



centro de estudos da metrópole

CEM PROJECT 2005/2008

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this document is to present a new grant proposal to Fapesp, renewing the current project for the 2005/2008 period. In order to develop the second phase of our activities, the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) has partnered with the following institutions: the State of São Paulo Foundation for Data Analysis (Fundação Seade), the National Institute for Space Research (INPE), the Trade Social Services organization (SESC) and TV Cultura, a public television channel.

Following the recommendations of Fapesp's review committee, we will focus CEM research on one single subject. Considering the results of our academic efforts during the first phase, we intend to concentrate our analysis on the reproduction of social inequality in the metropolitan region of São Paulo. Social inequalities did not decrease as a natural consequence of the democratization of Brazilian political system since the 1980s, as well from the solution of some of our most important economic problems in the 1990's. We believe that the resilience of social inequalities in Brazil is related to the existence of broad social processes that lead to their reproduction. These processes have been focused recently by an important international debate in the social sciences that frames our approach to the subject.

This proposal is divided into three sections, one for each area of activities of the CEPID Program: Research, Technology transfer and Knowledge diffusion.

RESEARCH

We first present a brief background discussion for this proposal highlighting some of the major production in the issue as well as the basic literature we have produced on this subject. Secondly, we discuss some major methodological aspects and provide a more detailed description of our central hypothesis. Lastly we describe the three major plans of analysis around which our study will be developed. This document also presents a brief description of the activities of knowledge transfer and diffusion included in the project.¹

1. Background Discussion

A significant part of contemporary sociology literature assumes that structural changes in the economy, in the labor market and in political institutions have the power to directly transform the so-called social reproduction sphere, i.e., the way families and social groups live and reproduce themselves in the long run. For decades this has been the predominant interpretation of the process of urban transformation. To some extent this was also a major concern of our original project², and is still central for current studies as diverse as Davis (2004), World Bank (2002) and Ribeiro & Lago (1994). Similarly, most of the literature published in Brazil pays excessive attention to the economic dimensions of metropolitan dynamics, while ignoring important improvements recorded in other social dimensions.

Years of research have demonstrated that it is not enough to assume that structural changes have such an impact on social reproduction. Our research has revealed a paradox - that a negative economic / labor scenario can coexist with improvements in social

¹ A detailed report on the first stage of the project is covered in the report for the 2001-2004 period.

² These hypotheses were based on interpretations of some recent international literature, authors such as Sassen (2000) and Castells (2000), for example.

indicators related to health, education, housing and ownership of durable goods, even in the worse-off regions of the city, such as the *favelas* – or shanty towns.³

Some authors identified a similar paradox in Brazil during the 1980s. At the time, some academic analyses sustained that this could be explained by the intensity of urban social movements during that decade, and by the inertia of public policies (Faria, 1992). However, the 1990s saw a decline in this type of urban movement and the State has gone into a more severe fiscal crisis, thus the coexistence of negative economic dynamics and important social improvements seems to be even more of a contradiction (Marques, Saraiva & Gonçalves, 2005).

It is our opinion that this paradox is only apparent, since it reflects an analytical approach that derives social conditions almost mechanically from the economic sphere. By focusing on the economic dimension, numerous authors have failed to satisfactorily analyze the relationship between the economic and social dimensions of the multiple-dimension issue represented by urban poverty, as has been highlighted by authors such as Granovetter (2002) and Mingione (1996).

2. The analytical approach

Our studies show that social dynamics are not mere expressions of general structures or processes, as the macro-narratives that predominated in the social sciences the 1970s tended to state (Kaztman & Filgueira, 1999). More specifically, social inequalities and welfare should not be reduced to monetary income (Mingione, 1996), but must include an ample set of material and symbolic elements, either individual or collective. These include, for instance, forms of sociability, social networks, the patterns of residential segregation and the volume, form and efficacy of State actions (Wacquant, 1996 and 2000, Briggs, 2001 and Tilly, 1998; Massey & Denton, 1994, Menczer & Tassier, 2004 and Allard et al., 2003; Preteceille, 2003).

