



Dynamics of urban segregation Vila Leopoldina. From *sesmarias* to gated communities

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Abstract

Objective: To examine the dynamics of spatial urban segregation based on studies of the transformations in the urban form that have taken place in the district of Vila Leopoldina, and to also examine transformations in the way of thinking and planning the city of São Paulo.

Methodology: Comparing concepts taken from well-known studies on the city of São Paulo with historical cartographies of the municipality where Vila Leopoldina is registered with urban subdivision projects submitted to the public authorities in the district and with images and data on new residential developments.

Relevance: In the examination of how spatial segregation is formed throughout the history of the occupation of the Vila Leopoldina neighborhood and to increase urban studies on the location.

Results: Segregation and isolation are found to be a basic premise in the construction of the city. This is shown through the lack of execution of urban projects of public interest, a relevant reduction in public spaces due to misappropriation of public spaces such as squares and streets, and the absence of the element of the block in urban composition.

Theoretical and methodological contributions: The work contributes to the publication of subdivision projects present in municipal archives. In addition to presenting the comparison of information from four well-known authors about the city and identifying the direct results of laws and plans in urban spaces.

Social contributions: This article adds to the understanding of spatial segregation at the neighborhood scale by quantifying lost public spaces, and by verifying the contemporary characteristics of physical segregation given by new real estate projects.

Keywords: Vila Leopoldina. Urban segregation. Public space. Urban typologies. Gated communities.

Dinâmicas da segregação urbana na Vila Leopoldina: das *sesmarias* aos condomínios fechados

Resumo

Objetivo: Verificar as dinâmicas da segregação urbana espacial a partir dos estudos das transformações da forma urbana ocorridas no distrito da Vila Leopoldina, associando-as às transformações na maneira de pensar e planejar a cidade de São Paulo.

Metodologia: Cruzamento entre conceitos retirados de estudos notórios sobre a cidade de São Paulo, cartografias históricas do município em que se registra a Vila Leopoldina, projetos de loteamento apresentados ao poder público no distrito e imagens e dados sobre os novos empreendimentos residenciais.

Relevância: Verificar como a segregação espacial se forma ao longo da história da ocupação do bairro da Vila Leopoldina, e incrementar os estudos urbanos sobre o local.

Resultados: A segregação e o isolamento são apontados na construção da cidade através da ausência de execução de projetos urbanos de interesse público, da relevante redução dos espaços públicos por apropriação indevida, como o que ocorre com praças e ruas, e a ausência do elemento quadra na composição urbana.

Contribuições teóricas e metodológicas: O trabalho contribui com a publicação de projetos de





loteamentos presentes nos arquivos municipais. Além disso, apresenta o cruzamento das informações de quatro autores notórios sobre a cidade, identificando os resultados diretos de leis e planos no espaço urbano.

Contribuições sociais: Compreensão da segregação espacial na escala do bairro, através da quantificação dos espaços públicos perdidos, e verificação das características contemporâneas da segregação física causada pelos novos empreendimentos imobiliários.

Palavras-chave: Vila Leopoldina. Segregação urbana. Espaço público. Tipologias urbanas. Condomínios fechados.

Dinâmicas de la segregación urbana en Vila Leopoldina: de sesmarias a condominios cerrados

Resumen

Objetivo: Verificar la dinámica de la segregación espacial urbana a partir de estudios de las transformaciones de la forma urbana ocurridas en el distrito de Vila Leopoldina, asociándose con las transformaciones en la forma de pensar y planificar la ciudad de São Paulo.

Metodología: Cruce de conceptos tomados de estudios notorios sobre la ciudad de São Paulo, cartografías históricas del municipio donde está registrada Vila Leopoldina, proyectos de subdivisión presentados a las autoridades públicas en el distrito e imágenes y datos sobre nuevos desarrollos residenciales.

Relevancia: Verificar cómo se forma la segregación espacial a lo largo de la historia de ocupación del barrio de Vila Leopoldina, y aumentar los estudios urbanísticos del lugar.

Resultados: La segregación y el aislamiento se destacan en la construcción de la ciudad por la falta de ejecución de proyectos urbanos de interés público, la reducción relevante de espacios públicos por apropiación indebida, como lo que ocurre con plazas y calles, y la ausencia de la plaza. elemento en la composición urbana.

Aportes teóricos y metodológicos: El trabajo contribuye a la publicación de proyectos de subdivisión presentes en archivos municipales. Además, presenta el cruce de información de cuatro reconocidos autores sobre la ciudad, identificando los resultados directos de leyes y planes en el espacio urbano.

Contribuciones sociales: Comprensión de la segregación espacial a escala barrial, mediante la cuantificación de los espacios públicos perdidos, y verificación de las características contemporâneas de la segregación física provocada por nuevos proyectos inmobiliarios.

Palabras clave: Vila Leopoldina. Segregación urbana. Espacio público. Tipologías urbanas. Condominios cerrados.

Introduction

When it comes to characterizing São Paulo as a city segregated between social classes as a whole, a large-scale design is to be indicated; one in which spatial separation occurs through the relationship between distant and precarious outskirts in contrast to neighborhoods well served by infrastructure and urban living facilities. Certainly, the spatial segregation that has happened because of the center-periphery design--which appeared in São Paulo at the end of the 19th century and intensified from the 1940s onwards--(Stédile, 2019), continues to be the material and symbolic **state** of things in the city. Even so, as we enter into the scale of the neighborhood space, there is coupled the feeling of isolation and fragmentation with the physical reality of separation.

The general objective of this work is to map the urbanization process in the Vila Leopoldina neighborhood, which is currently at the center of several activities both by the government and the real estate market, in contrast to the scarce studies on the region.



As a specific objective, it seeks to demonstrate, at the scale of the neighborhood, the culture of segregation used as a guideline for structuring space in São Paulo, the main agents of which are the significant reduction of public spaces and the formal disconnection between private parts of cities and those of common use.

The district, commonly associated with large warehouses that are later transformed into gated communities, is in truth a diverse and complex assemblage. In it, there are to be found a significant presence of workers' houses; industries, and logistics centers; garden city tissue; two favelas; a social housing complex; as well as a significant number of homeless people and middle and upper-class residential buildings, office building complexes, educational centers (Serviço Social da Indústria, Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial, Vera Cruz private School, Mogi das Cruzes University), commercial centers and public facilities such as the Orlando Villas-Boas Municipal Park, a post office warehouse, a public food warehouse (CEAGESP [Companhia de Entrepósitos e Armazéns Gerais de São Paulo]); two train stations; and a provisional detention center. Although it has its singularities, Vila Leopoldina repeats the history of the formation of the other city tissues around the central radius. It is representative of the center-periphery relationship of the late 19th and early twentieth centuries and the re-signification of these territories into fragmented places in the 21st century.

The region was a *sesmaria*¹, divided into large farms in the 18th century and, later, divided into smaller private farms and popular lots in the late 19th century. The area remained in this state until 1969 when CEAGESP was built and industries and logistics centers were installed along with it. Finally, at the beginning of the 21st century, the region has become a region much sought after by the upper and middle-income housing market, which builds gated communities on large portions of land. This process can also be observed in other districts of the city such as Brás, Mooca, Bom Retiro, Lapa, and Barra Funda².

The significant number of housing units being built in the last ten years would not be a problem in itself, as the district has large industrial areas and warehouses that have become inadequate for a region near the center of the city. However, what has been observed is the segregation, isolation, and reduction of public life as a basis in the reformulation of this area.

The method applied in this work is built on the construction of concept maps that bring together the following information: well-known studies on the city of São Paulo; historical maps of the city of São Paulo; urban legislation of São Paulo; urban subdivision plans for Vila Leopoldina presented to the municipality of São Paulo; photographs and data from vertical developments.

Due to the extent of the historical framework, it was necessary to use two works by

¹Until 1850, all Brazil's land belonged to the Portugal Crown. *Sesmaria* is a Portuguese land distribution system, which grants Crown lands for agricultural production by private individuals.

²Most oldest neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo.



Professor Nestor Goulart Reis: *São Paulo. Vila, Cidade, Metrópole* (Reis, 2004) and *Dois Séculos de Projetos no Estado de São Paulo. Grandes Obras e Urbanização* (Reis, 2010) both dealing with the same period and assuming its large-scale divisions of time, divided by major milestones in Brazilian political history and by the transformations in the central nucleus of the city of São Paulo. These divisions are: the village and the colonial city of the Empire era; Coffee Metropolis; Industrialization and metropolitan formation (See figure 1)

To examine the changes in the way of thinking about the city, this paper uses the work: *A cidade e a lei: legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo* (Rolnik, 1992) by Rachel Rolnik; and *A cidade que não pode parar: Planos urbanísticos de São Paulo no século XX* (Somekh and Campos, 2002) a collection of texts organized by Nádia Somekh and Candido Malta Campos that discusses the urban plans produced for the city throughout the 20th century.

To define the characteristics of urban segregation and how it is developed in the city, two works by Flávio Villaça: *São Paulo: segregação urbana e desigualdade* (Villaça, 2009,) and *Espaço intra-urbano no Brasil* (Villaça, 2009); along with *Cidade de Muros. Crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo* (Caldeira, 2000) by Teresa Caldeira.

