

The difference between the gentrification process in Latin America and other English-speaking countries

Case study São Paulo

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Abstract

Gentrification is a complex phenomenon that can be examined from both global and local perspectives. From a global perspective, gentrification can be seen as part of broader economic and social trends, such as the growth of neoliberalism and globalization. Gentrification can also be linked to global patterns of urbanization and the rise of a global middle class. From a local perspective, gentrification can be examined in terms of its specific impacts on individual neighborhoods and communities. São Paulo has been mentioned as a city experiencing gentrification. However, the concept of gentrification cannot be directly imported to understand the urban dynamics of São Paulo, and there are some challenges to doing so. The urban dynamics of São Paulo are shaped by different historical, social, and economic factors than those of classical cases in the United States and England, which are often used as reference points in discussions of gentrification. It discusses the challenges faced by the government in balancing economic growth with social development, particularly in the context of neoliberal reforms implemented in the 1990s. The modernist planning movement in Brazil is examined, highlighting criticisms of its top-down approach and its impact on urban environments. The abstract also touches upon the specific case of São Paulo, the major economic center of Brazil, and its struggles with rapid population growth and housing issues. Overall, the abstract underscores the ongoing concerns and debates surrounding Brazil's modernization process, focusing on the effects of these reforms on social development and inequality.

Keywords: gentrification, neoliberalism, redevelopment, Brazil

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1. Introduction

One famous quote attributed to Patrick Geddes is: "Think global, act local." This quote emphasizes the importance of considering the bigger picture and global issues, but also emphasizes the need to take action at a local level to create real change. Gentrification refers to the process of urban renewal and redevelopment, often characterized by the influx of middle and upper-class residents, and the displacement of lower-income residents and businesses. It involves a complex set of economic, social, and political factors that shape the transformation of neighborhoods and cities. Gentrification is a complex process that involves three fundamental dimensions, the production of gentrifiable space, upward socio-economic change with displacement, and built environment upgrades. These dimensions work together to create a process that is characterized by the displacement of lower-income households or less profitable uses in favor of higher socio-economic profile residents and more profitable uses. The process also involves adapting the former spaces to the lifestyle of the new residents and improving infrastructures and public spaces.

The purpose of our study is to find answers to the following questions: What is gentrification and what are the three fundamental dimensions that define it? What are the limitations of this definition, and what is the proposed analytical framework for studying gentrification? How does the state act as a mediating structure in gentrification, and how does this affect different gentrification cases, including classical and global cases? How do urban policies, including housing policies, function as instruments of both accumulation and legitimation of the economic system? What is the conflict between economic growth and social development in Brazil since the 1980s, and how is it reflected in urban planning?

2. Literature

The efforts to renovate and improve run-down areas of cities have resulted in unintended consequences of displacement and gentrification. This has occurred through both private and public sector activities, with some countries having more planned and controlled interventions, while others have experienced unplanned and spontaneous renewal activities led by land traders. The phenomenon of gentrification is defined as a process whereby the socioeconomic composition of a neighborhood changes to a greater degree than adjacent areas in a relatively short period of time, with the share of wealthier and skilled residents increasing at the expense of poorer residents. This term has been in use for about half a century in the context of urban and social issues in European and North American cities. Solutions to the problems of run-down areas in big cities typically involve direct intervention policies by the public sector. Gentrification is not just a result of market forces, but is also shaped by public policies and local government actions. These policies and actions can either promote or discourage gentrification in certain areas, and they can have significant impacts on the social and economic dynamics of a neighborhood or city. For example, local governments may invest in infrastructure improvements, tax incentives, or zoning changes that attract developers and investors to certain neighborhoods. This can lead to an influx of new

