Promoting inequality through a lack of urban planning: urban growth in Latin America demonstrated by the examples of the Metropolitan Regions of São Paulo, Brazil, and Santiago, Chile

Promovendo a desigualdade pela falta de planejamento urbano: crescimento urbano na América Latina demonstrado pelos exemplos das Regiões Metropolitanas de São Paulo, Brasil, e Santiago, Chile

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ABSTRACT
This article gathers some research results about the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP), Brazil, and the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile (RMS), Chile. The case studies were carried out during a PhD research analyzing the Brazilian and Chilean reality. It gathers geographical and historical analysis of each region. The article exposes some particularities of both realities considering not only the urban areas, but also the open spaces areas that still relates with countryside daily life. The results present information about the urban growth, highlighting the periods of high urban expansion. Moreover, it deals with the question, if a lack of urban planning is promoting inequality of social classes.

Keywords: urban growth, metropolitan regions, São Paulo, Santiago.

RESUMO
Este artigo reúne alguns resultados de pesquisas sobre a Região Metropolitana de São Paulo (RMSP), Brasil, e a Região Metropolitana de Santiago do Chile (RMS), Chile. Os estudos de caso foram realizados durante uma pesquisa de doutorado analisando a realidade brasileira e chilena. Reúne análises geográficas e históricas de cada região. O artigo expõe algumas particularidades de ambas as realidades considerando não apenas as áreas urbanas, mas também os espaços abertos que ainda se relacionam com o cotidiano do campo. Os resultados apresentam informações sobre o crescimento urbano, destacando
1 INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

This article presents data on the Metropolitan Regions of São Paulo (RMSP) and Santiago de Chile (RMS) in relation to the biophysical support and the periods of urban expansion that resulted in the morphological configuration of both regions.

It aims to demonstrate the particularities of each reality in a comparative analysis. This study can support further research on the different characteristics of metropolitan regions. It also aims to cover the processes and historical periods of urban expansion in each metropolitan region. The urban expansion processes, mainly from the 1950s onwards, and the urban fragmentation and dispersion from the 1970s onwards, stand out.

The article brings descriptive research, but also analysis and investigations with the aim of interweaving the experience of two Latin American countries. The presented data were compiled in a doctoral research (Donoso, 2017), from the methodologies of documental research and bibliographic survey (Gil, 2008).

2 ABOUT THE METROPOLITAN REGIONS OF SÃO PAULO AND SANTIAGO DE CHILE

2.1 GEOGRAPHIC DEFINITIONS

The Metropolitan Regions of São Paulo (RMSP) and Santiago de Chile (RMS) are currently urban centers of great representation for their countries and for South America. (Campos, Gama, Sacchetta, 2004; De Mattos, 1999; Hidalgo, 2004; Meyer, 2004; Rolnik, 2004).

There are other geographic definitions for the territories under study, such as the case of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago de Chile (AMS), which delimits the concentration and main urban area of the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile. In this work, it was decided to approach both cases through official regionalization, showing beyond the contiguous urbanization areas. In the regional delimitation, there are both municipalities and communes\(^1\) well inserted in the metropolitan dynamic and others more...

\(^1\) The commune is the smallest administrative unit of the Chilean government, headed by a communal council presided over by an “alcalde”. The number of board members is dependent on the population size of the administered area. The sphere of action of the communal government is similar to...
related to a countryside scenario. This makes the system of open spaces (Magnoli, 1982), and green areas in both regions quite varied, with contrasts between urban and rural landscapes, original vegetation remnants and others.

The Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile (RMS) was only considered after 1993 with the Constitutional Organic Law 19.175 which instituted the regional governments and regional administration, decentralizing the administration. Composed of 6 provinces and a total of 52 communes (see figure 1), the majority in urban areas and only eighteen in rural areas, the RMS is thus formed by the communes of the Provinces of Santiago, Cordillera, Talagante, Maipo, Chacabuco and Melipilla, with an estimated population of 6,069,678 inhabitants (INE, 2014).

