

Salvador de Bahia Project 100RC  
Discovery area 'Economy and Society'



Largo do Pelourinho  
Photo: E Rojas

## Strengthening the economic activities in Salvador's Old City: an integrated approach

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ARUP



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“Terá esta cidade oitocentos vizinhos, pouco mais ou menos, e por fora dela, em todos os recôncavos da Bahia, haverá mais de dois mil vizinhos, dentre os quais e os das cidades se pode ajuntar, quando cumprir, quinhentos homens de cavalo e mais de dois mil de pé, afora a gente dos navios que estão sempre no porto. Está no meio desta cidade uma honesta praça, em tão da banda do sul umas nobres casas, em que se agasalham os governadores, e da bando do norte tem as casas do negócio de Fazenda, alfândega e armazéns. Da parte de leste tem a casa da Câmara, cadeia e outras casas de moradores, com que fica esta praça em quadro e o pelourinho no meio dela, a qual, da banda do poente, está desabafada com grande vista sobre o mar; onde estão assentadas algumas peças de artilharia grossa, donde a terra vai muito a pique sobre o mar; ao longo do qual é tudo rochedo muito áspero.”

Gabriel Soares de Sousa

“Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587”

“There will be about eight hundred neighbours in this town, and more than two thousand neighbours out of it in all the conquests of Bahia, among whom and those of the city, you can have five hundred men on horses and more of two thousand on foot, besides the people of the ships that are always in the port. There is in the middle of this city an honest square, in the southern side a band of noble houses in which the governors are hosted, and of the northern side there are the houses of the business of treasury, customs, and warehouses. From the east side there is the city hall, jail, and other houses of dwellers making that side of the square with the pillory in the middle of it, which, from the west, is open with great sight on the sea; where are set some pieces of thick artillery, from where the land goes very high on the sea; along which is all very rough rock.”  
(authors’ translation).

## About this study

PennPraxis, led by Eduardo Rojas and Randall Mason, was commissioned by ARUP to contribute to the 100RC effort to strengthen Salvador and plan for a more resilient future. The team explored the potentials for increasing economic activity, social inclusion, and heritage conservation in the Old City of Salvador. Drawing on data and research produced by a range of government agencies, consultants, and academics, we analysed the possibilities through fieldwork and interviews, and applied our knowledge of international experiences of the rehabilitation of historic urban centres. The analysis and recommendations produced in this short study are presented in the following report.

## The recommendations in a nutshell

The future of the Old City of Salvador (CAS) lies in fulfilling and expanding its undisputed function as the ‘soul of the city,’ and re-connecting it to the historic centre and to the rest of the city. The CAS contribution to a resilient Salvador is to provide the space where all the citizens meet and share their rich and unique culture and live and trade in cultural and consumer products that serve them all. The Prefeitura do Salvador (Municipality) can play a leading role in ensuring this future. To this end the Municipality should embrace these three overall strategies.

1. Formulate a long-term vision of the CAS as a centrality that serves all citizens and that tourists can also enjoy.
2. Focus its efforts in removing the social, economic, cultural and physical barriers that separate and isolate the CAS from city and the CAS’s neighbourhoods from each other.
3. Develop an integrated management structure for the CAS to strategically put into play all the public and private resources available to achieve the vision.

In the mid-term, the Municipality should:

1. Develop a cooperation culture among individual and institutional actors—including mechanisms like mixed-ownership corporations to manage public and other institutional properties in the CAS, and business improvement district organisations—to coordinate and guide public and private all efforts in ways consistent with the long-term vision.
2. Promote the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties and new construction to satisfy the demand for housing in the CAS including student residences and housing for vulnerable households.
3. Promote new cultural, educational, and recreational activities in the CAS to reinforce its role as the soul of the city.

High priority programs and interventions include:

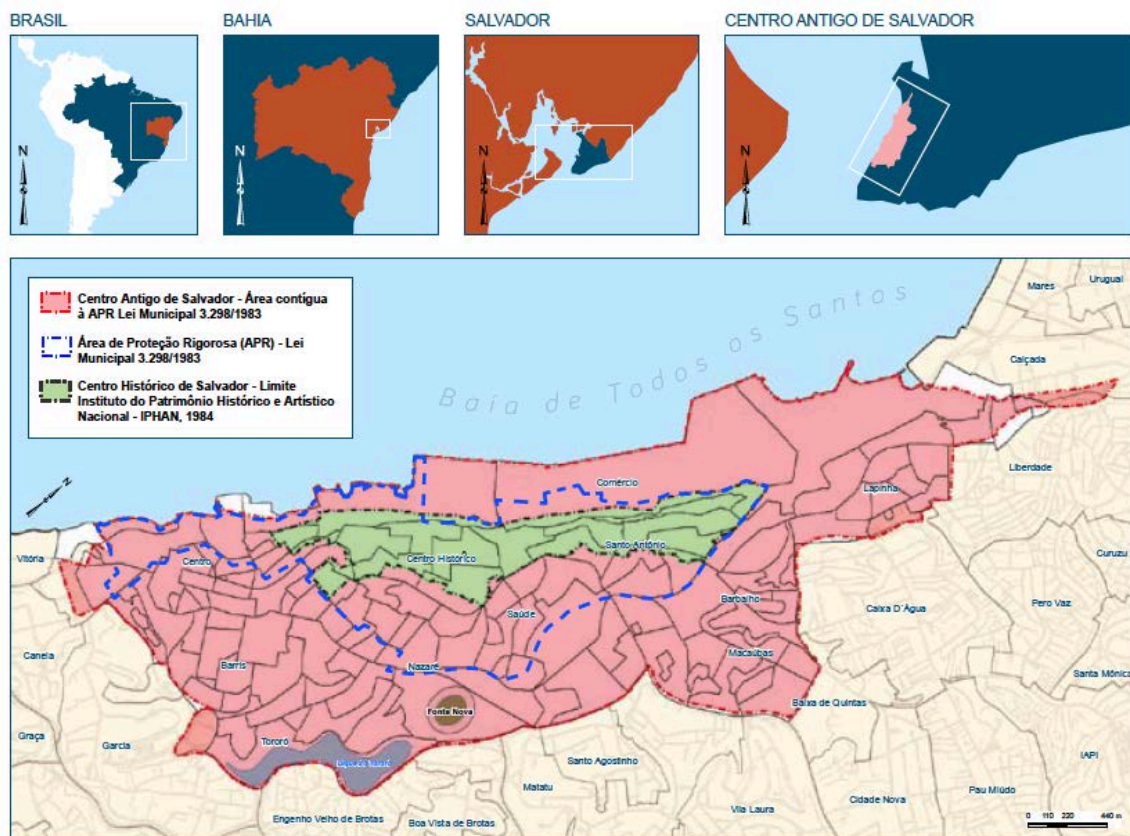
1. Diversify the educational and cultural activities taking place in the CAS (short-term recommendation 1 above). This intervention expands on the activities

