

The Economie et Humanisme Movement: the politicization of urban planning in Brazil after the Second World War.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to reflect on the theoretical matrices and research methods of the Economie et Humanisme Movement in Brazil. The Movement was founded in 1942 by French Dominican priests, and it intended to create the bases of a new project to confront the social doctrine of the catholic Church. This project took on a new direction after the visit of one the founders, Father Louis Joseph Lebret to Brazil and new ideas and concepts were embraced. One and certainly the most important for the local social reality was the concept of under development. Brazil and other countries in Latin America continent became a kind of laboratory of research on social problems and transformed and enlarged the fundamentals of the Economie et Humanisme Movement. The research teams contributed to form a new generation of young urbanists, architects, sociologists and economists. They were involved in a project for transforming society through urban and regional development projects. Therefore, they had an important role in transforming the urban planning milieu in Brazil.

Introduction

In France, within the context of the Second World War, the Economie et Humanisme Movement was founded by French Dominican priests. As a center of study it intended to create the bases of a new project for renewing the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. At the end of the war, with the leadership of one of the founders, Father Louis-Joseph Lebret, the Movement gained new impetus as it moved in the direction of social research and, due to the support from CNRS - Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, (the National Center for Scientific Research), it took on a national dimension. In this context, research teams were organized, known by the acronym SAGMA¹, and they took part in the modernization efforts of the governments of the Sixth Republic as the result of an agreement made by Lebret with the Minister of Reconstruction, Raoul Dautry. Father Lebret intended to introduce an effective reconstruction policy that started from precise knowledge of housing conditions in the country. Dautry was persuaded and commissioned a survey in the cities of Lyon, Saint Etienne, Nantes and Marseille., where Le Corbusier's first experiments with housing complexes were being carried out. In these cities a local team of the Economie et Humanisme Movement was organized.

However, at the time that Lebret involved the Movement in building a Christian Democratic Europe, he was also starting a dialogue with Marxism. The Catholic Church judged this new direction of the Movement, which was getting ideologically close to the communists, to be sufficiently dangerous to bring the experiment to an end². In this period of crisis in the Movement, Father Lebret turned to the Third

¹ SAGMA Société d' analyse Graphique et Mecanographique des Agglomerations

² One of the actions it took in this sense was to demand the destruction of unsold copies of the book, *Signification du marxisme* [The meaning of Marxism] written by Father Derosches, Father Lebret's closest collaborator in the Economie et Humanism Movement. According to Pelletier, Denis, *Economie et Humanisme .De*

World and Latin America became his research laboratory in urban planning³ and economic development.

Lebret's activities in Latin America⁴ established a new direction on the studies of the Economie et Humanisme Movement as he increasingly included the theme of under-development in them, which during the 1950s became dominant in the Dominican priest's studies. In his writings on under-development, Lebret was influenced by the studies of the Brazilian sociologist Josué de Castro. Moving in entirely the opposite direction of the predominant thought at the time, which insisted on projecting an image of Brazil as a promised land that had everything that was needed for no one to die of hunger, the studies of Josué de Castro revealed the harsh reality and incredible inequality that existed in the country.⁵

In Brazil, Lebret managed to achieve what he had been unable to accomplish in France in the 1940's. His influence was felt in different sectors of the Roman Catholic Church and political circles in government organizations in the cities of Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where he formed local teams and developed new research methods that revealed the socio-economic situation in the communities he analyzed.

2. Father Lebret and religious and political circles in Brazil.

The first years after the formation of the Economie et Humanisme Movement in Brazil cast a light upon the religious and political circles in which Lebret moved and the way in which he established his network of contacts. At that time, the congregation of Dominican priests in Brazil was directly linked to the Province of Dominicans in Toulouse, which favored maintaining regular contact between Dominicans in France and Brazil. It was in conservative, Catholic political circles that the first contacts were made. But, with the beginning of research work, his catholic relations became increasingly restricted to more progressive circles. Lebret's approximation to the PDC (Christian Democratic Party) politicians made it possible to set up a support network for the Economie et Humanisme ideas.

