



**ABSORPTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE BY THE REAL ESTATE MARKET
OF SÃO PAULO IN THE 1950S**

COPAN Building original project and changes

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Extended Abstract
Architecture

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OBJECTIVES AND SOURCES

This dissertation - ABSORPTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE FOR REAL ESTATE MARKET (SÃO PAULO, 1940/1960) - was developed under the mobility program established between the Universities of Lisbon and São Paulo, held in the academic year 2011/2012. Its main objective is to analyze the process of promoting private tenement buildings occurred in the first decades of the second half of the twentieth century in the city of São Paulo in Brazil, highlighting the role of the housing market.

The theme of this essay was developed under the studies of the Modern Movement in São Paulo, developed at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, University of São Paulo (FAUSP). Focuses on the period between the end of World War II until the late 1960s, when the formal and spatial concepts of modern architecture had its most significant expression in buildings across the city, essentially, about new developments housing encouraged by the private sector.

The main documentary source derives from the work developed by Rossella Rossetto about "Real Estate Production and Modern Typology ", whose research is based on studies of housing developments in São Paulo, focusing on the production of real estate development. Rossetto, part of an intensive survey in FAU USP, which identifies common typological levels in housing production produced between 1945 to 1964 and sets out some of the characteristics used in modern housing production.

So based on the research Rossetto this thesis aims to analyse more thoroughly the changes and adaptations of modern ideas by the real estate market, taking into consideration that in the established time frame, there were many socio-economic transformations which justify the use of modern narrative ideas and practices.

In order to better understand the dynamics between architect and developer, and the choice by some modern architectural elements, it became necessary to examine at least one of the buildings that fall in the study. Despite being considered and referred to several projects, we selected the COPAN Building to be the case study. Early wondered about the awesomeness of this venture and how a building so large, had been made possible both economically and architecturally. Although the choice of study COPAN has been a personal choice, it is legitimate since the 1950s, this was the largest and most complex building of real estate to be built in the city of São Paulo. Within this research is still necessary to mention the importance of the great experts of the history of São Paulo housing production, as Lemos (1990).

The main objective is to understand the model of housing that arises from a complex real estate process, ie, establish relationships between the architecture of Oscar Niemeyer, who has engaged himself the ideals of the modern movement, with the end product of a process of incorporation that spanned more than two decades. For this study became essential resorting of documentary sources of the period, including the newspapers: *Folha da Manhã* and *Estado de São Paulo*, which reported the whole production of the project, making clear all actors, practices and controversies that marked his conception.

The use of this source of research was complemented by other important references on the project, including the work of Walter Galvao “A trajetória de um mega empreendimento, da concepção ao uso”, and Denise Xavier, “Arquitetura Metropolitana”.

Uncertainty over the complexity of the real estate market in São Paulo was originally due, the large number of buildings promoted and the size and scale of the projects. In this context, we highlight the role of the architect as a professional who need to meet and talk simultaneously with two types of customers, who have different expectations: the client-solicitor and promoter of the enterprise, while responsible for payment of their fees; and the end customer, which really enjoyed the project.

Thus the work took an exploratory nature, based on documental research and literature survey, analysis of collective housing projects and evaluation of changes introduced by incorporating these projects. Is fundamentally guided to understand how the productions affiliated to the architectural movement, in the city of São Paulo, adapted so logical and pragmatic to the interests of the housing market way, reflecting in the final product the joint action between architects and developers.