- undertaken by the Municipality lately through the Management Directorate for the Historic Centre (Diretória de Gestão do Centro Histórico -- DGCH). In addition to the classical music concerts, students visits to the HC, and promenades through sites related to famous literary figures, activities to promote in the Historic Centre can include those linked to the particular cultural expressions of Bahia, for instance: crafts fairs linked to the practice of Candomblé; vegetable and produce markets related to the traditional cuisine of Bahia; lessons on traditional cuisine and on traditional and modern music from Bahia. There are already cultural actors in the HC capable of engaging in these activities, so the major need is coordination, encouragement, and the provision of minimum facilities. The budgetary impact of this proposal is low, as it requires only the diversification and expansion of programmes and actors already in place.
2. Incorporate pedestrian-friendly and street commerce-friendly features in the designs for the rehabilitation of commercial streets already programmed. Enforce the space allocations for pedestrians, street merchants, public transportation and private vehicles contemplated in the streets designs. This intervention relates to the short-term recommendation 2 above. It involves incorporating design features that clearly allocate the public space of the streets and squares among the different uses. The budgetary impact of this intervention is low as it involves mostly a re-assignment of resources already allocated to street and square rehabilitation.
  3. Expedite the preparation and approval of land use, development, and conservation regulations for the CAS. This is an on-going activity the expeditious completion of which will provide a clear regulatory framework for private and public investments in the area. This activity does not require additional budgetary resources but the political willingness to approve and enforce the regulations.
  4. Prepare projects and allocate Municipal resources for the improvement and rehabilitation of streets and public spaces connecting the different sectors of the CAS, those in the Comercio area with the Pelourinho and Baixa de Sapateiros with the Pelourinho. This activity (related to short-term recommendation 4 above) will require assigning priority to the CAS in the allocation of Municipal resources to street and public spaces improvement projects.
  5. Extend the citizen security activities currently underway in the Historic Centre to the whole territory of the CAS (short-term recommendation 3 above). This activity will require additional resources from the Municipality and greater coordination with the State citizen security services.
  6. Implement the affordable housing projects currently under preparation (short-term recommendation 6 above). If the Municipality can have access to some of the abandoned properties in the CAS and implement mixed-use and multiple income housing projects, it will send a strong signal to the real estate market on the desirability and feasibility of these undertakings.

## Introduction

From its foundational site around the square where the pillory (pelourinho) was placed as a symbol of law and order in 1549, the city of Salvador grew to become a metropolitan area with 3 million inhabitants occupying nearly 700 square kilometres. The territory of what is today known as the Old City of Salvador (CAS for its Portuguese acronym of *Cidade Antiga do Salvador*) contained the first 400 years of the city's growth. For over 200 years, it was the first capital of Brazil (the capital was moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1763), the port and administrative centre of a prosperous agricultural commodities exporting region, and the locus of a very rich and complex afro-Brazilian culture. The 6.5 square kilometres of the CAS—that includes the neighbourhoods of: Historic Centre, Santo Antonio, Comércio, Centro, Barris, Politeama, Tororó, Nazaré, Saúde, Barbalho, Macaúbas, Lapinha and a section of Liberdade (see Figure 1)—contain the highest concentration of cultural assets of the city in addition to housing a wide variety of residents, economic and social activities.

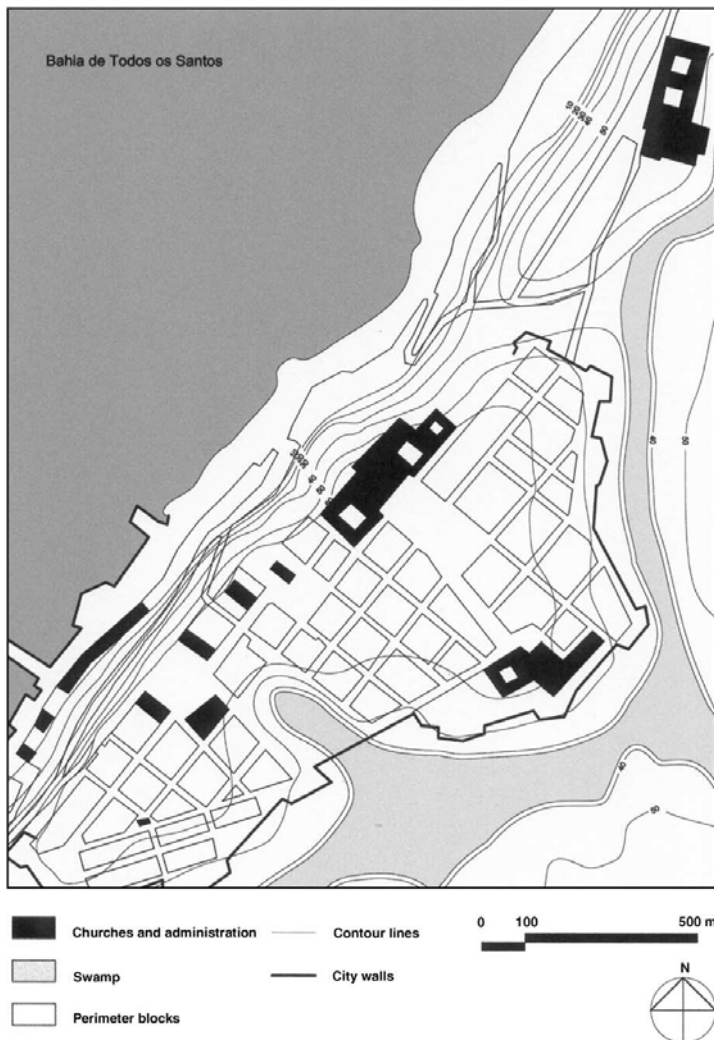
**Figure 1**  
**Location of Salvador Old City**



Source: Governo do Estado da Bahia 2013 C.A.S. *Centro Antigo de Salvador: Território de Referência*  
Salvador de Bahia: Superintendência de Estudos Económicos y Sociais da Bahia SEI.

The CAS includes the territory occupied by the original Portuguese city (see Figure 2) sitting on a plateau well protected on the west by a steep 60-meter rise from the sea level and on the east by a wall facing a swamp and the hills where the city lately expanded (see Figure 3). The creeks and swamps were later drained to build access roads to the expanding city beyond the CAS. To date, the CAS includes several multi-use neighbourhoods organised around local plazas but poorly connected to the historic centre. However, the CAS is well connected with the rest of the city by bus terminals and metro stations located in the periphery of the historic centre.

**Figure 2**  
**Salvador in the early 17<sup>th</sup> Century**



Source: Nobre, 2002:112

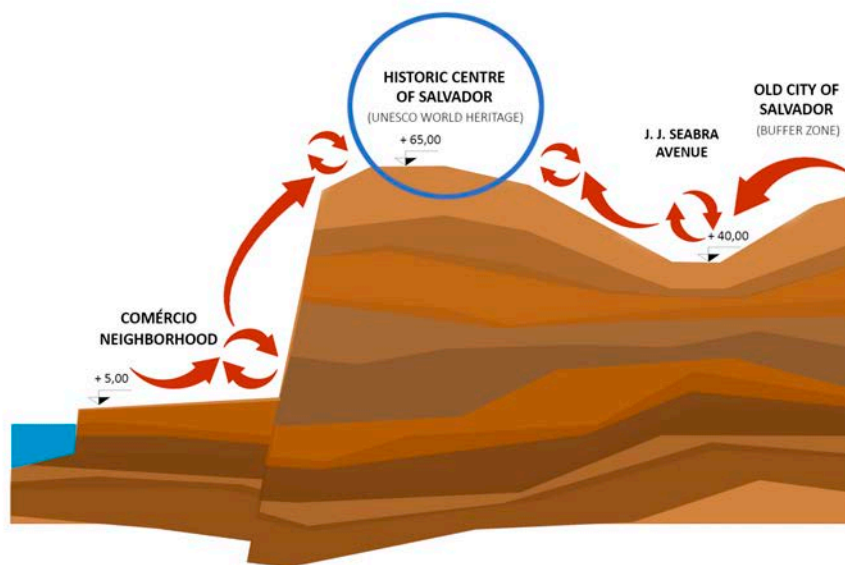
Since the acceleration of the urban sprawl in the mid-1950s—a result of the rural-to-urban migration into the city and the exodus of the high-income population from the historic centre to the amenity-rich suburban subdivisions—the CAS has lost population



and some of its traditional administrative and economic activities. The CAS continues to lose population and its historic centre has turned into a tourist-oriented area that is also losing its cultural ties with the rest of the city. The *Salvador Resiliente Report* (Prefeitura do Salvador 2018) identifies this loss of population and urban functions as a chronic stress that undermines the city's capacity to confront unforeseen crises and natural disasters.

