

## **The Brazilian National Policy for Regional Development and the RIDE-DF Management opposite the Governance of Metropolitan Area of Brasília**

Renata Callaça Gadioli dos Santos<sup>1\*</sup>

Luiz Fernando de Macedo Bessa<sup>2\*</sup>

### **Abstract**

The Brazilian National Policy for Regional Development - PNDR, proposed in 2003, was established by Decree 6047/2007. However, many public managers claim that it has yet to reach a status of State policy or a political or a federal consensus able to promote a non fragmented and uneven growth of regions. The discussion is now around the institutionalization of a new policy, PNDR II, which remains in efforts to reduce regional inequalities and seeks to remedy shortcomings in the first proposal. To contribute to this debate we suggest a theoretical and methodological analysis of the urban governance model proposed in PNDR II. Throughout the analysis we will demonstrate the relationship between PNDR I and II with the Integrated Region of Development of the Federal District and Surrounding Areas - RIDE-DF, a proposal for territorial management of the Federal District of Brazil and its urban agglomeration, which aims to formalized the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia (AMB), in search of a territorial governance in the region and strategies for its development. In this context, we intend to analyze the instruments proposed by the New National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR II) in facing the challenge of ensuring the continuity of public policies for increasing the homogenization of the territory, reducing the Brazilian regional inequalities. The analysis is based on the readings of institutional arrangements for social participation and social fields, from Bourdieu's theory, and is grounded in social skills for the construction and reproduction of local orders, which, in turn, is rooted in symbolic interaction of Fligstein.

Keywords: governance, regional development, Brasilia, public policy instruments

---

<sup>1</sup>Geographer, Master in Geography - Environmental and Territorial Management, PhD - Undergraduate at the Postgraduate Program in Development, Society and International Cooperation of the University of Brasilia -PPGDSCI / MDE / UNB, geography professor at the Department of Education of the Federal District, NEUR researcher / MDE and the Laboratory of Population and Development CEAM / UNB. E-mail: renatagadioli@unb.br

<sup>2</sup>Doctor of Human Geography and Space Organization from the University of Paris 1, Coordinator of the Center of Urban and Regional Studies of the Multidisciplinary Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Brasília NEUR / CEAM, Professor of the Department of Public Policy and Management and of the Program of Post Graduation in Development, Society and International Cooperation - PPGDSCI / MDE / UNB. E-mail: [lfmbessa@gmail.com](mailto:lfmbessa@gmail.com)

\*The authors are part of the team of researchers from the project Development, Territory and Environment: Transformations and Perspectives in the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia (AMA), developed at the NEUR/CEAM/University of Brasilia/Brazil, with the support of CNPq.

# Introduction

Two specific spatial public policies<sup>3</sup> are on the current agenda of discussions in Brazil: the National Policy for Regional Development and the National Policy for Regional Urban Planning, whose guidelines are established by the Statute of the Metropolis / Law 13,039, of January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015. These two policies seem to conflict when the area to be considered is Brasilia, the Federal District and its surrounding regions, i.e the municipalities in the neighboring state that surrounds them, which is the state of Goias.

Brasilia-DF, in the year 2000, was officially classified a metropolis by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE<sup>4</sup>. It did not appear, however, among the hall of central metropolises and it was considered an exception to the rule. Its metropolitan nature was attributed solely for being a federal capital, with a very strong level of centrality. Even before that date, the actors of the Federal Capital, together with the actors from Goias, sought after the right to institutionalize its metropolitan region and thus solve common everyday problems, which began in the period following the inauguration of the Capital and that over the years became increasingly worse.

Brasilia was considered a national metropolis in 2008 (REGIC, 2008). This definition was given based on the whole area of concentration of the population (ACP), defined as large urban patches of continuous occupation, characterized by the size and density of the population, the degree of urbanization and the internal cohesion of the area, given the shifts of the population for work or study.

From the relationships resulting from the method adopted by IBGE, 12 urban networks have been identified in Brazil, all of which “attached” to first-level cities, definition wise, since the main link was defined by the national metropolises. Such networks are quite different in regard to their size, complexity and organization, including the binding of municipalities to more than one center or central city. Such binding occurs, as mentioned, due to economic and social relations between the urban centers, which enable multiple links (RIBEIRO and HOLANDA, 2015).

---

<sup>3</sup> This terminology has been developed during the last ten years by the research group of the first author is part entitled Environmental and Territorial Management. This research group is coordinated by Marilia Steinberger in the Department of Geography, University of Brasilia, and has the support of CNPq. This is on the assumption that public policy on territorial planning, environmental, rural, urban and regional can not be considered just economic, social or sector policies, as they have in common space as a political category. It is in the light of the theory of Milton Santos of used territory.

<sup>4</sup> The preparation of the Influence Areas of Cities (REGIC), by IBGE, aimed at building a national framework to support the planning and management of Brazilian municipalities, with regard to economic production, existing social relations and spatiality generated by them. In it, the hierarchy of urban centers was divulged, divided into five levels: (i) Metropolis; (ii) regional capital; (iii) sub-regional center; (iv) Zone Center; (v) Local center. In regard to metropolises 12 major urban centers were identified, being characterized by their large size and strong relationships with each other, besides generally possessing extensive area of direct influence. Brasilia, along with Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, presents itself as a first-level management of territory. (REGIC 2008)

According to REGIC, the network of Brasilia, in comparison to other networks, represents only 2.5% of the population - a relatively small amount for a network of a national metropolis – and concentrates 4.3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As highlighted by Ribeiro and Holanda (2015), it is important to note that this network has a high concentration in the center (considered to be the Federal District), which represents 72.7% of the population and 90.3% of the GDP, in addition to having the largest income per capita among the other networks.

Brasilia's network can be highlighted by its importance in the national integration due to its central position in the country, allowing it to function as a connector between the other 11 networks defined by REGIC. In addition, because it is the capital of the country, it concentrates federal administration and federal public institutions and is the center of the decision-making and planning processes. It is also important to note that between 1966 and 2007, Brasilia changed the country's management configuration, strengthening the Midwest region and facilitating the connection to the North.

Despite being classified as a national metropolis, municipalities that make up the urban area of Brasilia are heterogeneous from a socioeconomic point of view, and are highly dependent on its 'headquarter'. In fact, the surrounding municipalities of the Federal District did not have the expected development with the installation of the capital, becoming, therefore, extremely dependent on services and jobs located in the Federal District and consequently overloading the public system in the capital.

