Public policies, agents and agendas: review of the debate with emphasis on urban planning

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Abstract: Urban planning is a public policy and needs to be analyzed as such. This paper aims to contribute to the urban planning public policy debate, for which it relates the bibliography of public policy management and urban planning. It is the territory that permeates relations and disputes. Building a theoretical framework in light of these two areas aims to consolidate the analysis of the public policy cycle as a tool to understand the main obstacles encountered in urban planning, the formulation of the public agenda and the proposition of arrangements and plans.

Keywords: Public Policies, Urban Planning, Public Policy Cycle, Agenda Formation.

1.1. Introduction

The present article was written as part of a Master's dissertation, from the course Territory Planning and Management at Federal University of ABC, with the purpose of approaching the literature on Public Policies and Urban Planning.

The debate on processes or cycles of public policies is not a recent theme on the Political Sciences literature. This division of different phases of public policies is used to facilitate the analysis and to deepen the process comprehension, which possesses specific characteristics in each step, with possible variations to the actors involved, the motivations and the available resources. It is not uncommon to find public policies formulated to answer to one specific problem and that, by its end, it is found to not have answered exactly to the original problem, given the great quantity of phases, actors and processes involved.

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Agenda**política**

Urban planning studies go deeper in the discussion of specific problems, criticising some moments of the public policies cycle. However, sometimes, they lose the cyclic or systemic character. This article's objective is to broach the cycle of public policies as a tool to expand the criticism of the main obstacles encountered in urban planning.

Therefore, the present article is divided into four parts: the first is a brief history of public policies studies with definitions of concepts that will be later approached on the analysis. The second regards the relation between public policies and urban planning. The third details the cycle of public policies, a concept that presents different approaches. The fourth part discusses specific problems within the public policies cycles, associating these steps with themes from urban planning. Finally, the topic of general considerations points to other developments that this article may have in the future.

1.2. Public policies

This topic aims to approach briefly both history and definition of public policy. According to Saraiva (2006, p. 21-24), public policies are related to changes in state activity behaviour. They were discussed mainly from the 1930s, getting intensified with the end of the Second Great War and gaining global character in 1960.

The subject of administration is has been studied since the second half of the XIX century, with the perspective that it could be applied to any institution, public or private. In this sense, it is important to point out that approaches focused in legal-institutional are the predecessors of state activities studies. Saraiva quotes Tânia Fischer to demonstrate that the alteration in the state activity begins when the public administrator goes from being regarded as a mere executioner to being as a formulator.

The understanding that state activity is not circumscribed in the execution of some activities, being simply connected to the efficiency of the bureaucracy, opens the discussion about public policies. From this understanding, a series of

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approaches begins to be developed in order to comprehend and explain public policies.

As stated by Souza (2010, p. 67-68), the area of public policies had four founders: H. Laswell, H. Simon, C. Lindblom e D. Easton. In 1936, Laswell introduces the expression policy analysis as a way of approaching empiric production of state activity with scientific and academic knowledge. And, in 1952, Simon introduced the concept of limited rationality of public makers. Souza complements:

> "To Simon, the rationality of public makers is always limited by several problems, such as incomplete or imperfect information, time for the decision making, self-interest of the makers etc., but the rationality, according to Simon, can be maximized to a satisfactory point by creating structures (set of rules and incentives) that frames the behaviour of the actors and shapes this behaviour in the direction of the desired results, constraining, including, the pursuit of self-interest maximization." (SOUZA, 2010, p. 67, translation by us)

Lindblom, in 1959, questions this rationalism and introduces other elements, such as power relations and the integration between the different phases of public policies. It is necessary, to the author, to incorporate the role of elections, bureaucracies, political parties and groups of interest. In 1965, Easton defines public policy as a system, that is, the relationship between outcome formulation and environment.

These four authors collaborate to define the field of study, but it is also important to define the object, what is a public policy. One can start with the classical formulation of Laswell: "*who gets what and how*", i.e., relates actor, interest and process. Most of the definitions associate actions from the State with impacts in the lives of citizens. Other author cited by Souza, Thomas Dye, makes an important contribution: the clash between government action and inaction. Rodrigues (2011, p. 43) quotes Dye when saying that public policies can be studied both from the perspective from the government *action* (what the government chooses to do) and from the inaction (what the government chooses not to do) in face of a problem. This definition is fundamental to the idea that public policies can

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be defined by what the government chooses or not to do, but both decisions imply concrete results that can be studied.