From the above theoretical framework, the information has been compared with the cartographic information available on Vila Leopoldina, and in this way, the history of the region is divided into four distinct periods: 1589-1894: sesmaria, place of passage and limit of the village of São Paulo; 1894-1949: a state of urban hiatus; 1950-2000: large industrial plots, logistics centers and popular lots; 2000-2018: transformations triggered by the real estate market.



Figure1 - Timeline: theoretical framework and cartography

Authors/References					Results to the district
Reis	Somekh & Campos	Rolnik	Caldeira	São Paulo historical maps	Vila Leopoldina district
1554-1821-Village and colonial city		1521-Manuelinas ordinations 1560-Foundation of the city council			1554-1894 Limit of the village
1822- Independence of Brazil					
1822-1889 City of the Empire era		1850-Lei de terras 1875-Code of municipal postures 1886-Code of municipal postures review			1894-1954 Urban gap condition
1867-Santos-Jundiaí railway 1872- João Teodoro city management	1892-Technical improvement committee plan		1554-1940 Concentrated and non-segregated city	1894- Urban subdivision project E. Richer Company 1914- Map of city 1924- Map of City 1930- Sarah Brasil Map	
1889- Proclamation of the Republic	1911-Bouvard plan	1894-State health code 1913-14-Streets regulation			1894-1954 Urban gap condition
1890-1930 Coffee Metropolis	1922-Ulhôa Cintra plan 1926-Light public transport plan 1930-Avenues plan	1917-20 Code of municipal postures review 1923- Urban subdivision law 1929- Code Arthur Saboia		1940- Aerial photo of city 1943-Map of city 1950-Map of city 1954-Vasp-Cruzeiro Aerial photo of city and map of city 1955-1984 urban Urban subdivision projects	
1931- Industrialization and metropolitan formation	1949-Zoning Law 1950-Moses report 1952- Zoning Law review 1953- Urban Amnesty 1954-Regional Plan of Anhaia Mello 1956-58 SAGMACS 1962-Urban Amnesty 1968-Urban Amnesty 1968-68- Basic urban plan 1981-Metropolitan Integrated Development Plan 1985- City Master plan 1988- City Master plan 1991-City Master plan 1999-Integrated transport plan		1940-1990 Emergence of the outskirts 1990 Upper class gated community in outskirts	1972- Gegrans Map 2001-Aerial photo of city 2004-Aerial photo of city	1955-2000 Warehouse and worker houses 2001-2018 Transformations promoted by the real estate market

Source: Prepared by the author, 2020.

For the cartographic analysis, the entire set of historical maps of the city in which the neighborhood is registered (available in the municipal archives) was taken into consideration. For the first historical period (1589-1894), the map of sites around São Paulo, produced by the



Engineer Gastão César Bierrembach de Lima and used for the events commemorating the city's fourth centenary is used. Apart from this cartography, no maps of the region before 1914 have been found.

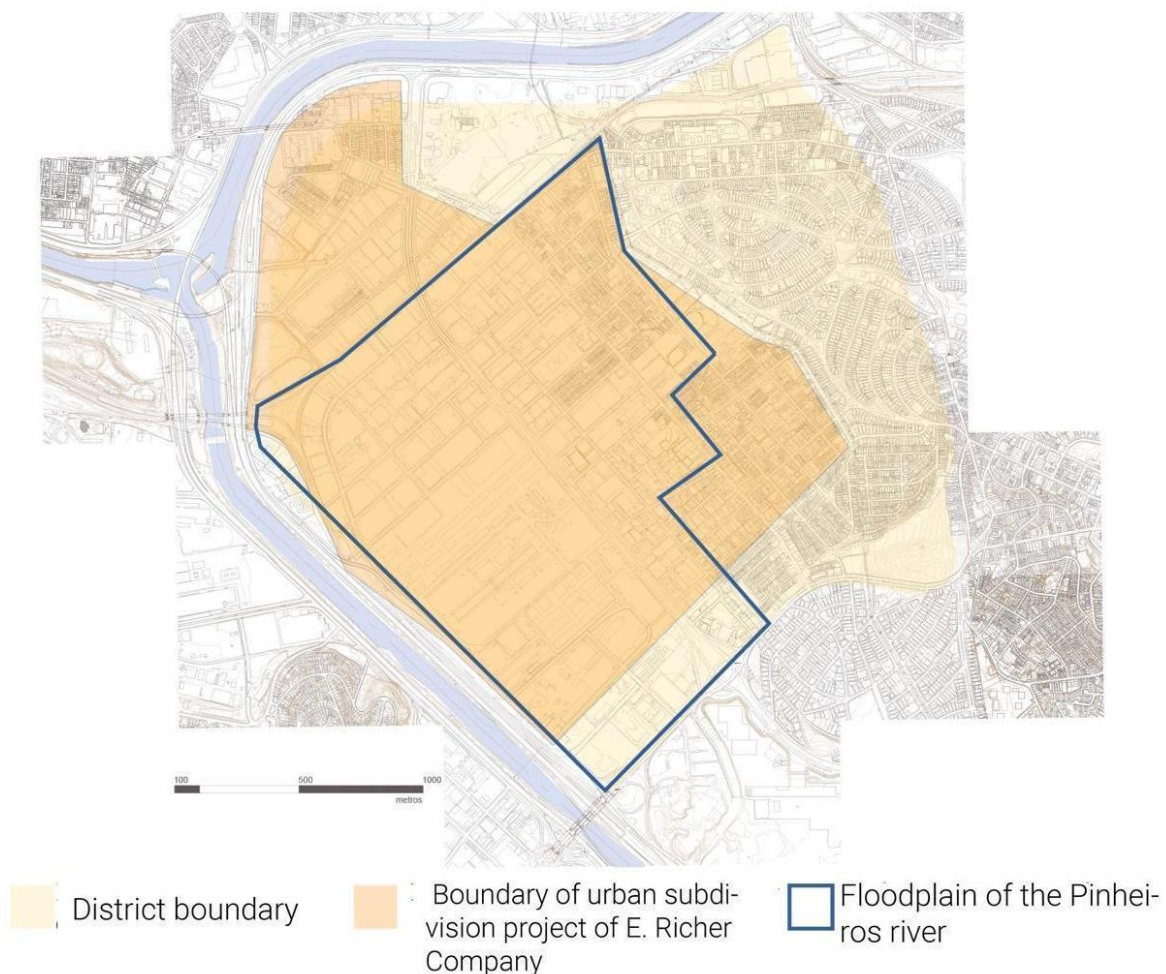
For the second period (1894-1950), maps of the city of São Paulo from 1914, 1924, and 1930, an aerial photo from 1940, an aerial photo, and a city map from 1954 were used.

For the third period (1950-2000), the letter produced by GEGRAN (Grupo Executivo da Grande São Paulo), from 1972, and the subdivision projects presented to the “Prefeitura de São Paulo” [São Paulo City Hall] from 1955 to 1984 were used.

Between 1972 and 2001 there was a gap in the production of detailed, official cartographies. It was only in 2001 and 2004 that the Orthophotos of the city of São Paulo were produced.

The map below demonstrates the boundaries of the district; the limit of the first parcel of E. Richter & Company (1894); and the Pinheiros River floodplain area in the district.

Figure 2 - Boundaries of the study area



Source: Prepared by the author based on the digital cartographic base of the Municipality of São Paulo. Prodam, n.d.



1589-1894: limits of the vila de são paulo

The history of the Vila Leopoldina region dates to the first years of the occupation of São Paulo. Called *Emboçava* (from the Tupi, “a place of passage”), it was the limit of Portuguese occupation on the plateau, and a point of departure for the roads that led to the interior, which had not yet been colonized.

The Vila Leopoldina region was first granted to Domingos Luís, a few years later to Gaspar Fernandes and, soon after, in 1600, it was transferred to his widow Domingas Antunes. In 1607, Afonso Sardinha and in 1609, Estevão Ribeiro asked the municipal government for land in the region. In the 18th century, the land was donated to the Society of Jesus and, thus, the Lapa site was formed. (Dick, 1992; Santos, 1979). The map that represents the surroundings of the central nucleus in the 18th and 19th century, names the Jesuits as owners until 1779 and, later, José Alves da Cunha. (See figure 03)

The current administrative division of Vila Leopoldina preserves the limits of the colonial city: the current Avenida. Diógenes Ribeiro de Lima, formerly Estrada das Boiadas, to the east; the Pinheiros River to the west; to the south today, Avenida Queiroz Filho, which corresponds to the boundary between the Lapa site and the Boassava site; and to the north, the Tietê River.

Four important milestones of the period that influenced changes in the design of the city as a whole are pointed out:

- “Lei de Terras” [Land law of September 18th, 1850]
- Santos–Jundiaí railway line in 1867.
- “Código municipal de Posturas, de 1886” [Municipal Posture Code of 1886.]
- “Código Estadual Sanitário de 1894” [State Sanitary Code of 1894.]

Of those landmarks, the Lei de Terras was the one that most marked the spatial change of Vila Leopoldina: from a large rural property (*Sesmaria*), it became a subdivision with suburban characteristics. Even so, the law only had repercussions on the urban tissue in 1894, when the area was divided into smaller lots, as will be seen in the next item.

