

São Paulo's territorial context:



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CITY'S REAL ESTATE DYNAMICS AND URBAN PLANNING TOOLS

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Abstract

Historically, urban planning in Western countries relies on two main instruments: master plans and zoning legislation implemented by land-use tools. Both are directly and intrinsically related to the cities' real estate dynamics, regulating future urban growth. Thus, discerning the city's real estate dynamics is highly crucial to understanding these instruments' application. First, this chapter analyzes the real estate dynamics in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area vis-a-vis its current urban legislation. Next, the authors investigate the history of the urbanization process to analyze the recent restructuring of the real estate market and finally study the impacts on São Paulo's urban form.

Keywords

urbanization process, real estate market, urban legislation, urban form, São Paulo.

HISTORY OF THE URBANIZATION PROCESS

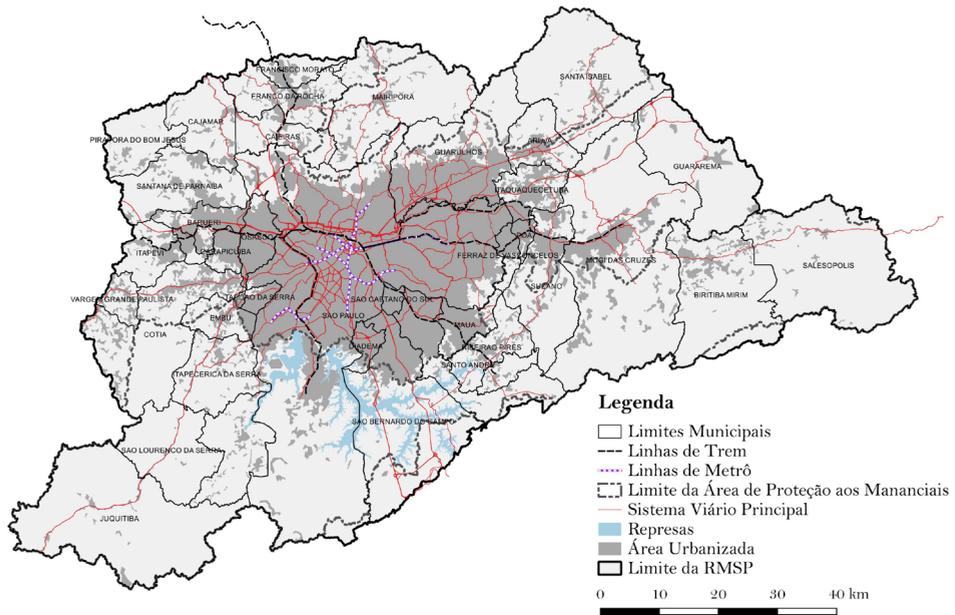
In 2010, the Municipality of São Paulo had about 11 million inhabitants, corresponding to 6% of the national population and just over half of its metropolitan region. Thus, São Paulo is the largest urban agglomeration in Brazil¹ (Figure 1.1).

From an economic point of view, the concentration is even more remarkable. The municipality and the metropolitan area held, respectively, 12% and 19% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and clustered only 2% and 9% of the national territory². Despite that, the city wrestles with high rates of unequal income distribution: 43% of households earned three minimum wages (MW) in 2010 (US\$ 926), and only 6% of them achieved more than 20 MW (US\$ 6,178) (ibid.).

The unequal concentration of population and income reflects Brazil's external financial, technical, and ideological dependence that tangled up the national development. Furthermore, the expatriation of a significant part of the accumulated capital and the exclusion of dominated classes from the national development process are typical symptoms of a peripheral country to the capitalist world economy (NOBRE, 2019).

São Paulo consolidated its metropolitan area during the 20th century, when its urban core and neighboring surroundings underwent intense fast-growing urbanization, resulting from several production cycles of economic activities (ibid.). In addition, the coffee-based agro-economy exports led São Paulo to accumulate capital, which was subsequently invested in the promising national industry. Thus, the blossoming industry drove the urbanization process at a national level from the mid-19th century until the 1930s.

1. In 2010, São Paulo city, São Paulo metropolitan area, and Brazil held 11,253,503; 19,683,975 and 190,755,799 inhabitants, according to data from the Brazilian Demographic Census (IBGE, 2011).
2. In 2010, São Paulo city's, São Paulo Metropolitan Area's, and Brazil's GDPs were US\$ 272 billion, 444 billion, and 2.4 trillion (IBGE, 2011), converted at a rate of US\$0.61 for each R\$1.00, according to the Banco do Brasil Currency Converter website (<https://www.bcb.gov.br/conver-sao>).



From the 1930s to the 1950s, São Paulo became the most important industrial hub in the country. The establishment of the automobile sector enhanced the national heavy industry and concentrated jobs and production in São Paulo until the 1970s. This was followed by a productive deconcentration towards the state's interior and other Brazilian regions, which helped improve the tertiary sector's weight in the country's economic base.

As a result, São Paulo experienced a significant population increase, resulting in urban sprawling from the 1950s onwards. However, from the 1960s on, population growth began to decrease due to the deconcentration of productive activities, which were directed to other regions of the state of São Paulo and the country, leading to a fall in migratory growth. On the other hand, patterns of fertility rates reversed, dropping from 5.8 to 2.4 of children per woman between 1970 and 2000, reducing vegetative growth in the meanwhile as well. (NOBRE, 2000).