However, public policies cannot be characterized by their objective, as stated by Souza:

> "Many definitions emphasize the role of public policy in solving problems. Critics of these definitions, whom overestimate rational and procedural aspects of public policies, argue that they ignore the essence of the public policy, that is, the conflict of ideas and interests. By concentrating the focus on the role of the government, these definitions leave aside their conflicting aspect and the limits surrounding the decisions of governments. They also leave aside cooperation possibilities that may occur between governments and other institutions and social groups." (SOUZA, 2010, p. 69, translation by us)

According to Celina Souza (2010, p. 80), the study of public policies makes it possible to distinguish what the government intends to do and what it actually does. Other characteristic introduced is that public policy involves subsequent proceedings after its decision and proposition, which means it's a continuous process that does not end after its planning phase. Souza continues, stating that studies on public policies per se focus on processes, actors, and rule-making, distinguishing themselves from social policy studies whose focus is on policy consequences and results.

1.3. Urban planning: the public policy of the urban space

This topic aims to present the importance of seeing urban planning as a public policy. This way, it establishes a bridge between the literature on public policy and urban planning, as suggested by Eduardo Marques (2016).

In accordance with said author, the incorporation of the *where* on Lasswel's formulation is very important. The space is the main link between processes, organizations and actors. Marques (2016, p. 7-8) affirms that urban policy can be understood as the actions, negotiations, alliances and conflicts by the urban public policies and by the power of (and in) the political institutions of the city, just like the institutions themselves, their organizations and actors. This definition moves forward to delineate that these actions happen on the space, but this dimension

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should not be confused with levels of government and, although in the Brazilian case the municipality is more clearly involved, state and federal policies also produce impacts.

Alvim, Castro and Zioni claim that urban policy is a public policy that answers to the demands or needs resulted from urban clusters.

> "Urban policies can generally be characterized as public policies that address the demands and social practices that are expressed and occur, above all, at the level of local issues that affect the daily lives of the population." (ALVIM, CASTRO e ZIONI, 2010, p. 13, translation by us)

This space dimension has two direct implications in the analysis of public policies: the first refers to the local of the State actions that impact directly on the cities configuration, and the second refers to a series of actors and processes that are characteristic to this scale of analysis. About the localization of the actions, Marques asserts:

> "The State intervenes in varying degrees on this distribution, reinforcing or combating segregation. This occurs primarily through innumerable regulatory instruments such as master plans, land use and subdivision laws, building and environmental laws, which define and prohibit uses and, in setting parameters, "create" urban land, and impact locations and prices of various forms. In addition, direct action and investments by the State influence prices and locations of social activities and groups directly, as well as indirectly, with the production of mobility structures, infrastructure constructions and housing complexes, among many other equipment and policies. (MARQUES, 2016, p. 11, translation by us)

On the actors and the scale processes of the city, Marques (2016, p.11) highlights that, despite the existence of a vast Brazilian literature dealing with the production of peripheries based on self-construction and irregular subdivisions with scarce state presence and their substantial contribution to the understanding of our cities, few were the clues left by it for the understanding of urban politics. This was mainly due to the focus on space production and economic dimensions, justified by the relative small importance of local politics in the 1980s. The author also mentions that the distance between urban studies and political science is not

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Brazilian exclusivity, since currently there are few studies that seek to bring the two literatures together.

1.4. The cycle of public policies

To advance in this approach, this topic will detail the public policy cycle. Celina Souza (2010) describes different approaches to the analysis of public policies. Three of them will heavily influence this part of the article: Incrementalism, Public policy cycle and Garbage Can model/Multiple Streams model.

The first proposal is Incrementalism, in which public policy decisions do not start from zero but are marginal or incremental and little substantive decisions. According to Souza, this model has lost part of its explanatory power in deeply reformed environments. Yet when we analyse some policies, it is easy to note the central point of this theory: the view that decisions taken in the past constrain future decisions and limit governments' ability to adopt new public policies or reverse the route of current policies - path dependence.

This proposal has a special importance, because when it is related to the problems of urban planning, linking to a spatial dimension, one can understand how the State action interferes directly in the land market. Marques (2016, p. 10) points to the existence of spatial legacies that generate incentives and disincentives for certain actions and influence the processes of the city. To the author, the political actions, by their turn, reconstruct this space daily, reconstituting such locations, flows, contiguities and distances.