It is worth remembering that before the Lei de Terras, the value of the land was linked to its effective occupation and use. After the *Lei de terras*, it became a commodity. Thus, during the period, many parts of the city began to be divided into lots and put up for sale. (Rolnik, 1997).

The railway, located in the heights of Vila Leopoldina, presents itself as a limiting element of the land, but it will only influence occupation from the second half of the 20th century onwards when the passenger station was inaugurated.

The *Posturas Municipais* (Municipal Ordinances) and the *Código Sanitário* (Sanitary Code) had a great influence on the structuring of the city's central area. Of a hygienist



character, it restricted the establishment or the permanence of low-income housing (Rolnik, 1997; Reis 2004, 2010; Somekh et al, 2002), however, Vila Leopoldina, still in a period of rural characteristics, was not significantly influenced by these laws.

1894-1949: urban gap state

Until the end of the 19th century, Vila Leopoldina continued to be a large rural property at the confluence of the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers. In 1894, the company E. Richter & Company bought and parceled out the region in lots of different sizes, with orthogonal streets and regular blocks. For the first time, the place appears under the name Vila Leopoldina, in honor of Leopoldina Kleeberg, one of the company's partners.

The urban subdivision plan used for analysis (Figure 3) is an advertising document. The approval process for this project was not found in the current municipal records.

The length of the streets is given according to the size of the lots, with lengths ranging from 80 to 1000 linear m. The lots also had great diversity in size: from 1,000 m² to 30,000 m². However, most of the blocks were made up of lots smaller than that, on average, 1,000 m². The project also envisaged two squares, each measuring approximately 100 m x 100 m, and a space for a hotel close to the train line.

In 1914, Vila Leopoldina was mapped for the first time in the city's General Plan. The 1914 chart demonstrates the partial implementation of the 1894 urban subdivision plans, where only eight blocks along the railway line appear on the map as existing at the time. Two new blocks were added due to the addition of an intermediate street. Again, at the Prefeitura, there were no projects to modify the subdivision.

Santos (1979) states that there was a subdivision in 1926, carried out by the company Siciliano e Silva, but this project has not been found.

The 1930 map illustrates more precisely what Vila Leopoldina would be like in the first decades of the 20th century. The map enlarges the registration area and provides more detailed information: it indicates the lots, the buildings, the legality, and the paving of the streets. Fifty years later, the streets of the 1894 urban subdivision plan were still considered unofficial and were unpaved or, in some cases, not even executed.

This map also records paths that existed but were not planned. These paths cut through the large plots towards the river floodplain, which was used for temporary activities, such as pasture (Seabra, 1987). Some paths were later incorporated into the urban fabric, as will be demonstrated later; others disappeared with the occupation of the area.

The square projected next to the train line appears divided and occupied by buildings, while the Praça Leopoldina, on Rua Cyrillo (now Rua Aroaba), disappears from the chart.

In the 1894 urban subdivision plan, the first lots to be sold would be the largest, which



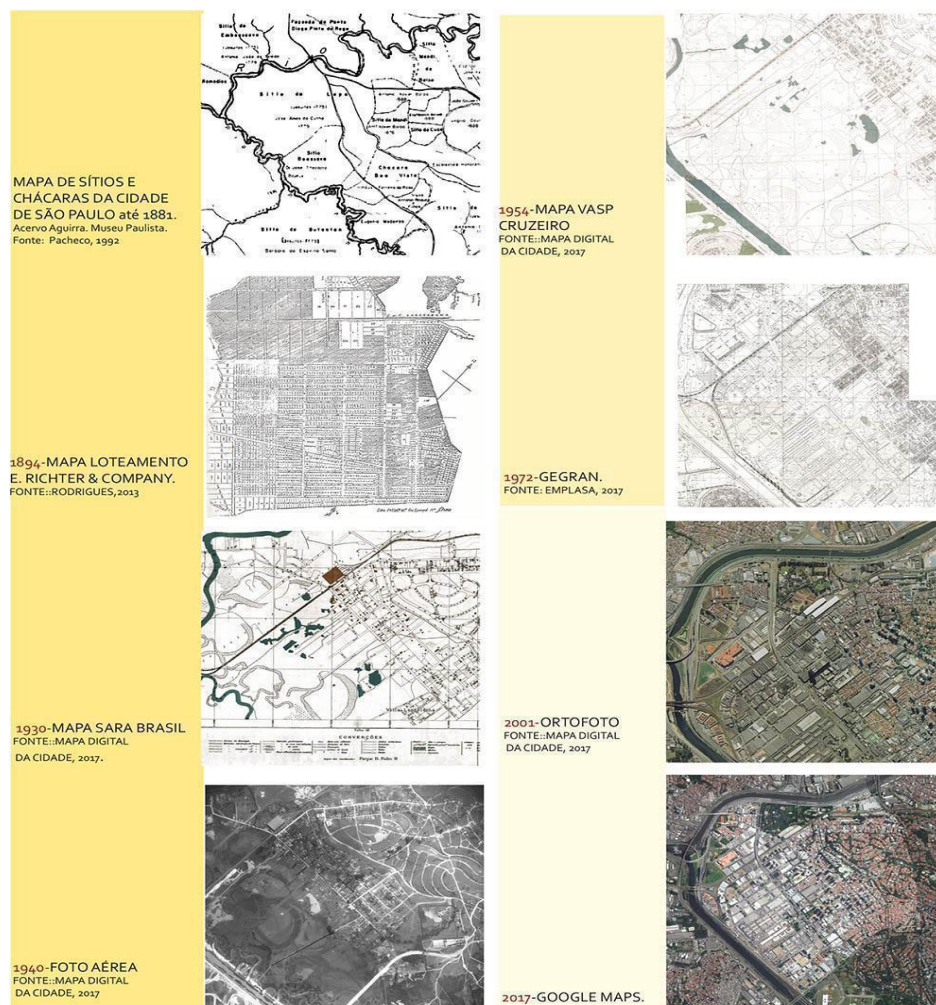
would suggest that the initial interest of the occupation was intended for medium-sized or even industrial agricultural production. However, as shown by the 1930 letter and the 1940 aerial photo, the effective occupation of Vila Leopoldina took place with small farms, indicating that the sale of large lots was linked to speculative interests, as these were the last to be occupied.

The 1940 aerial photo clarifies that, despite the previous maps showing the layout of the streets in the floodplain area, they, in practice, did not exist. There is also a marked system of paths between the lots, made by the residents.

The Pinheiros River has already been channelized, but its original courset is still visible on the ground. An extension of Aroaba Street to the river is also recorded, which was not drawn in the original 1894 plan.

From 1894 to 1949 (Figure 01) São Paulo had at least eight plans, laws, or revisions of laws. The Arthur Saboya code, from 1929, had but a small impact on the region, but the Avenida Prestes Maia plan of 1930 determined that the Vila Leopoldina area should be considered an urban area.

Figure 3 - Cartography analyzed



Source: Prepared by the author from the digital cartographic base of the Municipality of São Paulo Prodam; and Emplasa, n.d.





1950-2000: zoning the city

In the 1950s, there was an intense debate about urban laws. Draft laws were presented to the City Council in 1949, 1952, 1955, and 1957 and amnesties in 1953 and 1955. It is the legislation of 1957, based on Anhaia Melo's 1954 plan, that replaced the calculation of the height of the building made in relation to street width by a system of coefficients with land area (Somekh & Campos, 2002).

However, of all the regulatory frameworks, plans, and laws, the report by the North American, Moses, from 1950, is the one that has had the greatest influence on the city's territory, even though it did not actually present any plans or projects for it.

The report might best be considered a set of recommendations. However, it was this report that determined the productive character of the city's efficiency, based on its ability to make connections and not from its social or symbolic spaces. The report transformed the avenues into expressways, disintegrated the circular arrangement, was concerned with establishing relationships with the highways under construction and reinforced the idea of suburbs (Somekh & Campos, 2002).

Fast-flow efficiency engineering has resulted in large infrastructure elements, and as a consequence, residual spaces, such as underpasses. In the 1950s, therefore, São Paulo took on its features as an industrial megalopolis.