Social conditions should not be explained only by individual decision-making processes (Granovetter, 2002). Individuals own specific capitals, and participate of several different social networks. Both the unequal distribution of capitals and the structure of networks constrain, guide and influence their social, political and economic practices (Moser, 1998) and should be considered at together with the broader social, political and economic conditions.

Our research findings suggest that these elements should be integrated using two important meso-level social dimensions: social networks and urban space. These elements are very important because they integrate scales and plans of analyses, facilitating an understanding of the mechanisms that connect macro-processes and structures with micro-actions related to individual and family behavior.

Social networks integrate individuals to a greater or lesser extent, and also provide access to socio-economic opportunities. These may vary widely for individuals with the

³ See for example our results in Torres (2004); Torres et al. (2003); Marques & Bichir (2003), Coelho & Pedroso (2002), Marques, Saraiva & Gonçalves (2005); Saraiva & Marques (2005), Marques, Torres & Saraiva (2003).

In the case of the economy, we have observed that although the metropolitan area has lost industrial jobs, industry itself is growing and has engaged in important restructuring processes which have increased productivity and resulted in comparative economic advantages (Comin & Armitrano, 2003; Guimarães & Leite, 2005). The impact of these processes on the metropolitan labor market was significant, as evidenced by the changing distribution of labor across industry sectors (Comin & Armitrao, 2003; Guimarães, 2004a), as well as changes in occupational and income structures (Guimarães et al, 2003, Guimarães, 2005). At the same time, levels of unemployment and of people employed in marginal occupations is higher than ever before (Comin, Cardoso & Guimarães, 2004; Guimarães & Hirata, 2005). In reality, this suggests that employment, under-employment and unemployment are not different stages but merely moments along unstable trajectories in a context marked by intense transitions among different occupational situations (Guimarães, 2004b; Guimarães & Hirata, 2005).

same level of income or education (Almeida & D'Andrea, 2004b and Marques & Torres, 2005). The network perspective emphasis on individual attributes and personal decision-making processes (Marques, 2005c) and allows overcoming the local/global dichotomy so appealing in metropolitan analyses. This proposition is consistent, for example, with the argument developed by Tilly (1998) concerning the impact of social networks on the reproduction of inequalities. According to the author, social networks are an intrinsic part of social inequalities, and can either reduce or reinforce them.

Spatial perspectives have been central to our project because they allow us to integrate qualitative observations and the study of local social conditions with macro-metropolitan analyses produced on different scales. The incorporation of a spatial dimension also allows us to isolate, in quantitative terms, the effects of neighborhood relations on general social dynamics, which sociology literature handles in a traditional way (Gomes e et al, 2003). More generally, space itself is an intrinsic element of social order (Massey, 1992). In this sense, the so called "social structure" can only be completely defined if it includes the location of the social groups (Marques & Torres, 2005).

The empirical results of the first phase echo the hypothesis widely held in contemporary international social-science literature regarding the importance of social categories such as social capital, neighborhood effects, social networks and social assets for explaining social inequalities.⁴ Beyond the opportunities offered by the market, and especially (but not exclusively), the labor market, social reproduction is also affected by public policies - particularly social policies, and by the dynamics produced by sociability relations and the way social groups are organized in space.

Our key hypothesis, and the focus of our analytical efforts, is that social reproduction in São Paulo - and probably in similar places - is the result of an association between economic processes and political and social mechanisms. The association between these will determine if inequalities increase or are attenuated through time. In order to explore these processes in depth, in the second phase of CEM **we will concentrate on studying material and symbolic mechanisms that articulate the reproduction of inequality and welfare in a metropolis.** We detail these elements below.

3. Analytical Approach

The dialogue between research groups during the first phase of CEM resulted in converging themes and methodology, while respecting the theoretical and analytical traditions involved. Given the complexity of the object, we will continue to pursue an interdisciplinary approach that uses different methodologies, all simultaneously focused on one object. Whenever possible we will conduct comparative studies and will organize our efforts along the three analytical and empirical lines described above.