To demonstrate how this problem is aggravated in the urban environment, it is possible to point out the case of the rail transport policy in the city of São Paulo. A research developed by Villaça and Zioni (2005, p. 54) shows that in 1999 about 19% of the richest residents and 6% of the poorest residents of the Metropolitan Region had a subway station less than 1 km from home. By 2003, about 20% of the richest residents and 7% of the poorest residents of the Metropolitan Region had a subway station less than 1 km from home. And by 2008,

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with the inauguration of a series of extensions of the metro network, about 33% of the richest residents and 10% of the poorest residents of the Metropolitan Region would have a subway station less than 1 km from home. Reconstruction, when involving complex networks of services and urban infrastructure, can not keep up with the day-to-day dynamics of the city. Usually huge amounts of resources are needed and a large amount of time is required, and yet the impacts are hardly changed.

The second proposal is the public policy cycle, that, according to Souza (2010, p. 74), sees public policy as a deliberative cycle, formed by several stages and constituting a dynamic process of learning. This proposal is linked to the agenda setting and questions the inclusion (or not) of some facts on the agenda.

The policy cycle itself has many variations. According to a survey on the cycle carried out by Baptista and Rezende (2011, p. 138-142), several authors contributed to the development of the most used models. The authors quote that Herbert A. Simon, in 1947, defined three phases of the public policy cycle: intelligence, design and choice. They also demonstrate that Lasswel, in 1951, proposed the division of the process of construction and development of public policy in seven stages: information, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination and evaluation. They also use quotations from Lindblom, in 1959, to demonstrate that thinking politics in a rational and watertight way does not represent reality. For Lindblom specifically, the model must consider the possibility of interaction between phases, given that the political and decision-making process is interactive and complex, without a clear delimitation of beginning and end. The authors also use Brewer, who in 1974 warned of the lack of linearity of public policies and added to the model proposed by Lasswell a new phase: recognition of the problem.

Howlett, Ramesh and Perl (2013, p. 15) summarized the public policy process into five stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, implementation and evaluation. This model considers a flow of problem solving linked to the five stages of the political cycle, which starts from the recognition of

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the problem, followed by a process of formulating solution proposals, choosing the solution model, effectiveness of the solution and monitoring the results. This process is cyclical and feeds itself.

Figure 1. The phases of public policies
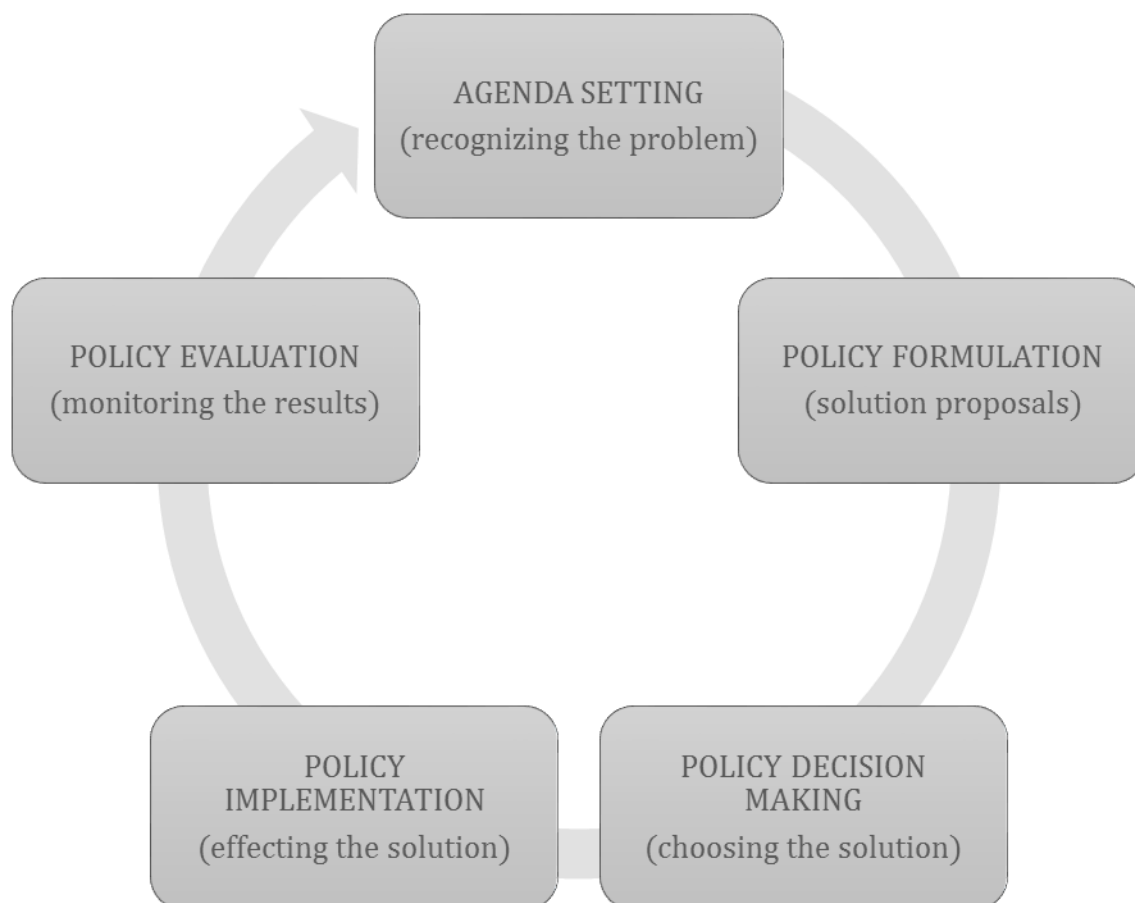
Source: Howlett, Ramesh and Perl, 2013. Elaborated by the author.