residents, higher property values, and the displacement of long-term residents who can no longer afford to live in the area. On the other hand, governments can also implement policies to promote affordable housing, rent control, or community land trusts, which can help to prevent displacement and maintain the economic and cultural diversity of a neighborhood. In addition to these policy interventions, the production of places and their representations can also play a role in gentrification. Image-making and marketing efforts can shape public perceptions of a neighborhood, making it more desirable to potential residents and investors. This can lead to a self-reinforcing cycle of gentrification, where rising property values and rents make it increasingly difficult for long-term residents to remain in the area (Lees, 2000; Smith, 2002; Wyly & Hammel, 2000). It is important to recognize that gentrification is a complex and multifaceted process that is influenced by a variety of factors, including the role of the state. While the evolution of gentrification can be traced to changes in urban governance and neoliberal policies, it is also important to recognize that gentrification has different forms and operates in different contexts. This means that we need to be careful not to overgeneralize or oversimplify the role of the state in the process. Hackworth and Smith's theory of the evolution of gentrification is useful in understanding how the process has changed over time, but it is important to recognize that gentrification is not a uniform process that operates in the same way in all contexts. Gentrification can be driven by a variety of factors, including changes in the economy, shifts in demographic patterns, and changes in cultural preferences. The role of the state can also vary depending on the political and economic context of a particular place (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In addition, it is important to recognize that gentrification can have both positive and negative effects on communities. While gentrification can bring investment and revitalization to previously neglected areas, it can also lead to displacement and the loss of affordable housing. Therefore, it is important for policymakers to consider the impacts of gentrification on communities and to develop policies that mitigate negative effects while promoting economic growth and development. While gentrification has become a widespread and fundamental strategy for competitive urban development, the interaction between local structures and the global neoliberal project make both gentrification and neoliberalism geographically rooted processes. Neoliberalism is based on the belief that free and competitive markets are the best mechanism for economic development and institutional balance, and its policies involve deregulation, liberalization, privatization, financialization, and (partial) state dismantling and re-orientation to pro-capital policies. However, this approach does not acknowledge the multiple and conflictive roles of the state in its many administrative levels and that its agency on processes of urban restructuring leads to multivariate results (Brenner, 2001; Brenner & Theodore, 2002). The history of gentrification can be traced back to the mid-20th century in the United Kingdom, specifically in London. The term "gentrification" was first coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 in her book "London: Aspects of Change." Glass used the term to describe the process of middle-class residents moving into working-class neighborhoods, displacing the existing residents and changing the social and cultural fabric of the area (Glass, 1960). Glass defined gentrification as a process in which working-class neighborhoods are transformed into middle-class enclaves through the influx of more affluent residents. She observed that

this process often led to displacement of working-class and vulnerable groups, who could no longer afford to live in the area due to rising rents and property values. Glass also noted that gentrification was driven by the socio-economic valorization of existing properties and the physical and social attributes of the neighborhood, such as historic architecture and a strong sense of community. This led to the revitalization and reinvestment of previously disinvested locations (Glass, 1960). Over time, it became clear that gentrification was a more complex process than just a disruption in local housing markets, and the definition has evolved to reflect this complexity. Today, gentrification is generally understood as a multifaceted process that includes not only the physical transformation of a neighborhood but also changes in demographics, culture, and economic activity (Lees, 2000). In the United States, gentrification began to take hold in the 1960s and 1970s in cities like New York, San Francisco, and Boston. In these cities, young, college-educated professionals began to move into working-class neighborhoods that had fallen into disrepair, attracted by the lower housing costs and the character of the neighborhoods. Over time, these neighborhoods became more desirable as they were transformed by new investments, increased economic activity, and the influx of new residents. The process of gentrification often resulted in the displacement of low-income and working-class residents, as housing costs rose and new developments were built to cater to the new, more affluent residents (Smith, 2005). In recent years, gentrification has become a global phenomenon, with cities in Europe, Asia, and Latin America experiencing similar patterns of urban transformation. The process of gentrification continues to be a controversial issue, with critics arguing that it can contribute to inequality and displacement, while supporters argue that it can revitalize struggling neighborhoods and improve the quality of life for all residents.

3. Gentrification processes

Neil Smith was a prominent scholar who wrote extensively on gentrification. In his book "The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City", he provides a detailed analysis of the history of gentrification, tracing the phenomenon back to the early 20th century (Smith, 2005). According to Smith, gentrification is a product of changing economic and social conditions in urban areas. He argues that the process of gentrification is driven by a desire for urban space that is both distinctive and secure. This desire is shared by both the middle and upper classes, and it has been a major driver of urban redevelopment for over a century.

