

# SAO PAULO PLANNING HISTORY: FROM SANITARISM TO STRATEGIC PROJECT

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## ABSTRACT

*In 2010, the Municipality of Sao Paulo announced the proposal of Grandes Projetos Urbanos (Urban Megaprojects) in areas defined as Urban Operations in 2002's Strategic Master Plan in 23% of the city's territory that are excluded from the traditional zoning. Urban plans and projects have been disconnected throughout the history of Sao Paulo's urban planning and so have both the comprehensive and the fragmented views of the city. These two views have been repeatedly alternated, as can be seen from the periodization below, which can be established from the definition of urban space as totality and whose essence contains and is contained by Political, Economical and Cultural-Ideological frameworks.*

*The first period, between 1900 and 1930, can be called hygienist-embellishing and represents the effort, made by the agro-exporting elite, to alter the city's landscape in a European fashion and, at the same time, to eliminate the poverty that is limiting its urban expansion.*

*During the second period, from 1930 to 1964, modernizing actions represent an industrial elite. The icon of this period is Plano de Avenidas (Avenues Plan), elaborated by Prestes Maia. This global plan consolidates the previous fragmentary improvements, structuring the city for the automobile, whose industry is implemented in 1956.*

*The third period, from 1964 to 1988, is characterized by a technocratic and functionalist intervention, in which bold and comprehensive plans are centrally created by a national authoritarian government. A number of plans belong to this period, which enforces road transportation, such as PUB (Basic Urbanistic Plan) of 1968, This plan proposes 800km of orthogonal highways, to break with the radio-concentric structure of the city - which had been defined by the Avenues Plan - and the building of 400km of subway lines by the year 2000, that's wasn't implemented.*

*The fourth period, from 1988 to 2004, represents a democratic shift, characterized by new limitations on property rights (according to the 1988 Constitution), by public-private partnerships and by popular participation. During . The elaboration of the 1991's Master Plan introduces ZEIS - Social Housing Special Zones, zones of environmental protection and a redistributive zoning, proposed through the so called 'solo criado' (transfer of development rights). In spite of not being voted, PD91 constitutes the basis for the changes which take place in a great deal of Brazilian cities and in Estatuto da Cidade itself. In 2002, Sao Paulo`s Strategic Plan, based on PD91, adopts a contemporary discourse, but doesn't take effective actions in order to reduce social inequalities.*

*A fifth period can be seen as starting in 2004 until now when the de-structuring of the zoning legislation causes the proliferation of gated communities and the still non-prioritization of public transportation still causes chaotic traffic jams. Urban*

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*Operations are criticized for producing investments market oriented based on the automobile and a city devoid of quality, urban design and public spaces. How to reduce the existents inequalities? How to build a high quality and democratic City?*

### INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the Municipality of Sao Paulo announced the proposal of Grandes Projetos Urbanos (Urban Megaprojects) in areas defined as Urban Operations in 2002's Strategic Master Plan in 23% of the city's territory that are excluded from the traditional zoning. In addition, Sao Paulo doesn't have a model of management of large projects. The disputed provision of urban Nova Luz, 44 ha in area, is a trial balloon still undefined.

Through the timeline described below (1), we find that urban plans and projects have been disconnected throughout the history of Sao Paulo's urban planning and so have both the comprehensive and the fragmented views of the city. These two views have been repeatedly alternated, which can be established from the definition of urban space as totality and whose essence contains and is contained by Political, Economical and Cultural-Ideological frameworks.

The aim of this paper is to point out that we are currently experiencing a regression, as in large designs proposed strategy still have a fragmented view and often such as sanitarianism Operation Urban Nova Luz.

### SANITARISM/HIGIENISM AND "URBAN BEAUTY" (1900-1930): EXPELLING POVERTY

Sao Paulo turned and formed from the success of the coffee crop, increased immigration and the installation of the railroad in 1875, researchers consider the date as a second foundation (2). With the opening of the Railway implemented a set of works and urban interventions. Therefore, Sao Paulo has acquired greater importance and autonomy in national policy framework in the meantime the Proclamation of the Republic.