3.1 Labor market, intermediation and social network

The labor market continues to be central to understanding the economic opportunities in a metropolis, although we do not see it as an exclusive explanatory factor. In order to explore this dimension, we will deepen our research along two complementary lines consistent with our basic hypothesis: on the one hand, we will develop studies related to the restructuring of the labor market and its role on reproducing certain patterns of inequality of opportunities; on the other, we will analyze the mechanisms activated by individuals to deal with situations where they are vulnerable, resulting from a situation of transition between labor situations and recurrent unemployment.

⁴ Durston (2003), Durlauf (2001), Briggs (2001), Moser (1998), Brooks-Gunn, Duncan & Aber (1997) among others.

In the first place, we will continue to analyze the structure of the labor market. From the viewpoint of labor supply, we will investigate changes in the workforce profile: the continuous increase in the number of years people go to school, the reduced number of youths in the workforce, the increasing importance of females and fewer migrant workers. Similarly, we will continue to monitor changes in demand following recent structural changes in the economy of the region. This includes different technologies/increased productivity in manufacturing industry, the internationalization of companies and the strong sectorial movements of occupations. This last transformation has been interpreted as a dislocation from the secondary to the tertiary sectors of the economy. Traditional analyses have ignored some relevant sociological issues, such as the fact that transition across different sectors may not mean the same thing in all professions and that the shift in jobs from industry to services is happening within an economy that is still very much driven by industrial dynamics. Moreover, such interpretations need to be revisited given CEM findings that show a recurrent pattern of entering and leaving the labor market. These findings underline the importance of studying the transition to inactivity, which seems to be disassociated from the life cycle, challenging conventional analytical borders used to define the structure of the labor market in a metropolis.

In a second line of analysis we will study formal mechanisms (from the jobs intermediation system) and informal mechanisms (from the social networks built in different spaces of sociability) that grant access to jobs and some command of the transit in the labor market (Guimarães, 2004-c; Guimarães, Hirata, Montagner & Sugita, 2004). Motivated to a large extent by the new economic sociology⁵, we propose to investigate the mechanisms by which the labor market dynamics is embedded in institutions, social practices and subjective representations. We believe that those elements, although connected, are not reducible to economic rationality *per se* but are decisive to explain it. In this context, we will investigate the different forms of extra-economic embeddedness as they appear and guide the relationship between three elementary social agents in large labor markets: individuals looking for jobs, the companies that hire workers and the intermediaries between supply and demand (recruiting and temporary labor agencies).

We will explore two main mechanisms of activation (either institutionalized or not): i) activation by individuals looking for a job; ii) activation by companies looking to fill their labor requirements. The development of intra-metropolitan analyses and the examination of the phenomenon in different territories will be elements of the two dimensions described above.

3.2. Living conditions, the State and public policies

Although the State is still far from truly equalizing the strong social inequalities present in the metropolis, we have observed significant changes in the range of policies implemented. In order to explore this dimension we will characterize access to social policies and public services among the poorest groups, observing the evolution and quality of services and analyzing their socio-cultural and political determinants. Considering our main hypothesis, we will analyze the role of domicile as an explanatory factor.

From the standpoint of methodology we will make intensive use of statistical models, including spatial ones, to test our results and develop new hypothesis. We will expand our assessment of public policies to develop methodologies to analyze the impact of policies such as education and income transfer on access.

Considering the spatial dimension, we believe that the effects of social segregation are opposite to social networks, creating or reducing spatial distances between individuals and

⁵ In order to carry out this new phase, we will explore some of the clues given by authors such as Granovetter (2002) and Swedberg (2003) and try to create a dialogue with the innovative sociology of unemployment (Demazière, 1995), as represented by the studies on new forms of labor relations and especially temporary labor.

groups (Marques, 2005a). We will further investigate the relationship between social inequalities, social networks and spatial segregation, contributing to a better understanding of the impact on inequalities of the isolation provoked by segregation.

Since we already have a significant understanding of the highly segregated areas of São Paulo, in the second phase we will move forward, carrying out comparative studies in other Brazilian metropolis (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador) and check for the presence of favelas (“shanty towns”) and precarious settlements in other Brazilian metropolitan areas.