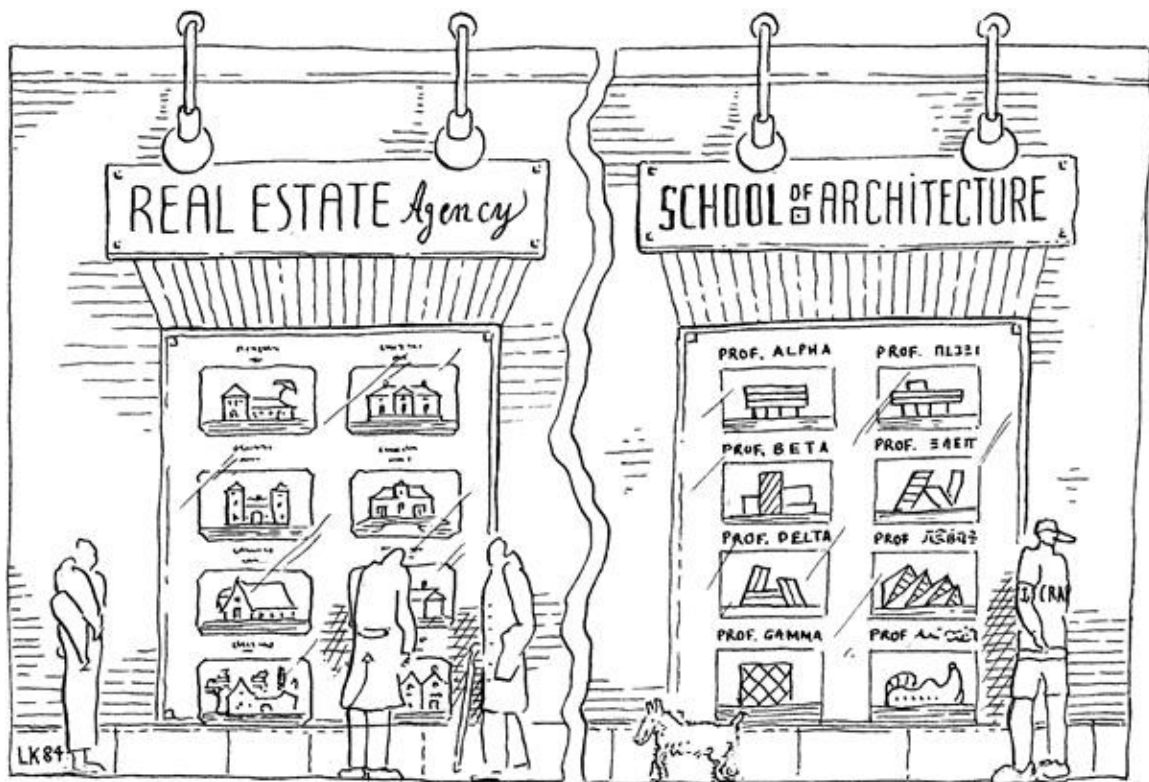


Figure 1 Architect Dilemma. Cartoon of Real Estate vs School or Architecture.
Source: www.arquicomics.tumblr.com

ORGANIZATION, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Within the survey, as they were identifying the characteristics of enterprises and acknowledged the variables of the array of modern architecture, it became clear that the choice of the promoter / developer by certain design features was not random, nor a mere question of trend or architecture language. Rather stemmed from decisions taken previously related to speculative interests. In this sense, to understand the choice of certain concepts of Modern Architecture and their adaptation in the productions in question, we identified the factors that conditioned and dictated the production period.

1. Transformation of Social, Cultural and Economic Context in the City

2. Emergence of a Referential of Modern Architecture

3. Concepts and Logic of Real Estate Market

Assuming that the main factors that conditioned the production time were identified, they were grouped into three groups that form the structural axis of this work, each one correspond to a chapter, which are shown below.

CHAPTER 01. HOUSING ISSUE IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO, since the founding of the city until the 1950s.

The city of São Paulo, from 1920, went through a period of great change caused by industrial, economic and demographic growth. In addition to the dispersed growth - with the formation of the suburbs and the expansion of the industrial area - the city went through a process of vertical integration, its road and land structure of colonial roots, was transformed and expanded quickly, fit into demographic growth and to the technological advances that were occurring. Driven by strong economic and productive potential of the city the population was living, during the first half of the twentieth century, a climate of positivism and belief in the future of the metropolis, stimulated by the appearance of a new population group with a certain purchasing power, mainly composed of professionals connected to urban tertiary sector. A conjuncture of factors led in the late 40s, a transition of the real estate production system, until then based on rental to a system of housing production to sale.



