing social and urban fabric, rather than realising social benefits. Brazilian cities needed “a more subtle and sophisticated approach, based on a collective effort and broad participation, which aims to promote local development and social inclusion”.

This new approach would be based on a clear metropolitan plan reflecting a vision for revitalisation of derelict areas in the city centre and development around transport nodes, matched with a clear mobility plan that promoted optimisation of public transport. The development of such a plan needed extensive community and municipal participation, and this needed to be carried through to development and implementation of individual projects.

A change in mind-set was also needed between the public and private sectors: the public sector needed to become more transparent, less directive, less technocratic and more open to dialogue with other stakeholders from the private sector and civil society. The private sector for its part needed to mirror this openness in their relations with the public sector to enable genuine partnership to flourish.

New delivery and funding mechanisms should include new local regeneration agencies, which could act as ‘honest brokers’, independent of either the public administration or private interests, promoting dialogue between these partners and civil society, and focused on securing project funding and delivering results.

The need for good communication between city managers, partners and the wider population was echoed by Jaime Lerner, former Mayor of Curitiba and Governor of Paraná: “if you cannot communicate what your goals are and you cannot communicate with those that make political decisions, then of course it is going to be very hard to change urban reality.”

Projects presented to the conference illustrated the value of community initiative and empowerment in rehabilitating and rejuvenating both run-down inner urban areas, and marginalised informal developments. Two such projects are shown in Boxes 4 and 5 on the following pages.

Debates during this session and throughout the conference, observed the importance of public space and the capacity of cities to create new public spaces out of the most unpromising of materials. Fernando de Mello Franco observed that, though the Minhocão elevated expressway was a disaster in urban terms, “on weekends, it’s used by pedestrians and formal squares are completely abandoned. So we have to review the notion of public space.” PK Das, Principal at Mumbai’s PK Das and Associates, suggested that we needed to change the way we think about cities: “we often look at cities from the point of view of real estate opportunities… Can we look at our cities…from the point of view of public spaces? For I believe that public dignity is reflected in public spaces and vice versa.”
Box 4

REMODELLING URBAN SPACE IN SÃO PAULO

Cortiço Rua Solón, São Paulo

934 Rua Solón is a partially completed concrete-frame multi-storey structure located close to São Paulo’s central district. Constructed in the 1970s, the building remained unfinished due to the death of the developer, and was subsequently taken over by squatter families in the 1980s. As with many other ‘invaded buildings’, the early residents established a precarious system of electrical and water supply, and a very basic form of waste and garbage disposal. Overcrowding became severe with 73 families crammed into the building, using all available spaces including the incomplete elevator shafts. Following a project with students from the University of São Paulo’s Faculty of Architecture (FAU) efforts to improve the site began.

Through varied partnerships, including local government, the university, public institutions, human rights groups and private enterprise, over 30 families were re-housed, and the remaining residents focused on raising the living standards for the entire community. With resources secured, the architecture students decided to live in the building with the residents for one week. The action resulted in three immediately visible results. First, the multirões or collective initiatives between the students and the residents organised to clean the site, beginning with the common areas and with the often-blocked access to the building. Second, the installation of a collective power grid enabled each family to have a reliable measure of their electricity bills, and thus provided improved economic stability as well as removing the fire risks of the previous design. Third, they improved the facade of the building, security gates, and added letters with the name of the building, Edifício União.

The physical improvements to the “look” of the building and its common areas led many of the residents to make improvements inside their own apartments. Internal walls have been rendered and painted, new kitchens and bathrooms have been installed. Openings have been introduced into dark corridors and stairwells to improve the environment and reduce electricity consumption. The project has established the possibility of partnership between the social and the physical, between the built and the lived, right at the heart of the city next to jobs, schools and social amenities.
The challenge to provide well-designed housing, in central urban locations but affordable to poorer people, is a global issue. Chilean ‘do tank’ Elemental is pioneering housing to transform urban communities through market strategies that can accommodate the realities of housing subsidies and finance as well as capitalising on the informal and incremental building patterns of the urban poor.