Figure 1.1
São Paulo's
Metropolitan
Area

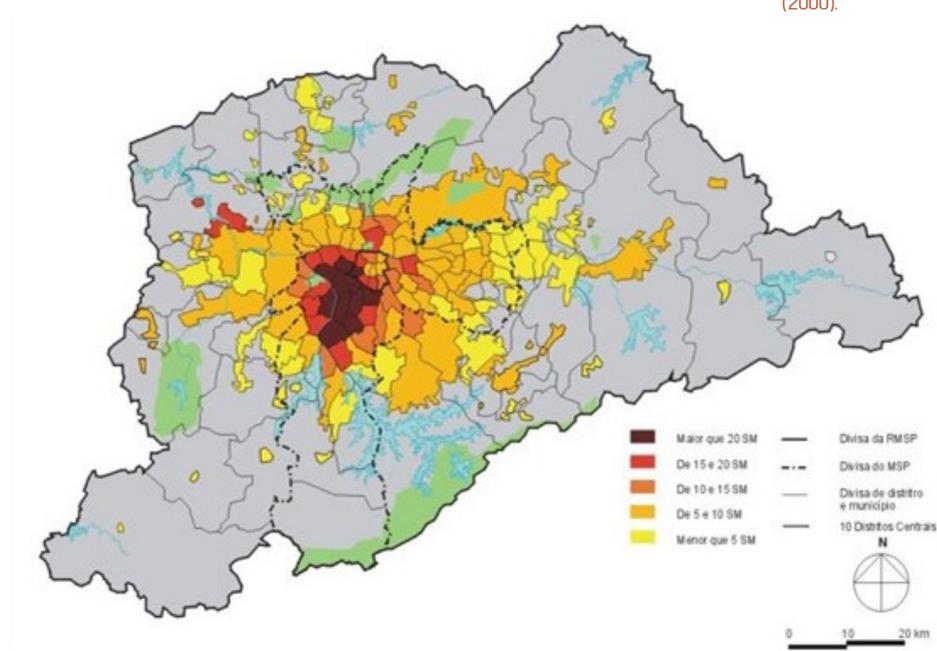
Source: Prepared by Eduardo Nobre based on CESAD (2002), EMLASA (2010) and Geosampa (2016).

Considering that Dependent Development generates artificial scarcity of capital, the Public Power continued to concentrate investments in infrastructure and essential services in areas where productive activities were already active. Consequently, this process built a highly segregated urban space: the middle and high-income strata occupying the central areas better provided with jobs, accessibility, infrastructure, and services, while the lower-income sectors were displaced to less privileged areas on the metropolitan fringes, as shown in Figure 1.2 (MARICATO, 1996; VILLAÇA, 1998).

The inefficiency of the urban planning process and the lack of efficient housing policies capable of assisting the lower-income strata stressed the gap between housing demand and supply. The formal real estate market could not fulfill those demands, and this segment had to look for alternatives outside the of it, in slum tenements, favelas

Figure 1.2
The income concentration in São Paulo's metropolitan area

Source: Prepared by Eduardo Nobre based on CESAD (2002) and data from IBGE (2000).



and informal settlements in problematic areas, such as high slopes, floodplains, and environmental protection areas. The low-income population that got access to public social housing programs ended up living in neighborhoods lacking urban infrastructure and facilities.

This context is intrinsic to a segregated, fragmented, and unequal metropolis generated by the Brazilian urbanization process, as Villaça (1998) demonstrates in his work. The technical instruments of urban planning, which emerged with the advent of the Republic and reached its peak during the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), was used in an ideological way to legitimize this historical process (VILLAÇA, 1999).

However, after the country's re-democratization process, social and professional movements, congregated around the National Movement for Urban Reform, managed to include the discussion for fairer, more inclusive, and democratic cities in the 1988 Federal Constitution (BRASIL, 1988). Since then, several municipalities have begun reviewing their planning tools to promote a more socially equitable and environmentally balanced urban development. The Urban Policy Chapter pointed out master plans as the fundamental tool to ensure that the social function of urban property was being fulfilled, as can be seen below (BRASIL, 1988, article 182):

Article 182. According to general guidelines outlined in the law, the municipal government's urban development policy aims to ordain the enforcement of the social functions of the city and to ensure the well-being of its inhabitants.

Paragraph 1. The master plan, approved by the City Council, which is compulsory for cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants, is the primary tool of the urban development and expansion policies.

Paragraph 2. Urban property accomplishes its social function when it meets the fundamental requirements for the ordainment of the city as outlined in the master plan.

In this context, several left-wing municipal administrations developed their master plans based on new tools that sought to promote the social function of the city and the property (VILLAÇA, 1999).

For example, the master plan draft proposed by mayor Luiza Erundina (1989-92) dates from the 1988 Constitution enactment. This draft addressed planning tools such as the: Compulsory Parcelling, Building, and Utilization (PEUC, Portuguese: *Parcelamento, Edificação ou Utilização Compulsórios*), Social Interest Special Zones (ZEIS), Consortium Urban Operations (OUC), Additional Building Rights Levy (OODC) and the Urban Development Fund (FUNDURB) (SÃO PAULO, 1991). However, despite the efforts undertaken by mayor Luiza Erundina to sponsor the Bill 02/1991 draft, the opposing political forces in the City Council did not release it for a vote. As a result, the draft bill was shelved by mayor Paulo Maluf (1993-1996) (NOBRE, 2019).

In 2001, the City Statute established the legal framework for urban planning and the appropriate legal, tax, and urban-regulation tools (BRASIL, 2001). The statute also set forth that the master plan must be compulsory for cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants. Then, mayor Marta Suplicy's office (2001-2004) submitted her master plan version to several public hearings to meet the legal specifications for a participatory process. As a result, the City Council finally approved the São Paulo 2002 Master Plan under Law 13,430/2002 (SÃO PAULO, 2002). The plan's general principles were the right to the city for all³, the social function of the city and property, and public transportation as a priority in the mobility agenda.

3. According to the 2002 Strategic Master Plan, the right to the city is to access the urban land, housing, environmental sanitation, urban infrastructure, transport, and public services.

In order to achieve these goals, the plan's strategy intended to implement land value capture tools and to rationalize the use of urban infrastructure to avoid idle land. Furthermore, the plan intended to regularize land within informal settlements and to provide urban facilities for the low-income populations. Finally, the 2002 Master Plan brought back the planning tools proposed in the 1991 Master Plan and defined by the City Statute, such as PEUC, ZEIS, OODC, OUC and FUNDURB, mentioned before.

The City Statute establishes that master plans must be reviewed every ten years. Thus, Fernando Haddad's office (2014-2017) was responsible for reviewing the 2002 Master Plan with the support of public hearings. The City Council approved Haddad's review under Law 16,050/2014, defining as its general Urban Development Policy principles:

- The social function of the city and of urban and rural properties;
- Equity and socio-territorial inclusion;
- The right to the city and the right to access an ecological-balanced environment and to democratic management.