Smith identifies three distinct stages in the history of gentrification. The first stage, which he calls "gentrification proper", occurred in the early 20th century and was characterized by the migration of the middle class from the suburbs to the city. This movement was driven by the desire for urban amenities and culture, and it led to the redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods that had fallen into disrepair (Smith, 2005). The second stage of gentrification, which Smith calls "super-gentrification", emerged in the 1960s and was characterized by the migration of the ultra-wealthy to urban areas. This movement was driven by the desire for exclusive urban spaces that were insulated from the social and economic problems of the surrounding city. The third and final stage of gentrification, according to Smith, is "global gentrification". This stage emerged in the 1990s and is characterized by the migration of the global elite to urban areas. This movement is driven by the desire for a cosmopolitan lifestyle

that is both secure and culturally vibrant (Smith, 2005, 2013). Smith traces the origins of gentrification to the post-World War II era, when cities in the United States and Europe experienced a decline in industrial production and a shift toward a service-based economy. This led to a decline in urban neighborhoods and the flight of middle-class residents to the suburbs. However, starting in the 1960s and 1970s, a new wave of urban pioneers - artists, intellectuals, and other bohemians - began to move back into these disinvested neighborhoods, drawn by the low rents and large, historic buildings. This initial wave of gentrification was characterized by a relatively small number of people, a lack of coordination or planning, and a focus on renovation rather than demolition (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). As gentrification continued to spread in the 1980s and 1990s, however, it became increasingly commodified and institutionalized. Real estate developers, investors, and city governments began to see gentrification as a way to attract wealthier residents and increase property values, often at the expense of long-term, working-class residents who were displaced by rising rents and property taxes. Smith argues that gentrification is not a natural or inevitable process, but rather a product of specific economic and political forces. He calls for a more critical and nuanced understanding of gentrification, one that recognizes the power dynamics at play and seeks to address the underlying structural inequalities that fuel it (Smith, 2005).

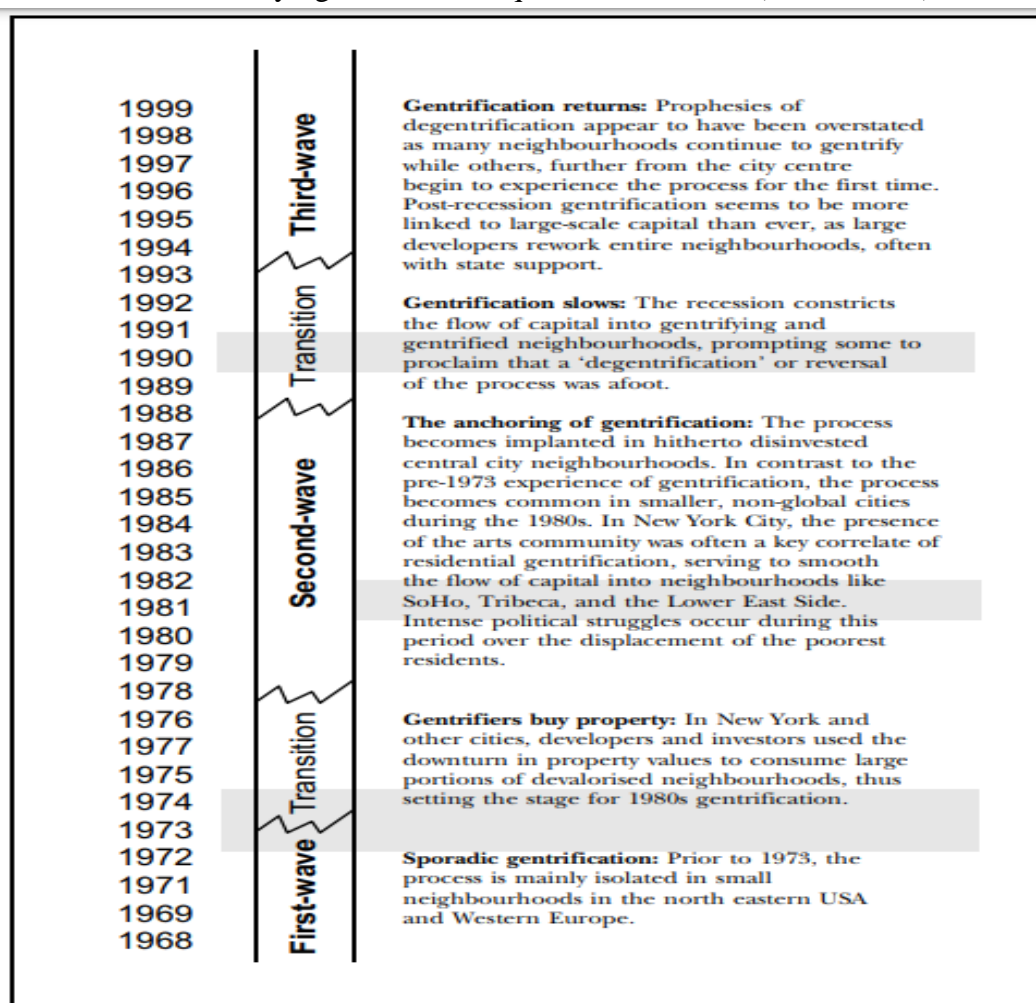


Figure 1. Schematic history of gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001)

