
CAPITAL ACCUMULATION PROCESS AND RESILIENCE: URBAN PLANNING AND REDEVELOPMENT OF PORT AREAS, A CASE STUDY OF SANTOS (BRAZIL)

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The present work aims at outlining a current urban scenario of the urban planning implemented in the city of Santos (Brazil), especially the policies of urban and port requalification through the analysis of the actions of *Alegra Centro* Program. *Alegra Centro* is the Revitalization and Development Program of the Historical Central Region of Santos. This work discusses the realized actions in the process of urban requalification and compares them with the ones taken towards housing policy. It discusses and concludes the following hypotheses: the proposal of requalification is more of an ideological rhetoric, which perpetuates the accumulation of capital, therefore the resilience of the urban space; the studied demonstrates the impact of the proposals in the urban dynamics and reality and its social issue. It confirms the thesis that the ongoing redevelopment project is an urban policy that favors the allocation of public resources in strategic areas, especially in the central area, for the benefit of private entrepreneurs. And finally it demonstrates the city plan or scheme that is being implemented in Santos, which is the allocation of public resources in the central area as a public strategic that has been deepened the social issues without considering the local residents.

Keywords

urban planning, resilience, regeneration projects, port cities

INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses the urban planning in the city of Santos, in the twentieth century. The methodology is the analysis of the urban planning history in the city of Santos focusing the analysis on urban revitalization policy that has been implemented in the city, in the central area.

The study object is the central area of Santos, the first urban site and port facilities, which have become outdated¹. This area is a strategic site as an urban and social place. It is a service area linked to port activities, a shopping center for low-income and poor living space, however it has infrastructure and public facilities, concentrating the largest collection of historical / cultural heritage.

It is an area of high social vulnerability: low income, low education, informal labour, and the existing concentration of housing in slums. This area is the object of the urban revitalization project, called *Alegra Centro* and most recently, the project named *Porto Valongo*, based on the premise of “adaptive reuse”² of the old warehouses of the port and its incorporation into the urban structure as the renewal of the water front³.

Urban revitalization projects are widespread strategic to leverage local, tourist and cultural development of the city in the same way adopted in global cities such as Barcelona, Baltimore among others.

The thesis explored in the present work, is that the Santos redevelopment project is an urban policy that perpetuates the allocation of public resources in strategic areas, and also that the proposed urban renewal model is the adoption of “displaced ideas”⁴ therefore the importation of models without considering the local reality and social fragility.

URBAN PLANNING

Santos urban planning is historically formed by the development of various master plans, which determine the functions of the city and proposes strategies for development and zoning, in order to control the rapid urban growth in the late transition from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, known as the coffee cycle⁵.

Even before the sanitarian intervention, the city promulgates in 1847, the Code of Postures establishing building criteria for the central area, but without having a direct relationship with the existing urban structure. In this code it is possible to see the “embryo” of what had become the spatial segregation process through the urban legislation. The code prohibits traditional buildings and industrial uses in the central area, creating a pattern of urbanization that aims to preserve the quality of life of the richest citizens and excluding the residents in slums.

This is the beginning of sociospatial segregation in Santos where the regulation pattern defines the space for the formal city, leaving out of regulation the periphery zone.

In the early twentieth century, it is implemented the proposed by engineer Saturnino de Brito, hired by the state government to develop the infrastructure of Santos in order to maintain the port activities and the capital reproduction in the space⁶.

Since 1930 we have the production of various plans that define proposals, but there is the gap between plan and execution, discourse and practice, it is the modernist and functionalist urban planning, the Fordist economy and the mass consumption society⁷. These actions conceal the true source of the problem and the failure of the state to solve them, so “there is the speech planning and ineffective planning.”

Among others urban law, the Master Plan of Santos from 1968 is the first to foresaw the need for urban renewal of the central area, but it was not implemented. Actually actions to face this problem only occurred in the 1990s, with the adoption of strategic planning⁸, that outlined goals, policies and well-intentioned guidelines, which eliminated the disagreement and hidden conflict in order to build the consensus, the strategies known as “market urbanism”⁹.