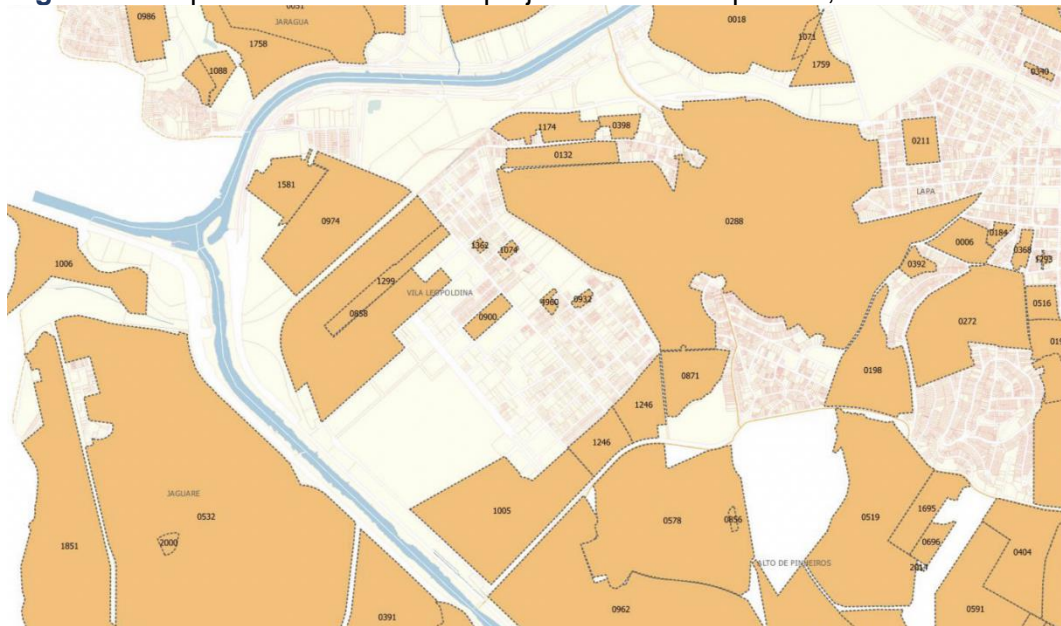
Reis (2010) states that this process began in the 1930s, but up until the 1950s the works had had a small scale and were still linked to the central urban core.

The theoretical framework used here points to the emergence of the periphery at that time, directly associating it with social exclusion in the city. This happened through economic and social dynamics in urban land, which expel and welcome, allow or prevent the settlement of certain people in certain spaces and who receive different amounts of public investment (Rolnik, 1997, Villaça, 2009).

In 1955, the first subdivision project was formally presented for approval by the city hall. Until 2017, there were only seventeen subdivision projects and/or street layout projects for Vila Leopoldina, sixteen of them presented between 1955 and 1957, and only one street layout project dating from the 1980s. From 2017 (Figure 04), it is possible to verify that most of the subdivisions in the region did not have urban projects presented to the government. Those that were presented were not necessarily approved, and only two that were approved were implemented just as projected. By superimposing the projects presented to the city hall onto the subsequent aerial photos, it is shown that the planned free and public green areas were not implemented and were instead divided into lots. In addition, there were other deviations such as the installation of gates in dead-end streets or the incorporation of stretches of streets into private parking lots.



Figure 4 - Map of urban subdivision projects of Vila Leopoldina, 2017



Source: Deinco - Município de São Paulo, 2017. The orange and numbered polygons correspond to urban subdivision projects or street projects with an administrative process of land title regularization in the city hall; the other areas are irregular.

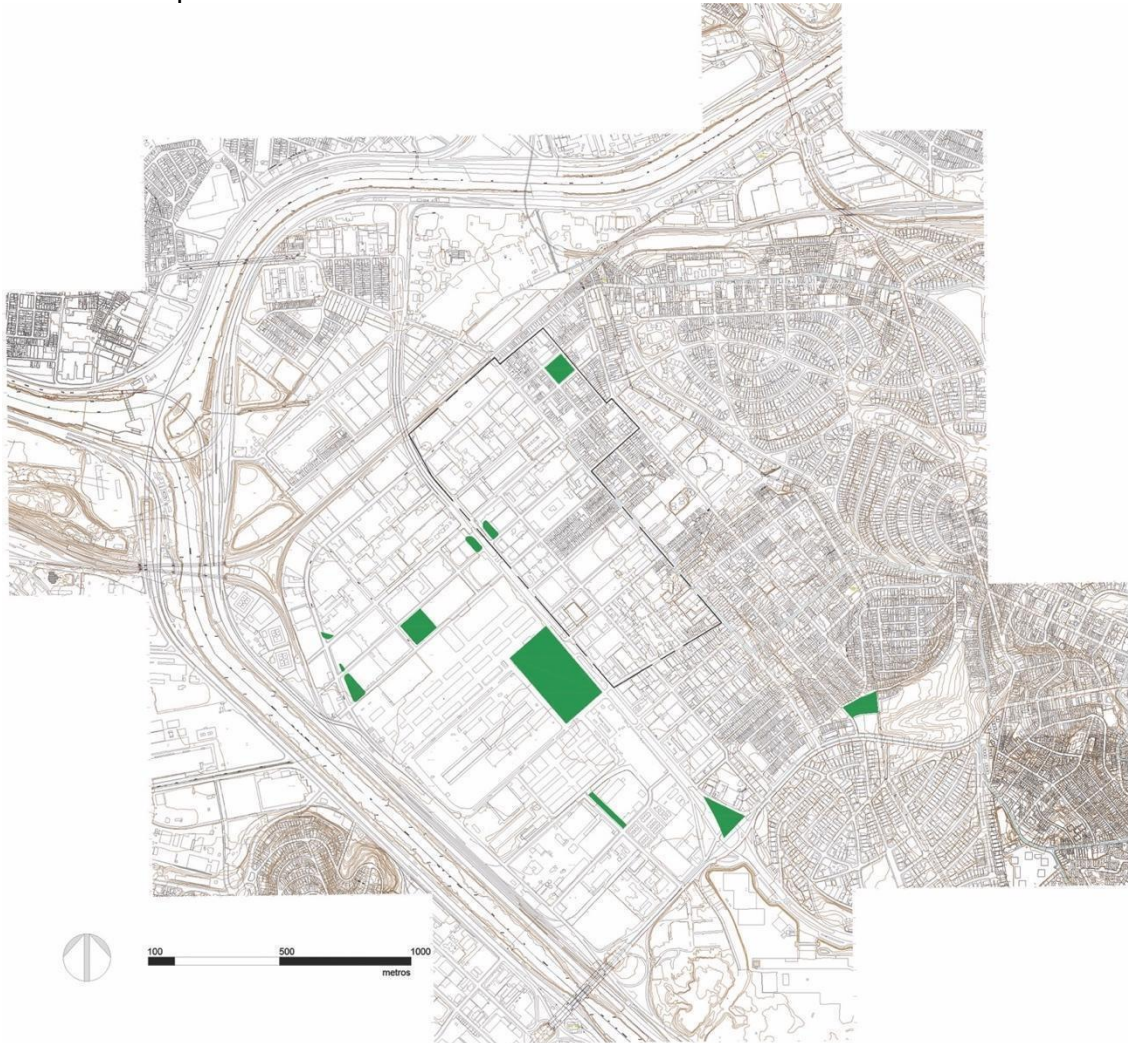
The 1955 Building Code is structured as a summation of the laws made since the 1929 Arthur Saboya Code. For this research, a 1968 edition of the Building Code was used, in which the third part is a compendium of laws that were approved after the 1955 edition, which demonstrates that between 1955 and 1968 there was not a single year in which a new law, decree or act was not approved.

The code defined a series of rules for opening streets, but, in general, it only focused on lots of 40,000 m² or larger, which were to allocate 20% of the area to the road and 5%, 7%, and 10% for areas of squares and gardens in urban, suburban, and rural areas, respectively. Therefore, for approval by the city hall, it was enough to present a minimum set of drawings and technical parts that met the rates required by law.

It is possible to see that, in addition to the few projects presented to the city hall, they provide for free areas – squares – which, in fact, were not implemented and, later, were divided and occupied (Figure 5).



Figure 5 - Squares designed by the developers to comply with the urban law, but not implemented



Source: Prepared by the author based on the analysis of subdivisions in Deinfo - Município de São Paulo, 2017.

The following is an analysis of eight subdivision projects submitted to the city hall in the period of 1955 to 1980, which are in the floodplain area of the Pinheiros River. The ARR-0900 subdivision, despite appearing in the city hall database, was not found in their files.

Subdivision plan ARR-0858

The ARR-0858 project (Figure 6), owned by the Mofarrej organization, was presented to the city hall in 1954 and it obtained a license in 1955. The map and the 1954 aerial photo taken by Vasp Cruzeiro show that the area was still empty.

The project foresaw the construction of five squares, new streets, and large industrial plots along the train line; in the center, it provided for a mixed-use block, with industrial and residential lots; and, in the southern portion, residential lots ranging from 250 to 750 m².