The present report discusses opportunities for overcoming the chronic stress represented by the gradual social and economic disconnection of the Historic Centre from the city and the loss of population and urban activities relevant for all citizens of Salvador, by expanding the social, economic, and urbanistic roles played by the CAS enhancing its contribution to the city's resilience.

**Figure 3**  
**The geography of the CAS**



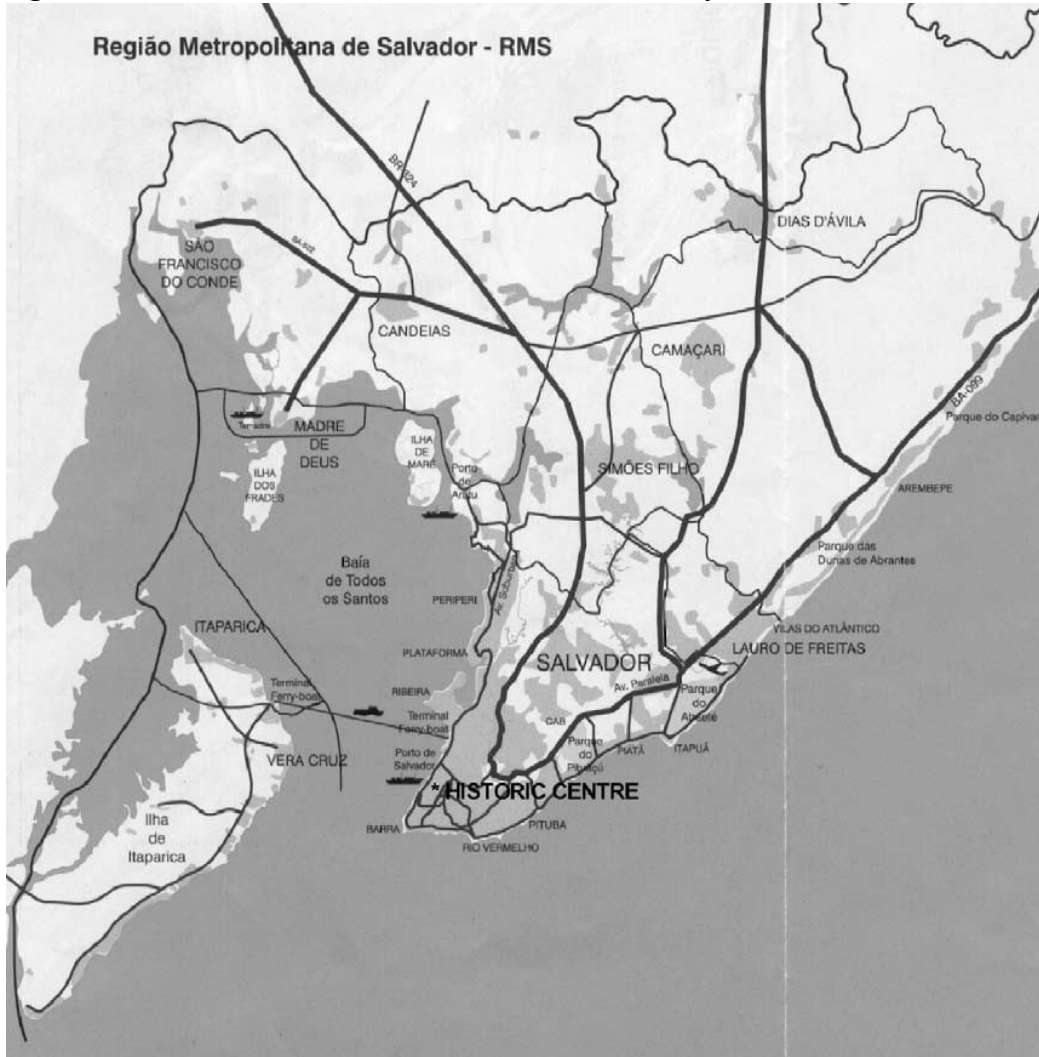
Source: Authors' elaboration.

## The CAS in the city

The CAS contains the foundational site of the city and the territory, continuously occupied for the first 400+ years of its existence. The consolidation of new urban functions and centralities in the rapidly expanding areas outside the centre, stretching along the coast towards the north, left the historic centre in an increasingly peripheral geographical position in the city (see Figure 4) with reduced participation in the: financial, industrial and services sectors of the city economy; middle and high income retail and recreational trade; and residential services for the higher income sectors of

society. To this day, however, the CAS retains activities and heritage sites that are of great importance for the city.

**Figure 4 The CAS in the new centralities in the metropolitan area of Salvador**



Source: EMTURSA (1998), Mapa Turístico de Salvador da Bahia

The CAS has the most significant concentration of activities that are considered by the population to be the “the soul of the city”—the cultural and heritage-based social and economic activities that give the city its identity.<sup>1</sup> They include a vast array of activities, some generating income to those involved, others providing a varied stream of socio-cultural services to the population. The magnificent built heritage of the historic centre attracts tourists from all over the world, particularly after the area was inscribed in the UNESCO’s World Heritage List (WHL) in 1985. Tourism activities account for much of the land uses within the perimeter in the WHL site, but the historic core is also important for the city in many other ways. It is a mark of identity for the local population as the

<sup>1</sup> Verbal communication by Aníha Franco of Repúblicaaf Salvador



Pelourinho neighbourhood is the best-known area of the city (in Brazil as well as internationally). Additionally, many of the magnificent buildings in the historic centre house cultural activities attractive to different groups in Salvador's society. They include classical music performances in the churches; lectures and exhibitions in the museums and cultural centres; and popular concerts and festivities in the public spaces.

The intangible heritage of the city rooted in the CAS includes events and activities linked to a long tradition of celebrations profane and religious; culinary traditions from the region (restaurants, produce markets, culinary schools); Afro-Brazilian music (performance, shows, recording, teaching); places connected to the city's world-renowned writers; instrument making (caixa, bombo, pandeiro, berimbau, bastão de ritmos, tinideira); religious art, crafts and celebrations of the Catholic faith (like the devotion of Santo Antônio) or Afro-Brazilian traditions (including candomblé, umbanda, capoeira) or a mix of these (Samba Junino); theatre; and local crafts. Additionally, the historic centre holds magnificent examples of religious and civic architecture, private residences and public spaces that are testimonies of the long history of the city. More recently private universities, technical training institutions and enterprise incubators moved to the lower city—the Comercio neighbourhood—attracted by its central location and the availability of low-cost space vacated by the financial institutions that moved to the new centralities in the periphery.

The Old City of Salvador also provides services to the city's population. The area contains several commercial streets where low- and low-middle income households shop for clothing, appliances, food, and furniture; and establishments providing medical, legal and accounting services. Also, the CAS houses a vast range of services including machine recycling and repairs, ethnic (Afro-Brazilian) beauty salons, clothes repairs, schools and technical training institutions. Establishments in emblematic streets in the CAS—like Av. José Joaquim Seabra, Av. Joana Angélica, Av. Sete de Setembro, or Rua Chile—serve the needs of the local residents but mostly those of low and middle-income households living in the peripheral growth areas of the city who commute to the CAS for employment, education and services.