Elemental aim to ‘create not one small house but half of a good house’, by providing small houses occupying narrow urban sites, but with space for upward expansion and infill. Community workshops enable local residents to determine the physical form and social characteristics of their neighbourhoods. The emphasis on adaptation for future enlargement allows low income communities legally to settle in more expensive centrally located areas rather than in marginalised peripheries. As a result, rather than sacrificing design quality, the urban poor help to create permanent housing that increases in value over time. This settlement pattern ensures access to jobs and social infrastructure as well as the formation of cohesive and stable communities.
Cities are places of mix and exchange. They are also the places where different worlds collide or at least meet. In the words of Wolfgang Nowak, Managing Director of the Alfred Herrhausen Society, "the big cities are everything; the first world, the second world and the third world come together in one city."

This mix can be exhilarating, but also presents policy makers with challenges. Can cities afford to accommodate inequality, with its negative impacts on social, economic and environmental sustainability? Even if a city cannot tackle the root causes of poverty and inequality, how can enlightened public service provision help to tackle civic inequality, to prevent environmental dereliction, higher crime rates and poor transport accessibility compounding the disadvantages of poverty?

As São Paulo State Governor Jose Serra said in his keynote speech to the conference in December 2008, the value of the Urban Age programme lies in the discourse it can promote between policy and practice: "we are not limited to discussing ideas and theories, but can also bring together interests and perspectives." In bringing those interests and perspectives together, a few key messages emerge:

- Cities will always display a measure of inequality, as populations change and newcomers are drawn in, but they must also be made places of social mobility. From this perspective, in the words of Manoel Ribeiro, favelas can be seen not just as a problem but as "an integral part of the city and...as a tool for fighting social inequality". Transitional areas can play a part in urban life, but only if they are able to complete a transition, or to enable their residents to do so.

- Planning urban systems and infrastructure – from rail networks to parks and green spaces – needs to take account of the potential impact on equality. Does provision to meet current demand simply reinforce patterns of segregation and polarisation? Are there ways in which new institutions and infrastructure could be used to promote civic equity and social cohesion?

- The poor are most excluded from social equity when located at the city fringes. Inclusive cities need to accommodate the less well-off within the core urban fabric, minimizing the degree of isolating poverty and allowing to create truly public infrastructure, shared by a wide range of different income groups. Limiting sprawl and increasing the overall compactness of cities is a crucial element of social policy.

- Public space is one of the defining characteristics of a humane city, but sometimes the best public space is unplanned – the reinvention of an overpass as a weekend promenade, the creation of a skatepark in a concrete undercroft, the emergence of a playground on wasteland. City governments should seek to support and ratify the creation...
of such public spaces, not to outlaw them unnecessarily.

- Exclusionary tactics like private security patrols, surveillance cameras and security gates can help to remove – or at least displace – crime, but inclusive approaches, which help to develop a sense of ownership and pride among communities can have a longer lasting impact.

- In cities where a large proportion of the population is excluded from public transport systems, radical approaches may be needed to deliver the scale of change that is needed to redress the balance. While it is politically difficult, reducing the privileges and subsidies granted to private car use may be the only way to create viable transport corridors.

- When considering transport strategies, city planners should not just focus on single modes of transport, but on how the whole system can support policy aims, including re-aligning the distribution of public services (from rail, to bus rapid transit, to walking routes) to help those people socially and spatially marginalised from the city.

- The idea that the private sector can on its own create viable cities is as false as the assumption that the public sector can realise its plans autonomously. Active use of planning instruments, as well as targeted incentives are needed to channel the energy of the property development industry in directions that help the citizen as well as the developer over the long term.

- In modern cities with diverse populations, both political debate about the future and the partnerships needed to turn debates and visions into reality, require a pluralistic process, that involves civic actors from all sectors, including public, private and community sectors.

Urban inequality undermines economic vitality, social cohesion and environmental sustainability. It is a persistent but growing phenomenon, and can seem intractable in a world that continues to urbanise. The Urban Age South America programme has helped to delineate the issues, and also to point the way towards solutions, and towards the central role for urban government.