The first opportunity for Lebret to visit Brazil was provided by the Dominican clergyman Father Dale, who invited him to give a course at the institution where he taught, *ELSP Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política* [Free School of Sociology and Politics].

Lebret arrived in São Paulo in 1947. In his PhD thesis, Denis Pelletier emphasizes the new theoretical direction that was impressed upon on the Movement, now clearly influenced by Marxist ideology; this became public knowledge in the course that Lebret taught at the ELSP [School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo] from April 14 to June 5, 1947. The lectures for audiences of students and intellectuals and later organized into four books were a first attempt at synthesizing human economics as being practical and a theoretical response to the impasses of political economics. Four of the longest chapters are dedicated to Marxism and two to Leninism and the Soviet economy. The book, "*Introduction générale à l'économie humaine*"⁶ [General introduction to human economics] in four volumes was never

l'utopie communautaire au combat pour le tiers monde 1941-1966 Ed. du CERF, Paris, 1996.

³ The term used is '*aménagement de territoire*' that can be translated as 'the arrangement of territory'.

⁴ Lebret's activities in Latin America took place in Brazil, in particular, but also in Uruguay, Chile and Colombia.

⁵ According to the Brazilian intellectual Antônio Cândido, two books, *Geografia da Fome* [Geography of Hunger] (1946) and *Geopolítica da Fome* [Geopolitics of Hunger] (1951), became classics. They have been translated into several languages.

⁶ Pelletier, Denis *opus cit*, p 101

published. According to Pelletier⁷, the course was “a key stage in the intellectual journey of Lebreton”. It closed the cycle that had been initiated in 1938 and that was linked to the war years and the community utopia that underscored the start of the Economie et Humanisme Movement.

In the period during which he remained in São Paulo, Father Lebreton set up a local Economie et Humanisme Movement study center and SAGMACS⁸ research office, organized along the same lines as the French SAGMA team. The first pieces of research work carried out in São Paulo by the SAGMACS research office dealt with the living conditions of domestic staff and the social situation of employees of the hippodrome named Jockey Club.

On Lebreton's second trip to Brazil, in 1952, he spent some time in Rio de Janeiro⁹, where he coordinated research that had been commissioned by José Arthur Rios, one of the members of the Economie et Humanisme Movement. As a consultant for the Josué de Castro in the Comissão de Bem Estar Social [Social Well-being Commission], Father Lebreton also helped to set up a survey into living conditions in 34 Brazilian cities. The questionnaire was prepared using the Economie et Humanisme model and Josué de Castro invited Father Lebreton to write an interpretation chapter that would be added to the report and published in 1954¹⁰. In São Paulo, due to the election of Lucas Nogueira Garcez as State governor, demand for research from the SAGMACS' office was guaranteed. The work that the new governor, a founding member of the SAGMACS office in São Paulo, asked to be done on development possibilities for the state was written by Lebreton between June and August, 1952. After six weeks of global contact with the state, flying over the territory by plane, interviewing local personalities and consulting statistics, he prepared a 64-page report.¹¹

This study made some economic development proposals based on a new regional division and the revitalization of municipalities. The report drew attention to the anarchical growth of São Paulo and recommended a reform of agrarian structures.

This first mission was well received by the government and confirmed the need for research of regional studies. Throughout 1953, research was commissioned from SAGMACS by the CIBPU Comissão Interestadual da Bacia Parana Uruguai [Interstate Committee of the Paraná Uruguay Basin], which brought together eight states. This research then developed into a more in-depth survey of the State of São Paulo¹²

The method used would serve as a model for subsequent research. It dealt with the quality of life and the needs of rural populations in the State. The accurate study of 64 municipalities led to a proposal that the State be divided into 11 regions, each one comprising 3 to 8 homogenous zones in the economic plan. This same method

⁷ Pelletier, Denis *opus cit*, p 127

⁸ SAGMACS – Sociedade de Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicada Complexos Sociais [Society for Graphic and Mecanographic Analyses as applied to Social Complexes.]