The CAS provides employment and sources of sustenance to a variety of city residents. They include government employees and workers in the services industries (commerce, health and education, administrative and legal services, tourism, culture and recreation) as well as a large number of informal merchants and peddlers that seek their living in its streets and squares. The informal activities have existed in Salvador from its origins (as in any other city of the world) and provide sustenance to a significant part of its population. In 2010, 35% of the residents in CAS declared to make a living in the informal sector (Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014:31). They have expanded in the CAS as a result of the influx of people to the area attracted by the commerce and services and lately by the growth of the tourism activities in the historic centre. Some (possibly a minority) are ambulatory merchants. The majority occupy a space on a street or square to sell their wares (some even park a car on the street and sell from the car). The

interactions of the informal sellers with the formal merchants are not always easy as the former take customers away from the latter and their interactions with pedestrians and vehicles are not friendly as they obstruct the sidewalks and pavements.

Observing the activities taking place in the CAS it becomes noticeable that they are poorly integrated with one another and poorly interconnected with the rest of the city. The Pelourinho serves the tourists and the part of the cultured elite of the city that attends concerts and visits museums. The commercial streets serve the low-middle and low-income population that shop and get services there. The streets provide subsistence income to street vendors and peddlers while the heavily deteriorated properties in the area provide shelter to vulnerable groups. The middle and upper-middle income residents of Salvador go to the CAS only occasionally. Furthermore, as it will be discussed later, this disconnect is reinforced by government interventions that focus mostly on the issues affecting specific activities (tourism in the Pelourinho, street commerce in the main streets) not caring much for the positive interactions and synergies that exist among these activities.

The CAS has lost residents since the 1960's and it is still losing population. In 2010 it had 77,700 inhabitants, down from 81,400 in 2000, representing a shrinking proportion of the city's population that in the same period grew from 2.4 to 2.7 million. In 2010 the CAS's population was older and poorer than the population of a city that ranks in the lower half of the average income of metropolitan areas of Brazil.<sup>2</sup> The loss of population and income was exacerbated by the displacement of the financial district and the State Government offices out of the historic centre, a process aligned with the migration of high and upper middle-income families—and the services that cater to their needs—to the suburbs.

However, the central area of Salvador is still home to a variety of city residents. They range from old traditional residents—the average time of residence in the CAS is over 24 years (Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014:72)—to transient users of the CAS that take advantage of opportunities for peddling or illegal activities to earn some income and the temporary occupation of empty properties. Property owners are usually long-term residents with formal employment or retirees. The CAS is not a choice location for high and high middle-income households.

The systematic loss of population of the area tells that it is not massively attractive to other niches of the population. Reportedly there are 1,400 vacant properties in the CAS<sup>3</sup>; they are either unoccupied, in ruin, or empty lots (after the collapse of the

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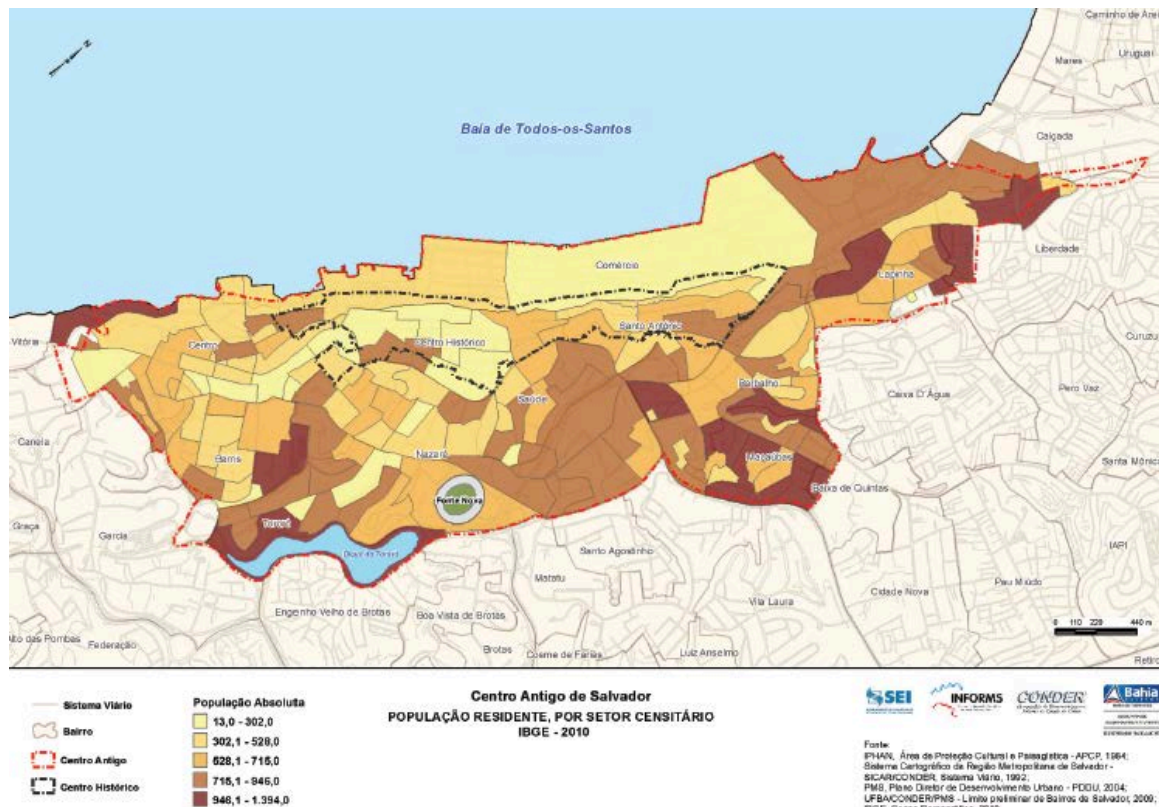
<sup>2</sup> Most of the residents live in the area for over 20 years and the CAS have a higher proportion of the population in the over 60 years of age group and a smaller proportion in the less than 14 years than the rest of the city. The average income of the CAS is 1.8 minimum salaries when the city average is 2.8. (Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014)

<sup>3</sup> Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014.

buildings). Some of them are illegally occupied but most remain unused. These facts point to a significant opportunity for expanding the residential role of the CAS in the city provided that the barriers for attracting new residents and rehabilitating buildings can be mitigated.

The loss of resident population is very noticeable in the Comércio and Historic Centre neighbourhoods of the CAS and less marked in the Barbalho, Lapinha, Macaúbas, Nazaré, Saúde, Tororó (see Figure 5). The most populous neighbourhoods are Santo Antônio with 30% of the population of the CAS; Santana (22%) São Pedro (19%) and Nazaré (13%). The population of the CAS is on average as educated as the population of the city with a higher proportion working in services (75%) than the city's average (71%); with a concentration in public administration and armed forces (12% versus 8% in the city). Furthermore, the area concentrates a higher proportion of Afro Brazilian residents than city of Salvador (85% versus 76%) (Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014).

**Figure 5**  
**Population in the Old City of Salvador CAS**



Source: Governo do Estado da Bahia 2014 *Centro Antigo de Salvador: Plano de Reabilitação Participativo: Avanços* Salvador de Bahia: Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano, Diretoria do Centro Antigo de Salvador (DIRCAS).