Gentrification is a complex and multifaceted process, but it generally involves a series of interrelated factors and stages. Here is a brief overview of some of the key aspects of the gentrification process:

- A. **Disinvestment:** The gentrification process often begins with disinvestment in a particular neighborhood or area. This can be due to a range of factors, such as economic decline, deindustrialization, or white flight (Smith, 2005).
- B. **Influx of artists and bohemians:** As the area becomes cheaper and more affordable, it may start to attract artists, writers, and other bohemian types who are attracted to the low rents and unique character of the neighborhood.
- C. **Increased interest from developers and real estate investors:** As the neighborhood becomes more popular, developers and real estate investors may begin to take notice and start investing in the area. They may buy up properties, renovate them, and begin to market them to a wealthier clientele.
- D. **Rising rents and property values:** As the neighborhood becomes more desirable, rents and property values are likely to increase. This can lead to displacement of longtime residents and small businesses who can no longer afford to live or operate in the area.
- E. **Demographic shift:** As more affluent residents move in, the demographic makeup of the neighborhood may begin to shift, with working-class and minority residents being displaced.
- F. **Gentrification as a self-reinforcing cycle:** As the neighborhood becomes more affluent and desirable, it may become a self-reinforcing cycle, with the influx of investment and development further driving up property values and making it even more unaffordable for working-class residents.
- G. **Gentrification as a self-reinforcing cycle refers to a phenomenon where the process of gentrification feeds on itself, creating a self-reinforcing cycle that becomes difficult to reverse.** As a neighborhood becomes more desirable due to the influx of new investment, amenities, and cultural amenities, property values start to rise, which attracts even more investment and development. This, in turn, further drives up property values and makes it even more unaffordable for working-class residents, who may eventually be displaced. The cycle continues, and the neighborhood becomes increasingly gentrified, making it even more difficult for low-income residents to remain in the area. This can result in the homogenization of the neighborhood, loss of community character, and displacement of vulnerable populations.

While this typology distinguishes between direct and indirect displacement, it may be insufficient to fully address the nature of displacement in the context of Latin American cities, which have different social structures and ways of producing urbanity. Gentrification is the process of upward urban redevelopment with displacement (Zhang & He, 2018). The three fundamental dimensions that define gentrification are:

- A. **Economic dimension:** This refers to the changes in the economic activities of a neighborhood, including changes in the types of businesses, rents, and property

values. Gentrification typically involves the arrival of new investment, development, and businesses that cater to middle and upper-class residents.

- B. Social dimension: This refers to the changes in the social composition of a neighborhood, including changes in the demographics, culture, and lifestyle of residents. Gentrification is often associated with the displacement of long-term residents and the arrival of newcomers with different social and cultural backgrounds.
- C. Political dimension: This refers to the role of public policies, institutions, and actors in shaping the gentrification process. Gentrification often involves the active involvement of local governments, developers, and investors who seek to transform urban spaces in line with their economic and political interests (Siqueira, 2014).

4. The difference between the gentrification process in Latin America and other English-speaking countries

In the article "Gentrification in Spain and Latin America — a Critical Dialogue", Michael Janoschka discusses the concept of gentrification in the context of Spain and Latin America. He argues that the gentrification process in these regions is different from that in the United States and Western Europe, where it is typically associated with the displacement of working-class and marginalized communities. Janoschka notes that in Spain and Latin America, gentrification is often driven by state-led urban renewal projects and public-private partnerships that aim to redevelop historic city centers and improve urban infrastructure. This form of gentrification is characterized by the displacement of small businesses and informal street vendors, rather than the displacement of residential communities. Janoschka also highlights the role of cultural production and consumption in the gentrification process in Spain and Latin America. He argues that the promotion of culture and heritage as a form of economic development can lead to the commodification of culture and the exclusion of working-class and marginalized communities from urban spaces (Janoschka, Sequera, & Salinas, 2014). According to Janoschka, gentrification in Spain and Latin America is also closely linked to issues of colonialism and neocolonialism, as the processes of urban transformation often prioritize the interests of the global elite over the needs of local communities. He argues that a critical understanding of gentrification in these regions requires an analysis of the intersection of race, class, and power dynamics in the urban space. Janoschka suggests that gentrification in Spain and Latin America has been driven by a variety of factors, including tourism, urban renewal, and the creation of cultural centers and other attractions that draw in new residents and investors. He also notes that gentrification in these regions often involves the displacement of lower-income residents, particularly those living in informal settlements or historic neighborhoods (Janoschka et al., 2014). Michael Janoschka provides a critical analysis of the gentrification process in Latin America, focusing on the impact it has on low-income residents and the social and cultural fabric of the city. Janoschka argues that gentrification in Latin America is not a new phenomenon, but one that has been ongoing for several decades, driven by a combination of factors, including neoliberal economic policies, urban renewal projects, and the growth of the middle class. He notes that while the process of gentrification in Latin America shares many similarities with the process in other parts of the world, it also has unique features, such as the role of informal