In this context, local managers of the Federal Capital, together with actors and managers of municipalities around the Federal District that are in the state of Goias, have been long claiming the right to institutionalize this metropolitan region and thus solve common everyday problems that began in the period following the inauguration of the Capital and that become worse each day.

Until the 1988 Federal Constitution, the institutionalization of metropolises was an exclusive responsibility of the Union (Highest Federal-Level Government Representation). The transformation to a state-level responsibility was approved in 1988 in order to allow neighboring municipalities to group together and integrate the organization, planning and execution of public functions of common interest. This is therefore the goal of a metropolis. The legislation imposed, however, that states could only create cities within its political-administrative boundaries, which represented an impediment to both Brasilia and Goias.

The Union tried to solve the problem by creating RIDE<sup>5</sup> DF-SURROUNDING AREAS, within a regional development policy. Its legal background is based on Article 43 of the Constitution, which allows for the articulation of actions of federal interest in the same geo-economic and social

---

<sup>5</sup> Integrated Region for Economic Development of the Federal District and Surrounding areas.

complex, aiming at its development and the reduction of regional inequities. However, RIDE does not have the same interest and goals of a metropolitan area.

The National Policy for Regional Development - PNDR, launched in 2007, reinforced the existing three RIDES in Brazil as the only possibility for managing interstate cities. The II PNDR, now in progress, prioritizes and strengthens RIDE DF-SURROUNDING AREAS as a planning field for federal projects. Here, we outline, therefore, the main discussion subject for this article: the challenge of a metropolitan governance of a non-institutionalized area, such as the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia, opposite to RIDE-DF, which is strengthened by a national policy, but with different goals.

The current context of such challenge begins at the very origin and transfer of the Capital of the county to what is called the Central Plateau. To understand the governance challenges experienced by the National Metropolis of Brasilia and the municipalities in the state of Goias that make border with it, the article presents next its origins and history, as well as the theoretical pillars which suggest readings and paths for the interpretation of public policies and the performance of local and national actors in different fields.

## The Source of Controversy

There were several reasons for transferring the Brazilian capital to the center part of the country. Until the early 1960s, the Federal Capital was in the State of Rio de Janeiro. One of those reasons was the intention to promote the development of the Midwest region of the country, integrating it with other Brazilian regions in a clear effort to enable national development.

According to Farret (2010, p. 27) the transfer of the Capital to the Brazilian Central Plateau can be characterized as a territorial policy that is configured as a "complex setting of programs and actions aimed towards the elimination of obstacles to the full socialization of space by the expanded production of capital".

Brasilia then comes up with the contours of a city, a pole for urbanization and coordination with other regions of the country. Born with metropolitan force, in a context of national inequalities, to promote not only regional but national development as well.

Factors such as the expansion and population growth, lack of city infrastructure for the socioeconomic changes that had emerged, violence and disorderly installment of the territory strengthened the need, according to the readings of public management at the time, of protection to the political, administrative and cultural character of the Federal Capital, since it was the Federal District of the country, as well as territory of national security.

In order not to replay in Brasilia the same problems of big cities at the time, its creators put to work a strong control of the production and consumption (use) of urban land. So, right from the

start, government agencies tried to protect the urban design, the so-called Pilot Plan, but the adopted protective measures have created unforeseen spatial vulnerabilities, such as the fragmented and premature expansion of the city, the emergence of a periphery population, even before the Pilot Plan was completely finished and the expulsion off of its activity limits of entire populations that could 'disfigure' it.

The rapid territorial expansion of the so-called metropolitan area of Brasilia was marked by a lack of infrastructure and the creation of important socio-spatial inequalities. The current metropolitan area of Brasilia is a territory with more than three and a half million inhabitants and with its dynamics is linked to an area considered a World Heritage Site by UNESCO since 1987.

The FUNDEFE, a financial fund created in 1966, was established to promote the development of capital and its surroundings, preserving it from the ills of a rapid and unplanned urban growth. After that, the issue of municipalities that neighbor the Federal Capital came up again only in the first National Development Program (PND I), in 1972, when the national thinking of integration and regional development first started through plans and programs (FERNANDES, 2001) and the studies to propose a functional division methodology of the Brazilian regions and their respective areas of influence, as well as urban hierarchy.

According to IBGE<sup>6</sup> (2007, p. 129), the study initiated in 1966 had its results published in 1972, with 9 metropolitan regions and Goiania, due to its strong relationship with Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The hierarchical urban order was the following: Sao Paulo (Large Metropolis), Rio de Janeiro (National Metropolis), Recife, Belo Horizonte, Salvador, Porto Alegre (Metropolitan Regional Centers) and Curitiba, Goiania, Fortaleza and Belem (Macro-Regional Centers).

According to Paviani (2002, p.1), "at the time, Brasilia met the demographic characteristics, but did not hold major industries to be included in the list of metropolises then designed". This is why the first delimitation of Brasilia as a metropolis did not occur in the first instrument of territory management, also delaying the delimitation of its metropolitan area.

In 1975, PND II recognized the development of regional metropolises and established to Brasilia a geo-economic region with 22 municipalities of Goias and the Federal District, as well as its development program (PERGEB). According to Fernandes (2001) it was a well known fact that Brasilia was the central city, with two main areas, a metropolitan area and a regional influence area. At the time, the recognition of a metropolis was still the responsibility of the Union, which is why, even being seen as metropolis Brasilia could not officially be considered one.

In 1979, the Association of Municipalities Adjacent to Brasilia - AMAB was created in order to develop the metropolis that was being formed. Initially, the 12 neighboring municipalities to

---

<sup>6</sup> Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

Brasilia participated, but in the following years new municipalities joined in, reaching 42, of which 29 were from Goias and 13 from Minas Gerais. (FERNANDES, 2001)

In 1978, Brazil resumes the study for the revision of the country's division into urban functional regional areas. Such study was published only in 1987 with the title 'Regions of Influence of the Cities – REGIC'. In this federal document, Brasilia was not considered a metropolis, despite strong favorable positions by researchers on Brasilia from federal universities and the requests for definition of this legal framework.

The change to state management and the metropolitan institutionalization were nurtured by the Constitution of 1988. Its creation has as its basic premise the organization, planning and execution of public functions of common interest. However, it did not allow neighboring municipalities, located in different states or in the Federal District, to formally compose a metropolitan area.