Observing the variety of residential and economic activities taking place in the CAS—including residents, shops, services and small enterprises, and the volume of customers

that they attract—there can be little doubt that they make a much larger contribution to the wealth of the city than tourism (important as this sector is for the state and city economy).<sup>4</sup> This is a compelling reason to put the needs and concerns of these social actors in the centre of attention of decision makers in the local, state and federal agencies with incidence on the development of the city.

## The government in the CAS

Concern for the social, economic and physical deterioration of the Pelourinho dates from the 1960's but concrete action to reverse the process only began in earnest in the 1990's (see Table 1). The 1970's witnessed the initial actions to take care of the material heritage of the area with the restoration of churches and civic buildings with resources supplied by the Historic Cities Programme (Programa Cidades Históricas -- PCH) financed by the Federal Government. The PCH also financed an inventory of real estate assets in the historic centre and the drafting of the Pelourinho Master Plan. In the 1980's the listing of the historic centre by the Federal and State Governments provided protection to the urban heritage of the area (including monuments and the surrounding public spaces and domestic architecture) and led to establishing a joint Federal, State and Municipal Technical Office of Licencing and Supervision (Escritório Técnico de Licenças e Fiscalização -- ETELF). These efforts led to the inclusion of the historic centre in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1985. The Municipality accompanied these developments with the Special Programme for the Conservation and Rehabilitation of the Historic Sites (Programa Especial de Reabilitação do Sítios Históricos da Cidade do Salvador -- PERSH) that designated the Pelourinho as a Historic Park and brought to the city distinguished architects to make proposals and integrated a wider variety of social actors in the debate about conservation.

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<sup>4</sup> Governo Federal, Ministério do Turismo 2017.

**Table 1****Government sponsored programmes for the conservation and rehabilitation of the Old City of Salvador (CAS)**

Years	Programme	Area of influence	Promoter	Financing	Results	Investments
1973 - 1981	Historic Cities Programme (Programa Cidades Históricas, PCH)	Pelourinho, Baixa de Quintas, Comércio, Santo Antônio	Federal Government	Federal Government	Establishment of professional restoration schools, creation of foundations and administrative arrangements for restoration of churches and civic monuments, and preparing inventories of monuments	R\$ 34,084,800.95
	Pelourinho Master Plan PLANDIP (parte do PCH)	Pelourinho, Santo Antonio	Salvador Metropolitan Region Development Company CONDER	Government of the State of Bahia	Master plan for the historic area	
	Inventory of Real Estate Assets of the Historic Centre of Salvador (parte do PCH)		Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC		Inventory of properties and diagnostic of the area	
1981- 1983	Pelourinho Housing Project PROHAP	Pelourinho	Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC	National Housing Bank BNH	Rehabilitation of few buildings for temporary lodgings of vulnerable households identified by the PROHAP programme	n/a
			URBIS	Federal housing subsidies		
1984	Technical Office for Licencing and Supervision (Escritorio Tecnico de Licencas e Fiscalizacao ETELF)	Pelourinho + Santo Antonio além do Carmo + Baixa dos Sapateiros + Barroquinha + Comercio	National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage IPHAN		Creation of an integrated technical team for the management of the historic centre	n/a
			Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC			
			Office of Planning Municipality of Salvador PMS			

1984	Federal and State listing of heritage properties in the Historic Centre	Pelourinho + Santo Antonio além do Carmo + Baixa dos Sapateiros + Barroquinha	National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage IPHAN	Federal Government	Listing of heritage properties and their surrounding areas	n/a
			Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC			
1985	World Heritage Listing	Pelourinho + Santo Antonio além do Carmo	National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage IPHAN	Federal Government	Listing and setting strict protection rules of the historic centre and its buffer zone	n/a
			UNESCO			
1985 +	Integrated Municipal Centre CAMI	Engenho Velho de Brotas neighborhood	Municipality of Salvador	Municipality of Salvador	Rehabilitation of a limited number of buildings for municipal use	n/a
1986 +	Special Programme for the Conservation and Rehabilitation of Historic Sites of Salvador PERSH	Area included in the Federal Register of Cultural Properties (30 Ha) and in the World Heritage List	Municipality of Salvador	Municipality of Salvador	Designation of the Pelourinho as an Historic Park PHP	n/a
					Integrated more social actors to the task	
					Brought in prestigious architects to prepare historic preservation and rehabilitation projects	
1992 - 1997	Salvador Historic Centre Rehabilitation Programme (Phases 1-6)	Area included in the Federal Register of Cultural Properties (30 Ha) and the World Heritage List	Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC	Government of the State of Bahia	Rehabilitation of 413 properties in Phases 1 to 6 Pages (92-97 CAS)	R\$ 260,802,135.96
					Promotion of the historic area as a cultural, recreational, and tourism destination	
1999 +	Salvador Historic Centre Rehabilitation Programme (Phase 7)	Pelourinho, Carmo, Santo Antonio, Barroquinha	Cultural and Artistic Institute of Bahia IPAC	Government of the State of Bahia	Housing rehabilitation for existing and new residents Phase 7 (page 97 CAS)	R\$ 37,756,198.45
			Municipality of Salvador	Caixa Economica Federal CEF		
				Federal Government MONUMENTA Programme		