Between 1872 and 1875, João Teodoro Xavier de Matos as president of the province drew up the first major road project character, a circular perimeter, a number of avenues that should surround the city. The plan was not executed immediately, but was gradually being incorporated into subsequent plans.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the dramatic increase in population density in the popular districts, created the first health crisis and housing, a cholera outbreak. Moreover, the rapid growth of trade, almost all located in the historic hill limited, the city became congested. The city threatened to stop, demanding tough

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(1) This periodization is based primarily on research conducted by Somekh and Malta Campos that resulted in the book "A Cidade que não pode parar: Planos Urbanísticos de Sao Paulo no século XX" (The City can not stop: Sao Paulo's Urban Plans in the Twentieth Century) (2008) and in the article "Desenvolvimento local e projetos urbanos" (Local development and urban design) (2005)

(2) Sao Paulo has 25 January 1554 as the official founding date.

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measures by the authorities, against slums and other types of affordable housing, and investments for expansion and realignment of the mesh of the old streets.

Arising from the first period of remodeling projects for the city 'Capital do Café' (Coffee Capital), between 1900 and 1930, which can be called a sanitarianism or hygienist, purposeful and progressive posture, beautified the city and represented the effort made by the agro-export elite to provide an urban landscape into an European model and, at the same time, eliminate poverty, pushing low-income people from the center, coercing tenements and other undesirable uses the new image of the city. The sanitarianism discourse served to remove the obstacle of poverty in the transformation and expansion of the formal city.

The hygienist period was marked by proposals who said representative values, controls volumetric and specific concerns, restricted to the central area. The functionality of this urban area has been enhanced through fragmented interventions. The implementation of these plans depended on a kind of 'gentlemen's agreement', respecting the interests of the affected properties. Furthermore, the sanitary code 1886 has proposed the removal of the central area tenements which spread to other districts bordering the center.

This period was not provided with comprehensive political settlement, integration road and provision of urban facilities. However many plans were made, that's provides progress in the central area and represents different interests of the time (CAMPOS NETO, 1999). The period has historically important characters like Antonio da Silva Prado being, a representative of one of the richest families of Sao Paulo and showing the direct interest of the elite in the remodeling of the city. Farmer and business leader in the railroad, trade, exporter, industrial and banking remained as mayor for four terms, from 1899 to 1910.

Between 1905 and 1911, Silva Telles, as a councilor and as another member of the elite, made suggestions that innovated mainly in the sense of an overview of central urban problems. Several proposals have been forwarded to the Board relating to public transport, planned expansion, improvements to the congestion of the central area and transformation for 'Vale do Anhangabaú' into a urban park (SIMOES JUNIOR, 1995).

In contrast to these proposals, in 1909, opposition from another group of owners of the 'paulista' elite commissioned a project to remodel the urban central area, the architect-engineer Alexandre Albuquerque, graduated from the Polytechnic School, recently returned from a trip to Europe. The project called 'big avenues' can be considered the highest expression in the Sao Paulo urban 'haussmannian.'

In 1910, the board of municipal works also presented a project, more comprehensive, developed by director Victor Freire and by engineer Eugenio Guilhem. The proposal (3) entitled 'Melhoramentos do Centro da Cidade de Sao Paulo' (Improvements in Downtown Sao Paulo) incorporated almost all the guidelines of Silva Telles Project (SIMOES JUNIOR, 1995). As are to be expected, this project also caused reaction of the affected owners. And only twenty days after

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(3) Freire, Victor da Silva: "Os melhoramentos de Sao Paulo." (Conferência no Grêmio Polytechnico em 15 de fevereiro de 1911.) In: Revista Polytechnica nº 33 (vol. VI) fevereiro a março de 1911.

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receipt the project of the municipality, was published to counter the State Government prepared by the technical office of Samuel das Neves amending the park project in Anhangabaú proposing the occupation of the valley surrounded by a boulevard with buildings and as the axis of a future north-south road link.

To resolve the impasse between the various groups, the Municipality and the State Government during the administration of Mayor Raymundo da Silva Duprat (1911-1914), as a consultant, the city hired the french architect Joseph-Antoine Bouvard. The Project Plan called Bouvard covered an area larger than the two predecessors and proposed a radial road structure (BOUVARD, 1911). To Anhangabaú, Bouvard seeks to integrate the principles of aesthetic interests of the landscape and buildings. The alternative would construct buildings held framing the park, 'not everything belvedere, not all palaces'.