Figure 2 Adverts in ACROPOLE Magazine, May, 1940. Source: FONTENELLE, 2010, page. 70

Therefore was developed a capitalist housing market, for the purchase and sale of properties, whose target group was essentially a middle class that was in formation. If it is true, that in the 1950s, Sao Paulo, acquired the self-image of the metropolis, it is also true that this image was acquired with the adjustment of society to the "modern way" of living.

At the beginning of this chapter was present a brief contextualization of the colonial period, with the intent of showing how São Paulo, that remained until the end of the nineteenth century with the contours of a small town, reached in less than a century the urban structure of a mega metropolis. The consequences of this growth, which led to a housing shortage and unhealthy housing conditions, are set. It's done a context of the impact of world events like the 2nd World War, Industrialization and the Breaking of the New York Stock, in São Paulo society and in the predominate housing style in the city. We also show how the conjuncture of economic, political and social factors generated a market based for buying and selling homes based on real estate capitalist relations, whose target group was a new class of median income.

CHAPTER 02. DISSEMINATION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN BRAZIL

Simultaneously to the transformation process in the housing model used to accommodate the majority of the population of São Paulo, was developed, in the city, the first experiments of modern ideologies associated, essentially, to an investigation of living spaces sponsored by the real state market. Contrary to what happened in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in São Paulo the affirmation of Modern ideas and their consequences at the level of urban and architectural production, was only possible thanks to a growing interest of private developers in the production of collective housing.

Until the 1940s, the architecture of modern ideology, developed in the city, has been strongly linked to the European aspect, brought by foreign architects who have immigrated to town. The affirmation of a class of professional architects in the city, turned out to be simultaneous to the development and exploitation of their modern ideals. As appeared modern ideologies, new housing types were tested, which resulted in the execution of the apartment building in the city. The vertical evolution of this type of housing was possible only through the raising awareness of the "new model of living" among the population, which until then resisted the idea of placing several families in the same building process.

In this chapter it's characterized the socio-political context that led to the first manifestations of Modern Architecture in Brazil. Actors and institutions that allowed this change, such as Le Corbusier, Carlos Lemos and the School of Beautiful Arts of Rio de Janeiro. Apart from the national context, the context of São Paulo is displayed, where the proliferation of modern architecture was only possible thanks to the large number of parcels of real estate market is presented. These orders were essentially apartment buildings, which with the industrial development and the introduction of the concepts of modern architecture, have undergone a drastic transformation provide in the end of the chapter.