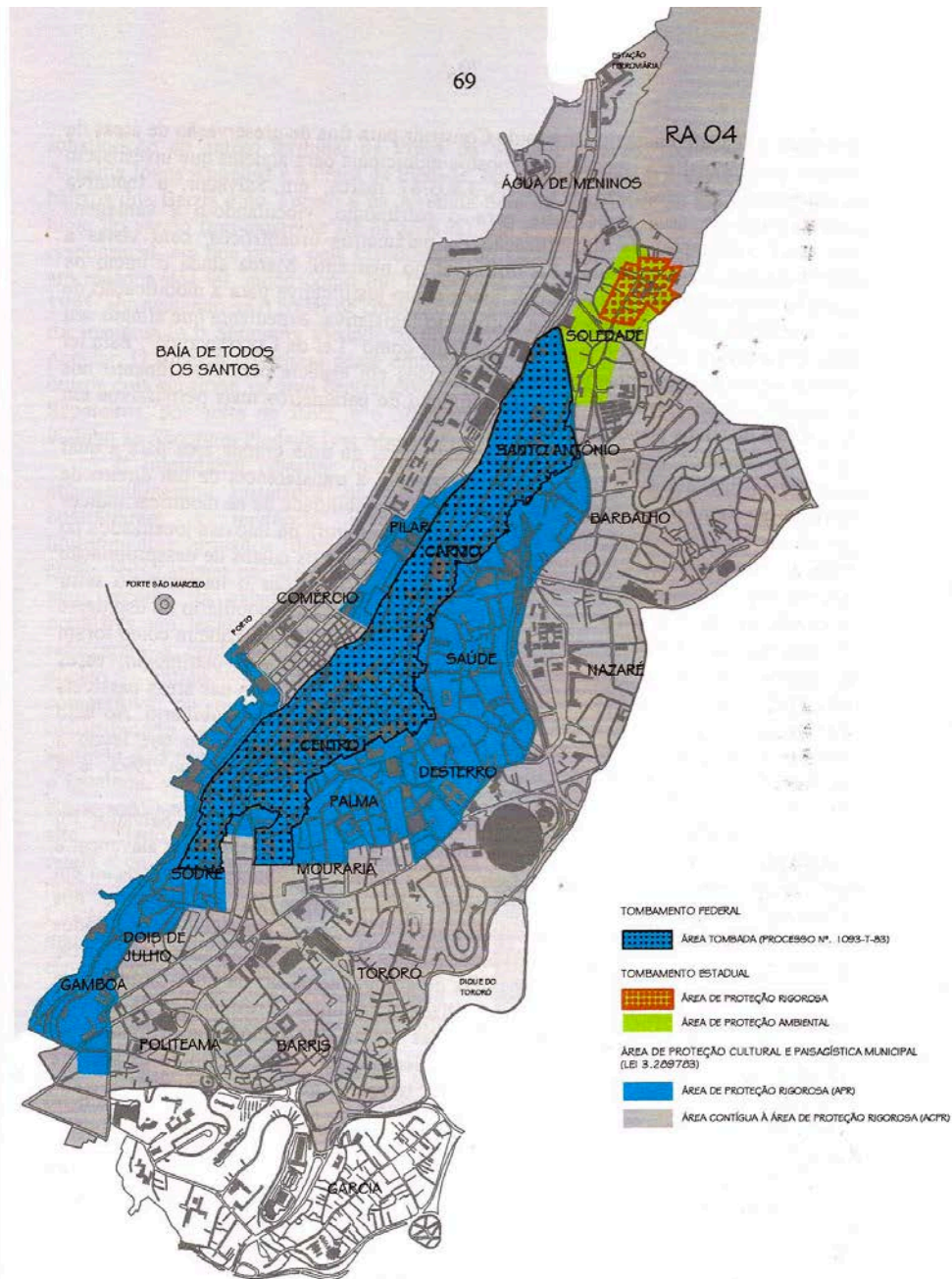
2008 +	2010 Participative Rehabilitation Plan and 2014 Revision	Old City of Salvador (Centro Antigo de Salvador CAS)	Directorate of the Old City of Salvador (Diretoria del Centro Antigo de Salvador DIRCAS)	Government of the State of Bahia and Federal Government I	Proposals for the development of the Old City of Salvador and the Historic Centre as a cultural and tourism area, including the preservation and rehabilitation of monuments and heritage public spaces, investments in infrastructure and the promotion of affordable housing.	R\$ 742,235,051.78
2010 - 2013	Arena Fonte Nova (Major investment in the CAS for the 2014 World Soccer Cup)	Nazaré, Tororó	Federal Financing for the World Soccer Cup	Public-private partnership	Demolition of the old Octavio Mangabeira Stadium and construction of the New Fonte Nova Arena	R\$ 689,482,085.50
2009 - 2013	Growth Acceleration Programme-Historic Cities (Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento PAC-2)	Road connection from the Água de Meninos Neighbourhood to the North Access to the city (BR324)	Bahia State Urban Development Corporation (Conder-BA)	Federal Government	Road connection from the Lower City to Federal Highway BR324	R\$ 480,000,000.00
2013 -	Growth Acceleration Programme-Historic Cities (Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento PAC-2)	CAS y CHS	Instituto del Patrimônio Histórico y Artístico Nacional - IPHAN and others	Federal Government	Restoration of the Jesuits Cathedral, public spaces and road rehabilitation	R\$ 128,012,019.83
2016 -	Growth Acceleration Programme-Historic Cities (Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento PAC-3)	CAS y CHS	Bahia State Urban Development Corporation (Conder-BA)	Federal Government	Street rehabilitation and improvements	R\$ 124,452,687.99
2017 -	Salvador 360 – Historic Centre	CAS y CHS	Municipality of Salvador	Municipal government and private investors	Urban rehabilitation programme	R\$ 200,000,000.00

Source: Author's elaboration with information gathered in Salvador in 2018

The CAS contains the bulk of the Rigorous Protected Area (Área de Proteção Rigorosa -- APR) defined by Law 3.289/83 that adopted the Urban Development Master Plan (Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano -- PDDU) in 1983 and set the Cultural and Landscape Conservation Areas (Área de Proteção Cultural e Paisagística -- APCP) (see Figure 6). However, the protection ordinances were not provided with the corresponding regulations allowing ample discretionary powers of decision to the regulatory bodies: the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional -- IPHAN), the State of Bahia's Cultural and Artistic Heritage Institute (Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural -- IPAC), and the Municipal Planning Office.

In the 1990s and 2000s the most significant actor in the conservation of the historic centre was the Government of the State of Bahia, that with public funds channelled through the IPAC implemented the Salvador Historic Centre Rehabilitation Programme (Programa de Recuperação do Centro Histórico de Salvador -- PRCH). The first six phases of the Programme rehabilitated 600 properties, streets and public spaces in an attempt to reverse the social, economic and physical decay of the area. The rehabilitated properties were used for cultural and tourism related activities as part of a state-wide effort to expand the tourism industry. The rehabilitation effort relied almost exclusively on public funds and the arrangements for the involvement of private owners (sale of the property to the State, transfer the use of the property to the State for a given number of years) and left the State of Bahia with the control of 400 of the rehabilitated properties. This situation poses a significant burden on the Treasury forcing the State Government to shoulder all maintenance costs. It also gave pre-eminence to the tourist development focus in the management of the properties. Additionally, these arrangements fostered a detached attitude on the part of the beneficiaries (renters and free users) that having invested little also lost little when closing their concerns in times of distress. The rehabilitation process displaced non-owner occupants of the area—mostly vulnerable groups—and contributed to the growing isolation of the historic centre from the local population (Sant'Anna 2017).

**Figure 6 Protected areas in the historic centre of Salvador**



Source: Sant'Anna, M. 2013 "Centro Histórico de Salvador: Vazio Legal e Oportunismo" Paper presented to the international conference *ARQUIMEMORIA: Salvador de Bahia*, May 14-17, 2013.

A short-lived seventh phase of the PRCH attempted to rehabilitate historic houses for sale to new residents using the social housing programmes of the Federal Government and concessionary financing from the Federal agency managing the social security funds (Caixa Económica Federal -- CEF). The higher costs of the rehabilitation projects and

other administrative hurdles prevented the effort from going beyond the pilot phase in spite of the declared interest of middle and low-middle households to purchase rehabilitated properties in the area. Another factor affecting progress in improving housing conditions is the long standing inward-looking and isolationist culture that predominate among individuals and institutions owning property in the CAS. Large landowners—fundamentally the Catholic Church and church-related charities like the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Casa da Misericórdia -- SCM)—only rarely engage with government entities in addressing the common problems of the historic centre. Similarly, private property owners used to wait for the government to solve their neighbourhood problems do not see the need to cooperate with the authorities or even among themselves to improve the conditions in the CAS.

In the last decade the Pelourinho benefited from multiple Federal programmes. The Growth Acceleration Programme (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento -- PAC) financed the construction of new access roads to the historic centre, the improvement of historic streets and public spaces, and the conservation of monuments. The Municipality is implementing the Salvador 360 Programme that attempts to attract private investments to the CAS with fiscal incentives and investments in street and public spaces improvements.

All the latter initiatives are conceived and implemented following the same approach of the State programmes of the 1990s: emphasis on the historic centre as a tourist attraction; nostalgia for the historic role of the centre as a vibrant cultural, residential and shopping area for the high- and middle-income groups; a strong concern for removing informal commerce from the streets and public spaces; preeminent concern for car access to the centre; efforts to improve citizen safety, and a piecemeal approach to the design and implementation of the interventions. Furthermore, in this pursuit, Federal, State and Municipal agencies follow their own agendas with little consultation among them and even less coordination in their regulations and investment programmes. Under this approach the priorities of most users of the CAS—improved public transportation access; quality public spaces; affordable housing; better residential amenities; better working conditions for workers and users of commercial and service activities; assistance for the vulnerable residents and users of the area—do not rank high in the public programmes exacerbating the sense of separation of the historic core from the general population of the city and the detachment of the residents of the CAS from the public programmes in the area.