⁹ The city of Rio de Janeiro was at that time the capital of Brazil.

¹⁰ Louis Joseph Lebreton “A pesquisa brasileira de padrões de vida”, Serviço Social, 1954 XVI -72, p 10-47 *Feuillets d'enquêtes et d'instructions aux enquêteurs*, NA 45 and AS 103 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 305.

¹¹ *Conclusions provisoires du voyage d'études effectué par L. J. Lebreton et B. Santa Cruz a la demande du gouverneur de São Paulo (1er juin 31 août 1952)*, 64 type-written pages AN45 AS 102 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p. 306

¹² *Problemas de desenvolvimento, necessidades, possibilidades do Estado de São Paulo*; São Paulo, CIBPU, 1954, 550 p, 11 books of plans, 302 p in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 306

and approach scheme was then used in a survey on the living conditions in rural zones in the State of Paraná, also carried out by the CIBPU.

The last survey of the period dealt with the development and industrialization conditions of the State of Pernambuco and of the Northeast¹³. An Economie et Humanisme team was set up in Recife on the initiative of Benevenuto de Santa Cruz and by a young engineer and sociologist, Antonio Bezerra Baltar. In Recife, the Economie et Humanisme Movement benefited from the support of Archbishop Msgr. Helder Camara.

This research was part of a mobilization movement for the development of the northeast of Brazil, which had on the one side the founding of the Banco do Nordeste [Bank of the Northeast] in 1952 and on the other the creation of CODEPE Comissão de Desenvolvimento de Pernambuco [Pernambuco Development Commission], with which the SAGMACS research contract was negotiated.

Two studies were prepared¹⁴: the first was a proposal to deconcentrate the economy, by locating industries in medium size towns around the state capital, and the second, which was complementary, detailed a proposal for locating activities in Recife and developing the road links with the network of towns. The survey itself was conducted by a local team¹⁵ in two weeks of general contact, followed by interpretation of the overall findings. Father Lebreton only took part at the end of the research.

The regional surveys by the SAGMACS' research groups in this period were included in the general rationale of developmentalism and public authority intervention in the economic management of the country.

3. The research method developed by Father Lebreton.

Lebreton's research method was developed as a result of the experiments he carried out in France and later in Brazil. It is possible to recognize some points of similarity with the sociological method applied by Frederic Le Play in France, at the end of the 19th century. There are similarities between them: both had a Catholic, rural background and came from port cities. They both trained as engineers (Polytechnic and Mines in the case of the former and Naval in the case of the latter). Both were great travelers and outside the scope of their university studies developed social science that was subordinate to immediate action. Both constructed scientific models for understanding society based on the natural sciences; both supported Catholic morals at the beginning of an analysis that was claimed to be empirical; and both gave the same emphasis to the monographic research that constitutes an intimate knowledge of the object of study.¹⁶

However, their forms of research differ in essential points: Economie et Humanisme research is built based on the tension between the qualitative and the quantitative, between the monograph and the statistics. The method developed by Le Play, from his research into families, tried to arrive at a type of European family and used the inductive method that moves from the particular to the general, in contrast to the research done by Economie et Humanisme that does not look for "types" of family, but rather compares multiple case studies, analyses the causes of

¹³ *Estudo sobre desenvolvimento e implantação de indústrias interessando a Pernambuco e ao Nordeste*, Recife, CODEPE, 1955, XII + 80 pages and maps, AN45 AS 105 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 307

¹⁴ The studies are: "Diretrizes para um plano regional para o Recife 1951" and "Idéia de um zoneamento e de vias rápidas para o Recife" in Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva (coord) 1999, *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965*, São Paulo, Studio Nobel, FAU-USP, FUPAM, 1999, p 430

¹⁵ Souza Barros for CODEPE and by Baltar for SAGMACS.