Observing the GEGRAN chart, from 1972 (Figure 3), it is verified that the popular squares and lots had not been built. What exists are large lots with warehouses for the

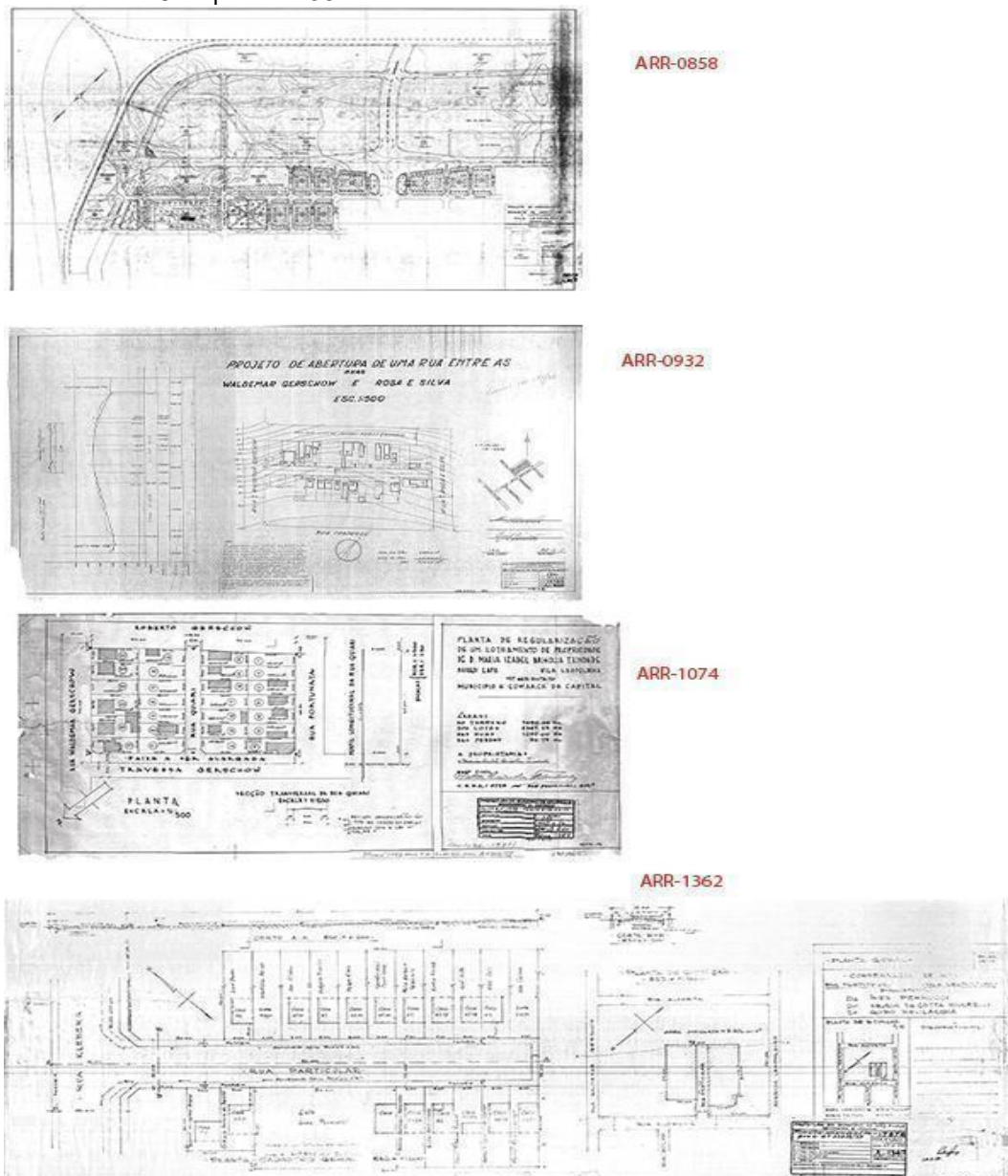


metallurgy industry, and for business logistics, such as warehouses for the businesses Loja Mappin, Pão de Açúcar, and Saraiva.

Subdivision plan ARR-0932

The ARR-0932 subdivision (Figure 6), from 1954, obtained from the “Carta de 1954” [charter of 1955], is a request for a new street where there was already a street to be regularized. A street that, according to cartography from 1954, already existed and had buildings. Note that the lots were divided according to what had already been built. A typical example of the formation of a block in the region: building→lot→street.

Figure 6 - Subdivision projects presented at the city hall- ARR 0858 | ARR 0932 | ARR 1074 | ARR 1362



Source: Deinfo - Município de São Paulo, 2017.





Subdivision plan ARR-1005

The set of ARR-1005 projects presents changes in intention in a few years. These were presented in the years 1955, 1960, and 1978, and requests for new streets and avenues were made in 1956, 1964, and 1966.

In the project presented to the city hall in 1956 (Figure 7), a small portion was divided between Avenida Dr. Gastão Vidigal and Avenida Jaguaré (now Avenida Queiroz Filho). New streets and blocks with orthogonal and organic layouts were planned, as well as lots between 270 m² and 520 m², a square marking the corner between the two avenues, with commercial areas facing the avenues, and residential lots for the core of the blocks, to be accessed by smaller streets.

Currently, what used to be a street and a residential block both became parking lots for the COBASI Store, with controlled entrances. In addition to the incorporation of the public area (street), which could have been constituted as housing in a well-located area of the city, it is instead a large, impermeable parking area.

The planned square had a smaller area than the current Praça Apecatu, but it is a roundabout between two large avenues, having no elements of permanence or meeting.

The map and aerial photo made by Vasp Cruzeiro from 1954 (Figure 3) show the empty area, with only the avenue and the Jaguaré bridge executed. The 1972 GEGRAN Chart (Figure 3) shows the planned streets, but without occupation. The only building present in the four blocks of the development is a gas station on the corner of the two avenues.

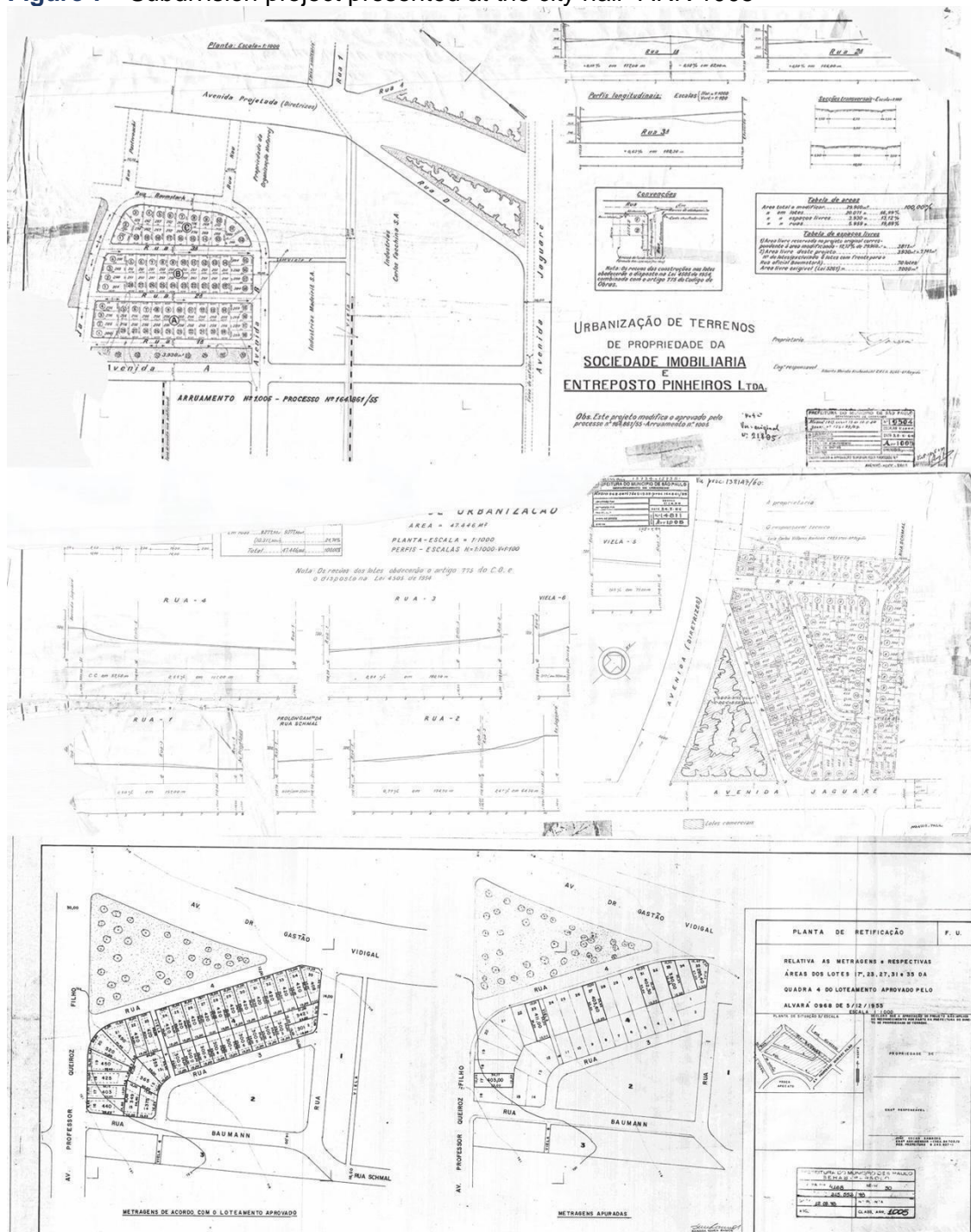
In 1956, another street opening project was presented, covering the part of the plot between Avenida Dr. Gastão Vidigal and Rio Pinheiros. In it, the railway already had gained its southern branch, along the banks of the Tietê and Pinheiros Rivers, and two more branches entering lots labeled as industrial.

The project presents a table of areas indicating that 34,050 m² were sold to Sorocabana, 53,700m² to the Cooperativa Agrícola de Cotia and 19,155 m² to Carlos Facchini, for industrial purposes. It also sets aside six residential lots totaling 2,381 m² and free areas and streets totaling around 84,000 m². The project also features two squares, one of which corresponds to the current Praça Odorico Machado de Sousa, which is currently configured as a residual area of the access loops to the Jaguaré bridge and the Marginal³ of the Pinheiros River.

³Marginais (singular "Marginal") are the highways that follow the banks of the rivers Pinheiros and Tietê.