In adopting this approach, the government entities—particularly the Municipality and the Government of the State—achieved a situation where the CAS has a relatively well preserved but scarcely used historic core and an intensively used but poorly preserved periphery. They also missed the opportunity to engage the community to adopt a long-term vision for the CAS. In their actions they failed to coordinate their interventions, and strategically use their properties and investment resources to materialise the vision. This is why the CAS still shows high levels of social and economic decay and it has over

1,400 derelict properties and many poorly maintained streets and public amenities. Given that the CAS serves a large segment of the city's population, there is ample demand for rehabilitated space for residential and productive activities and the area received significant public investments in the last 30 years.

## The CAS in the future of the city

The evidence gathered through the review of the extensive literature on the Old City of Salvador (CAS), interviews with relevant holders of interest in the CAS, and field visits indicates that the area has the potential to play a significant role in the social and economic life of the city, as it did in the past. The CAS can accommodate a much larger resident population, can be the locus of a wide array of cultural and culture-related economic activities attractive to all city residents and tourists; and can provide employment opportunities, services and access to consumer goods for residents of all income levels.

A well-managed CAS can provide all these social and economic benefits to the city and at the same time sustain a well-preserved historic centre that is the pride of city and country and a central attraction for visitors. The CAS has the potential to house a tightly interconnected society with multiple social and economic synergies among its members operating in a well-maintained physical structure conditions that are the mark of very resilient communities. Such a society normally exhibits minimal chronic stresses and is more capable to effectively cope with unforeseen shocks. Three broad approaches are called for.

The **first** step in strengthening the CAS's role in the city is adopting a vision for its future of that: is shared by all citizens; values the multiplicity of contributions that the area makes to the city's resilience; and promotes government and private interventions that strengthen and expand this role. The key for such a future lies in overcoming the social (including the psychological), economic and physical barriers that prevent meaningful and sustainable interactions among the cultural, residential and economic activities in the CAS and with the rest of the city. In addition to promoting high-culture events and tourism activities in the historic centre, government interventions in the Pelourinho could also strengthen the multiple cultural and culture-based economic activities and services that the area provides to the city. The World Heritage site could become again the locus of the popular intangible heritage that gives Salvador its distinctive character: traditional cuisine and foodways, local crafts, religious festivities and practices, craft and instrument making, cultured and popular music, local produce markets, traditional medicine and other local practices. The return to the historic centre of these activities would expand the variety and quality of the services that it provides to the city and strengthen the interconnection of the HC with the economy of the city.

As documented in Box 1 with the analysis of the provenance of the materials required to prepare a typical Bahia dish “the moqueca” the traditional activities that can be developed in the HC are strongly interconnected with the local economy. Similarly, interventions should seek to lure to the Pelourinho the variety of users from the rest of the city that today go to the commercial and service streets of the CAS but rarely use the historic core, particularly the low- and low-middle income residents settled in the mostly informal expansion areas that apparently do not feel that they belong there. Such a vision is akin to “*O CAS para os Baianos*” (the Old City of Salvador for the people of Salvador) a vision that can fruitfully frame future government actions in the historic centre of Salvador. A vibrant historic centre full of locals, local culture and local economies is very alluring to tourists thus this approach will also fulfil today’s prevailing government objective for the Pelourinho.

**Second**, interventions in the public spaces of the CAS should not focus exclusively in facilitating vehicular traffic and restraining street vendors but rather on ensuring that the multiple uses taking place in the streets and public spaces are effectively accommodated and balanced (including street vendors) and promote the efficient use of the buildings on these streets (that commonly have spare capacity to accommodate productive and residential activities). Furthermore, the choice of investments in the public realm should support and reinforce the social programs and economic promotion initiatives needed to materialise the long-term vision for the CAS while taking advantage of the synergies that exist among them.

**Third**, stronger efforts are needed to expand the CAS’s capacity to accommodate housing for more numerous and varied residents. Building on the lessons learned from previous housing programmes in the area, interventions should aim at enhancing the liveability of the neighbourhoods and facilitate their social, economic and physical connections with employment and service areas.

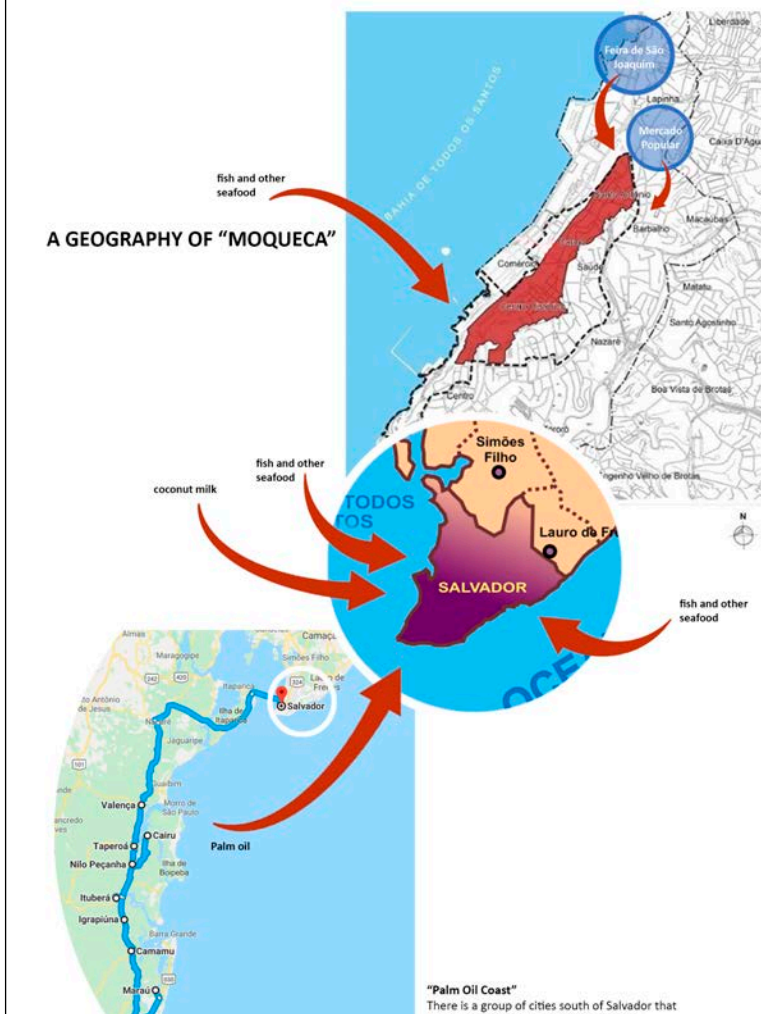
The CAS area will be a more productive and resilient place if the weak and sporadic linkages that exist today among the social and economic functions that it performs for the city are expanded and reinforced. Also, these linkages can be supported by targeted interventions to strengthen the physical connections of the Pelourinho with the surrounding neighbourhoods and from the CAS with the rest of the city.