¹⁶ Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 134.

the disappearance of communities, and investigates the ills of modern urban society.

According to Pelletier, the research of the Economie et Humanisme Movement had strong normative and moralizing content, marked by a Christian social order. However, its rural bias, marked by the community and Christian ideal of the first phase of the Movement, was replaced as it became dominated by the laity, both in France, where they carried out research into housing, under the contract with the Ministry of Reconstruction after the Second World War, as well as in the first research study they conducted in Brazil. The ideal of an organized Christian family remained only in the manuals, but disappeared as the research was formulated and in the interpretation of the information collected. It was also adapted to fit cities from another climate and with a different economic status.

The evolution from reflecting on economic development to a territorialized analysis of society was the result of an encounter that took place between Father Lebreton and his collaborators and the French architect and urbanist Gaston Bardet.¹⁷

Bardet proposed a new form of urban and regional spatial organization that started with community relations, by introducing spatiality into the theory developed by the Economie et Humanisme Movement. The French architect published a series of articles in the *Revue d' Economie et Humanisme* [Economie et Humanisme journal] between 1943 and 1948, disclosing his ideas.

Economie et Humanisme developed a theory of needs¹⁸ that was divided into three categories; the first was dignity, the second *confort* and the third *dépassement*¹⁹. These categories did not merely indicate access to material wealth but also to instruction, to culture, to political awareness, in short to citizenship. The classification also indicated a hierarchy of values.

According to Lebreton tertiary goods, such as free time dedicated to unselfish scientific research and artistic creation are very important, but cannot be measured. One of the chief difficulties of this method was in constructing a scale of values for each unquantifiable criterion. To obtain rapid visualization of the data collected, a technique was developed for constructing diagrams. Each attribute researched received a mark and a graphic representation on the diagram; when these attributes were superimposed, they should generate a qualitative and quantitative visualization. In the researcher's manual²⁰ prepared by Lebreton we can follow the steps of the research method: initially, an overall view was recommended, which could be obtained by the sum of elements: a map with a scale of 1: 50,000, aerial photos, and overflying the territory, which if it was difficult to do could be replaced by views from high points in the city.

Illustration 1 A diagram with the attributes of the *niveaux de vie*. Source Louis Joseph *Guide Pratique de l'enquête sociale, vol III, L'enquête urbaine, L'analyse du quartier et de la ville*, Paris, ed. PUF, 1955

Detailed procedures were added to the overall view: first, identify the major zones by activity, which must be followed by a visit to the allotment, marking out the sectors and observing the people. Then, pay visits by automobile to the outlying areas and on foot to the most characteristic zones, in order to identify the different standards of living condition. Observe the location of industries and visit at least one

¹⁷ Gaston Bardet studied with Marcel Poète, his future father-in-law, at the IUP Institut d' Urbanisme de Paris (Urbanism Institute in Paris). Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva (coord), *opus cit*, p 543.

¹⁸ This was an important point in common with the research of Chombart de Lauve, according to Lamparelli, Celso, *Revista Espaço & Debates*, no. 37, p 92

¹⁹ Beyond what is required.

²⁰ Lebreton, Louis Joseph *Guide Pratique de l'enquête sociale, vol III, L'enquête urbaine, L'analyse du quartier et de la ville*, Paris, ed. PUF, 1955 p 9

of each type. Travel along the major roads and observe the volume of traffic. During the visit to the outskirts, observe its transportation links with the city, and its degree of dependence or autonomy in terms of industry and commerce. Observe the people from the different social classes in cafés and restaurants. Lebret's recommendation was "it is necessary to listen, to ask questions, and to put yourself in the school of harsh reality."²¹