Figure 7 - Subdivision project presented at the city hall- ARR 1005



Source: Deinfo - Município de São Paulo, 2017.

The 1972 mapping shows that the area was still sparsely occupied. There was a football field and a restaurant for workers at Metalúrgica Atlas (a metal manufacturing plant) and medium-sized buildings. Indústrias Madeirit, a plywood manufacturing mill and industrial center, in particular stands out as it later gives its name to the housing complex implemented in the area. Except for the Marginal, which has since had a layout adjustment, the streets proposed in the subdivision remain unchanged.

In 1959, a request was made (approved in 1960) by the Sociedade Imobiliária and



Entrepósito Pinheiros to modify the previous urbanization request, requesting the subdivision of an inner block that would be transformed into three blocks with lots from 250 to 300m² and a square in front of the avenue, which reinforces the thesis that, at least until the beginning of the 1960s, the region still had residential character and potential. The “A Carta de 1972” [the Charter of 1972] demonstrates that neither the three blocks nor the square were built and that, at the time, the soccer field, and the cafeteria for workers from Metalúrgica Atlas were in the area.

In 1966, landowners Helena Villares Kowarick and Albertina Villares Barbosa filed a request for the creation of a new avenue, which is now Avenida Manuel Bandeira. Before that, in 1962, there was a request (with approval in 1964) to modify the project approved in 1955. The request only corrected areas of lots. In 1978, there was a new request for the rectification of six lots belonging to the 1955 allotment project. Below is the sequence of projects presented to the city hall for this location.

Subdivision plan ARR-1074

The ARR-1074 project (Figure 6), approved in 1956, sought to regularize what was already built and parceled out. In addition, the project foresaw the expansion of the Gerschow crossing. Lots range from 225m² to 300m², with a predominance of smaller lots. Of the 27 lots in the project, only eight were not occupied at the time of the request to the city hall.

Subdivision plan ARR-1246

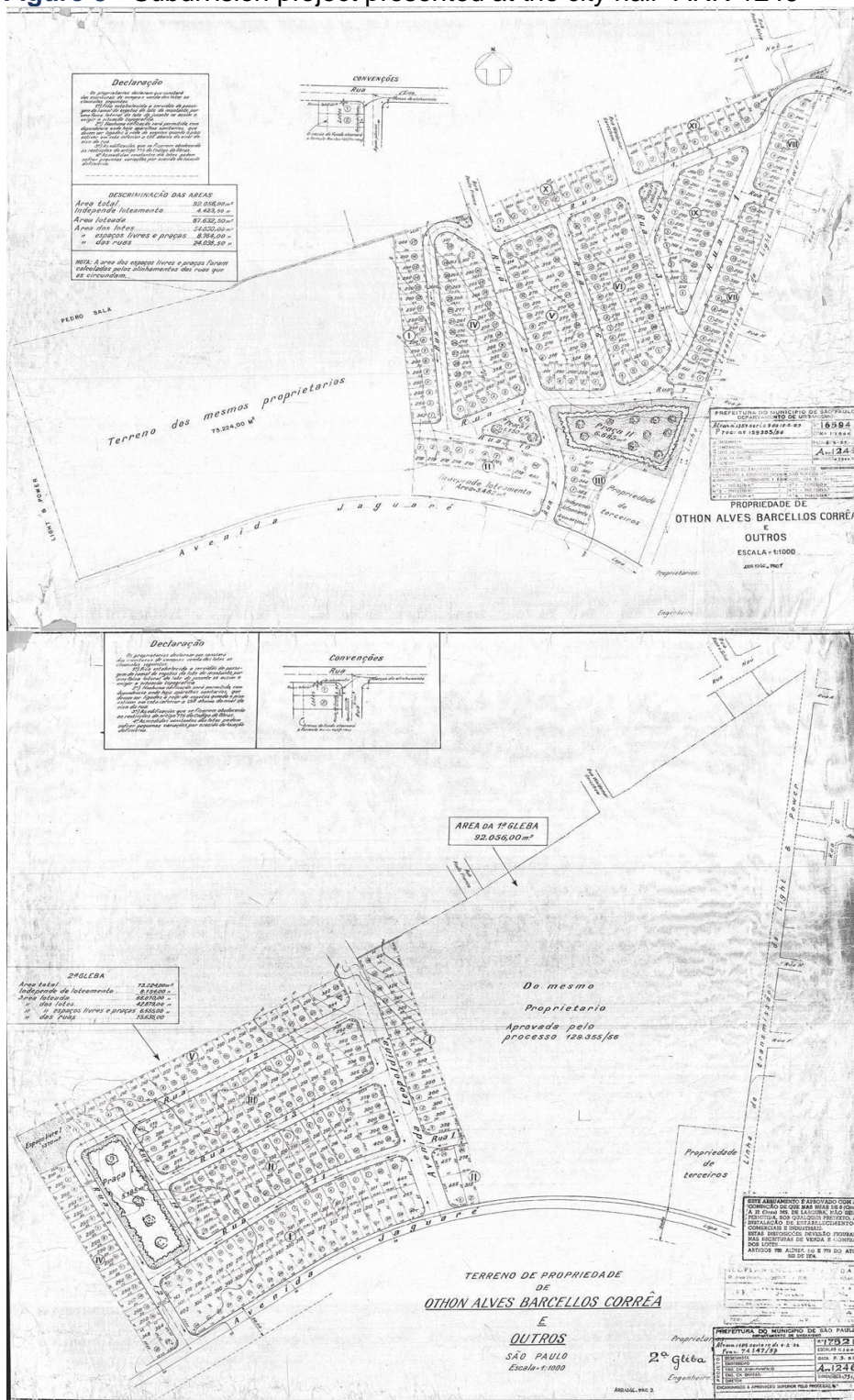
The ARR-1246 project is divided into two plots. The first project was presented in 1957. The plan has a design for blocks and curved streets and, although the lots are of medium size, it resembles the Bela Aliança (garden city tissue of Companhia City). The 1972 GEGRAN map shows the built-up area in its entirety. The first part of the project foresaw the construction of two squares, but only one was built. The second houses an elementary school, which in the Carta de 72 already appears installed.

Currently, the second part of the subdivision remains with the same portion of lots, streets, and squares.

The change observed is in the consolidation of lots along Avenida Imperatriz Leopoldina. (Figure 8) shows the projects from 1956 and 1957, respectively.



Figure 8 - Subdivision project presented at the city hall- ARR-1246



Source: Deinfo - Município de São Paulo, 2017.

Subdivision plan ARR-1362

The stamp on the 1959 ARR 1362 subdivision project (Figure 6) states that it was a private street conservation project. The 1954 map shows parts of the built houses. The GEGran of 1972 shows consolidated constructions and greater occupation of the lots. Note



that the buildings marked out in the subdivision project are not the same size as they were at the time, this being another indication of which lots had houses, and which were vacant.

Only after the installation of CEAGESP, in 1969, did the region have its residential space divided by industrial and logistics warehouses. This change resulted in few structural changes in the neighborhood, merely reinforcing the road axes of Avenida Dr. Gastão Vidigal and Avenida Queiroz Filho, formerly Avenida Jaguaré, and As Marginais themselves.

Observing the 1954 chart, it appears that most of the floodplain was still empty and that the effective occupation took place through residential subdivisions on the axis of Avenida Imperatriz Leopoldina. It is noted that, if the subdivision comes from a formalization initiative, the size and design of the lots are variable and result from construction sites and that the streets originate from paths giving access to the lots that were located within larger plots. It can be seen in the subdivision projects the areas that were not occupied and that currently constitute complexes of more homogeneous buildings, that, nevertheless, do not escape from lot consolidation.

Through the 1972 chart (Figure 3), it is possible to observe how the Vila Leopoldina region mixed industrial-logistic and low-cost residential complexes in the last years of the 19th century.

CEAGESP was the center of the settlement of the western part of Avenida Leopoldina, in the lowest lands. Avenida Imperatriz Leopoldina is the transition path between a low-cost residential complex and an industrial-logistics complex.

CEAGESP, even though it is a public company, did not build the square planned for the front of it either. The square's plan projected large garden areas, a fountain, a restaurant, and an administrative center. This place is now a parking lot. At the time, there were still three soccer fields on the floodplain; these also did not survive the changes.