Cities may not be able to redistribute private resources, but they can use the powers and resources that they do control to create cities that are more cohesive, where public services and infrastructure form the glue for better civic life. A city cannot control the economy or the national legislature, but it provides something more fundamental – the environment for the day-to-day lives of millions of people. In the words of former Bogotá mayor Enrique Peñalosa, “the way cities are built determines to a large degree citizens’ quality of life for hundreds of years into the future.”
Strategy Workshop São Paulo

Marcos Bicalho, Superintendent, Associação Nacional de Transportes Públicos (ANTP); Ciro Biderman, Professor, CEPESP; FGV and Visiting Fellow, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, MIT; Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes, Sociologist and Advisor, EMPLASA; Ricky Burdett, Director, Urban Age, LSE, Alexandre Caflalas, Principal, Caflalas Arquitetos; Andrea Calahi, Professor, Faculdade de Economia e Administração, USP; Renato Cymbalistha, Architect and Urbanist, Instituto Pólix; Alexandre de Avila Gomide, Researcher, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, State of São Paulo; Fernando de Mello Franco, Architect, MMBB Arquitetos; Josué de Souza Martins, Author and Social Scientist, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo; Bruno Feder, Assistant to the Director for International Affairs, State of São Paulo; Elisabete França, Director, Secretaria de Habitação Social, São Paulo Municipality; Jurandir Fernandes, President, EMPLASA; Helena Maria Gasparian, Advisor for International Affairs, State of São Paulo; Stella Goldenstein, Deputy Chief of Staff, São Paulo Municipality; Sandra Gomes, Researcher and Transference Coordinator, CEM; Odéd Grajew, General Coordinator; Nossa São Paulo; Marta Dora Grostein, Architect and Urbanist, Coordinator of LUME/FAU, USP; Ayako Iba, Event Coordinator, Urban Age, LSE; Danilo Igliori, Affiliated Lecturer, Department of Land Economy, University of Cambridge; Eduardo Jorge, Secretary of Environment, São Paulo Municipality; Carlos Leite, Professor, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Vladimir Fernandes Maciel, PhD, ABD Public Administration, EAESP/FGV; Ros Mancini, Coordinator, Hybrid Resources, Companhia de Tecnologia de Saneamento Ambiental (CETESB); Ermínia Maricato, Associate, Urban Age, LSE; Eduardo Marques, Director, CEM, Regina Meyer, Architect and Urbanist, Coordinator of LUME/FAU, USP; Paula Miraglia, Executive Director, ILANUD, São Paulo; Edson Ortega, Coordenador de Segurança Urbana, São Paulo Municipality; Federico Ramos, Research Associate, Urban Age, LSE; Ricardo Süss, Director, Institutional Development, Instituto Só de Fute: Philipp Rode, Executive Director, Urban Age, LSE; Raquel Rolnik, Architect and Professor, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Campinas; Paula Santoro, Manoanças Program, Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), São Paulo, Nadia Somek, Director, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Renato Tagnin, Architect and Professor, Servico Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (SENAI), São Paulo; Ricardo Toledo, Deputy Secretary, Secretaria Estadual de Recursos Hídricos, State of São Paulo; André Urani, Executive Director, Instituto de Estudos de Trabalho e Sociedade, Rio de Janeiro; Eduardo Vascconcellos, Consultant, ANPT; Daniel Vasquez, CEM; Jorge Wilheim, Principal, Jorge Wilheim Consultores e Associados, São Paulo