Greater Santiago is the area definition used in some data from the Chilean National Institute of Statistics (INE). It considers only the urban population of the communes that forms the urban concentrated area. Greater Santiago is part of the Metropolitan Region, and it is a geographical area formed by 34 communes, 32 of which form the province of Santiago, while another two, the commune of Puente Alto and the commune of San Bernardo, belong to other provinces, Cordillera and Maipo respectively, but are incorporated into Greater Santiago due to their physical and socioeconomic integration.

Figure 1: Communes of the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile and Greater Santiago. Source: prepared by the author, from a mosaic of Google Earth images (2016)

The province of Cordillera, formed by the communes of Puente Alto, San José de Maipo and Pirque, borders Argentina and presents great variation in its landscape: in the commune of Puente Alto, which has the highest percentage of population in all of Chile, that of a Brazilian municipality, acting in the areas of health, education, housing, open spaces, among other aspects (Rodríguez, 1993).
is Bajos de Mena, a region that concentrates a large number of social housing and social vulnerability; San José de Maipo, the largest commune in the Metropolitan Region, located at 967m above sea level (known for the tourist potential of Cajón del Maipo); Talagante, in the southwest of the Metropolitan Region, which is located in the middle of the valleys and has a large rural production, formed by the communes of El Monte, Isla de Maipo, Padre Hurtado, Peñaflor and Talagante; the province of Maipo, to the south, formed by the communes of São Bernardo, Calera de Tango, Buin and Paine, which stands out for its environmental reserve Altos de Cantillana; Chacabuco, formed by the communes of Colina, Lampa and Til-Til, which is characterized by its strong agricultural activity; Melipilla, comprising the communes of Alhué, Curacá, María Pinto, Melipilla and San Pedro, with the largest rural area, bordering valleys in the agricultural sector that export wine production, such as the Casablanca valley.

The administrative reform process that instituted regional, municipal and communal governments in Chile sought, in theory, to expand local action in the context of territorial and social planning. In practice, the distribution of resources for each action has a restricted role. These resources, at the municipal level, are derived from two sources: an external source, the Fondo Común Municipal, responsible for distributing resources from the richest to the poorest localities (Hardy; Legassa, 1989) and the municipal collection for local taxes and patents.

Although it is not intended to go into the merits of resource distribution in this article, it is important to highlight that there is a political dependence on the communes to achieve these transferred resources. The distribution is facilitated by specific plans to direct resources to municipalities and communes with social problems. Therefore, communal administration is relevant to develop regions.

Regarding the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, this was only officially established in 1973, during the military dictatorship, which created nine Brazilian metropolitan regions as a developmental strategy. However, in the 1960s, although it did not legally exist, the RMSP already demonstrated its formation, with some municipalities in conurbation with the municipality of São Paulo, the case mainly of the region called as ABC, formed by the municipalities of Santo André, São Bernardo and São Caetano².

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2 According to the 1960 Brazilian Demographic Census (IBGE), São Bernardo do Campo had 81,255 inhabitants, Santo André had 242,920 inhabitants and São Caetano do Sul had 113,233 inhabitants. Diadema, at the time, had only 12,287 inhabitants. Other municipalities with a growing population in the period were Guarulhos, with 100,760 inhabitants, and Osasco, with 113,547 inhabitants.
Langenbuch (1971), when analyzing the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, highlights the imprecision of the outer limits of the metropolis and the multiplicity of processes in which the metropolitan expansion took place, with the conformation of several non-urbanized surroundings, open spaces structured by the metropolis and to the metropolis.

The Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, with an estimated population of 21,571,281 inhabitants (IBGE, 2018), is composed of 39 municipalities, divided into sub-regions (figure 2). To the north are the municipalities of Caieiras, Cajamar, Francisco Morato, Franco da Rocha and Mairiporã. To the North of São Paulo, is located the estate park of Serra da Cantareira, a protected area of Mata Atlântica vegetation. This region is geographically characterized by hills areas, separated with alluvial plains. To the east are Arujá, Biritiba-Mirim, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Guararema, Guarulhos, Itaquaquecetuba, Mogi das Cruzes, Poá, Salesópolis, Santa Isabel and Suzano. The Tietê river, one of the most important of the state, is born in the Serra do Mar mountain range in the municipality of Salesópolis. To the west are Barueri, Carapicuíba, Itapevi, Jandira, Osasco, Pirapora do Bom Jesus and Santana de Parnaíba. To the southeast are Diadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra, Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo and São Caetano do Sul. To the southwest are Cotia, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, Itapeverica da Serra, Juquitiba, São Paulo. Lourenço da Serra, Taboão da Serra and Vargem Grande Paulista. In the South area of São Paulo is the environmental protected area of Capivari-Munos, with Mata Atlântica vegetation. The municipality of São Paulo integrates all sub-regions, and is the main national metropolis.