Besides the existing instruments, new instruments were added into the 2014 Master Plan such as the Solidarity Share, the Dwelling Share (Portuguese: *Cota Parte Máxima de Terreno por Unidade*), the Environmental Share, Urban Intervention Projects (PIU, Portuguese: *Projetos de Intervenção Urbana*), Local Structuring Areas (AEL, Portuguese: *Áreas de Estruturação Local*), in addition to instituting the basic citywide Floor Area Ratio (FAR)⁴.

4. According to Table 1 - attached to Law N° 16,050/2014, Floor Area Ratio (FAR) is the measurement of a building's floor area in relation to the size of the lot/parcel that the building is located on. It can be: Basic, resulting from the building potential free of charge fixed to urban lots and plots; Maximum, which cannot be exceeded; Minimum, when land is considered underutilized.

THE REAL ESTATE MARKET AND RECENT TRANSFORMATIONS

Even though master plans include proposals of urban interventions and public policies that go beyond the mere control of real estate growth, some of the urban tools defined by master plans and zoning itself are directly and intrinsically related to real estate dynamics as they affect upcoming urban growth. Thus, it is crucial to discern the city's real estate dynamics to understand the feasibility of applying the tools.

The city of São Paulo has traditionally been represented by a thriving real estate market resulting from the great concentration of wealth and economic activities and its fast-growing population. That can be seen both from a formal point of view, of urban growth in the normative framework, and informal, which is at odds with the first picture (ROLNIK; KOWARICK; SOMEKH, 1990).

The capital surplus generated by the coffee-based economy ran the urbanization process. It subdivided farmhouses nearby the current São Paulo Downtown to accommodate the fast-growing number of inhabitants. Still, in the first two decades of the 20th century, intensified after 1930, the inner city underwent a redevelopment process specializing in retail uses. Finally, in the 1940s, the rapid increase of high-rise housing developments for the middle and upper classes began to multiply in the neighborhoods of Vila Buarque and Higienópolis.

From the 1960s onwards, middle- and upper-class real estate development moved towards the city's Southwest Quadrant, as defined by Villaça (1998)⁵. To carry it out, a financing system was structured by the Military Regime (1964-1985) that created the Housing Finance System (Portuguese: *Sistema Financeiro Habitacional*) and the Brazilian System of Savings and Loans (Portuguese: *Sistema Brasileiro de Poupança e Empréstimo*).

5. According to Villaça (1998), the main characteristic of the structuring process of Brazilian metropolises is socio-spatial segregation, a result of the dispute over locations by different social classes. In this dispute, the ruling class appropriates the areas best equipped with infrastructure, services and equipment, constituting the Areas of Great Concentration of High Income (AG-CAR, Portuguese: *Áreas de Grande Concentração de Alta Renda*). In São Paulo's case, this area goes from the southwest Quadrant to the center, composed by the districts of Alto de Pinheiros, Butantã, Campo Belo, Itaim Bibi, Jardim Paulista, Moema, Morumbi, Pinheiros, Santo Amaro and Vila Mariana.

The period known as Brazil's Lost Decade (in the 1980s) made the country suffer from sluggish economic growth and recession, consequently affecting the public and private sectors' investment capacity and strongly impacting the real estate market. Furthermore, the extinction of the National Housing Bank (BNH, Portuguese: *Banco Nacional de Habitação*) and the lack of an effective housing policy significantly aggravated housing provision for most income groups, especially the ones who needed most, which increased urban informality, as already mentioned. But, on the other hand, high-rise apartment buildings spread to areas beyond the Southwest Quadrant as developers searched for cheap land to buy in Northern and Eastern lower-middle-class neighborhoods such as Lapa, Santana, and Tatuapé (SÃO PAULO, 1992).

In the 1990s, the adoption of neoliberal ideas by the Federal Government reformed the real estate market, as reported by several scholars (ROYER, 2009; FIX, 2011; RUFINO, 2017). According to Rufino (2017), the Real Estate Investment Funds and Mortgage Portfolios were the first financing tools for real estate production linked to the capital market. They followed the equivalent restructuring process alike in the Global North.

The creation of the Real Estate Financial System (SFI, Portuguese: *Sistema Financeiro Imobiliário*) in 1997 and the approval of the Special Tax Regime and the Equity of Affectation Law (Portuguese: *Lei do Patrimônio de Afetação*) in 2004 contributed to consolidate the real estate market as an alternative for financial investments. Consequently, it ensured the securitization of real estate assets and the interest of financial agents and investors.

From the 2000s onwards, the Real Plan stabilization program provided a favorable context for real estate production, increased by opening large development companies' capital on the stock exchange. Rufino (2017) describes how the real estate had grown in the period:

In the first fundraising cycle, between 2005 and 2007, 25 development companies predominantly located in the Rio-São Paulo axis managed to raise around R\$ 12 billion⁶. Thus, it helped consolidate the real estate sector as an essential area of the financial capital market. Moreover, it attracted significant attention from foreign investors, representing more than 75% of this volume of capital flows (RUFINO, 2017, p. 108).

Such changes in regulatory frameworks and the economic environment significantly changed São Paulo's real estate dynamics, as shown in the chart below (Figure 1.3). The chart displays data of one of the leading real estate consulting companies, Embraesp (*Empresa Brasileira de Estudos de Patrimônio*).

Other important facts that had positive impacts, enabling greater institutional security or the transfer of a more significant amount of resources to the real estate market, were: the implementation of the Cruzado Plan (Portuguese: *Plano Cruzado*] (1986)⁷, the creation of the Real Estate Financial System (1997), the launch of the Initial Primary Offer (IPO) for the real estate sector on the Stock Exchange (2007), and the launch of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV, Portuguese: *Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida*) (MCMV) (2009)⁸.

On the other hand, national and international issues that affected the supply of credit harmed the real estate market, such as the Collor Plan (Portuguese: *Plano Collor*) (1990)⁹, the Asian Crisis (1997), and the American Subprime Crisis (2008).

6. Approximately US\$ 6.8 billion at that time.

7. TN: Cruzado Plan was an anti-inflationary program launched by the Federal Government in 1986 that included wage and price freezing to fuel the economy.

8. TN: MCMV was a large-scale public housing nationwide program tasked with constructing homes as part of a broader effort to upgrade and modernize the nation's cities, especially to low-income families.

9. TN: Collor Plan is the name given to a collection of economic reforms and inflation-stabilization plans combining fiscal and trade liberalization with radical inflation stabilization measures.