Research Workshop London

Andrew Altman, Deputy Mayor, City of Philadelphia; Ciro Biderman, Professor, CEPESP; FGV and Visiting Fellow, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, MIT; Sophie Body-Gendrot, Ciro Biderman, Professor, Faculdade de Economia e Administração, USP; Renato Cymbalistha, Architect and Urbanist, Instituto Pólix; Alexandre de Avila Gomide, Researcher, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, State of São Paulo; Fernando de Mello Franco, Architect, MMBB Arquitetos; Andrea Calahi, Professor, Faculdade de Economia e Administração, USP; Renato Cymbalistha, Architect and Urbanist, Instituto Pólix; Alexandre de Avila Gomide, Researcher, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, State of São Paulo; Stella Goldenstein, Deputy Chief of Staff, São Paulo Municipality; Marta Dora Grostein, Architect and Urbanist, Coordinator of LUME/FAU, USP; Bill Hanway, Chief Operating Officer, Regional Chair Europe and Americas East, EDAWN; Sandra Jovchelovitch, Reader in Social Psychology, Social Psychology Institute, LSE; Adam Kaasa, Project Associate, Urban Age, LSE; Kay Kitazawa, Research Officer, Urban Age, LSE; Chrisost Konstantinou, Researcher, Urban Age, LSE; Carlo Leite, Professor, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Stuart Lipton, Partner, Chieffield Developers, former Chairman of Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment; Roger Madelin, Joint Chief Executive, Argent Group PLC, London; Fred Manson, former Director of Regeneration, London Borough of Southwark; Alexandre Marchand, Event Coordinator, Urban Age, LSE, Eduardo Marques, Director, CEM, Regina Meyer, Architect and Urbanist, Coordinator of LUME/FAU, USP; Paula Miraglia, Executive Director, ILANUD, São Paulo; Wolfgang Nowak, Managing Director, AHS; Antoine Paccoud, Researcher, Urban Age, LSE; Emma Peter, Homes and Communities Agency Set Up Team, London; Federico Ramos, Research Associate, Urban Age, LSE; Philipp Rode, Executive Director, Urban Age, LSE; Tony Ridley, President, Railway and Transport Strategy Centre, Imperial College, London; Sashia Sassen, Lynd Professor of Sociology and Committee on Global Thought, Columbia University and Professor, LSE; Peter Schwingler, Senior Consultant, Steer Davies Gleave; Richard Sennett, Professor of Sociology, LSE and MIT; Eva Serra, Architect and Senior Planner, Barcelona Regional; Richard Simpson, Researcher, Urban Age, LSE; Nadia Somek, Director, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Tim Stonor, Managing Director, Space Syntax; Naznet Tofany, Researcher, Urban Age, LSE; Tony Travers, Director, Greater London Group, LSE; Luis Willumsen, Director, Steer Davies Gleave

São Paulo Working Groups

Mobility, Integration and Accessibility

Ciro Biderman, Professor, CEPESP; FGV and Visiting Fellow, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, MIT (LEAD); Bernardo Guatimosim Alvim, Director of the ALVIM Engenharia, World Bank Consultant and Researcher, CEPESP;FGV, Luiz Otavio Calahan, Director, CEM; CEPESP/FGV; Diego R. Coutinho, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, University of São Paulo and Senior Researcher, Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP); Angélica Aparecida Tanus Benatti Alvim, Assistant Professor, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie; Maria Inês Garcia Lippe, Researcher, CEM; Regina Meyer, Architect and Urbanist, Coordinator of LUME/FAU, USP; Paula Miraglia, Executive Director, ILANUD, São Paulo (LEAD); Eduardo Marques, Director, CEM; Sandra Gomes, Researcher and Transference Coordinator, CEM; Wagner Luciano da Silva (Guiné), Researcher, Rapper and Communitarian Leader; Alexandre Caflalas, Principal, Caflalas Arquitetos; Thais Perez, Researcher, CEM; Demétrio G. de Toledo, Researcher, CEM

Peripheral, Central and Marginal

Paula Miraglia, Executive Director, ILANUD, São Paulo (LEAD); Eduardo Marques, Director, CEM; Sandra Gomes, Researcher and Transference Coordinator, CEM; Wagner Luciano da Silva (Guiné), Researcher, Rapper and Communitarian Leader; Alexandre Caflalas, Principal, Caflalas Arquitetos; Thais Perez, Researcher, CEM; Demétrio G. de Toledo, Researcher, CEM

Development, the Public Realm and City Building

Nadia Somek, Director, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo (LEAD); Carlos Leite de Souza, Professor, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Eduardo Della Mana, Director of SECOVI-SP; Claudio Bardan, Civil Engineer, SECOVI-SP; John Cransten, Engineer Production, SECOVI-SP; Juliana Marques, Professor Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Sueld Ramos Schiffer, Professor, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo; Sérgio Zanchetti, Professor of Architecture and Urbanism, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco; Bernd Rieger, Engineer and Development, SECOVI-SP and Bigger Reurbanização, São Paulo; Lorenzo Gimenes, Architect and Mobility Consultant; Jorg Spangenberg, Architect and Urban Sustainability Consultant; Thiago Duarte, Architect and Urban Design Consultant; Daniela Klintonwa, Architect and Urban Planning Researcher