Some municipalities in the RMSP have a predominantly rural economy, as is the case of Embu-Guaçu, located in a spring area. Other municipalities, such as São Lourenço da Serra, Biritiba-Mirim and Guararema are practically dormitory towns, with a population that moves daily to the most dynamic municipalities.
3  BIOPHYSICAL FACTORS OF THE RMS AND THE RMSP

The RMS has an extremely extensive delimitation, including: to the east, the limit of the Andes mountains bordering Argentina; to the west, the Cordillera da Costa, in territory closer to the Chilean coast, bordering the Region of Valparaíso; to the north, the mountainous region of Chacabuco and to the south by the topographic depression of Angostura de Paine, which divides the RMS with the territory of the city of Rancagua. The RMS landscape is rich in differences, both in physical, cultural and economic landscape.

Within the RMS, there are rural areas with different production cultures from those of the central valley, and also areas of environmental preservation, with a predominance of forests and mountain range landscapes. The original vegetation cover is varied, with areas without vegetation, areas of Andean vegetation, in addition to lakes formed by the melting of snow, such as the incredible landscapes of the Cajones Cordilleranos. The Cajón del Maipo (figure 3) is also noteworthy, formed by the watercourse of the Maipo river, an important tributary that crosses the metropolitan region. Its waters originate at the edge of the Maipo volcano, receive water from other Andean tributaries and cross Chilean territory until it flows into the Pacific Ocean. The valley formed by the watercourse of this river is known for its landscape of rich soil for the cultivation of grapes, with a great wine-producing tradition.
The RMSP also presents a broad area in relation to the main urban conurbation, with municipalities that are farther away from the conurbed area and that have a daily life similar to a countryside city.

The São Paulo territory is characterized by a sedimentary basin with mountain ranges to the north-northwest and south, with very diverse native vegetation, with areas of Atlantic Forest and Cerrado vegetation. This original vegetation was greatly impacted by urbanization, but there are many preserved fragments, such as the areas in the extreme south and north, for example the Serra da Cantareira and Jaraguá State Park, and in the extreme south, where the Capivari Monos Environmental Protection Area and a stretch of Serra do Mar State Park are located.

Among the elements that mark the RMSP's landscape are also the cultural interest areas, which are part of the memory of the formation of the territory, such as the station and Paranapiacaba village (figure 4), in the municipality of Santo André, a remnant of the São Paulo Railway, which connected the coast to the interior of São Paulo state.
Along with a rich water system, the RMSP concentrates the main portion of its territory in the Alto Tietê basin, formed by the homonymous river, which rises to the east of the Metropolitan Region, in the municipality of Salesópolis. This system includes rivers that are very present in the metropolis' daily life, such as the Pinheiros, the Tamanduateí and the Aricanduva rivers, in addition to the Billings and Guarapiranga reservoirs, which form the landscape of the southern portion of the municipality.

Although with great landscape and water potential, the rivers that cross the RMSP are particularly compromised by contamination, which limits both their recreational use and water supply. Responsible also for water crisis, pollution and poor management of water resources are a delicate issue, which is camouflaged by periods of scarcity or abundance of rain (Custódio, 2015).

Further more, there is the history of urbanization with occupation of valley areas and canalization of rivers. The process of degradation of the biophysical environment in the RMSP began mainly from the 1960s onwards, with two simultaneous processes: peripheral urban expansion and urbanization with rectification and channeling of watercourses.

It was from the first administration of Prestes Maia (mayor of São Paulo between 1938-1945 and 1961-1965) that rivers were modified, with the filling of floodplain areas
to increase urban land. Together with that, process of deforestation and elimination of riparian vegetation occurred. Those actions caused changes in drainage and great impact on watershed areas (Jacobi, 2004).