Within the development of the global economy and market flexibility, there is the emerging of “urban competitiveness”, where it is up to governments to “sell the same thing to the same virtual buyers who have invariably the same needs”¹⁰. In this new scenario it is understandable that the so-called urban marketing has been grown and that basically all strategic plans have essentially the same characteristics.

The Plan of Santos can be analysed by this focus, by proposing the flexibility of urban instruments, defining strategic areas of the city and proposing the sale of the city to international buyer without considering the existing social fragilities.

SANTOS: REGENERATION PROJECTS

In 1980 it began the mobilization of Santos society in the rescue of cultural heritage with the establishment of the local heritage council in 1988, called CONDEPASA. Caldatto¹¹ remember that the articulation and formulation of a local political rescue of historical heritage was necessary due to the low activeness of the agencies already in place, IPHAN (federal government) and CONDEPHAAT (state government). The CONDEPASA begins its operations topling representative historic buildings, most of them built in the coffee cycle¹².

The formulation of a specific policy in preserving the existing heritage happened in the Master Plan of 1998 with the definition of Cultural Protection Corridors (CPC) Figure 1. These corridors are further including in the Cultural Protection Area (APC) that also started the strategy for *Alegra Centro* in 2003.

ALEGRA CENTRO

The Revitalization and Development of Historical Central Region of Santos (*Alegra Centro*)¹³ is a specific urban policy, the first in Santos history, focused on the revitalization of the central area.

The *Alegra Centro*'s policy encourages the resumption of economic development through actions in the following areas: improvement of the urban landscape; preservation and restoration of historical, artistic and landscape heritage; integration between the pier and the central area - project *Porto Valongo*; rescue of identity; economic re-articulation; social inclusion and housing solution with the implementation of *Alegra Centro Housing Program*, approved in 2010¹⁴.

The first actions took place with the restoration of cultural heritage and the search for a new urban center image in order to leverage the economic recovery process in the city as a whole, the so-called urban renewal.

We can cite the following interventions: urbanization of the central squares (*Mauá*, *Rui Barbosa*, *Andradas* and *Republic*), replacement of sidewalks paving honouring the coffee cycle, restoration of the train station, among others. Therefore, these interventions seek to rescue the symbolic value of the central area to build a new image for the city center in order to leverage urban regeneration.

Since its establishment the number of properties incorporated by the program tripled, from 686 to 1805 properties in its atual phase¹⁵.

The identification and classification of properties of historical and cultural relevance is done through cultural inventories that points the existing architectural heritage and classifies them into four levels of protection¹⁶. The inventory establishes which of the building has historical values, therefore can receive tax benefits defined by law, in order to stimulate the economy and attract investors to the projects. The main idea is to stimulate emerging of new activities, such as entertainment, culture, leisure and tourism.

The program also defined the possibility to sale the construction potential not used in this building to others cities areas such as the beach zone. Despite this possibility it's almost impossible to do so, since the adopted building standards in the city are so high that does not make it possible¹⁷.

We can define as *Alegria Centro* features: the regulation, the definition of standards and the creation of tax incentives as tools to leverage the revitalization of the central area. The public investments, the responsibility to invest in urban interventions (squares, streets, infrastructure) that will serve as the starting point of the process and creating the necessary conditions for the emergence of private investment property restoration and the establishment of new uses.

The tax exemption for private property and public investments in infrastructure and public buildings are essentially the *Alegria Centro* strategies, but the most significant point is that none of the strategies include the social fragilities and even actions to face these problems. Housing policies and social programs were not part of *Alegria Centro*.

Therefore, the public-private partnership is based on the allocation of massive public investment in strategic points. As a result of this action there is the deepening of social disparities, the fragmentation of the city. The real estate speculation process is also benefit by these strategies¹⁸.