The third study of Influential Regions of the Cities-REGIC, in 1993, was only published in the year 2000. This time, Brasilia was leveled to other national metropolitan areas and regional cities, and, despite being considered, in that study, a city with a very high level of centrality, it still gained prominence for being similar to the cities with maximum power level of centrality. However, it was still unable to establish its metropolitan region with the municipalities of Goias.

In 1998, the Senate approved the creation of the Economic Development Integrated Region of the Federal District and surrounding areas - RIDE DF-Surroundings, now with 22 municipalities (Fig.1), with the initial purpose of "carrying out a joint plan of services of common interests for different federalist entities"(SAMPAIO et al, 2013, p. 235). The purpose of RIDE-DF is the region's economic development, especially in infrastructure and job creation.

In 2007, in the REGIC scenario, Brasilia was elevated to a National Metropolis and is recognized as the third most important city in the country, thereby enhancing their centralizing potential and reactivating the wishes of metropolitan actors for a region of direct and everyday influence, also called Metropolitan Area of Brasilia.

The RIDE-DF-Surroundings causes constant confusion when it tries to mistakenly assume equivalence to a metropolitan area. RIDE and metropolitan area do not have the same goals or institutional arrangements. The RIDE is designed to traverse on tax incentives for the generation of employment and income, special credit lines, economic incentives and to attract investment in the productive sector. (SAMPAIO et al, 2013, p. 237)

RIDE was also not constituted by the same criteria of function diversification and neither the accumulation of capital. "A metropolitan area usually has spatial concentration of population, economic activities, mass production and consumption." (AZEVEDO and ALVES, 2010, p. 91).

Therefore, the population's demands for pavement, street lighting, schools, water supply and sanitation, environmental restoration, safety and health still remain.

## Theoretical Support

This work was designed as a first rehearsal on bringing together the theories of "social field", by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and those of "social skills", by psychologist and sociologist, Neil Fligstein. By agreeing with Bourdieu (2008, p.15), when the author says "We can not capture the deepest logic of the social world, but submerging into the particularity of an empirical reality", these theories will help us analyze the construction of a new National Policy for Regional Development, which is under consideration in Congress since 2014.

The PNDR establishes RIDE-DF and surroundings as a priority planning area. This region was created initially to allow an interstate planning between the Federal District and the municipalities of Goiás and Minas Gerais. However, another territorial configuration is historically pleaded by political and academic leaders of the Federal District and Goiás municipalities directly linked to the everyday life of the federal capital of Brazil. This region is called, since early 1980, Metropolitan Area Brasília.

The management of these two areas depends heavily on instruments made available for public action. According to Lascoumes and Les Galés (2004), the instruments are technical and/or social devices that allow for the materialization and operationalization of government action, organizing the specific social relations between the government and its recipients. The instruments are also supported by a concept of regulation.

The authors also differentiate (ibid, p. 14) observation levels of instruments, namely:

- The instruments themselves as types of social institutions;
- The technique as a practical device that makes the instrument operational; and
- The tool as a microdevice inside the technique.

The definition of these instruments is inseparable from their actors. At this point, we associate to the actors the theory of social fields. Bourdieu argues that the actors' social positions, the *habitus* and their choices need to be considered due to a moment and social space given within each society (2008, p. 18). Therefore, the actions may not analysed within themselves, but in their social, political and temporal context. We shall not analyze, however, the action of the actors, but the understanding and recognition of the various, and sometimes conflicting, social fields in which they operate.

Social fields consist of the social positions of the actors that form fields or differentiated arenas of action and ensure, in each field, their own reproduction (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 50). According

to Fligstein (2009), the fields act in order to reproduce the power and the privilege of the groups responsible.

Since the social field is a place of struggle and self reproduction, maintenance and management tools settings will depend on the established relationships and the social skills created. Thus, we introduce the social skill theory by Neil Fligstein, which addresses the issue of institutions under the focus of the relationship between actors and social structures, specifically the sociological view called "social skills" that would be the ability of some actors in inducing the cooperation of others (2009, p. 62) and conducting various local orders, motivating the actions in the fields.

The central point of the city and metropolitan areas management, therefore, lays in the relations and articulations of divergent interest and actions, that may be of economic, social or political nature, generating social inequality and non-unitary interests, for in them are the actors and non homogeneous populations.

In addressing, thus, the governance we are talking not only of defining the instruments or the political action, but also of "collective action and the inclusion of new actors in discussions or negotiations and even collective decisions." (LEFÈVRE et al, 2013 , p. 23). Based on the social fields and the skills of the actors, instruments are either defined or rejected.

The conflict regarding the institutionalization of the planning area at hand is reinforced by a regional development policy that prioritizes a planning region (RIDE-DF-Surroundings) in contradiction to the interests of the local actors of a smaller territorial configuration, but which is inserted in the first.

To understand this context, we present the National Policy for Regional Development - PNDR, its brief history to the present day, its instruments and fields. We seek to achieve theoretical understanding of the existence of social fields of activity of the actors, which weaken the governance of the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia.

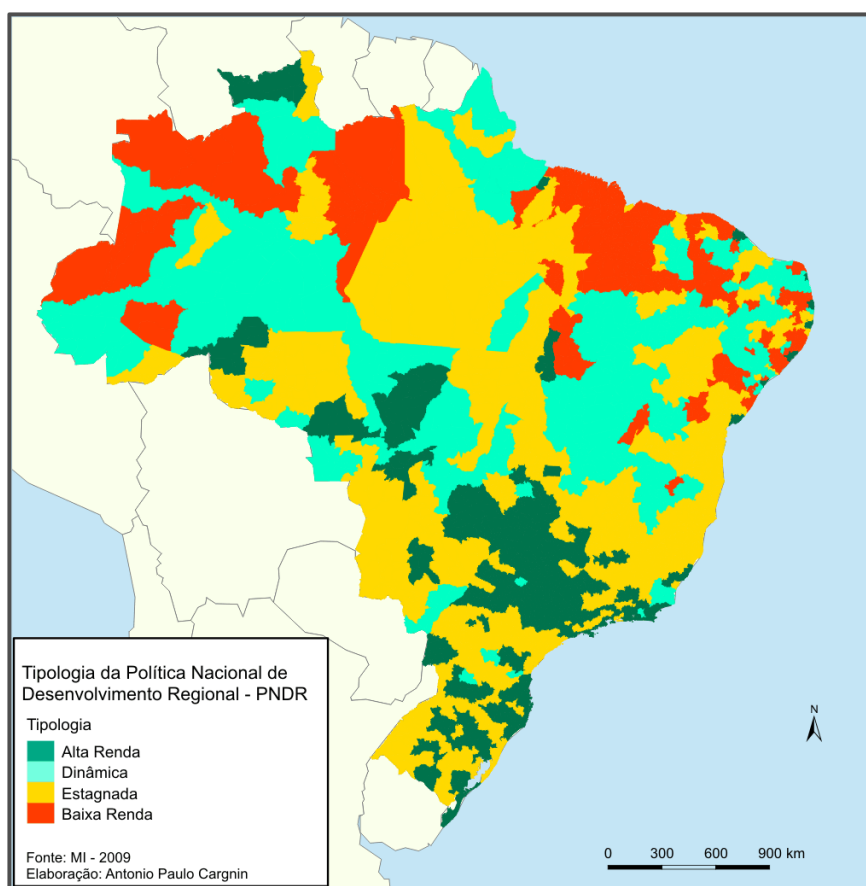
## The National Policy for Regional Development - PNDR