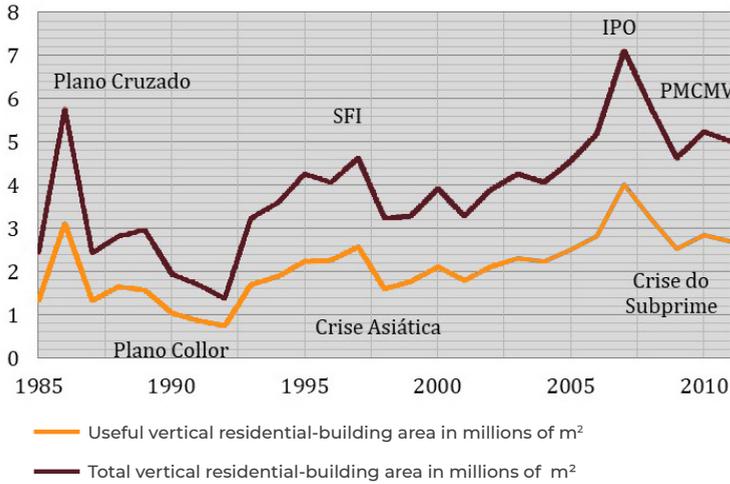


Figure 1.3
High-rise housing developments launching evolution in São Paulo – 1985-2010

Source: Prepared by Eduardo Nobre based on data from Embraesp.

Yet, Figure 1.3 corroborates Rufino's thesis (op. cit.) that São Paulo was one of the most benefited for the real estate growth in the period. As can be seen, between 1985 and 2007, the total area of high-rise residential buildings almost tripled, going from 2.4 to 7 million square meters per year. These numbers were reduced to 5 million square meters during the economic crisis, which still remains above initial numbers.

Until 1994, the most valued locations remained the traditional districts¹⁰ within the Expanded Center¹¹ and the Intermediate Ring¹², close to the metro lines¹³, as shown in Figure 1.4. Such projects took place in high building potential zones (Z3, Z4, and Z5¹⁴) but also in low-potential zones for urban densification¹⁵ under the Interconnected Operation planning tool. Established in Municipal Law 10.209/86 and revised in Municipal Law 11,773/1995, this tool allowed to reconsider the FAR in particular land, if investments in Social Housing (HIS) were done in exchange.

10. Campo Belo, Consolação, Bela Vista, Liberdade, Moema, Perdizes, Pinheiros, and Vila Mariana.

11. NT: Expanded Center (*Centro Expandido*, in Portuguese) of São Paulo is an area of districts north, east, south, and west to the historic downtown, enclosed by the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers.

12. NT: Its limits are a ring of avenues characterized as the location that divides the city's

Since 1995, there has been a greater spread of high-rise residential developments concentrated in the Expanded Center and districts within the Intermediate Ring. Thus, for example, Vila Andrade and Vila Sônia, in the West Zone; Cursino, Sacomã, and Ipiranga, in the Southeast, Carrão, Vila Formosa and Aricanduva, in the East Zone; and Tucuruvi, Mandaqui, and Tremembé in the North Zone, as shown in Figure 1.5.

From 2005 to 2014, this pattern of concentration remained. However, as Interconnected Operations¹⁶ ended, the projects were concentrated on the Medium and High-Density Mixed-Use Zones and not in the Centrality Zones, as expected by the 2002 Master Plan, which can be seen in the map in Figure 1.6.

More recently (2015-2019), it has been possible to perceive the inducing force of the 2014 Master Plan and the 2016 Zoning Law. Most high-rise developments were concentrated along with the Urban Transformation Structuring Zones (ZEU, Portuguese: Zona de Estruturação da Transformação Urbana) as shown in the map in Figure 1.7. These zones are portions of the territory intended to promote residential and non-residential uses with high demographic and constructive densities, fostering an urban design that integrates public spaces with the public transport system.

New land use rules, considering the subdivision and occupation, complemented the regulation, allowing services and public facilities developments. Thus, these zones began to play a strategic role in making the plan's objectives feasible.

central and peripheral regions.

13. Line 1 Blue (North-South) - Santana, Saude and Jabaquara; Line 3 - Red (East-West) - Barra Funda, Mooça, Tatuapé, and Penha.

14. Z3 - predominantly residential zone with medium population density; Z4 - mixed-use zone and medium-high population density; Z5 - mixed-use zone and high population density.

15. Mainly in Z2 - a predominantly residential area with low population density.

16. The Inter-connected Operations were judged unconstitutional by the Federal Court of Justice as they granted the authority to the Executive Power to change the Zoning Law parameters that were exclusive to the Legislative Power.

Figure 1.4 São Paulo's locations of high-rise housing developments launching - 1985 to 1994 Source: Elaborated by Marina Marques based on data from Embraesp.

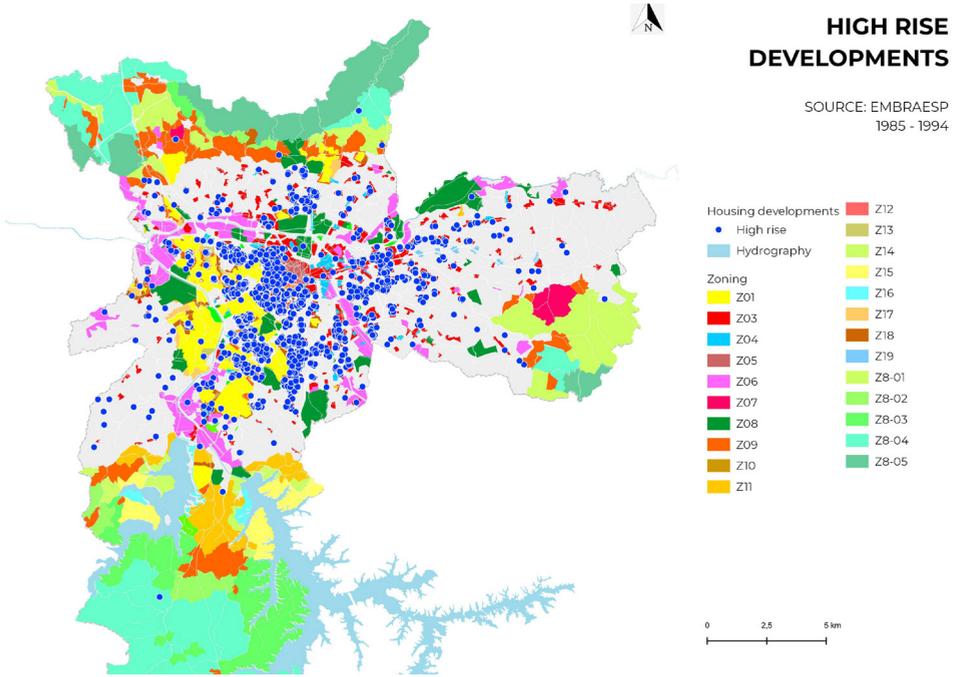


Figure 1.5 São Paulo's locations of high-rise housing developments launching - 1995 to 2004. Source: Elaborated by Marina Marques based on data from Embraesp.