The program is guided by the reference of the strategic plan, which aims to sell the city and its investment opportunities from “deregulate, privatize, fragment and give the market an absolute free pass”¹⁹. Therefore, the *Alegria Centro* is a program of strategic actions and not a revitalization urban plan²⁰, since they did not implement integrated actions in infrastructure and urban re-articulation (port-city). More direct action related to a new urban re-articulation will be defined during the development of “strategic projects” or “anchors” in key points of the city, such as the area of the old warehouses, the use of which will be discussed in the implementation of this project, *Port Valongo Santos*.

ALEGRIA CENTRO HOUSING PROGRAM

The Rehabilitation Program of Residential Use in the historic Central Region of Santos (*Alegria Centro Housing Program*) is created by the supplementary law number 688 in 2010 and its origin is a direct result of *Alegria Centro*. Initially the program did not provide housing witch will be included only in the *Alegria Centro* review, in 2008, with the installation of residential use in the periphery area and not inside of it.

Therefore the *Alegria Centro Housing Program* (2010) do not include the central neighborhoods like *Valongo* and *Center*²¹. that concentrated almost entirely the public investments already made, a contradiction within itself. For the slums existing in the area the law defines “the properties of families living located in the area of *Valongo* [...] may be directed to properties located in the area covered by the program”.

So in the area of *Valongo*, it will not be encouraged and existing housing should be redirected. This attitude shows that the *Alegria Centro* will result in the gentrification process²². Theafore, we can establish that the *Alegria Centro* is based on a mistaken premise, displaced from the social reality of the central area, not including the residential use and the resident population of the *Valongo* neighborhood.

For the suburbs the program establishes a strategy to adopt tax incentives for private investors and owners of real estate in the rehabilitation of precarious houses²³. The program identifies 221 precarious properties and establishes a deadline of two years to the beginning of the rehabilitation process, and administrative penalties for non-compliance.

Since the beginning of the program in 2010, no property has been rehabilitated, not by the government or by the private sector and no administrative penalty was imposed. There is no political interest to face the housing problem.

In this sense the public action is omitted since it is not planned municipal budget source for the rehabilitation of precarious housing estate, leaving the owners and / or residents facilitate the rehabilitation of homes through existing funding programs in the market.

If we compare the *Alegria Centro* and *Alegria Centro Housing Program*, in the first the public sector “signals” to entrepreneurs the possibility of intervention throws public investment (historic buildings and infrastructure), in the second it is established that public investments are not intended, leaving the owners undertake rehabilitation of precarious buildings, aggravating the sociospatial segregation.

Therefore, the *Alegria Centro Housing* policy can be seen as another legal instrument that exists on paper and not in fact.

PORTO VALONGO SANTOS

This Project embraces the intervention of warehouses 1 to 8, for urban revitalization in order to return to the urban landscape its aquatic view, the waterfront renewal strategy and aiming to “[...] transforming them into one of the largest tourist centers, leisure and entertainment and business in Brazil. This project will be one of the main urban interventions in port areas already held in Brazil”²⁴.

It was established a shared management model between the city hall (PMS) and the port authority (CODESP), made official by the signing of the agreement on 28 February 2008²⁵. The agreement establishing the Working Group Participatory (GTP), composed equally by PMS and CODESP and the decisions are taken from the consensus between them.

The proposed program consists of the implementation of diversified uses based on the development of tourism and the service sector, including marina, cruise terminal, restaurants, shops, event space and fairs, offices, site and services. The program seeks to illustrate possible promotion strategies that it is possible to do in order to attract potential investors, is the adoption of city marketing.

With the change of municipal management in 2013 the program is in standby, without effective action of viability.

PROGRAM RESULTS

After a decade it is possible to define some results of *Alegria Centro* program, however being a recent case it is important to verify the ongoing actions. As it can be seen in Tables 01-03, since the beginning, it has been invested more than R\$ 100,000,000.00 (one hundred million reais) of public nature (municipal and other spheres), without considering previous investments before 2003, which were not accounted or disclosed. (Tables 01-02: identifies the amounts invested by the program and details these values in 2009 and 2010)

For private investments, the amounts estimated by management and disclosed are less than R \$ 50,000,000.00 (fifty million reais). This value is obtained by lifting any intervention in the central area and its cost is calculated by square footage, for example: the face of a building is painted, it is an estimated area the cost per square meter and counts as private investment. The calculation of investments follows this methodology since the beginning of the program. The justification of the administration for the use of this method is guided by the premise that the values declared in the payment of any type of service tax (ISS) do not correspond to the actual amount invested, so take as real tax evasion and also estimate a higher value of the private investment made. With this method the amounts disclosed private investments are in fact lower than estimated, would otherwise be released the effectively declared values and not estimated.