First proposed in 2003, PNDR I was established by Decree 6047/2007. It was understood that the existing inequalities in Brazil the weakened and prevented national integration. The PNDR I converged towards the current theoretical principles, namely: "a different vision on development as translated to planning initiatives aimed at exploiting endogenous potential of the regions" (MI, 2006, p.9). Its action premises were civic mobilization, cooperation, appreciation of local and regional identities and participatory inclusion of broad sectors of society. Reinforcing, therefore, the concept of social capital.

Priority areas of focus of PNDR I were regions with economic weaknesses and stagnation, both defined by two specific criteria: the average household income and GDP growth per capita. Such methodology resulted in 4 micro-regions (high income: high household income per capita, regardless of dynamics; dynamic: average household income, but with important economic growth; stagnant: average household income, but with low economic and productive growth; and low income: low household income and absence of considerable economic dynamics) presented in Figure 1 below and also associated with four dimensions of scalar levels:

1. supranational;
2. the macro-regional and special regions;
3. the sub-regional and
4. the intra-urban.

Figure 1 - Types of Priority Action Areas of PNDR I



Source: Ministério da Integração Nacional do Brasil

The PNDR I, according to Senra (2009), did not have tools, resources or institutional bodies that would enable it to achieve its goals. Since its launch, the Ministry of Integration, the agency responsible for it, had only its own resources for its implementation.

The idealized management tools, such as the National Regional Development Fund, the National Council of Regional Development and the Chamber of Regional Development Policies never

left the drawing board. Frustrated, therefore, is the possibility of PNDR becoming a government policy, not restricted to a single ministry (Brazil, 2013, p. 11). In addition, the possibility of using the resources from the Constitutional Fund was also small.

It remained thus the challenge of regional development of elaborating public policies that would contemplate the characteristics and asymmetries of the states that make up the country. Still seeking the elimination of social and economic inequalities that remain in the country, the actors involved in the planning and national territorial development start a new policy.

In the years 2012 and 2013, through conferences in the Brazilian states and in the Federal District, the principles and guidelines for the new National Policy for Regional Development were defined (PNDR II), which still has its bill moving in the Brazilian Congress.

The new National Policy for Regional Development - PNDR II, like the first, is within the scope of social democratization public policies, national integration and overcoming of regional inequalities.

A main focus of its rewriting is social participation. Even if there is criticism on the possibility of developing democratizing public policies, those have been instrumental in rebuilding the public nature of governments (Villanueva, p. 23) in societies increasingly plural, open, complex, informed and participatory.

The micro-regions eligible for application of the new PNDR II differ in each main objective of the legislation, but, in general, are all related to the Household Income Per Capita/RDPC.

The bill under discussion sets specific objectives, in its Article 2:

*I – Promoting the convergence of the level of development and quality of life between and within the regions of Brazil and equity in access to development opportunities in regions with low socioeconomic indicators;*

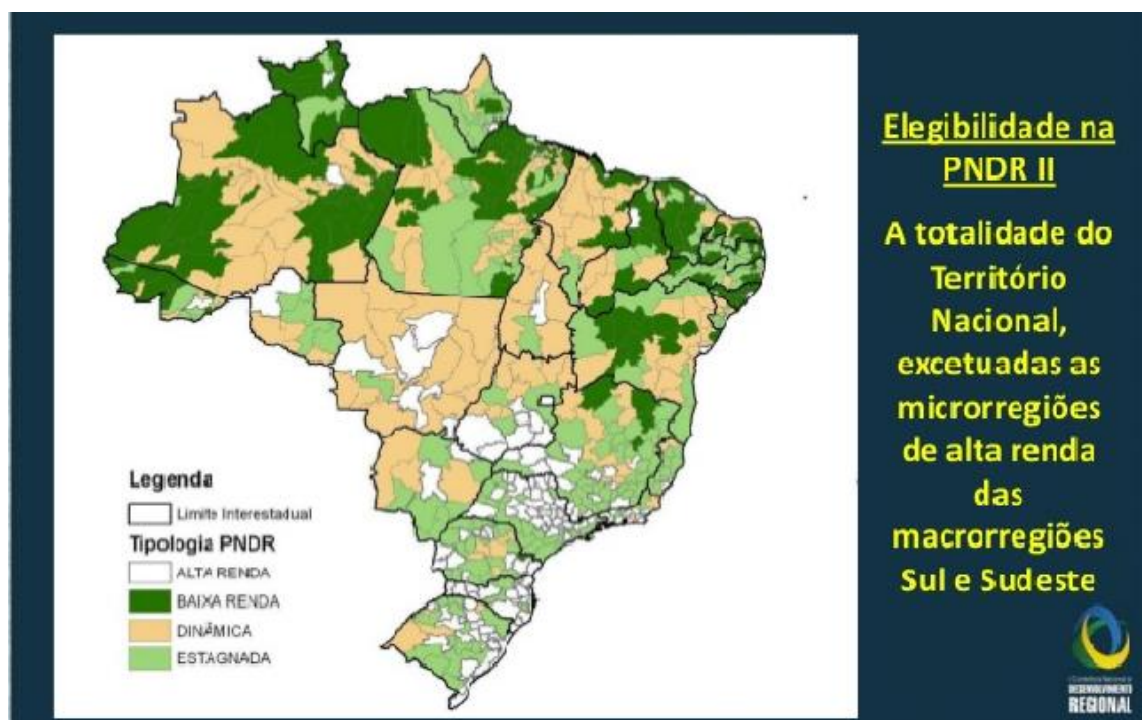
*II – Ensuring regional competitiveness and the generation of employment and income in regions with declining population and high rates of emigration;*

*III – Promoting value addition and economic diversification in regions with strong expertise in the production of agricultural and mineral commodities;*

*IV – Consolidating a polycentric network of cities, contributing to the deconcentration and interiorization of development of regions and the country, strengthening centralities in different geographical scales.*

Therefore, the micro-regions selected to the achievement of each specific objective have RDPC, compared to national ones, in different percentages, resulting in the typology of priority areas, as Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 - Types of Priority Action Areas of PNDR II



*Eligibility on PNDR II: the totality of the National Territory, except the high income micro-regions of the South and Southeast macro-regions.*

Source: Ministério da Integração

In addition to the eligible areas via RDPC, the new National Policy for Regional Development also points to RIDE-DF and surrounding as priority areas. According to discussions on PNDR II, in Brasília, of the three existing integrated development regions, RIDE-DF will be the priority one.