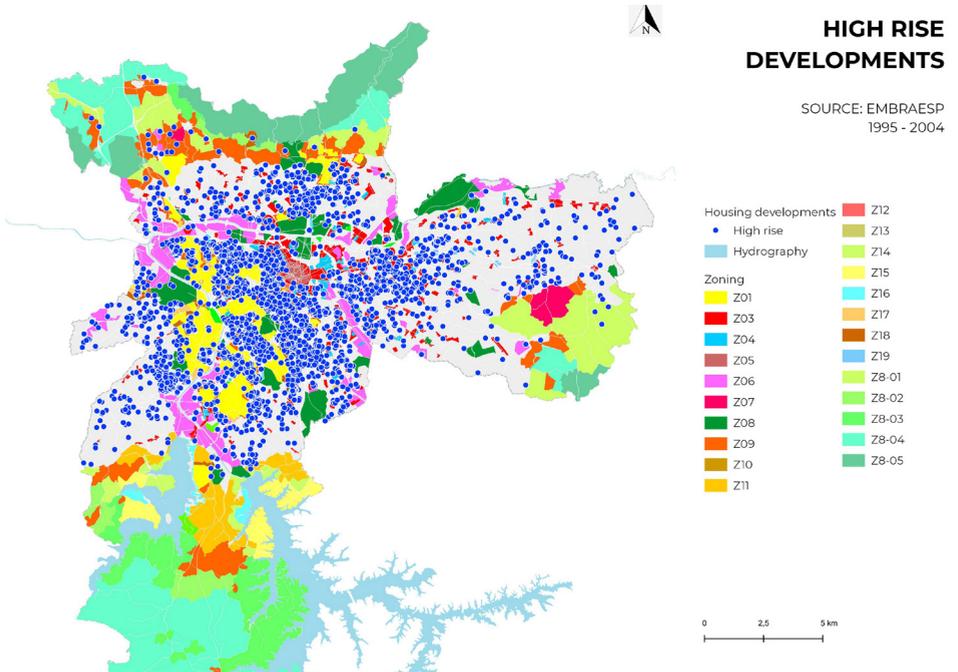


Figure 1.6 São Paulo's locations of high-rise housing developments launching – 2004 to 2014 Source: Elaborated by Marina Marques based on data from Embraesp.

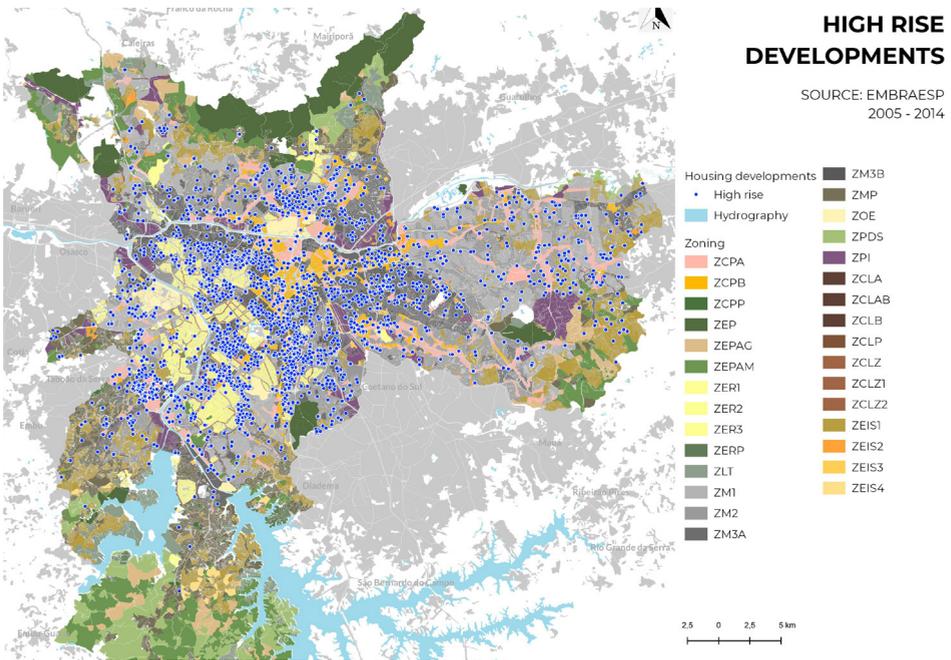
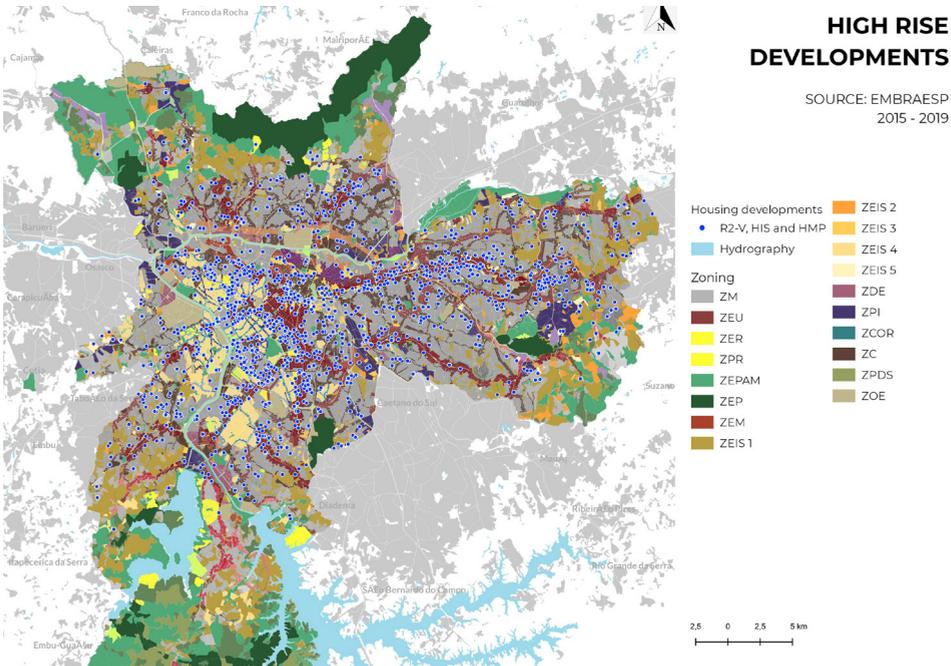