The identification of these phases is important for understanding the critiques of the urban planning process. Both the idea of state fragmentation and planning as ideology are problems that affect decision making and the implementation of urban planning. That is, the problems are identified, the theme enters the public agenda, the plan is formulated and then the dysfunctions of decision-making and implementation begin, making evaluation very difficult.

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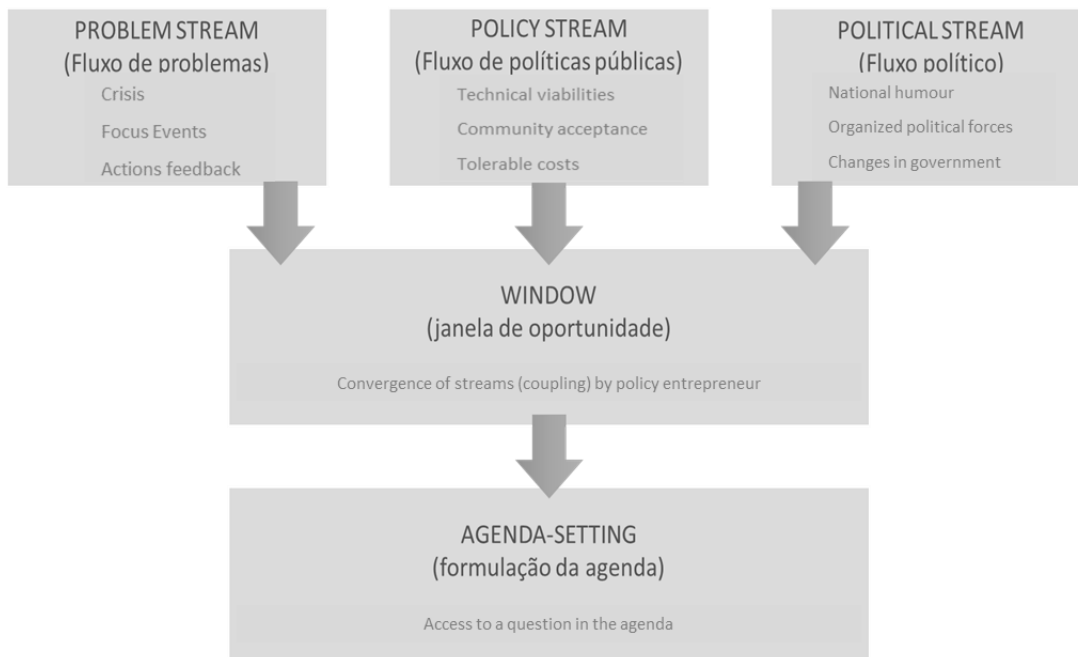
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Developed by Cohen, March and Olsen, the third proposal is of the Garbage Can and has a variation of the theory of multiple streams, developed by Kingdon. The Garbage Can theory combines this theory with elements from the Agenda Setting, from public policies cycle. In these theories, there is clarity that there are several problems and only a few solutions. According to Souza, the understanding of the problem and the solutions is limited and the organizations operate in a system of trial and error.

To John Kingdon (2006), the dynamics of the problems, the public policies and the political game itself has a life of its own, but not always the three dynamics converge. In this theory, the confluence of three flows (problem, solution or public and political policy) during a window of opportunity is necessary to include a topic in the agenda. Ana Claudia Capella (2005) analyses Kingdon model:

"Central to the Kingdon model is the idea that some actors are influential in defining the governmental agenda, while others exert a greater influence on the definition of alternatives (decision agenda). The first group of participants consists of visible actors (visible cluster of participants), which receive considerable media and public attention; in the second group are the invisible participants (hidden clusters of participants), which form the communities in which ideas are generated and put into circulation (policy communities)." (CAPELLA, 2005, p. 14, translation by us).