The 1940s-1970s disrespectful urbanization, regarding the environment, has impacts that are still felt throughout the metropolitan region: floods, pollution, siltation of rivers and streams, insufficiency and deficiency of the sewage and other dangerous issues. That environmental damage results from the use and occupation of the soil without environmental constraints.

An example of this is the occupation of the watershed area of the Billings and Guarapiranga sub-basins, reservoirs formed in the first decades of the 20th century. Their area was occupied by irregular urbanization and without urban infrastructure, where clandestine connections further increase the pollution load of that important water supply for the Metropolitan Region (figure 5).

Figure 5: Waste fragments at the Billings reservoir, near the water treatment plant in the municipality of São Bernardo do Campo. Author’s photograph, Set. 2016.

4 URBAN GROWTH IN RMS AND RMSP

The processes of urban expansion in the studied metropolitan regions occur related to income and population mobility, with economic and elitist power organizing urban relations. The urban expansion of the higher income group occurs in regions well connected to the main economic centers, and is characterized by the presence of qualified open spaces and real estate interest. Low-income expansions areas, on the other hand, are characterized by a weaker urban connection and often on land that is not suitable for
urbanization, such as areas with environmental restrictions with rugged topography and which end up being firstly occupied irregularly.

The historical expansion of both metropolitan regions has points in common, with periods of urban growth associated with economic cycles, marked by intense urban expansion, especially from the 1970s onwards. The following infographic (figure 6) shows the evolution of urban areas in the period formation of the first urban nucleus from 1900 to 2000, comparing the growth of both regions on the same scale.

The infographic shows the different decades that represented the main urban developments. The decades from 1950 to 1970 show a peripheral and multidirectional expansion, already showing considerable fragmentation. This period of growth (1950-1970) characterized the great increase in the São Paulo metropolis compared to the Chilean metropolis. The years that followed consolidated both urban patches with even more continuous and fragmented peripheral expansions.

Figure 6: Historical growth of the main urban area of the Metropolitan Regions of São Paulo and Santiago. Source: Author (2017), using data from Google Earth and Shlomo et al (2012).

5 RESULTS

Santiago de Chile urban expansion also shows periods of urban growth associated with economic cycles. The first of them was the agricultural production of wheat and the extraction of saltpeter, which diversified in the second half of the 19th century, with more agricultural products and mineral exploration. Similarly to São Paulo, the 1930s and
1950s marked an expansion of the urban sprawl representing the receipt of an increase in population in urban centers. It is at this moment that urban centers, especially Santiago, receive a greater number of workers. During this period, Santiago was consolidated as the main economic, financial and political center in the country.

The urbanization of Santiago, since its foundation, was carried out by a socio-spatial hierarchy, marked by the “above” of the Mapocho river (to the north), a high income area. The high income neighborhoods after expanded to the north and northeast sector.

“Below” the Mapocho river (to the south), popular neighborhoods were consolidated. This delimitation was formalized by the first urban planning, in 1870, the Plan Regulador, which marked the transition from a primary-exporting city to the country's economic and financial center.

The plan urbanistically delimited a division, called the “camino de cintura”, a hygienist measure, which created a vegetation barrier around the elite neighborhoods. Today that area corresponds, to the north, to the riverbank Mapocho; to the south, to Matta and Blanco Encalada avenues; in the east, Vicuña Mackenna avenue and, in the west, Matucana avenue. Besides that exclusion strategy, the Plan Regulador also sought to create “healthy” working-class neighborhoods in sectors far from the “camino de cintura” (Espinoza, 1988).

After the 1929s crisis, a change of economic orientation began in Chile, seeking to reduce the country's dependence on the international economy. These guidelines were visible not only in the economy, but also in social policy, with several cutting measures that favored the middle sectors, such as institutional arrangements for workers. According to Espinoza (1988), the crisis period of the 1930s consolidated the relevance of Santiago de Chile as the main urban center, with a large population increase.