## The Social Participation in PNDR - Social Skill of Actors

Regarding the development on a local scale, its model was based on the development of endogenous potentialities, which according to Boisier is considered a positive collective mental attitude (2004, p.36) and the knowledge of their own potentialities by the local community.

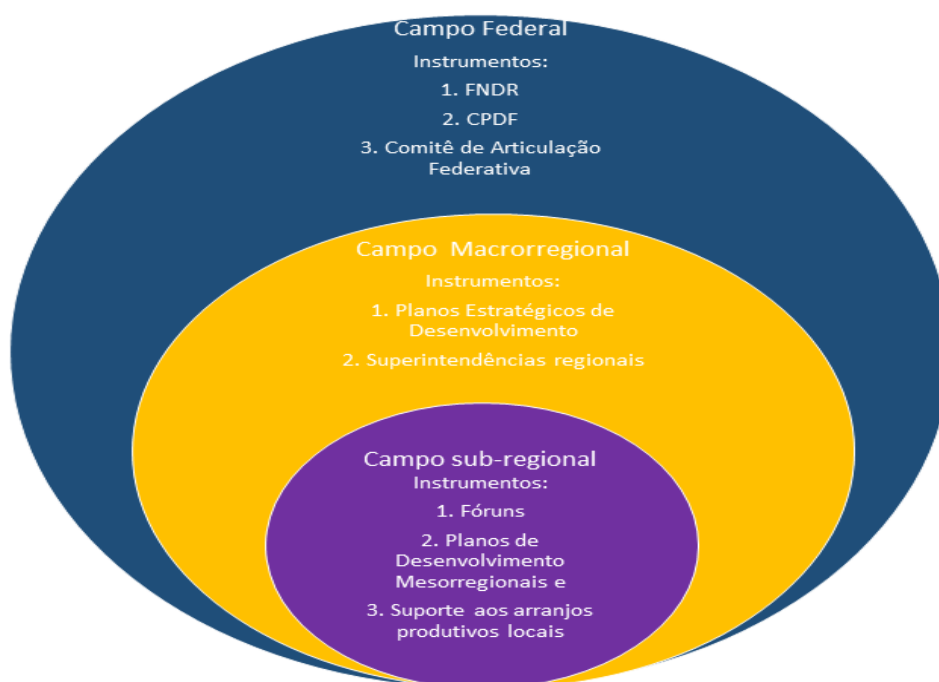
Boisier states that two contemporary needs coexist: the "need to modify the state as regulating agency of the accumulation regime and the need to transfer power to a number of civil society organizations in order to materialize the political commitment in favor of civil society, which is a characteristic of the current model of Latin American democracy "(1996, p. 119). It is the compromise to the population in the definition of relevant policy options pertinent to each territorial scale.

The PNDR II comes, this way, to increase popular participation in the definition of local and regional development processes as well as in the governance of public policies. The State ceases to be "an instrument used by the ruling classes in the service of their own interests" (MULLER, 2002, p. 31) to be itself and, its public policies, the product of modernization of industrial societies.

For Bourdieu (2008, p. 18), local social orders are called fields, "groups of actors who meet and develop their mutual actions face to face". According Fligstein (2007, p. 64), the fields act in reproducing the power and the privilege of responsible groups. In the theory of social fields, Bourdieu argues further that the social positions of actors, the *habitus* and their choices need to be considered because of a moment and social space given within each society.

Analyzing the PNDR I and PNDR II, the latter still in progress, we face the possibility of the clear existence of social fields in the reproduction of their proposals at different geographical scales (national, macro-regional and local) as well as their difficulties in implementation, through its institutional arrangements at different times. The chart below attempts to demonstrate the social fields of PNDR I, as well as its main instruments.

Graph 1 - Courses and instruments



Federal Field. Instruments: 1. FNDR, 2. CPDF, 3. Federal Articulating Committee.

Macro-regional Field. Instruments: 1. Strategic Planning of Development; 2. Regional Superintendencies

Sub-Regional Field. Instruments: 1. Forums; 2. Mesoregional Development Planning; 3. Local Productive Arrangements Support.

Source: Authors

The PNDR I articulated on the competitiveness principles of regional areas and ended up favoring fragmentation. The absence of its pillars, namely the National Fund for Regional

Development and the Chamber of Regional Development Policies /CPDR, reflected the lack of "rules for interaction and distribution of resources that would act as a source of power and reproduction of social orders." (Fligstein, 2009, P. 63).

The Chamber, more specifically, was indeed established in 2003 and installed at the Civil Office of the Presidency in 2004. However, it could not enable the efforts of coordinating and articulating sectoral policies in less developed territories. In mid-2012, the CPDR was reactivated, and will play a key role in PNDR II, should be its social field analyzed from another perspective, since there are new components, with new social skills in a new time.

Fligstein addresses the issue of institutions under the focus of the relationship between actors and social structures, specifically the sociological view called "social skills" that would be the ability of some actors of inducing the cooperation of others (2009, p. 62) and conducting various local orders, motivating the actions in the fields. The PNDR II, of collective design through conferences, aims to be a more equitable access to goods and essential local and not localist public services, for it has as a premise the relationship with the regional economic and social development. The relationship between territorial scales is intended to be effective by the "articulated construction of development agendas at various scales, with the participation of various federal entities and civil society, presided by a national agenda" (BRAZIL, 2013, p. 15 ).

This time, more than others, because of the articulation between the fields themselves, the skilled social actors need to mediate disputes, "find a way to unite actors or groups with widely different preferences and help reorganize those preferences" (FLIGSTEIN, p. 69) that will be converged on agendas articulated to a national agenda, to be built collectively.