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Figure 2. Model of Multiple Streams

PROBLEM STREAM (Fluxo de problemas)	POLICY STREAM (Fluxo de políticas públicas)	POLITICAL STREAM (Fluxo político)
Crisis	Technical viabilities	National humour
Focus Events	Community acceptance	Organized political forces
Actions feedback	Tolerable costs	Changes in government

WINDOW (janela de oportunidade)

Convergence of streams (coupling) by policy entrepreneur

AGENDA-SETTING (formulação da agenda)
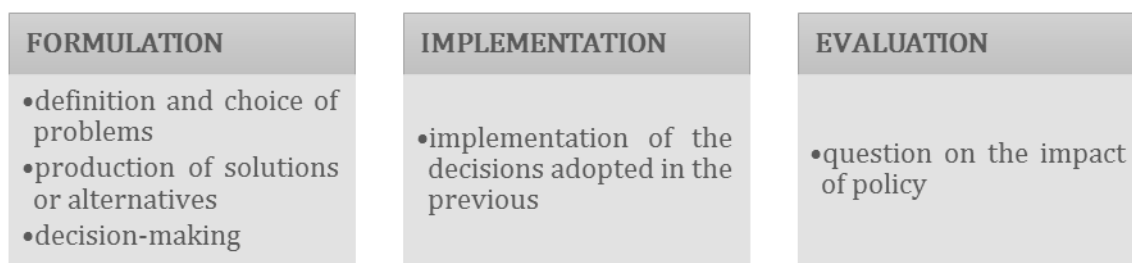
Access to a question in the agenda

Source: Capella, 2005. Elaborated and adapted by the author.

1.5. Problems of urban planning in the public policy cycle

This topic aims to relate, in a brief way, some problems of urban planning with the theories of public policy presented up to now. Some questions guide this topic: which interests are part of the plans? Why think that urban policies are completed after the formulation of the plan? Which indicators assess the effectiveness of urban planning? How to plan a built-in urban environment?
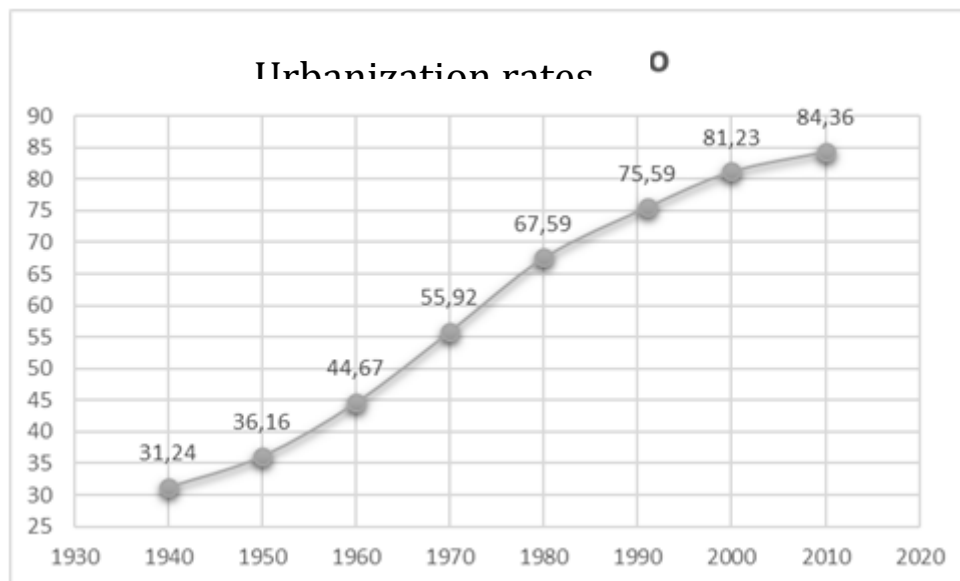
Figure 3. Simplifying the public policy cycle

FORMULATION	IMPLEMENTATION	EVALUATION
• definition and choice of problems • production of solutions or alternatives • decision-making	• implementation of the decisions adopted in the previous	• question on the impact of policy

Source: Lima e D'Ascenzi, 2013. Elaborated and adapted by the author.

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1.5.1. Agenda setting: what interests that integrate the urban plans?

It is important to start this topic by taking up the multiple stream theory perspective: for urban plans, there are several problems and only some solutions and the understanding of problems and solutions are limited (SOUZA, 2010). To Kingdon, the problems are constructs that involve interpretation about social dynamics, and problem-solving is fundamental to attracting the attention of policy makers (CAPELLA, 2005).