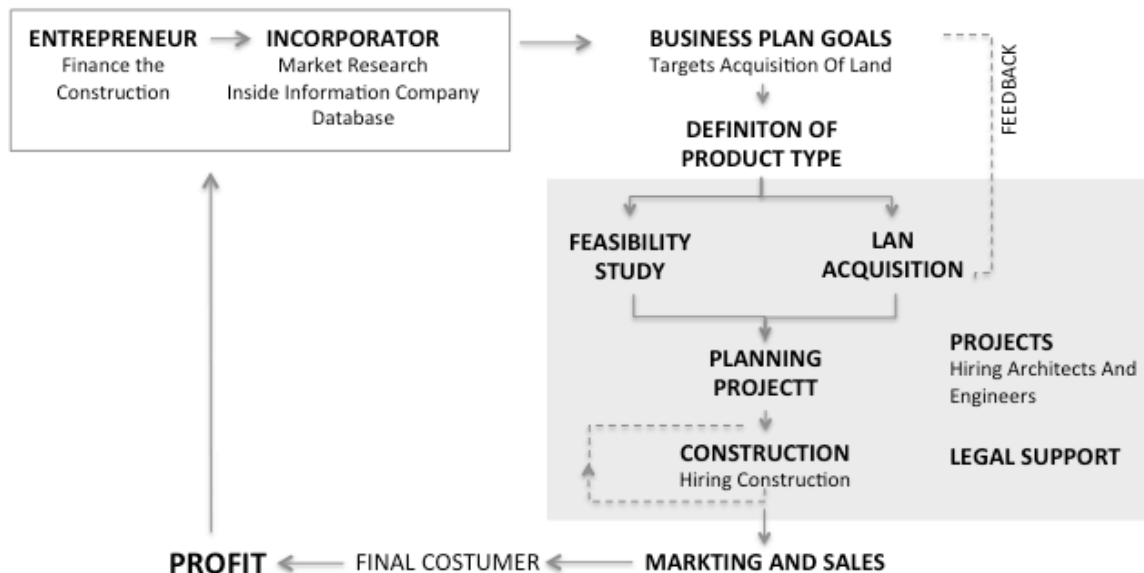
CHAPTER 03. CONCEPTS AND LOGIC OF REAL ESTATE MARKET

With the development of capitalist housing relations and the expansion and structuring of real estate market, the architect began to respond to the request from a new client, the developer, creating new proposals for architectural space. Thus, from the 50s, of the twentieth century, in Brazil, working for the real estate market, has become a main focus for architects. Great names of Brazilian Modern Architecture, Niemeyer, Warchavchik, Rino Levi, Carlos Lemos, Prestes Maia and others, have followed this path, projecting to the city of São Paulo countless ventures.

With the changing nature of real estate investments, the investors intention has now become the lower cost of the ventures production to lower production and the sale of apartments at a higher price to ensure the best return on resources employed. In this way, housing began to be seen as an investment product, which reflected less and less de residents' needs and further the interests of entrepreneurs. Modern ideas he propagated the rationalization of architecture through industrial-ization of the means of production, fit up the yearnings of the housing market that aimed to increase its profit by reducing construction time and the cost of labour. Modern ideas which propagated the rationalization of architecture, through industrialization of the means of production, fit up the yearnings of the housing market that aimed to increasing your income, reducing construction time and the cost of labour.

This chapter is organized into three subchapters. In the first is characterized the logic that guides the housing market, where housing is seen as an investment product, generating conflicts in the quality of the final result. In the second sub-section is described the key players in the housing production process and the relationship existing between them. After the analysis of the operation and the agents of this market, the last subchapter exposes the housing typology, using the knowledge acquired about the context and the values of modern architecture in São Paulo.

Table 1 Conceptual Model of Operation of Real Estate Market. .Source: Authoress



CHAPTER 04. ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY - COPAN

After chapters devoted to literature review and contextual assumptions which dictated the productions of the time, it's made a critical analysis of the case study - the COPAN. At first, it's done an approach to the specific case of this project, taking into account its location, investors and developers who promoted the project and the architect Oscar Niemeyer, author of the project. Later it's done an understanding of the long process of production of COPAN, the constitution of a incorporation and their tasks in the production and sales of apartments process. Finally it's analyse the original project and its successive amendments imposed by the Company incorporating, and it's done an review of the project option and this final result.

This project is an example of the relationship between developers and of both the development of the city and the modern proposals. It is an innovative modern architecture proposed for real and consolidated city that is able to find and establish formal relationships appropriate to the conditions faced.

With regard to alterations diagnosed of the first study for the final proposal we can say that these resulted not only in a debugging of the language of Niemeyer's architecture, but also in a loss of spatial and functional quality of the set. If from the viewpoint of the real estate strategy is possible to understand the changes in the program and in the project of the building, must be considered from the point of view of architecture, that the damage was extensive.