4. The studies of the SAGMACS in São Paulo.

In the second half of the 1950s the SAGMACS research office becomes more independent vis-à-vis the Economie et Humanisme Movement. Difficulties with the Catholic circles contributed to this distancing. In March 1954, the hostility of the Cardinal Archbishop of São Paulo with regard to Economie et Humanisme ended up bearing fruit and the director of the movement in São Paulo, Father Benevenuto de Santa Cruz, was transferred to the monastery in Rio de Janeiro and forbidden to come to the Diocese of São Paulo. This sanction, as well as the internal tensions within the team, brought laypeople into strategic positions of responsibility in SAGMACS, thus renewing the link with the first phase of the association.²²

SAGMACS in São Paulo was set up in accordance with the French model and conceived of as a social research laboratory. As was previously observed, the political involvement of SAGMACS was wide-ranging and contacts in the Church went from socialist to conservative catholic circles. Furthermore, as the action of the group became more consolidated around carrying out research, the alliances grew more restricted to the socialist groups.²³

São Paulo, which was a small city in the early twentieth century with around 200,000 inhabitants, was dramatically transformed in the 1950's. Its population had reached 2,150,000 inhabitants and had expanded to occupy an area of 420 square kilometers. During this time, São Paulo's economic base changed from a coffee monoculture to an industrial centre. In fact, it became the most important industrial center of Brazil. This transformation of the economic base was accompanied by a process of rapid metropolization. In 1957, Wladimir de Toledo Piza, then mayor of São Paulo, commissioned SAGMACS to draw a detailed study concerning urban planning for the municipality of São Paulo²⁴.

Although the subject of the research commissioned by the municipality was the city of São Paulo, SAGMACS expanded the territory and studied São Paulo agglomeration. In order to develop the field research, the region was divided into 360 units of analysis, defined as an "elementary unity of collective life" and grouped into four major areas: east, north, mid-south and west.

"The idea was that the needs, equipment and services of an urban region could be thought of in three levels of collective life: some elementary units being attracted by

²¹ Lebret, *opus cit*, p 10.

²² Pelletier, Denis, 1996 *opus cit*, p 321

²³ Research into the social problems of minors was prevented as a result of the intervention of a Catholic institution, and the Jockey Club, which had made it possible to set up the SAGMACS office in São Paulo, suspended its funding after research was published that denounced the wretched living conditions of jockeys. According to Le Duigou - Santa Cruz correspondence, dated May 15, July 29, and November 27, 1949, NA 45 AS 104, after Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 299.

²⁴ "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais) Study prepared by SAGMACS and by the Comissão de Pesquisa Urbana da Prefeitura de São Paulo [Urban Research Commission of the São Paulo city administration]. São Paulo, 1958

a better-equipped unit, forming a complex unit, and consecutively, some complex units being attracted by a better equipped and more complete unit”²⁵.

The hypothesis of the proposal was that the tendency of São Paulo agglomeration was to structure itself in a polynuclear way into secondary centers, in order to give different regions a relative autonomy. This gave rise to sub-regions that were articulated and all attracted by the main center. Data collection was done using observation forms and questionnaires for interviews. Analysis was carried out by sampling, in such a way as to characterize all 360 units of analysis. The research provided elements and data that were transformed into numerical assessments of the real and relative situations, in which each indicator of the level of life of the local residents and existing equipment and services were ascribed values from 0 to 4. These marks were used to draw sector graphs, called “daisies,” that presented a summary of the levels in each analysis unit. More general graphs were also prepared in the form of carpets, or dual entry matrices, in which the variables were inter-related on the lines and the elementary units were grouped by complex and complete units on the columns. Each small square intersection was colored white for the best situations and black for the worst, with intermediary hachures for marks 1, 2 and 3, thus creating a patchwork on which it would be easy to identify where the neediest parts were and what they were most in need of.