This housing growth in Santiago, spatially, had a great connection with the industry that was established in peripheral locations to the center, which stimulated road expansion. Sectors with high-income housing, on the other hand, expanded towards the east, while popular sectors expanded in the south and north, progressively converting agricultural land into urban land, following a model of horizontal expansion (Espinoza, 1988).

The 1940 Census showed that Santiago had 1,268,505 inhabitants, increasing in 1952 to 1,754,954 inhabitants and, in 1960, to 2,437,425. According to Rodríguez (1993), between 1940 and 1970 the Greater Santiago population growth more that 3% per year.
That growing velocity reduces to 2.6% in the period of 1970 and 1982, and to 1.7% from 1982 to 1992.

In the 1950s and 1960s, with the impulse of urban and population growth resulting from industrialization, public policy started to carry out operations in the communes where the popular sectors and the largest occupations of land were concentrated. In Cerro Navia, for example, one of the first operations occurred with the popular occupation of Callampa Colo-Colo, on the land of Chácara Lo Amor, resulting in a housing construction program (Galleguillos et al., 1992).

The precariousness of housing increased in Santiago along with its growth, with 12% of the population living in irregular housing in 1960, a number that rose to 16% in 1970, when land occupations intensified (Espinoza, 1988)3. These occupations, carried out by organized families, were also responsible for the expansion of the urban sprawl to peripheral areas, with occupations of rural lands that were later legally allotted to shelter these and other families.

In the popular governments of Frei and Allende (1964 to 1973), social participation and the development of popular groups were encouraged in the peripheral communes, which led to the development of unions and the enactment of the Law of Juntas de Vecinos (law 16.880, 1968).

Many communes were made official in 1981 in the Greater Santiago communal reformulation process, a period in which the number of communes increased from 17 to 33. Coincidentally, this new division further accentuated socio-spatial segregation, as the criteria were not necessarily physical or economic, but mainly class-based, separating communes with poorer or richer populations, as occurred with Peñalolén and Cerro Navia (Cerro Navia, 2012).

Similarly, Hardy and Legassa (1989), De Mattos (1999) and Donosso (2017) affirms that, after the military coup (1973) and the installation of the neoliberal model (1975), the socioeconomic and population structure changes, aggravating inequalities and acting in favor greater socioeconomic homogeneity in the communes.

Economic liberalization also stimulated population, industrial and business concentration in the metropolis, boosting the expansion of urban limits. Even though economic growth contributed to a relative reduction in poverty levels, the following years

3 In the region of Comuna Cerro Navia, formerly Barrancas, for example, this growth was represented by of several land occupations, including: Neptuno (1962), Herminda de la Victoria (March 1967), Violeta Parra (February 1969) and Montijo (August 1969) (Galleguillos et al., 1992).
were of concentration of similar income strata in urban sectors, which accentuated socio-spatial segregation (De Mattos, 1999).

This pattern of income concentration in urban areas was consolidated in the 1990s, with the creation of the first housing condominiums (gated communities), first in communes with less resources, such as Puente Alto, Peñalolén and Huechuraba, and later to communes with greater resources, such as Las Condes, Providencia, La Reina, Lo Barnechea, Ñuñoa and Vitacura. In the years 1990-2000, the condominium housing model was also distributed in communes in the Metropolitan Region, such as Pirque, Calera de Tango, Padre Hurtado, Lampa and Colina. (Hidalgo, 2004).

The RMS of the 2000s is configured in high-income communes, with highly qualified and well-distributed open spaces, and medium and low-income communes, with low-skilled but relatively well-distributed open spaces. There are many fragmented open spaces in both metropolitan regions with potential for recreation, connection, preservation and environmental conservation.

The urban growth of the RMSP, in general, was the result of the increase in economic activities resulted from different production cycles, as occurred in the period prior to 1930, when the coffee economy enabled the accumulation of capital necessary for the initial industrial investment, which, in turn, generated the next production cycle, in the 1930s to 1950s, with industrialization.

It was between 1899 and 1930 that the city of São Paulo confirmed its industrial character, after the loss of autonomy of the coffee economy and the consolidation of the state of São Paulo as the main economic and industrial center of the country, with its capital, São Paulo, being the focus of this change.