The Plan Bouvard drew a city whose center would be limited to vertical and historic hill and the 'Morro do Chá'. Therefore, it would be the expansion of the town as a city garden shape. The resulting legislation reinforced this model, to streamlining actions were included in the comprehensive plan producing a dense and compact city center (TOLEDO, 1983).

During this period, parallel to this central reality, industrial development and urban expansion occurred along the streetcar lines. The Light, canadian company, monopolized the production of electricity, taking control of the supply of transport infrastructure, the electric trolley, even given the design of urban sprawl (ZION, 1999).

Therefore, the expanded urban agglomeration in industrial areas isolated from urban, slums or villages producing workers in manufacturing districts, concentrating along the railroads, and in the floodplain of Tamanduateí do Carmo, in Northeast-Southeast direction. While the west-southwest vector was transformed into growth in emerging elite, company-sponsored and supported by the City Transportation Plan for the Light Company of Freire, 1925, or plan 'pre-metro', which was eventually dismissed in please highway orientation.

## MODERNIZING ACTIONS (1930-1964): BUILDING PERIPHERY

The second period, from 1930 to 1964, is marked by the 'Plano de Avenidas' (Avenues Plan). Developed by Prestes Maia, was characterized by modernization actions conducted by an industrial elite. Globally, this proposed plan consolidates fragmented structure of the previous period and the city to the automobile, and the spatial scope of their municipality. Issues such as urban green areas, remodeling, expansion, occupation and vertical growth are discussed around the central scope of their proposed road system.

This plan has as a study and a preceding, the Ulhôa Cintra Plan (4), who studied comparative regular geometric systems with the purpose of summarizing road's rings. When Ulhôa established collaboration with the young civil engineer Francisco Prestes Maia in 1929, was a pre-designed project that brought the perimeter of

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(4) Cintra, João Florence de Ulhôa: "Projecto de uma avenida circular constituindo perímetro de irradiação." In: Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia nº 24 (vol. V) janeiro a março de 1924, página 331.

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irradiation and the organization of the proposed road system in Sao Paulo as a course radio-perimeter. This then developed by Maia, resulted in the Avenues Plan commissioned by the City of Sao Paulo: a beltway around the historic center, expanding the central area and organizing the movement for a perimeter-radial arrangement.

Being Prestes Maia, after the coup of the Estado Novo, named mayor in 1938, he took his seat until 1945, along with the fact that the plan included many previously planned interventions by municipal works sector, made the plan of avenues to become a reference to the urban transformation of Sao Paulo. At this time moment, CMTC, the municipal bus company, was created (SOMEKH; MALTA CAMPOS, 2008).

During this period opened the way for a new process of vertical integration, with higher density and vertical occupation of successive rings around the old center and expansion into a new center. Moreover, featuring the popular peripheral pattern of settlement, the unlimited growth of the popular allotments accessed by bus, surpassing the rental model of housing provision from the institutionalization of their own self-constructed home (SOMEKH, 1987).

In 1950, during the Estado Novo, the lack of public transportation and intensive vertical central areas had severe urban problems (FELDMAN, 1996). Sao Paulo, had already surpassed the two million people a decade ago. In this context, it was commissioning a report on the municipal planning to IBEC - International Basic Economy Corporation, an entity based in New York. The study was entrusted to Robert Moses, who was ahead of the main initiatives undertaken and urban facilities in New York between the 1930s and 1960s.

Even in the 50s was built a new vision of urban humanist and globalizing brought by Padre Lebrez through SAGMACS 'Sociedade para Análises Gráficas e Mecanográficas Aplicadas aos Complexos Sociais'. This humanistic view formed a whole generation of influential planners in Urban Policy until the 2000s.

Under the title of 'Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de Sao Paulo' (5) (Public Program for improvements to the city of Sao Paulo) the report Moses, unlike the Avenues Plan, had the subjects treated in specific sectors, such as zoning, road systems, sanitation and green areas, but quite lacking generic proposals clearer. The report character by road system has a central principle of the need for expressways.