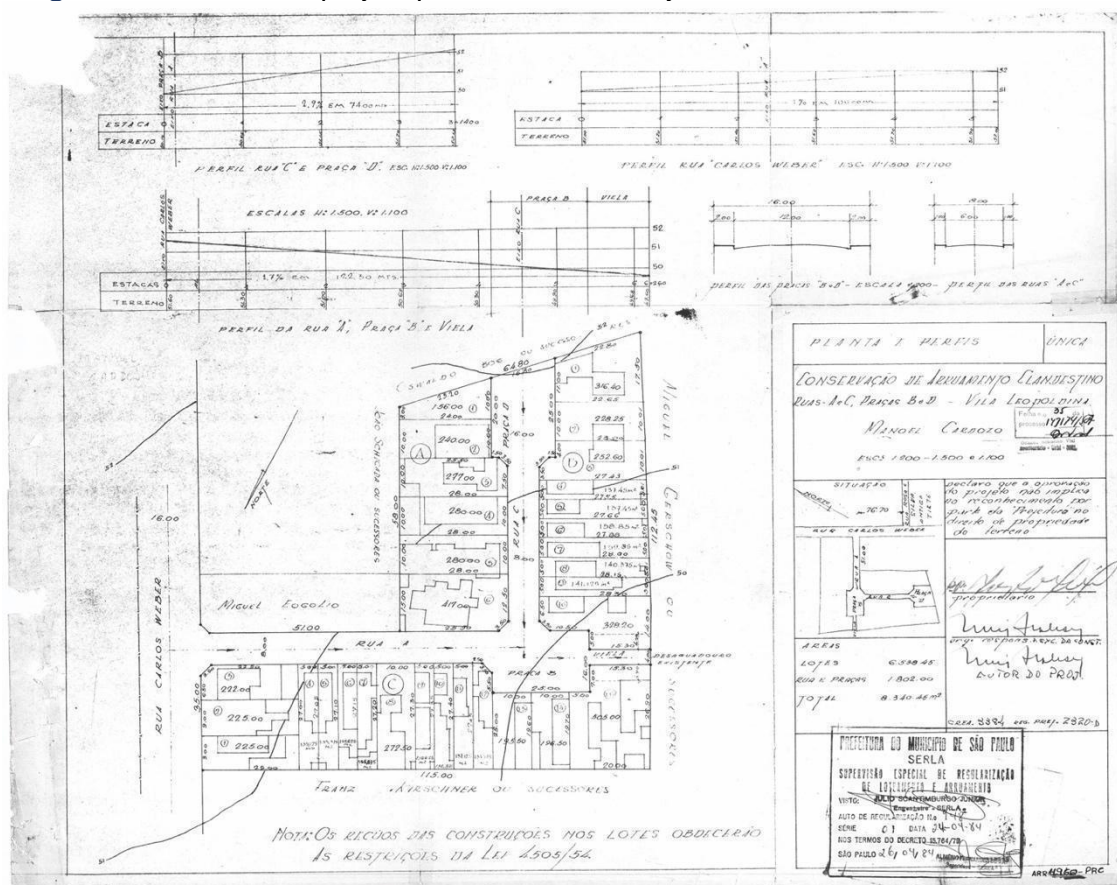
Subdivision plan ARR-4960

The 1984 street regulation project only consolidated two existing streets and construction sites. Four of these constructions already appear in the 1930 Charter, and one of the streets in the 1940 map. (Figure 6).

This demonstrates another case of how the appropriation of public space by private interests takes place. In the 1984 project, there were plans for two streets and two internal squares. At present, it appears that one became a parking, and the second street became a private space



Figure 9 - Subdivision project presented at the city hall- ARR- 4960, 1984



Source: Deinfo - Município de São Paulo, 2017.

Except for the subdivisions along of Avenida Queiroz Filho, influenced by the shape of the neighboring subdivisions of Companhia City, all the others, both those in the original nucleus of occupation of Vila Leopoldina and those on the banks of the railway line, are subdivisions of tracts in the first plan of 1894.

None of the subdivision projects for the region hired architects or urban planners for their preparation. The professionals responsible were civil engineers or surveyors.

It is important to note that as part of the movement to abandon the public city, the official mapping of the city, which used to be done every ten years, also ceased.

From 1974 to 2001 there are no official detailed records of the municipality. “A Empresa Paulista de Planejamento Metropolitano” [The São Paulo Metropolitan Planning Company (EMPLASA/SA)], which from 1974 onwards assumed the responsibilities of the former GEGAN, has an extensive production of analytical maps on the metropolitan region; however, during the period, there was no production of other cartographies that indicate the division of lots and buildings in the city of São Paulo, not even in the updates of the 1972 map, which occurred in 1974, 1981 and 1995.

The comparison between the 1972 registry and the 2001 registry (Figure 3) shows that there was an intensification of the occupation of the industrial-logistics area and the emergence



of residential verticalization on Leopoldina avenue, with seven to ten-story buildings, with commercial areas on the ground floor and, later, buildings isolated from the street by gates and guardhouses in the boundary region between the original nucleus of Vila Leopoldina and Bela Aliança.

In the period between 1955 and 2000, the following legislation was produced:

- 1955: "Anistia e Lei de Zoneamento" [Amnesty and Zoning Law]
- 1956, 1958: "Plano SAGMACS" [SAGMACS (Sociedade para Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicada aos Complexos Sociais) plan]
- 1971, 1981: Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PDDI), Plano Metropolitano de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PMDI) and the "lei de zoneamento" [Zoning Law].
- 1985, 1988, 1991: "Planos diretores." (Master plans from each year)
- 1990 "Plano integrado de transporte urbano." [Integrated Urban Transport Plan]

It can be concluded that, despite the profusion of urban laws issued since the beginning of the century, they did not guarantee the existence of public spaces or for collective use in Vila Leopoldina, as can be seen in figure 05.

After the installation of CEAGESP, the area began to intensify its industrial-logistics occupation with an increase in residential use in the 1980s and 1990s with a vertical pattern. The pattern of occupation of the private lot has changed; however, the structure of the space remains the same: 16th century roads and limits; railway line and Avenida Imperatriz Leopoldina as 19th century axes and Avenida Dr. Gastão Vidigal as a product of the city of efficiency that transforms the multi-quality space of the street into transit space, namely, a road.

2001-2019: transformations triggered by the real estate market

In the 2000s, the real estate market started to move towards the floodplain areas of the Pinheiros and Tietê rivers with the appreciation of property values near the neighborhoods of Santo Amaro, Pinheiros, and Barra Funda (Secovi 2015-2018).

For the Vila Leopoldina region, the "Plano diretor" de 2002 [The 2002 Master plan] maintains the industrial zoning in the CEAGESP area, mixed-use zoning for the original nucleus of the neighborhood, exclusive residential zone for the City-Bela Aliança subdivision and includes the district in Operação Urbana Vila Leopoldina-Jaguarié.

The Urban Operation was prepared by SEMPLA and the resulting study was never submitted by the Municipal Executive as a Law project. Equipment, infrastructure, and various uses, interventions, and improvements were planned, such as new roads for re-articulating mobility and connecting sectors fragmented by the original road system, as well as squares and parks, and a trial for the verticalization of various sectors with varied architectural typologies, for residential use of different kinds. (Abascal & Alvim, 2013).

In the 2001-2004 area photos, the area closest to the Pinheiros River remained as a logistics-industrial area and working-class houses. In the upper part of the district, close to Rua



Carlos Weber, there is an increase in residential verticalization.

The 2016 master plan establishes the floodplain area in the district of Vila Leopoldina as a strategic transformation territory. The “Operação de Intervenção Urbana” [Urban Intervention Project or PIU-Vila Leopoldina] is within the Arco Pinheiro transformation axis, which, in turn, is part of the metropolitan structuring macro-area.

The 2016 plan, in general, brings innovations in respect to the configuration of buildings on lots, with instrumentation for active façades, height limitations, and wall extension.

However, the master plan allows the size of the lot to be equivalent to one block. Despite being careful with the lot design, it says nothing about the design of public spaces or even the blocks themselves. The city is designed from the private perspective and the law ratifies, legalizes, and encourages this state of things.

The first draft law of the 2014 plan defines that the maximum area of a lot would be 10.000m², which means the same size as a standard block in the city of São Paulo (100m x 100m).

The second draft of the law, from April 2015, changes these parameters to 15,000 m². Finally, the approved wording establishes the maximum area of the lot and block at 20,000 m², together with a list of exceptions that previsions the possibility of lots of up to 40,000 m².

An urban rationale regarding a residential development that occupies an entire block should, of a necessity, establish a more complex relationship with the direct surroundings: with the landscape that limits it, with adjacent public spaces, and with the neighborhood with which it has a formal-symbolic relationship.

Caldeira (2000), studying the phenomenon of closed condominiums in the 1990s, demonstrates the relationship between the overvaluation of the private and the denial of public life, consolidating the segregation that makes social extremes neighbors. At the same time, it introduces the concept of subordination of city construction based on criteria dictated from real estate marketing campaigns.

For Vila Leopoldina, three periods of verticalization may be considered, depending on architectural typology:

- 1980 to 2000, when the process of constructing monofunctional buildings on urban lots begins.
- 2001 to 2007, when the condominium philosophy is applied and there is a gradual progression towards isolation.
- 2008 to 2019, in which the sophistication of segregated architecture is observed through condominiums on large plots.

1980 to 2000: monofunctional buildings on typical urban lots

The residential buildings from the first period are located close to the Bela Aliança



subdivision and the historic center of Vila Leopoldina; they use larger lots that already exist or consolidate smaller lots. Even though they have indents from lot-street alignment, they all have the building facades facing the street; behind them, there are visible gardens; the border between the street and the building is marked by fences, which show life in the common areas, as well as the windows of the lower apartments.

2001 to 2007: the condominium philosophy

In the 2000s, the ground floors of the buildings were raised in level, leaving the city with easy entry only for cars and a gated entrance with a guardhouse for and a cage system for pedestrians.

Most of the projects carried out between 2000 and 2007 relate the facade of the buildings to the street, but it can already be seen that some of them are starting to turn inwards, as is the case of some on Rua Carlos Weber.