As for the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia, it was intended to formally constitute it, through another management tool, which is the Statute of Metropolis, that establishes guidelines for the National Policy for Regional Urban Planning (PNPRU), which will be dealt with more ahead.

## The RIDE DF-surrounding areas as Priority Area II PNDR

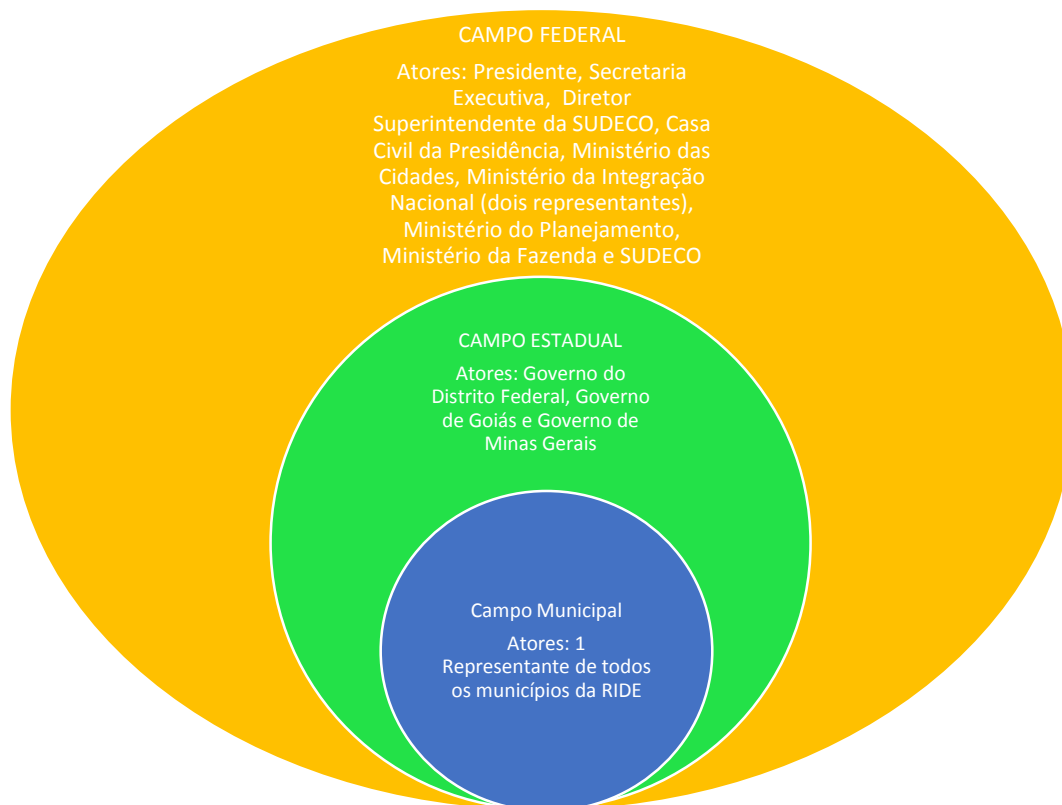
In rewriting the PNDR in progress, bordering tracks of the Brazilian territory, the semi-arid regions and RIDE-DF are considered priority areas. According to Alves and Neto (2014, p. 326), each of one has regional problems. The authors take into consideration that RIDE-DF-Surroundings has as its characteristics a high degree of inequality, a 'neuralgic' (breaking) point of the country's logistics integration, besides being an urban conglomerate or conurbation<sup>7</sup> with metropolitan characteristics.

---

<sup>7</sup> Conurbation: urban territorial unit constituted by 2 (two) or more clusters of neighboring municipalities, characterized by functional complementarity and integration of geographical, environmental, socioeconomic and political dynamics. Definition used by the Statute of the Metropolis and IBGE. The metropolitan area, by the same legal documents, is defined as urban areas with territorial continuity that, because of its population and political and socio-economic relevance, have

To manage this region a multidisciplinary organization was established, the Administrative Board of the Integrated Development Region of the Federal District and surrounding areas Directors - COARIDE. Its composition, however, is almost entirely from the federal level. Of the 22 municipalities that make it up, only one representative sits on the Council, as Chart 2 shows the fields and actors involved in COARIDE.

Chart 2 - Organisation of COARIDE Actors



Federal Field. Actors: Presidente, Executive Secretariat, Superintendent C.E.O of SUDECO, Civil Office of the Presidency, Ministry of Cities, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of National Integration (2 representatives), Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Finance and SUDECO.

State Field. Actors: Federal District Government, Goiás Government and Minas Gerais Government.

Municipality Field. Actors: one representative of all RIDE municipalities.

Source: authors

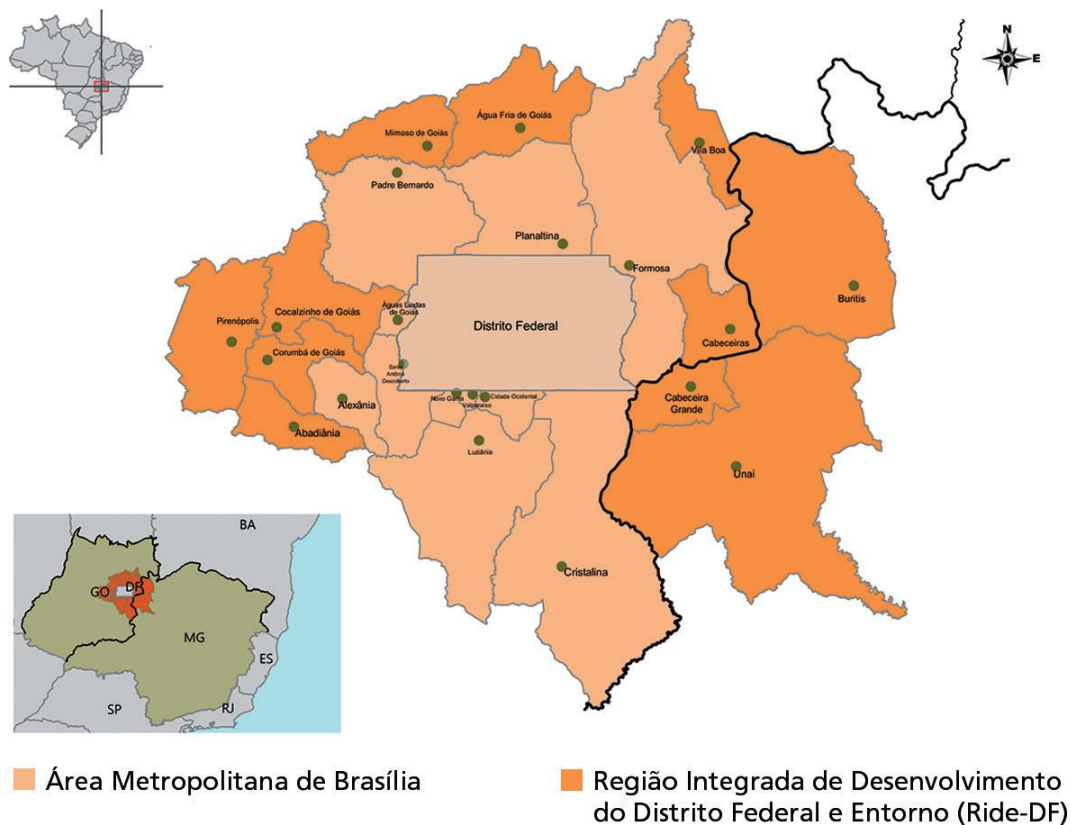
Despite the COARIDE having an interest in organizing joint public services in the defined area, its actions have not effectively moved on from the creation of work groups in 2011, since there was no involvement with society. The focus of COARIDE remained in federal public policies developed by the Growth Acceleration Program - PAC in the areas of urban and semi-urban mobility, budget and tax and credit incentives, public safety, social and productive inclusion, sanitation and the World Cup (SAMPAIO et al, 2013, p. 240). Of those, the most advanced in the discussion, without