However, between the planning efforts in the 50s, which had more impact in the following years was the work done by Louis-Joseph Lebrez, known as 'Padre Lebrez'. The study, completed in 1958, by SAGMACS, Society for Technical Analysis and Mecanográfica Applied to Complex Social, founded by Lebrez, was the planning and development prioritizing urban living conditions more humane for the people, through the understanding of the real city, weaknesses and strengths.

This moment presents itself as an alternative to the ideological dilemma of the Cold War between communism and capitalism. The study foreshadowed the principles of

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(5) Moses, R. Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de Sao Paulo. Tradução de Ernesto Cal, New York, 1951.

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integrated planning, which sees the space of an interdisciplinary and in its entirety. Therefore, planning should prioritize social development, concerned about the alarming inequalities, interventions involving political, social, economic, administrative and urban areas. The report also highlights the need for regional planning, covering the current Sao Paulo, and an even wider range of influence.

### TECHNOCRATIC / FUNCTIONALIST INTERVENTIONS (1964-1988)

After the military coup of 1964, began the third period that happens from 1965 to 1985. This period is characterized by a functionalist and technocratic intervention in bold and comprehensive plans that were created in order for a centralized national government authoritarian. Adopting an approach that valued the technical knowledge, this is the era of large multi-sectors plans, comprehensive diagnostics and consulting firms.

During this period was produced a series of plans that strengthen the road, such as PUB (6) 'Plano Urbanístico Básico' (Basic Urban Plan) of 1968. This plan proposes 800 km of expressways forming the orthogonal grid, to break with the radio-concentric structure of the city, which had been defined by Avenues Plan, and the construction of 400 km of subway lines by 2000- today Sao Paulo has only 62 kilometers of metro lines. The PUB was designed as the Master Plan that was needed to Sao Paulo, the subject of efforts and technical demands of the sectors since the 1940s. The Plan should guide the city's growth until 1990 (FELDMAN, 1996).

The PUB was presented as systematic data collection, aiming to improve the general living conditions, services and equipment, establishing guidelines regarding the following aspects: land use and land use through zoning and densities of the government interventions in the market land, decentralization of services and equipment, transportation to the detriment of the individual, creating a system of planning and social participation in the plan (VILLAÇA, 2000).

Compared with their predecessors who saw intensive growth as an item to be accompanied by an expansion of the road network, the PUB was a breakthrough in identifying the urban sprawl of Sao Paulo as a major challenge and source of problems.

It would be necessary to expand the collection of municipal resources to catch up in public services. For the metropolitan administration, the city of Sao Paulo should take prominence administrative, uniting efforts to State and Federal Government.

Therefore was formulated the proposal for a metropolitan structure, after a comparative analysis: London, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The result consisted of an orthogonal grid of expressways and a comprehensive system of subways, corresponding to a polycentric model, where the center of Sao Paulo would remain the core of economic, commercial and administrative.

However, with the oil crisis and the end of the period called as 'Brazilian economic miracle' many of the proposals of the plan, roads and subways, didn't get out of the paper. This compromised the consistency of a planning model applied to Sao

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(6) Prefeitura Municipal de Sao Paulo: Plano Urbanístico Básico. PMSP, 1969.

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Paulo, to the extent that some elements of the zoning, implemented after 1972, derived from the proposals of the PUB. Major roadworks come back from there, previous models of use of valley bottoms or resumption of radial-base perimeter.

The PUB was not enacted into law, or didn't become the Master Plan sought. However, two years later, in 1971, Sao Paulo won a comprehensive plan, enshrined in law, the 'Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado' (Integrated Development Plan) or PDDI, which remain in force for nearly two decades. Referring to research made by SAGMACS and the PUB, for PDDI, zoning would be the most important mechanism of urban development. The text of the plan had the definition of eight basic types of zones and fifteen categories of use.

Meanwhile, the state government, through the Metropolitan GEGRAN elaborated the Integrated Development Plan (PMDI), assuming the problems related to metropolitan scale and sectors dependent on the state government, defining guidelines different from those contained in PUB. The PMDI appeared two great laws by the state: the Watershed Protection Act, which gave very low densities for the protected areas around the dam and the mountain range 'Serra da Cantareira', and the Metropolitan Industrial Zoning, restricting heavy industrial use to track adjacent to road and rail network.