Figure 1.7 São Paulo's locations of high-rise housing developments launching – 2015 to 2019 Source: Elaborated by Marina Marques based on data from Embraesp.



THE IMPACT ON THE CITY'S URBAN STRUCTURE

Since then, the transformations of São Paulo's real estate market have caused alterations to the city's urban structure, specially the central region "urban decline" process (economic and population emptiness) experienced since the 1960s. As a result, many real estate projects spurred again in São Paulo's central area, leading to the population decrease reversal between the 1990s and 2000s, which was intensified from 2000 to 2010.

The figures below demonstrate population and household growth in the central districts, according to the 2000 and 2010 demographic census data (IBGE, several years). The households of Sé Borough (Portuguese: *Subprefeitura da Sé*) increased 27%, from 140 to 178 thousand. The population increased 15%, resulting in 57 thousand newcomers out of 431 thousand residents. This central area dynamics represented 10% of the total number of projects launched in the city, positioning this borough at the top of new housing units' construction.

Sé Borough has become one of the real estate sector focus for medium and high-income buyers, either because of the significant incentive of Urban Operations or changes in the market's preferences, such as the scarcity of building stock in other sites, the changes effected in the real estate sector's regulatory framework, the opening of the capital for large developers, and even the expansion of real estate credit from 2010 onwards. Thus, the economic interest in São Paulo Downtown kicked off a process that reversed the population decline as already mentioned.

Since 2014, the Sé Borough's participation rates have been continuously expanding in the city's real estate market; in 2017, reached 18% of the apartments launched for sale, equivalent to 5,048 new housing units, according to a survey published by the Municipal Department of Urbanism and Licensing (SMUL, 2018).

The survey points out the high price of properties and also high building density, equivalent to 6.5 times the plot area, on average. They are usually 18-story buildings constructed in a single lot area with 41 square meters apartments including 1 or 2 bedrooms. As apartments' sizes decreased, prices in the Sé Borough increased significantly, transforming it into one of the most expensive regions to buy new housing units in São Paulo.

Another survey by the city administration showed a dissociation between the price and the useful area of the property due to real estate speculation. They are properties used as investments and not necessarily intended for dwelling purposes by their buyers. Conclusions point out that, in Sé's surroundings, one pays more for less space (in terms of footage), unlike real estate launches in other city districts. Therefore, Sé figures among those districts with the highest prices per usable area and the smallest size. Such changes in real estate dynamics are seen in the figures below, showing an increase in population and household density in the central area (Figures 1.8 to 1.11).

Figure 1.10 Household density in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 1997

Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

DOMICILE DENSITY

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO
(1997)

Map legend

- Hydrography
- Domicile density (dom/ha)
- 0 - 2
- 2 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 30
- 30 - 40
- 40 - 50
- 50 - 97.3

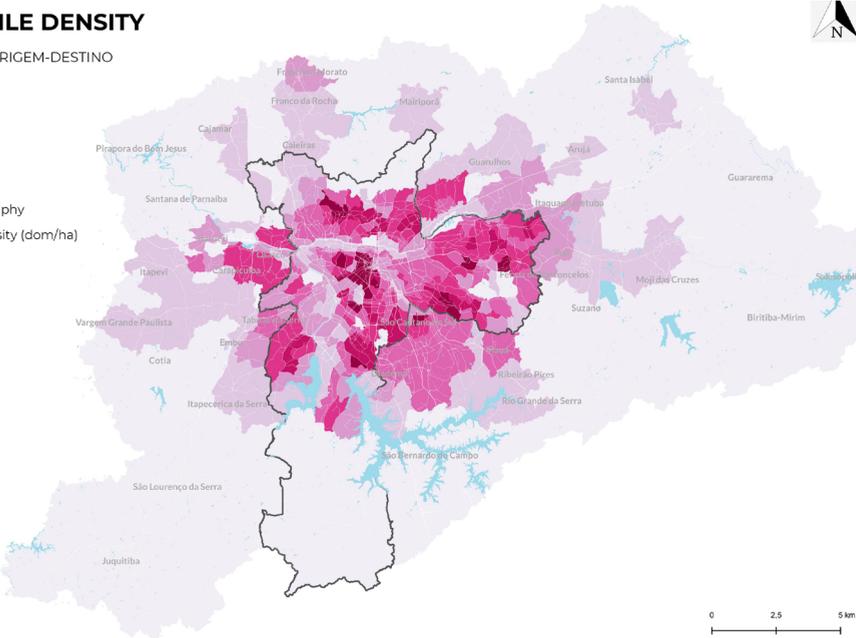


Figure 1.11 Household density in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 2017