settlements and the relationship between gentrification and violence (Janoschka & Sequera, 2018). In other article by anoschka , he examines the processes of gentrification in Latin American cities and whether the term “gentrification” is appropriate for these cities. The author analyzes four contemporary examples of gentrification in Latin America, and describes the three key dimensions that should be considered when applying the term to urban realities in the region, namely the creation, assemblage and transformation of real estate markets, the focus on the symbolic dimensions of gentrification, and the key role that displacement plays for the politics and geographies of gentrification in Latin American cities (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). Urban policies and gentrification should be envisaged as political decisions accentuating power relations attached to real estate investment and finance. The role of the state in anticipating capital flows has been present in critical debates about urban neoliberalization. The pandemic's crisis resolution may create power shifts, and new regimes may regulate capital and people's flows, allowing novel pathways for capital accumulation. (Alexandri & Janoschka, 2020).

5. Case study São Paulo / Brazil

high inflation, and the new democratic government faced the challenge of stabilizing the economy while promoting social development. This led to the implementation of the Plano Real in 1994, which introduced a new currency and a set of economic policies aimed at controlling inflation and promoting economic growth. However, the tension between economic growth and social development persisted, as the benefits of economic growth were not equally distributed among the population. Brazil remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, with a significant proportion of the population living in poverty and lacking access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and sanitation. This has led to a number of social movements and protests in Brazil, with demands for greater social justice and an end to corruption and inequality. In recent years, Brazil has also faced a number of political crises, with corruption scandals and impeachment proceedings against two presidents (Sallum Jr, 1999; Visentini, 2006). The modernization process in Brazil has involved significant social, political, and economic reforms, with neoliberalism playing a key role since the 1990s. Neoliberal reforms focused on free markets, privatization, and reduced government intervention to stimulate economic growth and attract foreign investment. However, these reforms have been controversial, with critics highlighting increased social inequality and erosion of public services, while proponents argue they have contributed to economic growth and improved living standards, although concerns about social development and inequality persist (Sallum Jr, 1999; Visentini, 2006). The modernist planning movement in Brazil was based on a vision of progress and modernity that was meant to transform the country into a more efficient, functional, and equitable society. However, it is also recognized that the limitations of modernist planning have led to a rethinking of urban design and planning in Brazil, with greater emphasis placed on participatory approaches that prioritize the needs and aspirations of local communities (SEGAWA, 1998; Xavier, 2003). São Paulo is a highly populous and significant city in Brazil and the world. With a population of over 11 million people, it is not only the most populous city in Brazil but also the fifth largest metropolitan area in the world. The city has a high population density, with over 7,000

inhabitants per square kilometer. As the major economic center of Brazil, São Paulo has attracted investments from national and foreign capital, leading to its industrialization and economic growth. This growth has also resulted in a significant population increase, with immigrants from other countries and other parts of Brazil attracted to the city's promises of job opportunities and economic prosperity. Despite signs of industrial decentralization, São Paulo continued to experience rapid population growth in the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s, more than doubling its population in that time period. The rapid population growth in São Paulo was accompanied by an increase in informal housing. In 1957, there were 141 informal settlements with 8,488 housing units in the city, but by 1973, these numbers had risen to 525 informal settlements with 14,500 units. This is a significant increase in the number of informal settlements, indicating the challenges faced by the city in providing adequate housing for its growing population. The increase in informal settlements is a common phenomenon in rapidly growing cities and is often a result of the lack of affordable and adequate housing options for the population (IBGE, 2023). The metropolitan area of São Paulo, which includes the city and its surrounding municipalities, is even more populous, with an estimated population of over 21 million people in 2021, making it one of the largest metropolitan areas in the world.