According to official reports the sum of amounts invested in the program both public and private exceeds R\$ 150,000,000.00 (one hundred and fifty million reais). However, we found that in this value were not accounted the amount invested in infrastructure such as *Perimetral Avenue*. If we sum these projects the invested amounts exceeding R\$ 300,000,000.00 (three hundred million reais), 82% of public investment, public-private 3% and only 15% private. (Table 02).

The strategy of displaying the amount investment in the program, regarding the value adopted in infrastructure, it is strategic to show the effectiveness of the program in capture the private investment, which it is not relevant, as shown before.

In relation to real estate benefited from the program, we found that the 254 granted tax exemptions are concentrated in 64 properties, among 889 (NP1 and NP2). It should be noted that only 22 business licenses were granted within the program, which can induce the *Alegria Centro* has not been effective in its role to attract and stimulate new activities.

The creation of jobs and activities are the key arguments for the implementation of the project, with the indicated results reveal *Alegria Centro* weaknesses regarding these matters. Thus, the reflection on the cost-benefit of the program is needed, even in the case of an urban policy based on public investment ratio and tax incentives to entrepreneurs. Note that the first two years of the *Alegria Centro* reports that the program is responsible for creating 172 jobs jobs, concentrated in 13 companies and more than R\$ 14,000,000.00 (fourteen million Reais) invested. If we compare the number of jobs created 172, with the number of unemployed in March of the same year (2005), corresponding to 34.087, we find that the program is inefficient and insignificant in job creation.

In the physical aspect, interventions by public authorities recover the cultural and artistic heritage of the central area reshaping the urban landscape. Such interventions are located on the APC1, where is also the concentration of the particular investments. The region of Valongo concentrated public investments in the same proportion generates the concentration of private investment.

So the appropriation of public investment (more than US \$ 300 million) occurs in only 64 properties that concentrate 254 tax exemptions. We can define the beneficiaries of *Alegria Centro* are these private entrepreneurs, who use public resources for capital reproduction warranty on urban space²⁶, accentuating the sociospatial segregation.

There is a relationship between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, and the beneficiaries are the real entrepreneurs and non-beneficiaries are the local people. As shown before, the program does not include the social reality of the residents of the central districts, not facing the housing problem, which has historical roots, not put into practice the instruments provided by the municipal law in order to ensure the settlement of the local population.

In an attempt to combat the process of real estate speculation and aiming the search for a process of social re-articulation, it is promulgated by Federal Law in 2001, the Statute of City²⁷. However, despite inserted and regulated the instruments of the Statute of City in the municipal law, no municipal action was found that seeks to break the speculation process.

We can define the actions implemented by the *Alegria Centro* perpetuate socio-spatial segregation process by establishing investments in specific areas, promoting the real estate valuation and does not take control actions to the real estate market. The implementation of the rehabilitation project of the port area, focused on upgrade citizens and the massive public investment required for its implementation will put in check the public policy in place.

CONCLUSION

This work reflected on the capitalist process of space production through urban planning analysis focusing on the urban renewal project implemented in Santos, the *Alegria Centro*, *Alegria Centro Housing Program* and *Porto Valongo*. As studied the sociospatial segregation in Santos was consolidated by urban regulation that defines occupation standards for the formal city, and leaves unregulated the impactful uses and housing in the periphery areas.

By opting for intervention in the official spaces of the city, in this case the central area of Santos, public policies have strengthened the sociospatial segregation process, excluding the right to citizenship, people who are not seated in these spaces, which in Brazil is mainly the low income population. The adoption of urban planning practices that exclude part of the population reinforces unequal opportunities contributing to the maintenance of poverty.