This industrial landscape of industrial plants and workers' villages was concentrated mainly in the municipality of Osasco and in the São Paulo municipality, specifically the districts of Água Branca, Brás, Belenzinho, Mooca, Ipiranga and Vila Prudente. The industrial areas were associated with railways, following the path of Sorocabana Railroad, of the São Paulo Railway and of the Central do Brasil Railroad, forming an industrial periphery from the 1930s onwards (Gunn; Correia, 2004).

After the two periods of production cycles came the years of accelerated industrialization and post-crisis recovery in 1929, when the metropolization process was consolidated, considering the expansion of the urban fabric and the conurbation between cities neighboring São Paulo, changing the city limits, the landscape and the daily lives of the residents.
The industrialization and urbanization increased hastily until the 1970s. After that period, it deconcentrated from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo and between the 1970s and 1990s went to other regions, like the countryside of São Paulo State and also other country regions (Nobre, 2008).

Meyer (2004), observing the expansion of industrial areas in the RMSP between 1930 and 1997, highlights the urban spread from the main mobility axes towards other municipalities, such as the Anhanguera roadway axis with the connection with the municipalities of Jundiaí and Campinas.

This industrial expansion is a process of urban dispersion (Reis Filho, 2006) characteristic of the search for larger land with easy access for the flow of products, facilitated by tax and road incentives. This resulted in greater urban mobility made possible by the highway network and the incentive for the production and acquisition of automobiles by the middle and upper classes from the second half of the 1950s onwards (Coelho, 2015; Meyer, 2004).

Silva (2004) defines the urban expansion of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo an extensive pattern of urban development, configured by horizontal expansion, the same one that characterizes a large part of the Brazilian urbanization processes (Macedo et at. 2018). This pattern is characterized by constant subdivision and occupation of the suburbs, both by new subdivisions and self-construction, constant demand for infrastructure and implementation of a transport system based on automotive vehicles.

This horizontal expansion materialized with the transformation of the city, which previously had a large part of its public transport running on rails, and with the industrial era, that had its routes designed for tires, with encouragement from the growing automobile industry. This change began in the 1930s and 1940s, structuring the basis for reasoning that would be responsible for the urban characteristics of the consolidating metropolis: encouraging road transport.

The RMSP is formed together with the intense urbanization process that São Paulo and neighboring municipalities presented mainly from the 1950s onwards. In sixty years, from 1950 to 2010, the municipality of São Paulo had a very large demographic growth.\footnote{In the 1950s and 1970s, the population increased from 2,151,313 to 5,924,615 respectively. In the following years, this growth was less accentuated, reaching, in 2010, 11,253,503 inhabitants (IBGE, Demographic Census from 1950 to 2010).}
Mainly from the 1970s onwards, urban growth also reached the neighboring cities of São Paulo, in a process of peripheral expansion and urban sprawl of the RMSP\textsuperscript{5}.

Encouraged by industrialization and internal migration motivated by regional factors (Nobre, 2008), the large population increase that occurred in the cities of the RMSP and that followed until the 1990s represented average population growth rates higher than the national and state average\textsuperscript{6}.

The urban sprawl of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo was more significant from the 1960s onwards. This process occurred mainly along the main existing highways (and others that were created), in addition to railways, inducing occupation according to the mobility axes, which had great relevance. One of these highways is the Castelo Branco highway, which structured, in 1973, the emergence of the Alphaville-Tamboré conglomerate in the municipalities of Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba (Coelho, 2015; Campos, 2008).

_Barueri_ currently concentrates companies, encouraged by fiscal policy, and luxury developments, in a landscape of contrasts between closed constructions, such as industrial and high-income housing allotments, and the traditional city. The growth of peripheral districts in the RMSP occurs at the same time that the central districts, such as Sé, Brás and Santa Cecília, presented a population decrease of up to 2% per year.

In almost all the expansion axes of the RMSP there is a landscape that mixes industrial and service areas, urban regions with a diverse socioeconomic profile, with areas of high and medium income, as well as popular neighborhoods and irregular housing. In general terms, the eastern and far eastern regions of São Paulo were historically formed by middle and low-income neighborhoods, with a large concentration of irregular housing and social projects, mainly in the far east.