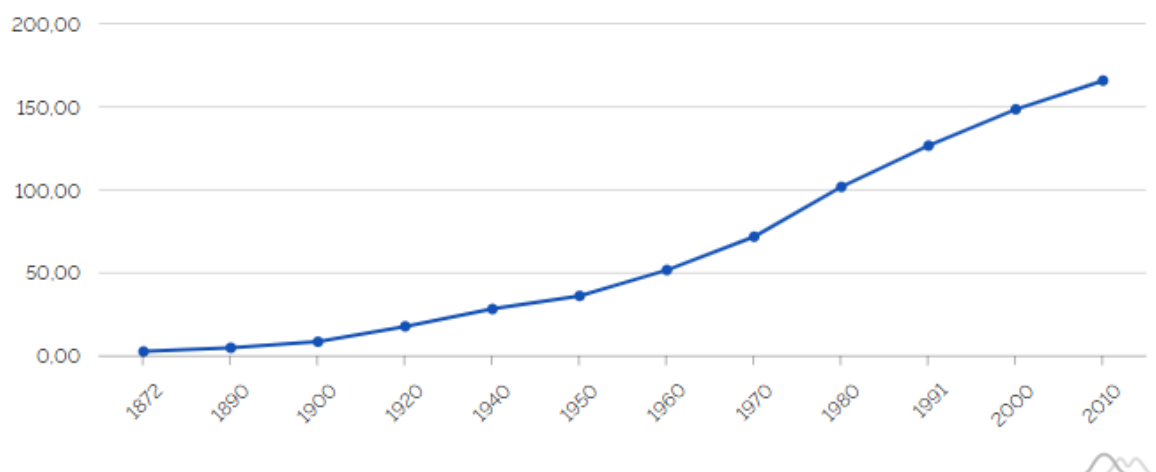


Fig .2ibge são paulo about population growth (IBGE, 2023)

The number of people living in informal settlements in São Paulo continued to increase even after the period mentioned earlier. In 1980, it was estimated that 5.2% of the city's population (equivalent to 439,721 people) was living in informal housing. By 1987, this number had almost doubled to 8.9% (equivalent to 812,764 people), likely due to the economic and political crisis that Brazil was experiencing at the time. In 2012, the Housing Department of São Paulo estimated that approximately 14% of the population (equivalent to around 1,575,490 people) lived in informal settlements, indicating a proportional and absolute increase in the number of people living in informal housing. Therefore, housing informality has become an important feature of São Paulo's urbanization pattern, indicating the challenges faced by the city in providing adequate and affordable housing for its growing population. São Paulo is mentioned as the city with the second highest number of transnational

headquarters in the world after New York City, and it also houses the BMF&BOVESPA, which is the main stock market in the city and the 14th largest in the world. Additionally, São Paulo is responsible for concentrating a large share of expatriated professionals, which puts stress on local housing markets. Although the city's role as a major manufacturing center has decreased, it still remains as the most important city in the Brazilian economy, accounting for 11.5% of the Brazilian GDP in 2011, which is more than double the proportion of the second place, Rio de Janeiro. The passage concludes by noting that the intense socio-spatial transformations in São Paulo since the 1980s have made it a global city that stirs local imaginations (IBGE, 2023).