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the social dynamics that guided the so-called problems of the city. Brazil has undergone an intense urbanization process in the last 50 years, intensifying this process during the 1960s and 1970s. Villaça (1999) and Maricato (2007) demonstrate how our history of urban projects was formulated as a solution not to solve urban problems, but to produce and reproduce patterns of inequalities in Brazilian cities, fulfilling a purely ideological role.

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Graphic 1. Rate of Urbanization in Brazil during 1940 – 2010

Source: IBGE, Demographic Census 1940-2010. Until 1970 data extracted from: Statistics of XX century. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2007 in the Statistical Yearbook of Brazil, 1981, vol. 42, 1979. Elaborated by the author.

Francisco de Oliveira (1981, p. 33) points out that the strong Brazilian industrialization and the growth of the service sector from the 1940s demanded changes in the city: he says that the acceleration of the growth, whose epicentre happens to be the industry, demands from Brazilian cities - headquarters of the new expansion cycle - infrastructure and requirements in services for which they were not previously endowed.

The production of disorganized and excluding Brazilian cities lasted from the 1960s to the 1970s. According to Maricato, in these decades the process of urban planning reached its apex, when the centralized and undemocratic political context created the conditions for a technocratic planning. This planning did not attend to the needs of the marginalized population, but to the needs of the cities modernization - interest of urban capitals - expansion of its infrastructure and implementation, and strengthening of urban services.

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In this context, there was a window of opportunity for urban planning to enter the agenda in the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, it has become institutionalized as an element that, in theory, could be a solution to problems that affect the whole city. However, Villaça (2005, p. 90) demonstrates that the current planning was a selected solution, and gained strength because it is a socially accepted truth, one that does not respond directly to its aspirations, but serves the interests of urban capital.

Returning to Kingdon's idea of the fact that hidden clusters of participants exist, it is important to highlight how this influences urban politics. An example of the influence of invisible actors is described by Villaça (2005, p. 51). According to him, popular participation is one of the ways found to give the impression that everyone contributes equally and that there is the possibility of acting and collaborating in the planning processes. However, it is based, in this approach, an isonomy in the participation process that does not exist. It is notorious and public that certain groups manage to put direct pressure on the councilmen and on the own chief of the Executive; others have access to the media and can exert other type of pressure.

> "What rarely appears is that social groups and classes have not only very different political and economic powers, but also different methods of action, different channels of access to power and, especially - something that is always sought to be hidden - different interests. Certainly, in an unequal country like Brazil, with a huge difference of political power among social classes, achieving a democratic popular participation - which would presuppose a minimum of equality - is difficult. This is the main reason for the 'Illusion of Popular Participation'. Therefore, public debates would be just the tip of an iceberg, that is, what does not appear is much larger than the part that does. " (VILLAÇA, 2005, p. 51, translated by us)

To Maricato (2007, p. 177), ignoring this contradictory form in our society causes us to make a plan that strengthens inequalities, an archaic urbanism. In accordance with the author, we need to recognize some characteristics of this archaic urbanism:

> "a) the works are defined by the mega-contractors who finance the electoral campaigns, b) their locations obey the logic of the extraction of real estate income, c) the set of them forms a scenario destined to

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establish an exclusive image in a segregated space and d) the laws apply only to a (often minority) part of the city. We also know that both control and flexibility can have their importance diminished in a context of arbitrary application of rules" (MARICATO, 2007, p. 178, translation by us).

According to Kingdon, the chief executive[2] exercises decisive influence over the agenda. In addition, the high bureaucracy and the Legislative also affect the agenda. This is in line with what Villaça and Maricato described, that is, the plan enters the agenda, but its implementation is restricted to a few places in the formal city and it is relaxed for the informal city.

In this context, the arbitrary selectivity process conferred on the Executive is used. The positioning in the public agenda of the solutions proposed in the plans is done arbitrarily by the Executive, since there is no need to implement all the actions of the plan. Few urban plans are linked to budget planning, making them pieces of fiction without financial resources for their full implementation. Still, it is normal for some of the proposals presented in the plans to be unworkable, or for projects that have failed several times in previous planning to be reinserted, validating this power of selectivity since it is known that not everything that is described in the plan can be executed.

1.5.2. Implementation: why think that urban policies are completed after the formulation of the plan?

Since there is a socially accepted truth construct about the solution, the problem comes down to the formulation of the plan. The analysis of the plan stops at this stage: the formulation. This and the next topic will try to expand the discussion and the tools for analyzing the implementation and evaluation of plans.