\textsuperscript{5} *Guarulhos* municipality, for instance, which in 1950 had 34,683 inhabitants, in sixty years had its population increased by 35 times, reaching 1,221,979 inhabitants in 2010. Similarly, *São Bernardo do Campo* had its population increased by 29 times, from 26,262 inhabitants in 1950 to 765,463 inhabitants in 2010. *Osasco* went from 41,326 inhabitants in 1950 to 666,740 inhabitants in 2010, while *Santo André* from 106,605 in 1950 to 676,407 inhabitants in 2010 (IBGE, Demographic Census of 1950 and 2010).

\textsuperscript{6} Considering the geometric growth rates for the municipalities of the RMSP, in the 60-year interval, we have *São Paulo* with 3.36%; *Guarulhos*, with 7.38%; *São Bernardo*, with 6.98%; *Osasco*, with 5.72%; *Santo André*, with 3.76%. Francisco Morato presents the highest geometric growth rate of the municipalities in the Metropolitan Region for the indicated period, being 13.13%. Soon after is *Diadema*, with 10.19%. The lowest geometrical growth rate is in *São Caetano do Sul*, only 1.85% for the years 1950 to 2010.
In both metropolitan areas, high-income areas were consolidated at times of urban expansion into planned and landscaped neighborhoods, such as Jardim Europa (figure 7) in São Paulo and the Vitacura commune (figures 8 and 9) in Santiago, remain densely wooded and with larger lots, despite urban pressures to the contrary, thanks to the political and economic strength that these elites possess. In Vitacura sectors, real estate pressure has already achieved greater verticalization, with housing buildings for the high-income population, unlike what happens in Jardim América, which remains horizontal, as a consequence of the political power of elite residents who block changes in the urban regulation of São Paulo's garden neighborhoods.

Figure 7: Aerial photo of the city of São Paulo, showing neighborhoods with a predominance of high-end residential areas, such as Jardim Europa, close to Ibirapuera Park, and verticalization of the Paraiso, Bela Vista and Jardins neighborhoods closer to the central region. Author's photograph, Feb. 2016.
Figure 8: View of Santiago, showing the communes of Vitacura and Las Condes, which concentrate high income economical groups, and the urban expansion axis to the south. Author's photo, Sept. 2015.

Figure 9: Street in the commune of Vitacura. There are generous setbacks, transparency in the closures and many residential buildings without closures to the street, with public and private delimitation with gardens and floor design. Author's photograph, jun. 2016.

6 CONSIDERATIONS

The inheritance of the previous occupation of a space often conditions its future occupation. Carvalho (2011) defines “inheritance” as all aspects that still develop in daily life, such as the way of living, of building, morphological patterns and urban regulations, among other material and immaterial aspects.
This conditioned inheritance of space can be especially identified in areas occupied by economic opposites: high-income and low-income social groups. Thus, areas of historical irregular occupation by low-income populations end up consolidating urbanely and turning into urban areas that concentrate similar economic sectors.

With national prominence and importance (in the economic, cultural, commercial, political sense), the metropolitan’s regions of São Paulo and Santiago face many challenges, especially with regard to improving its cohesion and urban and social mobility. There are several contrasting landscapes in its territory, considering the different scenarios in municipalities and communities, related with urban or rural reality. Nevertheless, the biggest challenge concerns the socio-spatial inequalities and the different daily lives of different social groups.

The population increase, added to the lack of efficient housing policies to serve the lower-income segments, made urban expansion marked by informal housing, including in regions inadequate for urbanization. As a result, not only the quality of life is deteriorated, but also the biophysical environment, due to urban processes in environmentally fragile areas.

Stimulated, to this day, by the elite, both metropolitan regions have their urban decisions guided by particular interests, even if this often means making the daily life of less favored classes more difficult and, consequently, increasing the abyss that separates social classes.

In both regions, fragmentation and urban dispersion also stand out for new places of residence, with the displacement of the population - of all economic classes - by expressways, encouraging private transport and the desire to purchase a car for facilitate daily commuting. This housing dispersion was already a process that Langenbuch (1971) highlighted in the 1970s in the RMSP, with the search for land with rural atmosphere for housing the middle and upper classes, and which continues to occur in both metropolises.

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