Figure 10 shows a sequence of residential buildings, demonstrating the gradual distance from the street. The oldest building (São Bento) is aligned with the street and separated only by the garden; the two later ones, from the 90s, feature landscaped recesses and are closed with gates and bars. In the second line, there are buildings built between 2001 and 2007. The first of them already has a high ground floor, which is not yet a rule, and all have the sophistication of the gated entrances--cages.

2008 to 2019: sophistication of isolation

The last line of Figure 10 presents two typical sets of the third period. Jardim Vila Nova Leopoldina 1 and 2 are built on large plots, with sizes equivalent to three blocks, with a high ground floor and three obstacles separating the street: a wall, empty space, and another wall).

The 19 projects inaugurated after 2008 are implemented in the Pinheiros River floodplain, due to the offer of large properties. Thus, walled condominiums find an ideal place to create isolation.

The ground level of the closed condominiums is, in fact, the first or second floor where the common areas of the building are located. The real ground floor is made up of parallel lines of walls with gaps between them. There is a maximum of two entrances: one for residents arriving by car and the other for visitors who pass through two gates that are set in motion at different times.

The ground floor is the level of greatest articulation and spatial importance in the public-private relationship, and, in these cases, it has been occupied by parking lots. There, the space has been disqualified in relation to possible dialogue with the rest of the city.

The buildings from the 1990s and 2000s present a myriad of architectural styles, while the closed condominiums from the 2010s are repeated, always presenting the same beige



facades, the same architectural programs, and distribution of this in floor plans.

The word “*diferenciais*”⁴ is an item present in all advertisements made by developers, but the list is made up of exactly the same things: courts, gym, ballroom, game room, etc.

Its relationship with the surroundings is centered on the idea of a view of a landscape, which, because of its physical distance, disconnects people from the neighborhood life on the ground floor. Even though the advertising texts sell the neighborhood lifestyle, these developments destroy that very style when they promote empty and inhospitable streets and the expulsion of the traditional population and its constructive culture.

Figure 10 - Comparison of examples of vertical buildings at different times

BUILDING TYPOLOGIES BY DECADE

80-2000

SÃO BENTO



Plot area.....1.400m²
Nº of floors.....4
Nº of towers.....1

MALÁGA



Plot area.....1.950m²
Nº of floors.....22
Nº of towers.....1

WEST SIDE PARK



Plot area.....1.060m²
Nº of floors.....11
Nº of towers.....1

2001-07

SPAZIO VENICE



Plot area.....2.800m²
Nº of floors.....23
Nº of towers.....2

PROVENCE



Plot area.....5.600m²
Nº of floors.....28
Nº of towers.....2

HORIZON



Plot area.....8.620m²
Nº of floors.....28
Nº of towers.....3

2008-17

JD.VILA NOVA LEOPOLDINA I



Plot area.....13.000m²
Nº of floors.....27
Nº of towers.....2

JD.VILA NOVA LEOPOLDINA II



Plot area.....33.500m²
Nº of floors.....27
Nº of towers.....6

Source: Prepared by the author based on image visualization by Google Maps, 2018. Of the 19 new developments in the region delivered between 2008 and 2018, six

⁴ "differentials" in English. The term is much used in advertising to mean "something special, a distinguishing characteristic"





have land areas of up to 2,000 m²; only one would belong to another range, from 2001 m² to 4000 m²; there are four developments in the range 4001m² to 6000m²; four condominiums have areas between 7,000 m² and 8,700 m²; and, finally, four have areas ranging from 13,000 m² to 33,500 m².

Discarding the four developments with the smallest land area (up to 2000 m²), the smallest condominium in the next category would be equivalent to half a block. The largest condominium, Jardim Vila Nova Leopoldina, is located on a plot of 33,500m², which is equivalent to three blocks. If these spaces were treated as subdivisions, that is, as blocks, this would imply at least 20% of the public area for the city (Plano Diretor, 2016), in addition to the diversity of facades, diversity of activities, movement of people, among others. Instead, the city gains extensive stretches of high walls and inhospitable streets.

The condominium with large towers and high walls is a symbol of socio-spatial segregation because it represents and acts in favor of growing privatization and devaluation of what is public.

IN Vila Leopoldina, five characteristics can be seen that point to the sophistication of the forms of separation and isolation between the neighborhood's first phase of verticalization (late 1980s) and its current dynamics. They are:

- **High ground floor.** Formal development of the disconnection from the surroundings materialized in the location of the ground floor on the second or third level in relation to the street. With sequences of parallel walls, empty spaces, and blind parking gables, the condominiums mimic a medieval castle.
- **Formula architecture.** Repetitions of volumetric terminations, facades, plans, and spaces in common areas.
- **Absence of the figure of the block.** The projects use areas starting from 4000 m² and reaching 33,500 m², which is equivalent to three medium blocks and, nevertheless, they are treated as lots and not as subdivisions, reinforcing the idea of road versus lot, rather than type versus tissue.
- **Absence of a public face.** It can be said that the public face is the facade of a property and, more than that, it is the relationship between the public and the private, that is, how the private presents itself to the public and vice versa. However, in these cases, what is seen is the denial of this relationship. This is materialized in facades facing inwards and boundaries with high walls.

Results and discussions

The bibliographical review, cartographic analysis, and subdivision projects prove that contemporary segregation does not mean homogeneous territories separated by social class; it takes place in areas with a diversity of social classes, uses, and occupations. Isolation occurs through three aggregates: absence of executed projects that understand the territory as an urban set, based on the public interest; subtraction of public spaces - squares transformed into lots and urban infrastructure and the street used only as a road; and by the absence of the block element in urban grammar.



The study of urban laws produced for São Paulo from the end of the 19th century to the present time demonstrates that, until the 1950 Moses Report, there was a public concern for the design of the central area of the city. However, in this same period (from the 1875 *Códigos* and *Posturas Municipais* to the 1950 Moses Report) the areas around the central nucleus, safeguarding the subdivisions of Companhia City, were divided up by private entrepreneurs, without an urban project that takes into account the public interest, be it that of the upper, middle, or popular classes.

After the Moses Report, a set of recommendations made by the Rockefeller Foundation, the city definitively gave up on designing urban space. This is a symptom that comes from understanding the city as a productive machine and not as a social space. Certainly, this assumption is placed as a matrix of segregation insofar as living becomes a part of the system, whether it is living on a lot or in an apartment when, as a social species, we inhabit the environment, and, therefore, the city.

The second result is the constant privatization of public spaces. The lands of Emboassava belonged to the Portuguese Crown, that is, to the regulatory state at the time and could be occupied on the conditions of their use. Therefore, it can be understood that all land was public or for collective use.

Even after the Lei de terras de 1850, when the soil became a commodity, the floodplain lands continued to be used for collective activities of grazing and leisure, as narrated by historians of the region and shown in photographic records from the beginning of the century. Later, the floodplains were used for football practice, as can be seen in the presence of fields in the 1954 area image and 1974's GEGRAN chart.

In the second half of the 20th century, the subdivisions that by law should have reserved at least 25% for public areas, which included squares, simply were not executed and were as lots. In the following decades, the few squares built were torn apart by large, fast-flowing avenues. The biggest icons of this thought are certainly As Marginais of the Pinheiros and Tietê rivers, but within the neighborhood, we can mention: nine subdivision plazas not executed; two executed and not preserved; another cut by the intersection of Avenida Dr. Gastão Vidigal and Avenida Queiroz Filho

Finally, an important element that directly affects the configuration of the segregated city is the absence of the figure of the square.

Even with a full legal framework, the deregulation of the size of the lot and the block generated the absence of the square. It is this absence in the arrangement of the urban design that allows all the other characteristics of high walled condominiums (high ground, repetition of architectural solutions, absence of a public phase) to exist.

The block, when presented as a minimal unit in the urban structure, promotes the idea of a set. The lot must report to a higher hierarchy, the block, in turn, is the minimum unit of





urban composition.

If the urban area is to be based on the building and the lot, the figure of the block is merely a result of this division, a shapeless fabric of difficult legibility is formed. Furthermore, it weakens public actions, as spaces of collective responsibility are the minimum material necessary for the existence of what is private.

Since the first subdivision of Vila Leopoldina, the blocks have extensions that vary according to the size of the proposed lots. This absence of the figure of the block is a continuous phenomenon in the construction of the city and is ratified by the 2016 Master Plan, which establishes that the lot and block can have the same area.

Vila Leopoldina lived the 20th century watching its common spaces being removed while its walls rose, its public life was reduced and its isolation and distance increased.

Like other urban tissue in the immediate surroundings of the city's historic center, Vila Leopoldina is experiencing a time of direct action on it, both by the government and the real estate market. And in this state, this could be a great opportunity to produce spaces where ideas of social, environmental, and cultural justice prevail.

Interventions in urban space, whatever they are, should have an ethical sense, that is, they should promote the common good. The physical support of the city should promote cooperative and supportive spaces, that is, those that collaborate with the use and function of others in the surroundings, simply because this is the reason for the existence of cities.

These ideas are in opposition to the city segregated into enclaves and the street as a road that not only segregates social classes but poses itself as the denial of a full, public, urban life.

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