Returning to the concepts previously presented, Villaça (1999, p. 222) affirms that urban planning becomes detached from public policies and concrete actions and that, in most cases, this contradictory process between text and

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[2] He uses president, but we can also understand here the chief executive, mayor or governor for the Brazilian cases.

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discourse versus practice serves to conceal the true objectives of the State. Villaça (2005, p. 92), in later work, deepens the idea that the objectives are not technical, but, in fact, ideological. According to him, the plan has a function of acting in order to conceal the real causes of the urban problems of the majority of our population and thus act in order to help anesthetize both the minds of the popular majority and those of the elites.

Overregulation is also a way for the ruling class to hide its true purpose and to choose from each group what to apply in practice.

"It is never too much to repeat that it is not for want of plans nor for urban legislation that Brazilian cities grow predatorily. An abundant regulatory apparatus regulates the production of urban space in Brazil - strict zoning laws, demanding land subdivision legislation, detailed building codes are formulated by professional corporations that disregard the illegality condition in which a large part of the Brazilian urban population lives in relation to housing and land occupation, demonstrating that social exclusion goes through the logic of discriminatory application of the law. The ineffectiveness of this legislation is, in fact, only apparent, since it constitutes a fundamental instrument for the arbitrary exercise of power in addition to favouring small corporate interests." (MARICATO, 2007, p. 147, translated by us)

Michael Hill (2006, p. 66), who studied the implementation process, highlights the "classic advices" as a way to ensure effective implementation. In this sense, urban planning and master plans contradict all advice.

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Figure 4. Classical advice to senior policy makers on how to ensure their effective implementation

Keep the policy clear and unambiguous

Plan for simple implementation structures, with the least number of links possible in the implementation chain

Maintain effective control over implementation actors

Avoiding external interference with the political process

Source: Hill, 2006 – p. 66. Prepared by the author.

Michael Hill (2006, p. 65) demonstrates the difficulty of evaluating implementation given the high degree of uncertainty about decision making. According to the author, the difficulties create implementation deficits for top-down[3] policies and these deficits accumulate when the interaction between the actors is not perfect. He quotes another author, Christopher Hood, who suggests that this comparison be made between the ideal and the evaluated administration.

> "One way of analyzing implementation problems is to begin by thinking about what 'perfect implementation' would be look like, comparable to the way in which economists employ the model of perfect competition. Perfect administration could be defined as a condition in which 'external' elements of resources availability and political acceptability combine with administration to produce perfect policy implementation" (HOOD in HILL, 2006 p. 65)

To Lima and D'Ascenzi (2013, p. 103), measuring the implementation favours the achievement of planning objectives. According to the authors, four variables can be systematized that influence the implementation process. The first is relative to the nature of the problem: the existence of available and accessible intervention technology, a valid causal theory and the size of the target population.

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[3] Hill separates top-down and bottom-up policies. In the case of Brazilian urban planning, politics is top-down, even in participatory processes (see Critique Villaça, 2005), since the plans are centralized with little representativeness in participation.

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The second is linked to the normative characteristic and to how the plan implementation was structured: the success of the implementation stems from the clarity of the objectives, because it is imperative that the implementers understand the policy perfectly and know exactly what is expected of them. The third is linked to the social, economic and political context:

> "The social context is commonly related to public support for politics and is often considered a critical variable because such support is unstable and does not last. The economic context influences the availability of resources, essential for successful implementation. The political context is fundamentally about changes in government and the support of elites. "(LIMA e D'ASCENZI, 2013, p. 103, translation by us.)

Finally, the fourth is linked to the administrative organization: the availability and quality of human resources and organizational structure, basically.