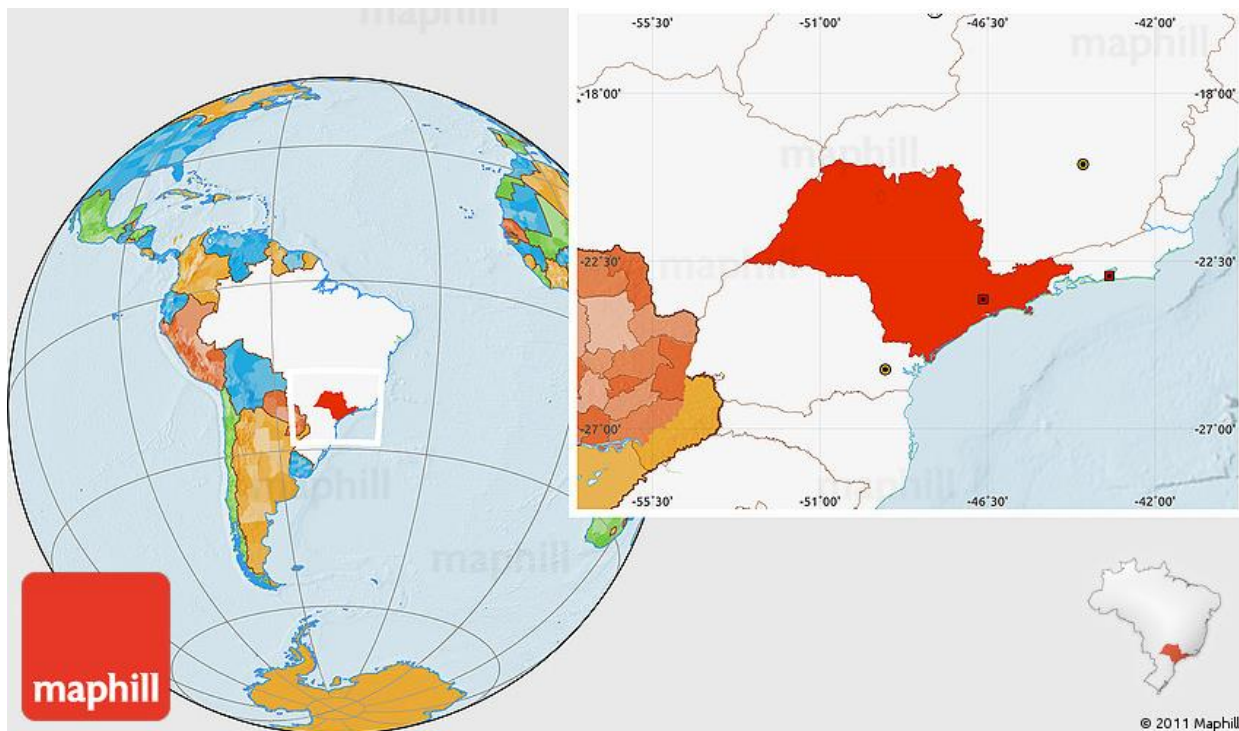


Fig 3. map São Paulo, Brazil (Maphill, 2011)



Fig4 São Paulo, Brazil(GoogleMap, 2023)

In 2020 was approximately R\$ 2.5 trillion Brazilian Reais (BRL), which was equivalent to approximately US\$ 460 billion at the average exchange rate for that year. It's worth noting that the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on the Brazilian economy in 2020, with a contraction of -4.1% in GDP compared to 2019(IBGE, 2023).

6-The gentrification process in San Polo

Brazil did not originate from North America or England, the places where neoliberalism was developed. Neoliberalism, which emphasizes free-market capitalism and the reduction of government intervention in the economy, did have a significant impact on the global economy in the 1980s and 1990s. However, it is important to note that different countries and regions have adapted neoliberal policies in their own unique ways. The influence of continental Europe on Brazil's urban planning, as mentioned in the passage, is just one example of how neoliberalism has been adapted to local contexts(Garcia & Carlos, 2001; Vainer, 2000).

Brazil is not a traditional case of gentrification, and thus, choosing it allows for the exploration of the diversity of gentrification. Brazil's longstanding tension between the goals of economic growth and social development illustrates key elements of the gentrification process and the major dilemmas that cities face today(Siqueira, 2014).the political nature of gentrification in São Paulo and the tensions between different groups of residents, public officials, developers, and agencies monitoring the local real estate market. The displacement of low-income residents is seen as a political problem that speaks to broader issues of social structure, costs of displacement, and public and private interests. The author argues that gentrification is a policy relevant theme and calls for the recognition of its contextualization