We will continue to investigate the role of the State, as the impact of recent changes in public spending on social conditions is not clear. This project will investigate the spatial distribution of public spending in the city and compare it to spatial patterns of spending in different municipal administrations through time. To gain capacity, we will compare the cities of São Paulo and Salvador.

In a similar way, we will investigate the effect of policy changes such as the introduction of participative arenas. Numerous authors suggest that civil society should be considered in any discussion of public policies, such as health, contributing to the exchange of information and making the political process more transparent, thus increasing the chances of reaching a more equitable distribution of services. For this reason we will incorporate the study of participative processes into our analysis, and how these affect the relationship between politics and public policies.

Our project will also review the relationship between public policies and politics proper. The connection between the two is represented by the influence that bureaucracy, government and elected politicians exert on local public policies in São Paulo (Marques, 2003). Understanding this is key to understanding the role the State plays in the social opportunities that exist in the city and in the access to public services (Marques, 2003; Marques & Bichir, 2001). We will do this in two ways.

First, we will explore the effect of social networks on public policies. Recent studies using social network analysis have contributed to an understanding of internal processes at the State level, illustrating the relationship between the State and its immediate political surroundings, especially politicians and private companies. However, we do not know enough about the connections between those networks, associative organizations and the beneficiaries of social policies. To fill this gap we will develop a similar study on housing policies in the city of São Paulo. This policy counts with important social movements and a bureaucracy traditionally linked to them.

Second, we will analyze the relationship between urban space and political representation. In general, it is assumed that political parties do not count and that the electorate establishes their voting decisions based on preferences of a purely individual and personal nature. Our research shows that, on the contrary, voter preference is related to political parties, although we do not know how. What we can say for the moment is that the patterns we have found reveal a socio-demographic and spatial logic and that there is a strong correlation between these two sets of variables. If we find, in fact, that space performs an independent role to explain electoral behavior, we will discuss the implications of these findings to theories of electoral behavior. A similar analysis will be performed on the relationship between socio-demographic variables and individual voting decisions.

3.3. Sociability and urban life

A metropolis such as São Paulo has its own cultural dynamic. Our project will also investigate the relationships between sociability and the types of experiences that “urban life” creates for different social groups. In order to do so, we will concentrate our efforts on two analytical dimensions.

The first line will look at the mechanisms of social integration created by networks of primary relations and associative life, such as the ones organized around religion, families, neighbors, civil society organizations etc., which are intersected and reinforcing. The hypothesis is that these social connections are influenced by social inequality, although they might also appear as a virtuous mechanism to lessen the risk of social vulnerability. Beyond the benefits that they generate, these connections also grant access to the labor market and public policies, and could even be used on operational strategies in social policies outlines (Torres, 2005). The patterns of associativism and their organizations tend to operate in the same direction (Lavalle et al., 2003 and Lavalle et al. 2005). The nature and capillarity of the associative networks and personal relations, for instance, might make facilitate or encumber individual strategies of social mobility and access to welfare (Almeida & D'Andrea, 2004 and 2005).

Our work has also shown the importance of religion to understanding social reproduction. Thus far we have investigated the so called institutional features of religion. Our intention is to develop this further, looking at the role of families and migration on reproduction of the religious sphere. The question here is how family and migration are connected to religious practices and to changes in religious affiliation. Based on religious arrangements inside the family and migration networks, we will analyze how these dimensions influence social reproduction in the São Paulo metropolis.

Regarding the "urban experience", we will investigate how people organize the experience of living in a metropolis from the point of view of their cultural capital, social practices, network relations, and symbolic landmarks that structure the urban space. In other words, the aim is to understand how the dynamics of the metropolis impacts the everyday life experience of individuals and social groups. Authors such as Scott Lasch have developed the hypothesis that structures related to means of communication form the new ontological basis of contemporary urban experiences. Following the same direction, research carried out by CEM shows, for example, that churches such as the "Universal Church of the Kingdom of God" do not stimulate the creation of strong primary social ties. On the contrary, this church does discourages any commitment among its "moral community" of followers, since it is supported by temples similar to large stadiums and, above all, by television programs which encourage people to go to church.