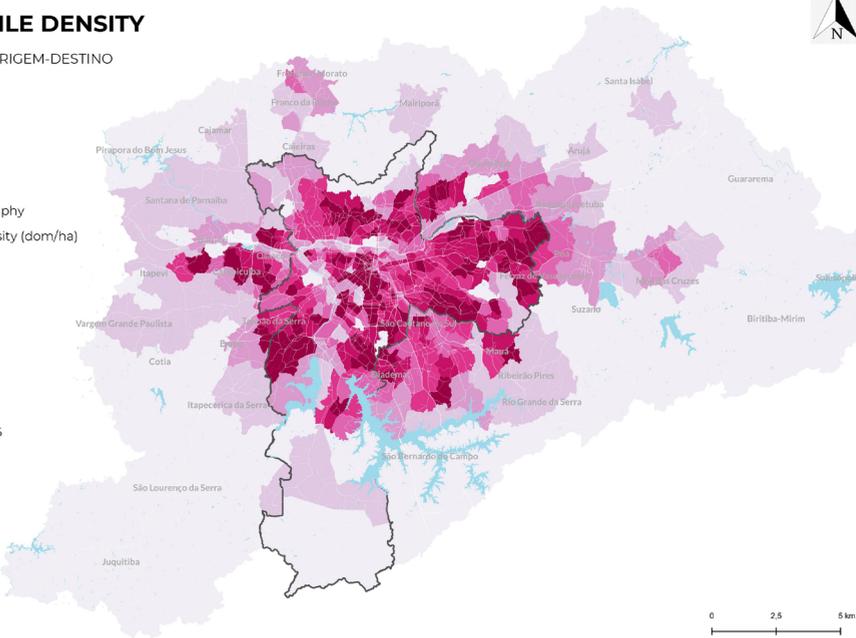
Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

DOMICILE DENSITY

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO
(2017)

Map legend

- Hydrography
- Domicile density (dom/ha)
- 0 - 2
- 2 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 30
- 30 - 40
- 40 - 50
- 50 - 186.6



Furthermore, there was an increase in population and household densities in several districts within the Intermediate Ring, where real estate's performance was intense. Besides, the increase in densities in specific communities within the Peripheral Ring occurred due to the considerable growth of precarious settlements caused by the lack of public policies aimed at the low-income population and the resulting increase in poverty caused by economic crises.

However, there was almost no change in the urban structure regarding concentration patterns of employment-generating activities and income social classes, as shown in Figures 1.12 to 1.15. Thus, the Southwest Quadrant remains holding the highest jobs (above 130 per hectare) and income social classes (above 15 minimum wages in 1997 or equivalent to 7 minimum wages in 2017) concentration.

To sum up, formal and informal real estate activity caused a sprawling increase in household densities in the São Paulo metropolitan area. It helped enhance the demographic density in some localities without altering the traditional spatial patterns of jobs and income concentration.

Figure 1.12 **Employment density in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 1997**

Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

EMPLOYMENT DENSITY

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO
(1997)

Map legend

Hydrography

Employment density (jobs/ha)

- 0 - 5
- 5 - 20
- 20 - 35
- 35 - 50
- 50 - 70
- 70 - 130
- 130 - 1370.9

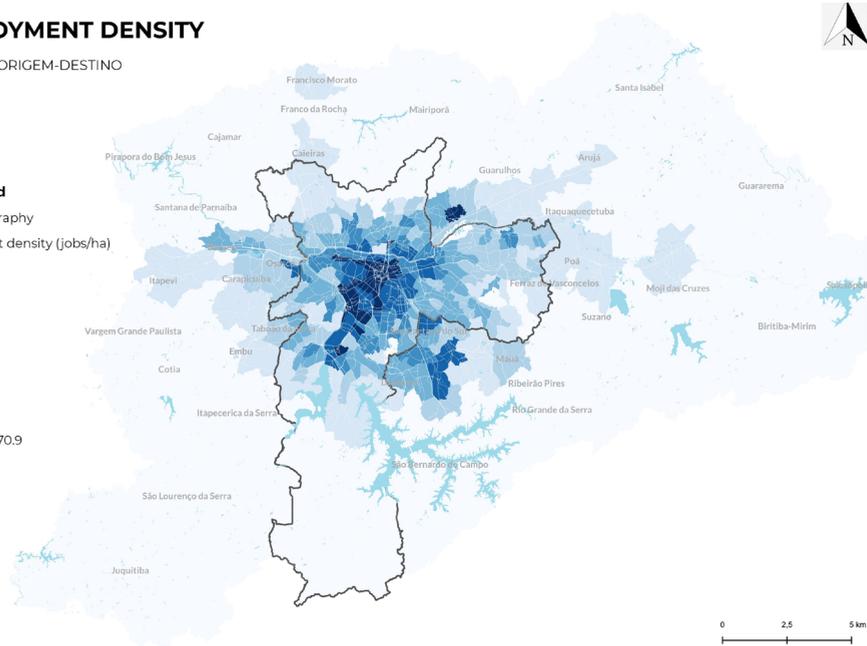


Figure 1.13 **Employment density in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 2017**

Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

EMPLOYMENT DENSITY

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO
(2017)

Map legend

Hydrography

Employment density (jobs/ha)

- 0 - 5
- 5 - 20
- 20 - 35
- 35 - 50
- 50 - 70
- 70 - 130
- 130 - 1258.4

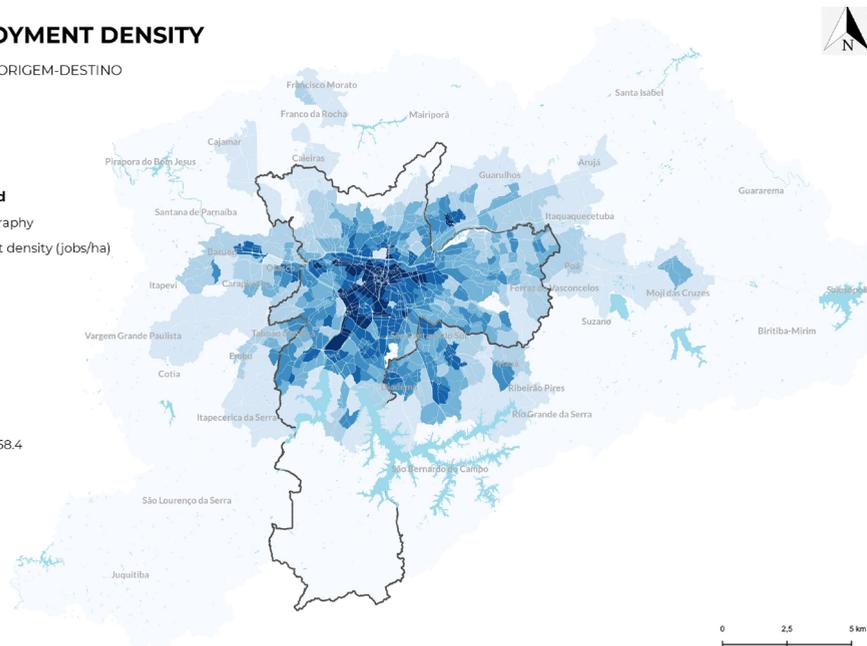


Figure 1.14 Average family income in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 1997

Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO (1997)

Map legend

-  Hydrography
- Average family income in Minimum Wages (MW)
-  0 - 5 MW
-  5 - 10 MW
-  10 - 15 MW
-  Above 15 MW

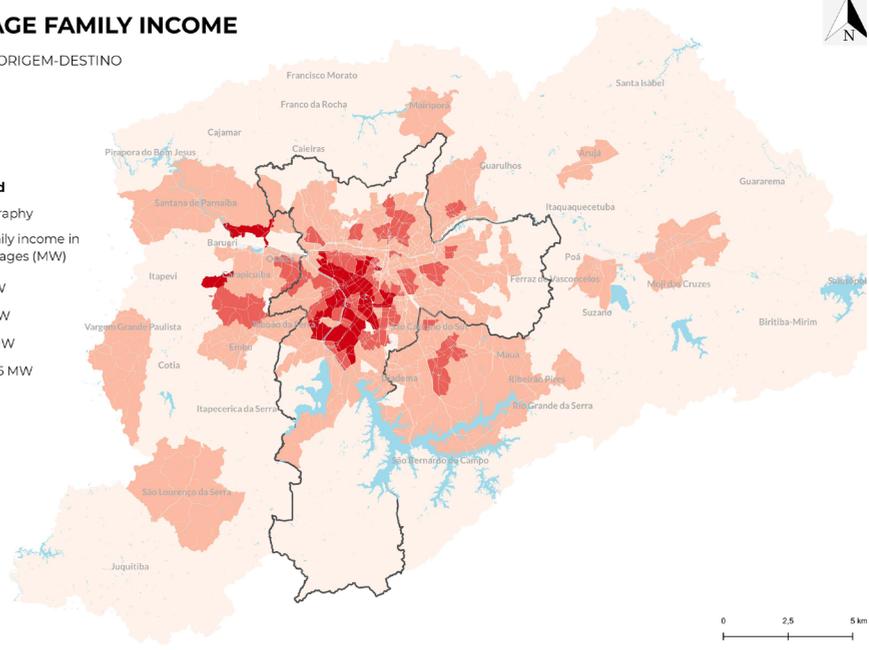


Figure 1.15 Average family income in São Paulo Metropolitan Area - 2017

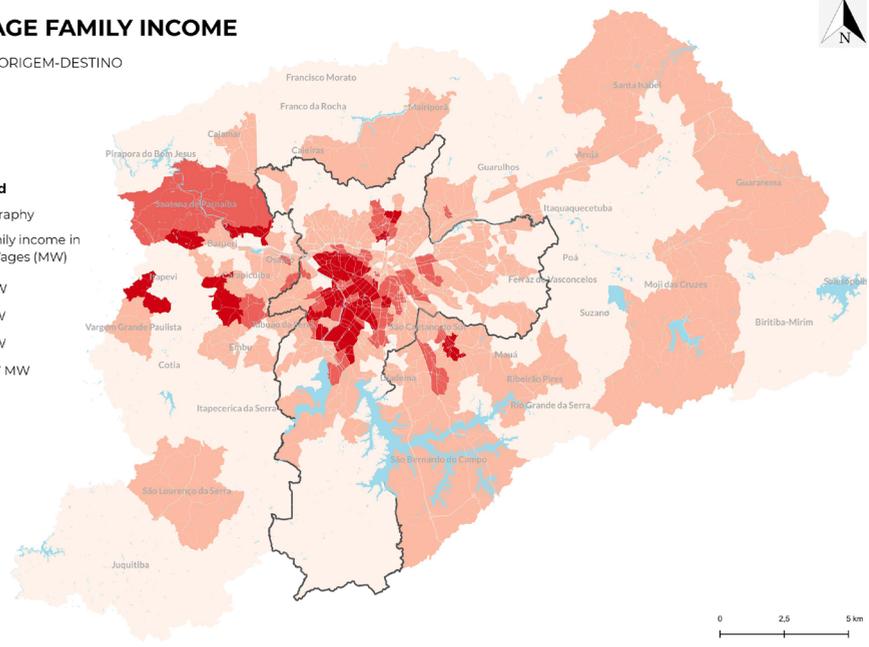
Source: Elaborated by Marina Pinheiro Marques from Metro data.

AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME

PESQUISA ORIGEM-DESTINO (2017)

Map legend

-  Hydrography
- Average family income in Minimum Wages (MW)
-  0 - 3 MW
-  3 - 5 MW
-  5 - 7 MW
-  Above 7 MW



São Paulo's territorial context: the relationship between the city's real estate dynamics and urban planning tools

CONCLUSIONS

The current review processes on the city's regulatory framework showed quite different economic contexts throughout the years. For example, the master plan review activities began in 2013 when the Brazilian economy declined, even though it presented relatively high indicators at the end of that year. Besides, the approval of the 2014 master plan experienced the same 2013's scenario, which remained constant during 2014.

The zoning law revision underwent the same context in 2015, resulting in a new zoning law; however, between 2016 and 2013, much of the previous economic context had changed. Another round of financial crisis was about to come up, resulting in the revision of article 174 (the 'anti-crisis' article). It expanded benefits for building apartments based on market standards in the ZEU. Nevertheless, it happened without considering if this article's benefits were consistent with the social and urban transformations towards a healthy economy for the city, not just for some boroughs.

These types of changes and transformations, mainly in the economic sector, visibly impacted urban areas. Nevertheless, they must be interpreted and analyzed to learn the impacts on the structuring elements of the metropolis. Even though such urban transformations are fast and dynamic, traditional urban relationships have remained consolidated and perennial. The Southwest Quadrant continues to hold the greatest concentration of jobs and income. Its influence extends beyond the city limits, despite São Paulo applying two master plans to counterbalance the urban structure's inequalities. Such dynamics has impacted the index's constructions presented in this research and this same city's region.

The common sense that master plans or their land-use tools apart are compelling enough for the structural transformation of the city is often mistaken. Yet, understanding the various specificities regarding urban norms and mechanisms is crucial to learn to what extent they support the city project socially determined in the Master Plan – despite and beyond the constant shifts and crises that reshape urban space.

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