The dynamics of attraction and perceived displacement of the population were mapped out, linking the points of origin and destination with lines of different color for each variable and of a thickness proportional to the intensity of the dependence of the interlinked units and the direction of the displacement. So, a map was obtained of school, purchases, health service attraction etc, which gave the true polarization tendency and its deficiencies in equipment, road and transport links, with a simultaneous summary and analytical view capable of providing guidance for corrective measures that were needed and choice, based on priorities for an action program and suggestions of development and regulation policies.

Illustration 2 indication of the level of life of the local residents and existing equipment and services in the center of the city of São Paulo. Source SAGMACS “Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais”1958.

For urbanistic research, the type of occupation and use of the land was established. A set of 14 homogenous units were chosen as samples that covered the diversity of types established. In this survey, as in the others, we were able to identify an empirical and inductive basis that demanded a profound knowledge of the complexity of the urban agglomeration. Moreover, this knowledge was accessible to the greatest possible number of agents involved in the decision processes and linked in one way or another to the destinies of the city it was intended to transform.

The evolution from research methodology to intervention proposal was achieved by the precise characterization of the needs, possibilities and priorities of the entire urban area and the entire population, considering their way of life and living conditions.

The suggestions made centered on removing congestion from the main center of São Paulo, so that it could conveniently respond to its multiple functions of national projection, as this major agglomeration’s economic and state government administrative center and its local and municipal service and commercial function. It was necessary to save the center from drowning. An innovative subway solution was proposed, following the line of the Pinheiros and Tietê Rivers, joining the secondary centers that had been formed on their banks.²⁶ the proposal of a subway system

²⁵ According to architect Celso Lamparelli, in an interview hold on May and June, 2000

²⁶ the neighbourhoods centers Penha, Tatuapé, Belenzinho, Santana, Pinheiros, and Lapa.

linking the secondary centers were very different from the concentric radius transportation proposals that had prevailed until then in São Paulo urbanistic plans. It also foresaw links with a large turnpike road linking São Paulo with neighbouring municipalities crossing the Anchieta Road, as well as other long-term proposals that stimulated new types of business and of breaking with real estate market trends. It included proposals for decentralizing major political, management and administrative activities to increase the value of new areas, such as the city's east end. It contained proposals for a new location for the seats of both the city administration and state government.

Illustration 3 The proposal of a new transportation system to the city of São Paulo Source SAGMACS “Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais”1958.

The Urban Structure of the São Paulo Agglomeration research (Current structures and rational structures) developed the urban and regional study in an articulated manner. The first part “Historical, demographic and economic prospects of the São Paulo agglomeration,” a critical analysis of the dynamic nature of São Paulo, proposed limits to urban growth based on demographic data. For the first time ever, an urban planning study of São Paulo included studies into the history of the formation of the city from its foundation, via its colonial and empire phases to its transformation into a metropolis in the 20th century. In the second part, “Urban Structure of São Paulo,” a method was applied for identifying the forms of social organization in the whole urbanized area of the São Paulo agglomeration, including the municipalities of São Paulo, Santo André, São Bernardo and Guarulhos. The third part of the study consisted of the “Sociological Aspects of the São Paulo Agglomeration.”²⁷

5. Expansion, dilution and end of the SAGMACS offices.

A year after the survey of the São Paulo agglomeration, a study for Belo Horizonte, the capital of the State of Minas Gerais, was commissioned²⁸. The study was prepared by local urbanists and some from the São Paulo team, reinforcing the development and spreading of the method defined by Le Bret and followed by SAGMACS teams. The city was studied as part of and as a function of the region; it constituted the region and was defined by it. This was a fundamental difference relative to the urban and regional studies that had been carried out until then, in which the region was understood as an extension of the city. The work was started in August 1958 and ended in May 1959. The report was coordinated and drafted by Benevenuto de Santa Cruz.

After doing the survey for São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, the teams' operational area expanded, but their methods and principles became weaker.²⁹

²⁷ It was not itemized like other parts of the study. No copy has so far been located, which leads to the supposition that it was never delivered as a final study.