---

influence over the national territory or one region that configures at least the area of influence of a regional capital, according to the criteria adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE.

yet effective contributions, was the mobility sector, with the planning of Brasilia-Annapolis-Goiânia railroad. Anapolis and Goiania, however, although not conurbation to Brasilia and not composing nor RIDE nor AMB, are municipalities with strong economic and social relations with the Federal Capital. The figure below represents the composition of the RIDE with the Metropolitan Area of Brasilia highlighted. (Fig. 3)

Figure 3 - Metropolitan Area Brasilia and RIDE DF-Surroundings



Metropolitan Area of Brasilia

Integrated Region for Development of the Federal District and Surroundings (RIDE-DF)

Source: CODEPLAN/GDF

## National Urban Regional Planning Policy (PNPRU) - Guidelines to the Statute of Metropolis

The Statute of Metropolis was pending in the Brazilian National Congress since 2004. In January 2015, however, Law 13,089, which instituted it, was enacted in order to create rules for the shared governance of public functions of common interest - FPIC<sup>8</sup> in adjacent municipalities, by promoting ‘interfederative’ governance.

<sup>8</sup> A public service of common interest is a public policy or action that only one municipality has difficulty in performing or even in being feasible, causing negative impacts to other neighboring municipalities.

This legislation was a response to a long time request. While the Union was in charge of the metropolis during the military government, Brazil had only nine metropolises. From the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the growing urbanization process of the country, polarizing cities grew in number, as well as the number of metropolises, which today are about 65 established ones and 3 RIDEs.

It was hoped, however, that one of its articles would include Brasília, which would allow for the institutionalization of the territory that exists in itself, but has no political existence, as the Metropolitan Area of Brasília – AMB would become a concrete fact. The justification for such exclusion was that a single municipality could not be considered a metropolis, which meant Brasília was prevented from being one. Such position is contrary to IBGE's legal document, REGIC, which since the year 2000 declares Brasília as a metropolis of great political and administrative importance, raising it, in 2007, to the third major national metropolis. It lacked only the institutionalization of its region. Another argument is based on the fact that the Federal Constitution determines, in its article 25, that a metropolitan region is to be formed by groups of municipalities and Brasília can not be considered one, leaving it to be regionally articulated to RIDE and to the public policies defined by it.

The legal articles that could have allowed the Metropolitan Area of Brasília (AMB) to become institutionalized territory were, however, revoked by one of the actors of the process, pertaining to the federal field. However, Article 4 of the same law allows for a metropolitan area or urban area involving municipalities belonging to more than one state, if they are formalized through the effectiveness of complimentary laws by each legislative assemblies of the states involved. This perspective actually solves the issue of formalization of Metropolitan Brasília, but it continues to require that the two governments establish an ongoing dialogue as well as a Plan of Integrated Urban Development.

The Statute of Metropolis is not considered a solution for the matters regarding metropolitan governance, since issues such as financing and integrated planning of sectoral policies are still pressing in the areas of management. But given the context, it is certainly a first step towards the management of such complex, politically fragmented areas and their various actors, also of different management scales, differentiating its power of action, but not its social skills. It is clear that management tools in such a complex context like this are also needed.

As for the instruments, the Statute of Metropolis defines, as for the shared management of FPIC, 10 typologies, including the integrated urban development plan (PDUI), which has the outmost discretion to the enactment of a metropolitan area; public consortia, public funds, cooperation agreements, contracts management and public-private and interfederative partnerships.

When it comes to the actors, the Statute of Metropolis clearly defines the role of the Union, since the definition of a Metropolis is of inter-federative and state-level interest. Thus, the statute

defines in Article 13, that the Union will support initiatives by states and municipalities aimed at inter-federative governance, reinforcing once again the decentralization of power as a solution for national problems. This fact resolves the issue of Brasilia and the surrounding Goias municipalities, since it is a national metropolis.

Together, municipalities, Goias Government and the Federal District Government, end up being forced to find other ways to promote the life of the populations that daily share transportation, hospitals, sanitation, basic education and higher education schools.

## Conclusion

Two spacial policies, two territorial dimensions and an area crying out for better political and administrative connections in order to solve everyday problems of a region with metropolitan characteristics. Brasilia and the neighboring municipalities belonging to Goias all have metropolitan characteristics. Together, they form an urban space with territorial continuity and some completely conurbated locations. In addition to this characteristics, the Capital, which is the core of the metropolitan cluster, has socioeconomic and political relevance and has national influence, as well as population density required by IBGE to define metropolises.

Over the years many actors were coming together for the construction of a metropolis. As Galés (2014, p. 17) points out, "la métropole se construit comme le fruit d'une intelligence collective." But, in consequence, oppositions and disagreements arise impacting on the exercise of consensus whenever possible. These same issues occur in the national metropolis of Brasilia.