Based on the studies carried out since the 40s, was approved in 1972 as the main instrument for regulating the city's first zoning regulations. This work was the result of efforts of management Figueiredo Ferraz in drafting a comprehensive law to use zoning and land use, with the determination of the perimeters of the zones, urban parameters and laws. In 1979 the zoning was changed because of pressure from real estate interests, becoming more easily reach the coefficient 4, previously limited to 2 in most of the urban sprawl (SOMEKH; MALTA CAMPOS, 2008).

In the years following the legislation continued to be supplemented and modified at the whim of a city real estate interests resulting uneven. The vertical being 'elitist' by Law 5261/57 eliminated the possibility of provision of housing for low-income market. This resulted in 2 million and 3 million slum dwellers living in slums and irregular settlements, excluded from the formal housing market. The BNH created by the previous authoritarian government reinforced the real estate production for urban middle classes, increasing exclusion. In this way, the planner and legislative efforts of this period had its last manifestation in Installment Land Act 1981. This law established the standards for streets, split, subdivision and donation areas for the city, updated according to the law nationwide, Lehmann Act 1979.

In the late 80s, the crisis of the idealized and zoning changes in national and local political landscape demanded a resumption of the question of the master plan. Therefore, the Department of Planning, assigned to Jorge Wilhelm, presented the 'Plano Diretor 1985-2000' (Master Plan 1985-2000) which was never even discussed in the legislature.

The PD-85 proposed to overcome limitations of PDDI, providing for the participation of civil society. The plan would be the link between public and private actors in order to produce and maintain the city. The concept of 'Operação Urbana' (Strategic Project) was first presented in the context of Brazilian Cities.

The Plan referred to the municipality, but thought as national urban problems. Analyzed the dynamics of urbanized areas contiguous metropolitan stain and

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addressing the national level, advocating policy changes that incorporate social parameter, measuring the 'social debt'. Innovative concepts stand out in this document as the implementation of Strategic Projects, rehabilitation interventions in urban areas involving public-private agents. In addition, the plan brings advances in the understanding of urban space and logic property, and the resulting inequity in the distribution of benefits and require social recovery of real estate valuation produced by the process of urbanization.

Regarding the road issue, the PD-85 envisioned an urban structure divided into concentric rings corresponding to different stages of urbanization, a resumption of the paradigm of the Chicago School: Central Area, Ring Intermediate and Peripheral Ring, proposing the creation of sub-centers and filling of vacant urban.

### TO DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (1988-2004)

The fourth period from 1988 to 2004 is characterized by a shift to democratic transition marked by limitations on property rights (in accordance with the Constitution of 1988), for public-private partnerships and public participation, under the legislation which was followed.

Modifications of the legal system have been identified by the plan, such as adoption of new legal instruments of urban property. These instruments were included in the Constitution of 88, but was only officially announced the approval of the City Statute in 2001.

In late 1985, with the first direct election in the capital since 1965, the political landscape has changed Sao Paulo. Janio Quadros was elected and withdrew the bill from the 1985 Master Plan. And first, approved the Municipal Law number 10.209, creating the 'Operações Interligadas', an instrument which would allow entrepreneurs to get the city the right to build up the limits allowed by zoning, offering in return the construction of affordable housing.

The administration 'Janista' replaced Master Plan 1985 with another approved by lapse of time in 1988. Without the same technical quality and eliminating the previous diagnosis. The plan of management Quadros uses part of the guidelines of the PD-85, especially those that enhance the performance of public-private partnerships and review the state's role as provider of the process of city expansion.

With the 1988 Constitution, the master plans became mandatory for cities with more than twenty thousand inhabitants. During the next administration of Luiza Erundina, 'Partido dos Trabalhadores' (Worker Party) the economist Paul Singer as a secretary of planning and the architect Raquel Rolnik coordinator of the work prepared the Master Plan 1991, which incorporated and created innovative tools such as the 'Operações Urbanas' (Urban Operations), the 'Zeis' (especial zoning for social interest) and the 'Solo Criado' (permission for costly intensive occupation) under an expectation of redistribution.