²⁸ The work was commissioned by the city administration of Belo Horizonte (municipal law 730, 8/2/1958) and prepared by SAGMACS, with the help of the office in São Paulo.

²⁹ One of their significant experiences was their participation in the Plano de Ação [Action Plan] of the state government under Carvalho Pinto.

The resignation of President Jânio Quadros³⁰ in August 1961 kicked off a period of great political instability. In this fourth phase, SAGMACS had already been restructured as a cooperative of technicians. Father Lebret helped prepare the new bylaws and structure of the enterprise.

In March 1964, SAGMACS had eleven contracts that were either on going or about to be signed. The military coup of March 31 made them unfeasible. All eleven collapsed. It was a very large team engaged in three dimensions; technical-professional, administrative, and political, and it lost its point of support and cohesion. Some were persecuted and many fled the country, while congressmen and politicians lost their mandates, the technical team found itself without work and the office was left completely empty.

There was a general disbandment and a search for new forms of work and survival. Some went underground, others left the country and those who remained went their own ways. The destinies of the groups and teams of Economie et Humanisme Movement and SAGMACS in Brazil were sealed once and for all³¹.

6. Advances and ruptures

I have been carrying out studies about the formation of urbanism in Brazil,³² and the main proposal of this paper was to highlight the important contributions of the method introduced by Lebret, which was developed through the experience of the SAGMACS office.

In first place, he introduced new methods on urban and regional studies. In dealing with the agglomeration, the surveys identified and differentiated regions, neighborhoods and neighborhood centers in the city, thus putting an end to the monocentric view that were dominant in the studies on São Paulo. Linked to this new view of the economic and social organization of the agglomeration, a new administrative and political model was proposed to decentralize the municipal

³⁰ Janio da Silva Quadros, elected president of Brazil on January 1962, stayed only eight months, and resigned on August 24th. His resignation started a period of great political instability in Brazil. His successor president Jango Goulart was deposed by a military coup d'Etat in March 31, 1964. From this date until January 1985 Brazil was under a dictatorial regime and was governed by military presidents.

³¹ According to Celso Lamparelli, in an interview, May / June, 2000

³² Since 1992, coordinating the research network in eight Brazilian capital cities, regarding Urbanism in Brazil.

administration, as well as to link the city of São Paulo to its neighboring municipalities and to the other regions in the whole state.

The perception of socio-economic diversity led to a new understanding of the process of urban structuring of the São Paulo agglomeration. It introduced a new concept of the outskirts, no longer as an area resulting from a center in continuous expansion, but as part and the result of an unequal urbanization process, with parts of the city well equipped and others extremely needy. This new way of seeing the city resulted in innovative proposals for the transportation system and the location of equipment.

As we highlighted in the case of São Paulo, until then the perception of the city and the urbanization process had been entirely from the center towards the outskirts. It was a concentric radius in terms of the transportation and circulation proposals and monocentric in terms of its political and administrative organization. The research method covering the urbanized area of the São Paulo agglomeration consolidated the perception of an urban reality beyond the limits of the municipality. Among the main contributions of the method introduced by Lebreton for urban studies in São Paulo is the perception of socio-economic diversity in the structure of the city's neighborhoods, and an understanding of the existence of the outskirts and their dialectic relationship with the center. They derive from the development and under-development concept devised by Lebreton in his studies for Latin America. A new generation of researchers was formed, committed to the political, social and economic transformation of Brazilian society. New possibilities arose for insertion and the expectation that the professional work of these researchers might produce results.

The studies of SAGMACS offices can be regarded as a new tendency of urbanism in Brazil, with different urbanistic principles from the concepts in force at that time. New, also, because it was constituted in a different environment, not only in technical terms, but mainly in political and ideological terms

As we have seen, this experiment had already started becoming weaker when it began to get into new spheres of action - both in the state administration and in setting up large planning offices in the 1960s. On March 31, 1964, the military government took over which led to twenty years of dictatorship in Brazil. This caused the permanent breakdown of this experiment.