However, and so far, Brasilia and its surroundings found no legal arrangements to formalize its metropolitan area and articulate combined solutions for public functions of common interest. On the one hand, local actors plead for the Metropolitan Region of Brasilia, consisting of 12 municipalities of Goias and the Federal District, while the Union created the RIDE DF-Surrounding and strengthens the regional development policies. The duality is designed. Either metropolitan development or regional development.

The RIDE DF-surroundings, although intended on developing the region established by the Union, does so through federal public policies and without cooperation with the society. However, there has yet to be any effective action or effectiveness of institutional relations of the decision-making spheres. In a time when the metropolitan relationships are extended and become more complex, the RIDE used instruments and action fields of very low insertion with the diversity of actors.

The Statute of Metropolis, however, despite having had the device that would allow for the Federal District to establish a inter-federative governance with the State of Goias and its municipalities cancelled, still left a loophole for a possible solution. It allows municipalities belonging to more than

one state to formalize, with the approval of complementary laws by legislatures of the states involved, institutionalized urban units.

The Government of the Federal District also suggests the creation of a metropolitan scale and a regional scale within the RIDE. At the regional scale, the RIDE would be broadened based on its geo-economic complex. (SAMPAIO, et al 2014).

Finding consensus among the various actors of the various political and academic fields involved in territorial management requires not only appropriate tools, but the capacity or the ability to mobilize social fields and its actors for the effectiveness of public action decisions so desired.

## References

ALVES, Adriana M.; ROCHA NETO, João Mendes. A nova Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional – PNDR II: entre a perspectiva de inovação e a persistência dos desafios. *Revista Política e Planejamento Regional (PPR)*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 1, n. 2, jul./dez. 2014. Disponível em: <http://www.revistappr.com.br/artigos/extra/5525776c88b67.pdf>. Acesso em: 15 de abril de 2015.

AZEVEDO, Heloísa P. L e ALVES, Adriana M. RIDE – Por que cria-las? *Revista Geografias*, Belo Horizonte, v. 06, nº 02, julh-dez. 2010. Disponível em: <http://www.cantacantos.com.br/revista/index.php/geografias/article/view/119/117>. Acesso em: 05 de março de 2015.

BOISIER, Sergio. Desarrollo territorial y descentralización. El desarrollo en el lugar y en las manos de la gente. *Revista Eure*, vol. XXX, nº 90. Santiago del Chile, septiembre, 2004

BOISIER, Sergio. Em busca do esquivo desenvolvimento regional: Entre a caixa preta e o projeto político. *Revista Planejamento e Políticas Públicas*, nº 13, p. 111-147, junho de 1996.

BOURDIEU, Pierre e PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *A Reprodução: Elementos para uma teoria do Sistema de ensino*. 5ª edição. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes, 2012

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Razões práticas: sobre a teoria da ação*. São Paulo: Papyrus, 2008.

BRASIL, Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988. Brasília: Assembleia Nacional Constituinte, 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 6.047, de 22 de fevereiro de 2007. Institui a Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional (PNDR) e dá outras providências. Brasília, 2007. Disponível em: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ato2007-2010/2007/decreto/D6047.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2007-2010/2007/decreto/D6047.htm). Acesso em: 25 de março de 2014.

\_\_\_\_\_. I Conferência Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional: texto de referência. Brasília, DF: Ministério da Integração Nacional, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lei 13.089. Estatuto das Metrôpoles. Brasília, 2015. Disponível em: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ato2015-2018/2015/Lei/L13089.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2015-2018/2015/Lei/L13089.htm). Acesso em: 15 de janeiro de 2015

FARRET, Ricardo L. O Estado, a questão territorial e as bases da implantação de Brasília. In: PAVIANI, Aldo (org) Brasília, ideologia e realidade: espaço urbano em questão. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2010

FERNANDES, Durval M. Notas sobre os Programas para a Região Geoeconômica de Brasília. In: HOGAN, Daniel Joseph et al (org) Migração e Ambiente nas Aglomerações Urbanas. São Paulo: Unicamp, 2001. Acessado em 17 de janeiro de 2015. Disponível em [http://www.nepo.unicamp.br/textos/publicacoes/livros/migracao\\_urbanas/02pronex\\_03\\_Notas\\_sobre\\_Programas.pdf](http://www.nepo.unicamp.br/textos/publicacoes/livros/migracao_urbanas/02pronex_03_Notas_sobre_Programas.pdf)

FLIGSTEIN, N. Habilidade Social e Teoria dos Campos. In: MARTES, A.C.B. (org). Redes e sociologia econômica. São Carlos: EdUFSCAR, 2009.

FLIGSTEIN, Neil. Habilidade Social e Teoria dos Campos. RAE, São Paulo, v. 47, nº02, p. 61 a 80, Abril/Jun, 2007.

IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística- Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão. Região de Influência das Cidades (REGIC) 2007. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2008.

LASCOUMES, Pierre; LE GALÈS, Patrick (dir.) - Gouverner par les Instruments. . 1ª ed. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 2004.

LEFEVRE, Christian, ROSEAU, Nathalie e VITALE, Tommaso. De la Ville à Les d'efis de la gouvernance metropolitaine. . De la Ville `a la M'etropole. Les d'efis de la gouvernance, L'œil d'or, pp.21-34, 2013.

LES GALÈS, Patrick. Le Retour des Villes Européennes. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2011

MULLER, Pierre. Las Políticas Públicas. Colombia: Universidade de Colombia, 2002.

PAVIANI, Aldo. Brasília, metrópole incompleta. *Minha Cidade*, São Paulo, ano 02, n. 024.01, Vitruvius, jul. 2002 <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/minhacidade/02.024/2058>

RIBEIRO, Rômulo José da C. e HOLANDA, Frederico. A Configuração da Área Metropolitana de Brasília. In RIBEIRO, Rômulo José da C. et al (org.) Brasília: transformações na ordem urbana. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2015

SAMPAIO, Cárita da Silva *et al.* (2014) O espaço metropolitano do Distrito Federal: uma nova RIDE. In: COSTA, Marco Aurélio, PANTOJA, Igor e MARGUTI, Bárbara Oliveira. Relatos e Estudos de Caso da Gestão Metropolitana no Brasil, Brasília: IPEA, 2014.

SAMPAIO, Cárita da Silva *et al.* Arranjos institucionais de gestão metropolitana: O caso da RIDE-DF. In: COSTA, Marco Aurélio e TSUKUMO, Tami Lemos (org.) 40 anos de regiões metropolitanas no Brasil, Brasília: IPEA, 2013