So it is correct to say that urban legislation transfers to space the ideology of class society, where the introduction of a large number of laws is not linked to effective actions to confront the problem of sociospatial segregation, but indeed to reinforce the *status quo* patrimonialism of Brazilian society of classes.

The *Alegria Centro* program, although recent, has proved a municipal urban policy that allocates massive public investment, rather than few private investments, in infrastructure and restoration of buildings symbols of the city, grants tax exemption for entrepreneurs and especially do not invest to face the housing problem. In other words, the strategy of revitalizing the central area is based on the attraction of new uses and solvents users, not the resident population.

The adoption of urban practices that disregard the resident population, leads us to say that the implementation of the urban renewal strategy is the adoption of “ideas out of place”²⁸. It is the resumption of the central area by the elite and the market.

These facts confirm the thesis that the ongoing redevelopment project in the city of Santos is an urban policy that favours the allocation of public resources in strategic areas of the city, especially in the central area, for the benefit of private entrepreneurs. And finally it demonstrates the city plan or scheme that is being implemented in Santos, which is the allocation of public resources in the city central area as a public strategic that has been deepened the social issues without considering the local residents.

TABLES AND FIGURES

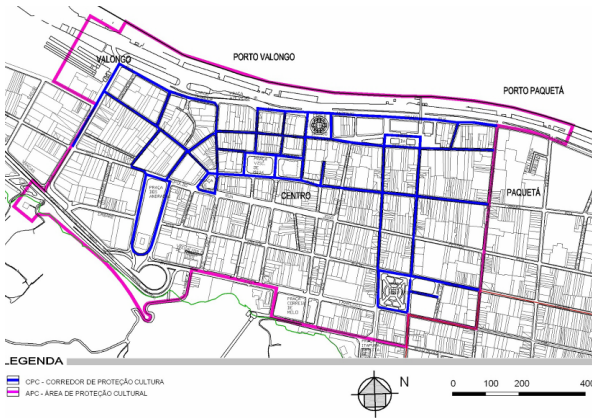


FIGURE 1 Alegre Centro Program and its areas: Cultural Protection Corridors (CPC) and Cultural Protection Area (APC1)

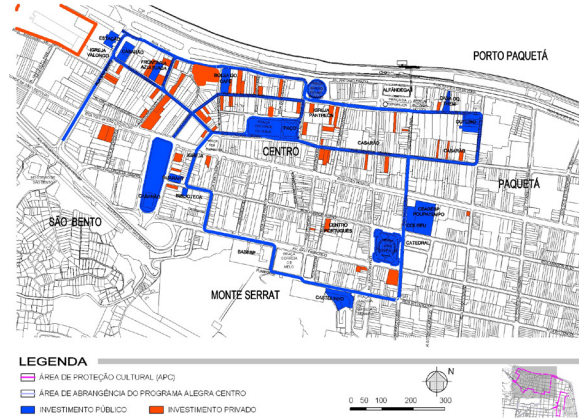


FIGURE 2 Investments of Alegre Centro Program. Blue Public Investment and Red Private Investments.

ALEGRA CENTRO INVESTMENT VALUE FROM 2003-2010

	Year	Public investment municipality		public investment others		private investment		public/private investment		total	
		No	VALUE	No	VALUE	No	VALUE	No	VALUE	No	VALUE
Restauração and conservation of historical building	2003	1	3.250.000,00	2	10.500.000,00	19	4.761.200,00	0	0,00	22	18.511.200,00
	2004	1	7.250.000,00	0	0,00	8	412.400,00	0	0,00	9	7.662.400,00
	2005	1	3.500.000,00	1	2.000.000,00	14	1.831.200,00	0	0,00	15	7.331.200,00
	2006	3	1.700.000,00	3	5.200.000,00	70	7.357.262,00	0	0,00	77	14.257.262,00
	2007	3	330.000,00	1	1.000.000,00	96	15.940.000,00	1	3.000.000,00	101	20.270.000,00
	2008	1	2.250.000,00	2	6.228.975,00	69	4.499.279,00	0	4.100.000,00	72	17.078.254,00
	2009	5	13.546.000,00	2	2.133.022,00	64	7.833.705,00	0	1.000.000,00	72	24.512.727,00
2010	6	14.195.000,00	1	700.000,00	55	5.818.347,00	1	1.000.000,00	63	21.713.347,39	
Total Works		21	46.021.000,00	12	27.761.997,00	395	48.453.393,39	3	9.100.000,00	431	131.336.390,39
Infrastructure	2003		0,00								
	2004		0,00								
	2005		2.000.000,00								
	2006		13.520.000,00								
	2007				7.011.000,00						
	2008				2.250.000,00						
	2009				2.250.000,00						
Total Infrastructure			15.520.000,00		11.511.000,00						
Total per Sector			61.541.000,00		39.272.997,00		48.453.393,39		9.100.000,00		158,367.390,39