Laurian, Day, *et al.* (2004, p. 473) describe indicators that can be used to evaluate the implementation of plans: *implementation breadth* and *implementation depth*. These indicators can be translated into breadth and depth of implementation. To the authors, the implementation breadth can be measured by the proportion of plan policies that are implemented at least once in relation to policies that are never implemented: "policies that are never implemented may be too vague or too ambitious, may not be relevant to an area, or the planning staff may not have the expertise or means to implement them". The depth of the implementation can be measured according to the proportion of policies of a plan objective that are implemented in relation to all policies on this same problem. The result of this indicator may suggest the direction of policies, demonstrating that the potential for resolution of that problem was not used.
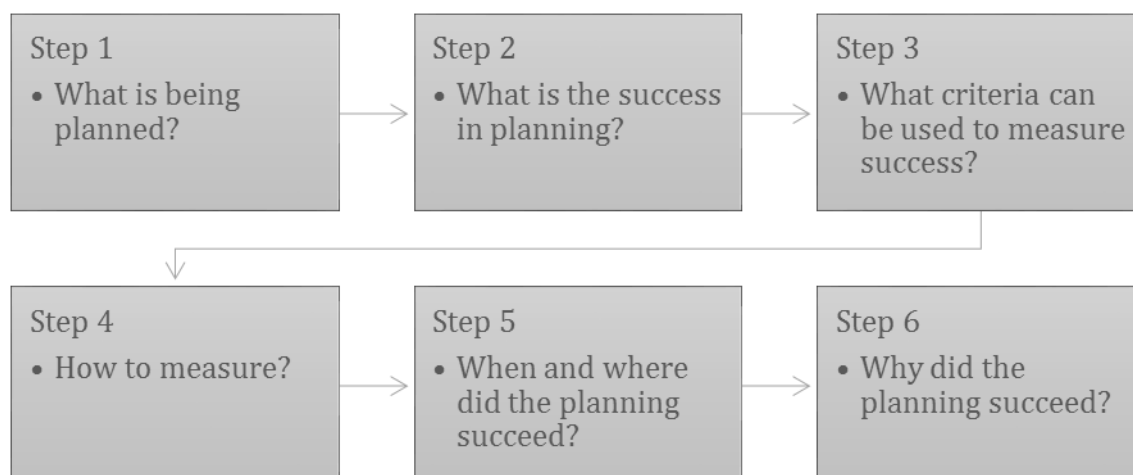
Although the urban planning literature points to strong problems in implementing the plans, there is little information on what the characteristics of these problems are or what parts of the plans are, in fact, implemented. This fact is still a reflection of the division between distinct fields for understanding the city and politics (MARQUES, 2016, p. 47).

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1.5.3. Evaluation: how to measure efficiency, efficacy and effectiveness in the plans?

Several authors, including Calkins (1979), Alexander and Faludi (1989), Talen (1997), Laurian, Day, *et al.* (2004) discuss the quality or the success of planning. According to Alexander and Faludi (1989, p. 127), if planning wants to have credibility as a discipline or a profession, evaluation criteria must allow judgment of the effectiveness of a planning, that is, good planning must be distinguishable from a bad one. To Talen (1997, p. 580), the analyses of success and failure in planning are two sides of the same coin, but if the focus of the research is to measure degrees of success in theory, the analysis can have as conclusion the two results: success or failure.

Talen (1997) and Laurian, Day, *et al.* (2004) divide the evaluation of plan implementation into two large groups: *conformance-based* and *performance based*. The first group evaluates the results and the linkage to the current development using an applicable model. In this approach, the plan is considered implemented if the development standard adheres to its policies and achieves its objectives. The second group focuses on the planning process and considers the plan a guide for future decisions, rather than a template. In this case, the plan is considered deployed if used or consulted during the decision-making process. In the present work, the model used is the *conformance-based*, since the understanding is that the plan must be more than a support for the decision-making process and must have measurable impacts.

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Figure 5. Analysis of reasons for success of the plan: progression of required steps

Step 1 • What is being planned?	**Step 2** • What is the success in planning?	**Step 3** • What criteria can be used to measure success?
Step 4 • How to measure?	**Step 5** • When and where did the planning succeed?	**Step 6** • Why did the planning succeed?

Source: Talen, 1997 p. 574

According to Alvim, Castro and Zioni (2010, p. 36), evaluating urban policies implies analyzing the relations with stated objectives, motivations and intentions to which these practices are articulated, within a context of the attributions, functions and restrictions of the State, but also in relation to the autonomy of successive governments.

1.6. Final Considerations

The contribution of the discussion brought by this article is to demonstrate that the urban planning literature empirically states that there are problematic processes in the three major phases of a public policy. They are problematic processes for urban politics from the process of agenda setting (and its selectivity), through the problems in implementation and evaluation. Of particular note is the lack of clear assessment of urban planning processes, which could be an important

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clue as to why some agendas are recurrently being reinserted into successive plans, never actually moving towards their implementation.

It is recommended to read the complete work, "Plano de Ação da Macrometrópole Paulista: formação e implementação de uma agenda seletiva de venda de uma região. Caso dos projetos de transporte" (GOMES, 2017). At work this problem will be addressed in the PAM project portfolio. Old projects that are not implemented and do not leave the public agenda force the state not to think about solutions to problems, making it addicted to given answers and for which there is no longer clarity about the interests that are represented.

Besides this work, it would be interesting to evaluate this same line of analysis for other plans. This analysis can help us with clues from where we have found the main challenges and help in the production of plans with greater feasibility, or better implementation capacity.

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