Despite the setbacks and changes of its program, which mutilated essential design solutions, building coped well with change and time, and still today as a landmark in the city of São Paulo



Figure 3 Changes to the Original Project. From left to right:
Model of the original design. Source: L'architecture d'aujourd'hui Magazine, 1952 p.42.
Aerial photography of COPAN. Source: www.copansp.com.br

CHAPTER 05. CONCLUSION AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the fifth and last chapter it's done an retrospective review of the topic and the work, trying to understand how the role of the architect working for the real estate market has evolved until to the present day, taking into account that often the architecture itself subverts the final construction of the city and changes the landscape of the region.

Considering that the architecture is concentrated in a particular period in the history of construction of the city is expected that this architecture result in the particular combination of events and favourable conditions capable of constituting a hypothesis with attributes to conquer the market with relevance, clarity, efficiency and economy. The research conducted has shown that the proliferation of real estate market only occurred due to a conjuncture of economic, political and social factors that favoured the accumulation of capital in the real estate context. The move to a system of "own house", the lack of public funding for the purchase of housing, the development of a middle class, made the real estate is claimed as the main agent of housing production in the city.

The process of professionalization of development activity in São Paulo and the manner of operation and coordination between its various agents, reveal the quantitative importance that this market takes during the 1950s and 1960s and the strength gained in negotiating with the government leading to the adoption of some laws in the Construction code that favoured their interests.

On the other hand, it was found that during the period in question the emergence of a modern language within the architecture of São Paulo, was possible only through the action of the real estate market, since this has become the main labor market of architects who were exercising activities that period. To these professionals, the request of buildings to sale that respond to the needs of the enterprising and the developer was something new. Accustomed to designing single-family residential units, or units intended for rental, the change of direction of the housing market constituted, undoubtedly a challenge. Find a solution to the issues required by the customer, was only possible because already occurring changes in thinking and designing the architectural space, via influences of the Modern Movement and in particular the dissemination of experience successfully implemented in Europe such as the case of housing units designed by Le Corbusier in the late 1940s and 1950s.

However, it is difficult to establish to what extent there is a relationship in one direction, ie the request of a program for real estate development and the response of a architect affiliated to modern assumption. Is considered likely that the whole theoretical apparatus proposed in CIAM at the same time as presenting concrete proposals and experiments for affordable housing, has indicated to private investors the direction to take.

The survey also allowed to verify that the projects produced by the real estate development in the study period reflected concerns constructive and effective cost control. Incorporating strategies who

reported to the rationalization of construction processes, through the use of standardization and application of prefabricated components. The proposed solutions have been designed with the help of space devices resulting from the conceptual matrix of Modern Architecture and conditions of use that not only depended on the real estate rules but also incorporated new services and functional relations.

Summarizing the similarities found in the studied buildings, produced by the incorporation and the technical program of the Modern Movement, are: the introduction of collective areas in the projects, the rationalization of space division, the modulation of spaces, the association with other forms of art, the use of certain building techniques, such as disconnected sealing of bearing structure, the use of pilotis and brise-soleil and the production of a new typology of apartments, associated to the minimum habitable area.

The survey also allowed highlighting the influence of real estate to the exercise of architecture as a liberal activity level. From the moment the real estate assumes the field of housing production, working for this market became the main activity of paulistanos architects. The participation of architects in the activities of the incorporation, in the 1950s and 60s, encompassed several steps: choosing the terrain and its location, the definition of the housing program, the design of architectural project, participation in the definition of materials and construction techniques ie although with a power of decision restricted, architects participated in most of the stages of production of the building, therefore, they have an understanding of whole process. Note that as from the 1970s, the role attributed to the architect will change, gradually becoming limited to activities within the departments of real estate development projects without a direct link with the customer-user. This reflects a distorted and segmented view of the market and the actual role of the architect as a generator / planners quality spaces.

Many of the projects analysed were able to join the requirements of the real estate to the professional ethics of good architecture. Thus becomes clear that it is possible to match the architectural success to a proposal respected and accepted by entrepreneurs and owners. To do this is necessary have the knowledge developed in the University, the experience of the professional work, and a certain preponderance to confront market data and the owner.