TABLE 1 Font: Alegre Centro Investment Value from 2003-2010

ALEGRA CENTRO INVESTMENT VALUE WITHOUT INFRASTRUCTURE FROM 2003-2010

Public Invest. Municipality	46.021.000,00	35,00%
Public Invest. (Others)	27.761.997,00	21,00%
Private Invest.	48.453.393,39	37,00%
Public-Private Investment	9.100.000,00	7,00%
Total	131.336.390,39	

TABLE 2 Font; Alegra Centro Investment Value without infrastructure from 2003-2010

ALEGRA CENTRO INVESTMENT VALUE WITH INFRASTRUCTURE FROM 2003-2010

Public Invest. Municipality	61.541.000,00	
Public	39.272.997,00	
Infrastructure 1	91.600.000,00	
Infrastructure 2	54.100.000,00	
Infrastructure 3	8.591.484,60	
Total Public	255.105.481,60	82,00%
Public-Private	9.100.000,00	3,00%
Private	48.453.393,39	15,00%
Total	312.658.874,99	

TABLE 3 Font; Alegra Centro Investment Value with infrastructure from 2003-2010

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Endnotes

- 1 Pedro Sales approach the relation between the city and the port of Santos, 1999.
- 2 In the book Peter Hall explores the strategies of urban requalification. Peter Hall. *Cities of tomorrow*. São Paulo. Perspectiva, 2002.
- 3 João Sette Whitaker Ferreira studies the large and expansive projects planned for the World Cup 2014 as well as the renewal strategies such as the *Puerto Madero* and Docks Stations in Belém, Brazil.
- 4 SCHWARZ, R. *Sequencias brasileiras*. São Paulo. Cia das Letras, 1999.
- 5 Clarissa Souza, 2006, addresses urban planning in Santos during three different periods. The beautification by Saturnino de Brito intervention, the second period, from 1930 as the regulatory plans and finally, the strategic planning.
- 6 Saturnino de Brito proposes the recovery plan for the city of Santos. According to Ana Lucia Lanna (1996, 92) the thought of this period was the construction of new symbols, demolition and denial of the past and the association between hygiene and aesthetics.
- 7 João Sette Whitaker Ferreira in his doctor thesis explores this concept 2010, 187.
- 8 Vainer, 2000.
- 9 Vainer, 2000 and Ferreira, 2010.
- 10 Vainer, 2000a, p. 80.
- 11 Ney Caldatto, architect and head of the Department of Urban Revitalization of the City Hall of Santos 2012. Interview granted to the author in January 2012.