Prepared for a democratic local government in a context of deep economic crisis, the plan sought to present alternatives to overcome the increasing degradation of the quality of urban life in Sao Paulo. Although not voted, the PD91 is the basis for the changes that occur in a large number of Brazilian cities and the 'Estatuto da Cidade' (City's Statute), may be considering a document conceptual revolution. The



Plan sets out the principles of urban reform: the social function of the city, environmental balance and urban elementary rights and citizenship to life for its inhabitants. His disapproval leads to disinterest by the economic issues addressed in the plan, especially issues related to the reduction of deep social inequalities.

In 2002, the Sao Paulo's Strategic Plan, on the basis of PD91, adopts a contemporary discourse incorporates the instruments of the City's Statute, but can not establish a conjuncture of forces for the reduction of inequalities.

### STRATEGIC PROJECTS: A CONTEMPORARY HIGIENISM?

In this history of more than 100 years, there were many plans, theories, and technical elements. But the incorporation of advances and scope of urban planning always bump into the limits inherent to the Brazilian reality, qualified by persistent ideological and legal barriers based on economic interests. A fifth period as may be seen from 2004 until now. Actually Sao Paulo has a Master Plan and a Zoning Law which includes instruments for reducing the basic coefficient of occupation and charging for additional building area, 'solo criado,' with objective of supporting the provision of services and infrastructure required by the occupation itself in urban development.

In 2010, the Municipality of Sao Paulo announced the proposal for a 'Grandes Projetos Urbanos' (Urban Megaprojects) in areas defined as Urban Operations by Strategic Master Plan 2002. This represents 23% of the municipality excluded from traditional zoning. Currently the Municipality of Sao Paulo promotes urban operations in eight areas of the city: Vila Sônia, Nova Luz, Água Branca, Água Espraiada, Faria Lima, Lapa-Brás, Mooca-Vila Carioca and Rio Verde-Jacu.

The transformations of these territories, due to Strategic Projects, has favored real estate valuation and sponsored public space focused on the car, not in the citizen. Real estate search spacious grounds to allow the construction of one or more towers, the model applied in practically all of Brazil. Therefore, Strategic Projects promoted by the government are engaged in removing the barriers, and low-income population, that dispel the real estate sector to invest in a particular area and changing market demand.

In addition, the Nova Luz Area, or Cracolândia, passes through an urban experiment that connect various cultural anchors: the Portuguese Language Museum, the Pinacoteca Museum, the Sao Paulo Concert Hall through the new the metro yellow line to the tertiary center Faria Lima and Berrini. The area called Cracolândia, neighborhood for drug trade and concentration of users, has been undergoing interventions characted as hygienist expulsion of the poor and society excluded, which refers to the initial period.

However, strategic projects and plans could create great potential as tools for structural transformation of the city, building partnerships between public and private sectors. These processes require the participation of owners, investors, residents and representatives of civil society, identifying certain areas of urban transformation as part of a broader strategy metropolitan. To be successfully implemented, this strategy requires a series of measures for medium and long term, including land reform, evaluation of potential real estate, strict regulations of land use and public interventions. It would be interesting the possibility of recovering a

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comprehensive and humanistic of SAGMACS vision throughout the twentieth century.

Sao Paulo hasn't yet produces a parameter of efficiency and democracy at its urban territory. The main reason for this failure is the lack of proper management and deployment tools that take into account all social and economic costs and benefits of projects of this scale and complexity. Any such intervention must embrace the various actors involved in the production of city space, and building a social fabric that values the individual citizen. However, this approach assumes a public commitment to achieve a common goal. Demolition of entire pieces of the city and its replacement by project models will do little to improve the lives of urban inhabitants in existence, and simply cause displacement and erosion of the urban its social tissue.

Meanwhile, unstructured zoning regulations cause the proliferation of gated communities and non-prioritization of public transport also causes chaotic traffic jams. It is essential to regulate urban land prices and save that value socially, through increased revenue, including increasing the property tax and urban land, and the application of the instruments by the Statute of the conquered city, including property taxes progressive, order to reduce the existing inequality by Urban Projects. We are still looking for a São Paulo inclusion model.

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