to understand the local meanings of this process. There is a sense of inevitability about the current processes of socio-spatial change in São Paulo, which is transforming them into a self-fulfilling prophecy. This is similar to the neoliberal, pro-market rhetoric that presents itself as the only solution for urban restructuring (Siqueira, 2014). Modernism in Brazil was originally identified with socialist and revolutionary impulses in Europe, and is considered the first original Brazilian style in architecture and urbanism, which is still a source of national pride today (SEGAWA, 1998; Xavier, 2003). The patterns of urban production in São Paulo differ from those in classical cases of gentrification in the United States and England. In those cases, the traditional pattern was identified as a reversal of the historic suburbanization process, with more affluent residents moving back into central urban areas. However, in Brazilian cities, including São Paulo, the pattern is different, with a concentration of wealth in the central areas of the city and impoverished peripheries. This pattern has been noted by scholars such as Maricato and Villaça (Maricato, 1979; Villaça, 2017). The model of center versus periphery in São Paulo, as in other Brazilian cities, is a product of the understanding of urban space as a structural part of the local capitalist system, and a producer of socio-economic relations. Low wages and high rates of unemployment have contributed to transferring housing and transportation costs to workers, resulting in the creation of distant and precarious peripheries that are often the only affordable option for impoverished households. Furthermore, informality in housing has not only been the result of social inequality but also of direct urban planning policies. Since the first planning initiatives, exclusionary patterns were reinforced in São Paulo. For example, zoning laws that stipulated land use, parcel sizes, and other parameters excluded a large part of the population from formally planned areas (Maricato, 1979). This process of urban specialization and concentration of investments in certain sectors of the city has led to significant inequalities in the distribution of urban services and amenities. The peripheries of the city, where the majority of the population lives, have historically been neglected in terms of infrastructure and public services such as transportation, sanitation, and healthcare. This has contributed to the formation of a pattern of exclusion and marginalization, where the peripheries are seen as spaces of poverty, crime, and social disorder. At the same time, the concentration of investments in certain areas of the city has also led to the displacement and eviction of low-income residents from their homes and neighborhoods, as real estate developers seek to profit from the rising demand for high-end housing and commercial properties. This has led to conflicts and struggles over the right to the city, as marginalized residents organize and resist displacement and demand access to urban services and resources (Villaça, 2017). As capital and high-income households moved to new areas, the previous locations they occupied were often seen as undesirable or in need of revitalization. This perspective viewed these areas as "blighted" or in decline, even though they may have been vibrant and thriving neighborhoods for the people who lived there. This perception was often used to justify urban restructuring efforts, which often displaced existing residents and replaced them with new, more affluent populations. This process is known as gentrification and is a common feature of urban development in many cities around the world (Marcuse & Van Kempen, 2011). In addition to these factors, the high density and verticalization in São Paulo were also the result of a deliberate strategy of the local

government and the urban planning community to promote modernization and rationalization of urban space. This strategy involved the implementation of large-scale urban renewal projects, such as the construction of the São Paulo downtown area known as the “Plano de Avenidas” in the 1930s and 1940s, and the creation of large public housing complexes in the peripheries in the 1950s and 1960s .The Plano de Avenidas aimed to modernize the city by creating wide avenues for car traffic and demolishing old buildings in the central area to make room for modern high-rise buildings. The construction of large public housing complexes, on the other hand, was an attempt to address the housing shortage problem and to modernize the housing sector by introducing new technologies and construction methods. However, these modernization efforts often had unintended consequences, such as the displacement of low-income residents from the central areas to the peripheries, the destruction of historic and cultural landmarks, and the creation of isolated and segregated housing projects in the peripheries (Somekh, 1997).



Fig6 São Paulo, Brazil Development in virtualization (blogdaarquitectura)

Additionally, the physical landscape transformations that gentrification might entail in São Paulo may differ from those of other cities, as the city's high density and verticalization are more closely associated with elite neighborhoods than with urban revitalization. Therefore, while the term "gentrification" may be used to describe some of the changes happening in São Paulo, it is important to be mindful of the unique context and dynamics of the city.(Sassen, 2013; Smith, 2002; Van Criekingen, 2005)

6. Conclusion

I discusses various aspects of Brazil's modernization process, which has involved social, political, and economic reforms. One of the main challenges faced by the new democratic government was to stabilize the economy while promoting social development. The implementation of the Plano Real in 1994 aimed to control inflation and promote economic growth, but tension between economic growth and social development persisted. The neoliberal reforms introduced in the 1990s aimed to reduce inflation and stimulate economic growth, but critics argue that these policies have led to increased social inequality and the erosion of public services and social protections. The modernist planning movement in Brazil was based on a vision of progress and modernity that was meant to transform the country into a more efficient, functional, and equitable society. However, critics argued that it was based on a top-down, authoritarian approach that ignored the needs and aspirations of ordinary people, resulting in the construction of sterile, impersonal urban environments that were ill-suited to the needs of the population. São Paulo, as the major economic center of Brazil, has attracted investments from national and foreign capital, leading to its industrialization and economic growth. However, the rapid population growth in the city was accompanied by an increase in informal housing, indicating the challenges faced by the city in providing adequate housing for its growing population. Overall, Brazil's modernization process remains a subject of ongoing concern, with the effects of economic, political, and social reforms on social development and inequality continuing to be a matter of debate and discussion.

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