- 12 The coffee cycle corresponds to the period of transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century when the agro-export economy of Brazil is based on coffee production. Ana Lucia Lanna, 1996, studied this period in the city of Santos, marked by agro-export entrepreneurs that redesign the urban landscape by investments in infrastructure and symbolic buildings such as: Coffee Exchange, Theater among others. The coffee cycle ends with the global crisis in 1929 and the burning of the coffee stock in 1930.
- 13 *Alegria Centro* was created by a municipal law, number 470 from february 5th, 2003.
- 14 *Alegria Centro Housing* was created by a municipal law, number 688, 2010.
- 15 The first phase (2003-2005) includes the properties located in the Cultural Protection Corridors (CPC), as defined in the Master Plan of 1998, including 686 properties. The second phase (2005-2008) includes the rest of the properties listed in the Cultural Protection Areas (APC) through to 1785 properties. After 2008 it was set a new border totaling 1805 properties.
- 16 The four preservation levels defined in *Alegria Centro* and later revisions are based on the compartmentalization established by Law of Use and Land Use n. 312/98 to the properties located in the Cultural Protection Area and defined as follows:
Protection Level 1 (NPI) - Total protection, reaches real estate to be preserved fully, the entire building, its construction elements and decorative, internally and externally;
Protection Level 2 (NP2) - partial protection, reaches the buildings to be preserved partially including only the facades, the volume and the roof;
Protection Level 3a (NP3a) - free design option, keeping the predominant type of existing NPI and NPII property in tested the court;
Protection Level 3b (NP3b) - free design option, but respecting the jig 35 meters counted from the border to curb property.
Protection level 4 (NP4) - free design option, respecting the urban indices of the area where the property is, as the supplementary law n. 312/98, as amended.
The subdivision protection level 3 in 3a and 3b is given in the review of the law 470/03 for the supplementary law No. 640 of 2008, which eases the feedback from real estate to this classification, allowing construction with feedback up to 35 meters. This revision was necessary as the property entered in the APC were "frozen", according to information from the director of urban revitalization.
- 17 The building potential sale is based on the City Statute instruments (Federal Law, number 10.257 of 2001 regarding the transfer of the right to build and onerous grant the right to build. It has premised on the possibility of the entrepreneur to sell the unused potential in fallen buildings to other areas of the city. However, as the law of use and occupation establishes fivefold use coefficients to lot area and an extensive list of non-computable areas, building potential purchase is not required. for the selling tool or building potential transfer to take effect it is necessary that the town planning legislation is more restrictive.
- 18 Ferreira, 2003, p. 215.
- 19 Maricato, 2001, p. 59.
- 20 Jordi Borja, 2001a, p. 70, the revitalization plan has the role of integration, accessibility and mobility seeking "a qualitative leap regarding the accessibility and mobility of the urban-regional space and the generation and centrality of conversion throughout the territory "and are linked to the" [...] feasibility operations and mass transit, logistics activity zones, realization or conversion of communications infrastructure [stations, ports] etc. "
- 21 Law n. 688/ 2010.
- 22 Arantes, 2000, p. 31, defines the concept and gentrification Bidou-Zachariassen (2006) discusses in detail the gentrification process in several cities worldwide.
- 23 Paragraph 5642 Decree of July 29, 2010 identifies the real estate precarious plurihabitacional residential use that will make the property of the rehabilitation process, must within two years from its publication.
- 24 Caldato, 2008.
- 25 The process of integrated management between the municipal level and port authority begins in the 1990s, in the management of Mayor Telma de Souza, with the signing of a cooperation agreement. However more concrete actions will only take place after 2006 when the Development and Zoning Plan of the Port of Santos (PDZ) approved by the Port Authority of the Port of Santos (CAP) CAP Resolution No. 2 of March 22, 2006, establishes the extent of warehouses 1 to 8 for urban revitalization area in line with the set up *Alegria Center*. It is worth noting that the current GTP is premised on the loon intervention strategy approved by the Technical Group, created as concierge July 2003.
- 26 Harvey, 2002
- 27 The CF (1988) in its Article 182 provides that the urban development policy is aimed at ordaining the full development of the social functions of the city and ensure the well-being of its inhabitants, also defining the urban property fulfills its social function when it meets the fundamental requirements for the ordainment of the city expressed in the master plan.
- 28 Schwarz, R. *Sequencias brasileiras*. São Paulo. Cia das letras, 1999.

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Image sources

Figure 01: Souza, Clarissa. Elaborated by the author with the database from the PMS, 2012.

Figure 02: Souza, Clarissa. Elaborated by the author with the database from the PMS, 2012.

Table 01: Alegria Centro Technical Office, 2010.

Table 02: Alegria Centro Technical Office, 2010.