Extreme wealth and poverty in São Paulo, as is often cited by this image of the Paraisópolis favela sitting check-by-check to gabled complexes of wealthy Morumbi, only partially capture the city's deep inequality

Tina Vieno
Advisory Board
Richard Sennett (Co-chair), Professor of Sociology, LSE & MIT
Deyan Sudjic (Co-chair), Director, Design Museum, London
Klaus Bode, Founding Partner, BDSP Partnership
Sophie Body-Gendrot, Director, Center for Urban Studies, Sorbonne, Paris
Lindsay Bremmer, Professor, Tyler School of Art, Temple University
Richard Brown, Programme Director, London 2012 Olympic Legacy Team
Amanda M. Burden, Chair, City Planning Commission and Director, Department of City Planning, New York City
Fabio Casirolti, Chairman and Founding Member, Systemica, Milan
José Castillo, Principal Arquitectura 911 SC and Professor, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City
Yung Ho Chang, Head of Department of Architecture, MIT, Cambridge, MA
Xiaoming Chen, Dean and Director, Center for Urban and Global Studies, Trinity College, Hartford, CT
Joan Clos, Mayor of Barcelona 1997 to 2006, from 2006 Minister of Industry, Tourism and Trade, Spain
Charles Correa, Architect, Charles Correa Associates
Frank Duffy, Architect, DEGW, London
Gerald Frug, Louis D. Brandeis Professor of Law, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Niall Hobhouse, Governor, LSE and member of Urban Age Steering Committee
Gareth Jones, Senior Lecturer in Development Geography, LSE
Hermann Knöflacher, Professor of Transport Planning and Traffic Engineering, Vienna University of Technology
Rem Koolhaas, Architect, Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Rotterdam
Dieter Läpple, Professor of Urban & Regional Economics, HafenCity University, Hamburg
Murray Low, Lecturer in Human Geography, LSE
Guy Nordenson, Professor of Structural Engineering, Princeton University and Engineer, Guy Nordenson and Associates
Enrique Peñalosa, former Mayor of Bogotá
Anne Power, Professor of Social Policy, LSE
Hashim Sarkis, Aga Khan Professor of Landscape Architecture & Urbanism, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Saskia Sassen, Lynd Professor of Sociology, Committee on Global Thought, Columbia University, New York and Centennial Visiting Professor, LSE
Edward Soja, Professor, LSE and University of California, Los Angeles
Michael Storper, Centennial Professor of Economic Geography, LSE
Geetam Tiwari, Chair and Associate Professor, TRIPP, Civil Engineering Department, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi
Tony Travers, Director, Greater London Group, LSE
Lawrence Vale, Ford Professor of Urban & Environmental Planning, MIT, Cambridge, MA
Anthony Williams, former Mayor, Washington DC
Alejandro Zaera-Polo, Architect, Foreign Office Architects, London
Siegfried Zhigang Wu, Dean and Professor, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, Shanghai

Urban Age Board
Ricky Burdett, Director, Urban Age, LSE
Philipp Rode, Executive Director, Urban Age, LSE
Wolfang Nowak, Managing Director, AHS
Ute Weiland, Deputy Director, AHS
Bruce Katz, Vice President & Director, Metropolitan Policy Program, Brookings Institution, Washington DC
Andy Altman, Deputy Mayor, Philadelphia

Executive Group
Ricky Burdett, Director, Urban Age, LSE
Philipp Rode, Executive Director, Urban Age, LSE
Ute Weiland, Deputy Director, AHS
Staff London School of Economics and Political Science/Urban Age, Cities Programme
Pamela Puchalski, Project Coordinator
Kay Kitazawa, Research Officer
Mira Krusteff, Programme Officer
Adam Kaasa, Project Associate
Natznet Tesfay, Project Associate
Alexandra Marchand, Project Assistant
Ayako Iba, Event Coordinator
Frederico Ramos, Research Associate
Christos Konstantinou, Research Associate
Richard Simpson, Research Associate
Antoine Paccoud, Research Associate
Staff Alfred Herrhausen Society, The International Forum of Deutsche Bank
Jessica Barthel, Project Manager
Anja Fritzsch, Project Manager
Marcos Rosa, Deutsche Bank Urban Age São Paulo Award Coordinator