Other examples of "sociability flows" could be mentioned here. From this point of view, we intend to investigate how communication structures and, in particular, the flow of images, organize the metropolitan experience. The objective is to work on the coexistence between urban scenery and everyday life flows. The ability of the movies to capture the performance aspects of a culture is well known. In a similar way there is a large body of socio-anthropological literature on urban "rituals". The main objective of this activity is to use the solid methodological instrument of ethnographic observation to analyze the available collections of urban experience images (photos, videos, television images etc.). This part of our work is articulated with the production of documentaries within the 'Diffusion Area' of CEM, which has been focusing on everyday life experiences and on the context and situations of social inequality.

TRANSFERENCE

During the first phase, the knowledge transference area of CEM produced 41 geographical databases integrated into a GIS, and trained some 450 people in the use of GIS techniques. 5 databases were put on CD-ROMs for distribution and two Map Servers can produce thematic maps based on more than 300 socio-economic variables. CEM has 15 contracts with public administration agencies and another five agreements of cooperation.

Given these results, the next steps for the knowledge transfer are to:

- a) Continue updating the social equipment databases (schools, health units, hospitals etc.) from the year 2003 onwards. This activity will be developed in cooperation with Fundação Seade;
- b) Develop a process to continuously update street maps in a cooperative effort that will involve CEM, Fundação Seade and other public administration agencies;
- c) Produce annual sets of data and maps describing the outskirts of the metropolitan area and elements such as mortality, fertility and unemployment. This activity is named "The Periphery Dossier" and it will be developed by Fundação Seade;
- d) Update "Terraview", freeware software developed by INPE, so that is better adapted for use in the public sector, especially city governments. This activity will be carried out by INPE with the cooperation of the Cebrap;
- e) Organize an orbital information system to monitor the expansion of urban sprawl in São Paulo, supported by the images of the CBERS-2 satellite. This effort will provide online access to recent changes in the metropolitan area. This work will be carried out by INPE with the cooperation of Cebrap;
- f) Continue to train professionals in the public sector and NGO, providing regular courses on GIS techniques, statistics and spatial statistics. Our target is to train at least 150 professionals in three years. This activity will be developed by Cebrap;
- g) Continue the integration of different geocoded databases into a single GIS, fulfilling CEM's task of being the center for documentation and information on the metropolitan area. This will also be done by Cebrap.

DIFFUSION

This area is responsible for distributing information and connecting the research team to a broader public, such as students, media professionals and citizens who need information about the metropolis.

At a more immediate level, these activities are being put on a website and distributed via the printed media and informal academic channels. From the start, two initiatives were taken to avoid such informal communication: (1) a more informative approach, based on close monitoring of CEM research and other approaches to collect information, distributed in an Electronic Magazine called "DiverCidade"; (2) translating our results into another language – audiovisual - by making documentary films, and making them available to a wider audience.

The Electronic Magazine is now issued periodically and provides an overview of ongoing research, general information about CEM, interviews, debates and abstracts of academic texts adapted for the general public. In the first phase, "DiverCidade" defined its format and expanded the number of readers. The plan now is to gain more speed and develop professional standards in graphics and text.

We will continue to produce documentary films, using specialists who can recreate the route taken by our researchers. The qualitative jump for the next triennial period is to articulate audiovisual production with a dialogue between film-makers and researchers, as well as about the statute of images in social life and in the knowledge-building process about the metropolis. Instead of starting the film after all of the research is completed, we will follow along and complement our image with field visits to promote more dialog.

We will reopen the partnership with the Cultura television station to broadcast our films and enable the production of TV footage, either in a documentary or news format.

Along a different dimension, the CEM distribution area has a partnership with SESC, whereby it tries to reach a broader audience, using all of that institution's physical and

human infrastructure. Already this has resulted in audiovisual material. This partnership will be expanded to a program of publications, Seminars and programs targeting primary and secondary schools.

Activities that focus on schools are a new area and will complete our range of initiatives. The idea is to develop capability-building activities for public schools teachers on issues about the metropolis, involving the organization of courses and the production of didactic-informative material.

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