## Box 1

### The geography of the “moqueca”

The “*moqueca*” is one of the most famous dishes of Bahia, rich in flavours, tradition and local ingredients. A good *moqueca* contains palm oil, coconut milk, salt, tomatoes, onions, bell peppers, lemons, coriander and fish (there are some variations with other types of seafood). All these ingredients come from areas around Salvador and are traded in markets within the CAS. A cursory analysis of what can be called the “geography of the moqueca” shows that key ingredients like the oil come from a region south of Salvador commonly called the “Costa do Dendê” (Palm Oil Coast). Other ingredients come from the Recôncavo Baiano”, and are sold in city markets, including traditional and popular fairs like “Feira de São Joaquim”, the “Mercado da Sete Portas” or the popular market of the “Ladeira da Água Brusca. The fish is caught in the bay or in the Atlantic Ocean in front of Salvador and traded by the local fishermen to the popular markets in the city and for those that are close of the historic centre.



## Managing the CAS

Alignment of different layers of governance is a key factor in implementing and managing any of the approaches advocated in this study. There are encouraging signs of increased coordination in government action in the historic centre of Salvador. The Federal, State and Municipal agencies are working together in the Regulations for the Rigorous Protected Area (Área de Proteção Rigorosa, APR) defined by Law 3.289/83. The adoption of clear regulations will mitigate the high regulatory risk faced today by property owners and potential investors.

The Municipality can take advantage of the willingness of the State and Federal agencies to coordinate its activities in the Historic Centre to open wider discussion about a long-term vision for the development of the historic core and the whole CAS. Other social actors with clear interests in the area can be called into the debate so that the vision will respond to the needs and interests of the widest possible set of social actors, public, private, community and non-governmental interest groups. This is a key strategy to ensure the long-term sustainability of the CAS. International experience indicates that social actors that see their interests included in the vision pursued by the Municipality will support the necessary interventions and investments.

The Municipality is expanding its role in the management of the CAS with interventions like the Salvador 360 Programme that includes: simplification of administrative procedures (Salvador Simplifica), fiscal incentives for new economic activities (Salvador Negócios) and public works (Salvador Investe). The Fundação Mario Leal Ferreira—a dependency of the Municipality—is working on a mobility plan for the CAS and a programme to expand the supply of affordable housing in the historic centre with projects for the adaptive rehabilitation of abandoned properties in the Comercio area. The Municipality established a Management Directorate for the Historic Centre (Diretória de Gestão do Centro Histórico -- DGCH) to administer relations with the community and coordinate Municipal responses to their concerns. The DGHC also implements events in the Historic Centre (music concerts in the churches, literary promenades) that make use of the exiting monuments and heritage assets of the area. There is an increase in guided visits to the Historic Centre by primary and secondary students from the city. All these activities contribute to the appropriation of the area by a wide variety of citizens. The Municipality is keeping the Federal and State agencies informed of these initiatives.

The Government of the State of Bahia created the Directorate for the Old Centre of Salvador (Diretoria do Centro Antigo de Salvador, DIRCAS) to consolidate its interventions in the historic centre. The responsibilities of DIRCAS include the management of the nearly 400 properties that the Government owns in the area. To this end DIRCAS is discussing the creation of a Real Estate Management Trust (Fundo Imobiliário, FI) that will have the capacity to buy, sell and rent properties and enter in

different partnerships with other government agencies and private investors to develop or rent the properties. To date, no progress in its implementation is observable.

However, the coordination that exists among actions rests on instruments like technical cooperation agreements, regular consultation meetings and information sharing agreements, all weak forms to align the efforts of multiple actors toward a shared end. Meetings held in Salvador by this team suggest that there is still no interest among the managers of the government agencies involved in the CAS for advancing to stronger forms of coordination. The international experience indicates that the absence of strong forms of coordination in urban heritage areas where different levels of government intervene is a barrier for the long-term sustainability of the conservation efforts (Rojas 2012). Cities that implemented strong forms of coordination make fast progress in attaining sustainable conservation in their historic centres (see Box 1). Progress in the direction of a more integrated and coordinated management structure for the CAS is highly desirable and urgently needed.

## **Investing for a resilient and sustainable CAS**

Given the current state of the governance of the CAS, and the focus of the 100RC project, the recommendations of this report will focus primarily on what the Municipality can do in the short and mid-term. Municipalities in Brazil have all the competences required for the integrated management of heritage urban areas if conservation regulations are agreed with the Federal and State agencies that also list the area (as occurs in Salvador). It is also likely that a proactive municipality pursuing a long-term vision for the heritage area with the strong support of the community will lure the other levels of government to cooperate.

The proposals are presented following UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape that emphasise the interdependence of the intangible (cultural and economic) and material layers of urban heritage areas (UNESCO 2011). Consequently, the recommendations that follow explore first the contribution of the immaterial heritage of the CAS—the city's culture—followed by a discussion of the economic development potential that the urban heritage area represents for the city and end with recommendations to enhance the contribution of the material heritage as the physical support structure for the other layers of the historic urban landscape of the CAS. In each case the linkages and synergies with other proposals are discussed.

### **Expanding the impact of culture in the city**

A chronic stress in the historic centre is the perception that it does not belong to all the citizens and is a place for tourists only. Changing this perception and bringing a broader array of cultural activities to the centre of the development effort in a city is a long-term

endeavour (see Box 2). However, there are short and mid-term actions that can initiate the process.

Short-term interventions to better connect the population with the tangible and intangible heritage of the CAS include:

1. The Municipality can expand the activities of the Directorate for the Historic Centre to attract more visitors to the Historic Centre with cultural, educational and recreational activities attractive to city residents of all income levels. This will strengthen the position the HC in the city's imaginary and will make better use of existing assets (without precluding the existing tourist-focused activities).
2. In association with restaurateurs and technical training institutions establish a program for conserving and expanding the presence of the culinary traditions of Bahia. Restaurants can conduct cooking classes for residents and tourists contributing to the conservation of the traditions, training local youth, and generating extra income.
3. Establish new and strengthen existing "farmers markets" to supply ingredients for traditional cuisine that in addition of ensuring the availability of good ingredients provide a selling outlet for small farmers in the region. This will involve small farmers in the value chain of traditional foods and make worthy use of otherwise abandoned or poorly occupied public spaces.
4. Organise the suppliers of traditional "street food" (Comida das Ruas) to ensure health and improve the productivity of the trade.
5. Open the area to traditional religious and cultural practices of the Afro-Brazilian population in addition to the other religious festivities taking place in the historic centre. The CAS contains several candomblé yards (terreiros do candomblé) whose practitioners purchase locally produced supplies and articles related to their practice in nearby shops, activities that generate income and employment. Candomblé practitioners in the historic centre can lure a section of the Afro-Brazilian population back to the centre.
6. Provide information about opportunities for citizens to use the CAS. They can range from: information about cultural activities; availability of space for purchase or rent in the CAS for craft, instruments, costume production, and other culture-based activities; or educational and training programmes in the area.

Mid-term interventions include:

1. Coordinate joint efforts by training intuitions like the Brazilian Micro Enterprises Support Institute (Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas -- SEBRAE) or the Craft Training Centre (Centro de Formação Artesanal -- CFA) and owners of empty properties in the CAS (like the Holy House of Mercy or Catholic religious orders) to establish training and development centres for local cultural practices. They can include: traditional crafts, music education and recording, theatre, TV production and recording, live performance production and supplies (scenography, costume making). This type of institutions will train youth in

marketable skills, attract them to the CAS and the historic core, and attract spectators to the performances generated by the training. One specific opportunity could be the adaptive reuse of the Pax Movie House and surrounding installations owned by the Franciscan Friars that now lie empty (see Figure 9).

#### **Box 2**

##### **The Quito Historic Centre Corporation**

Ecuador's Corporation for the Development of the Historic Center (Empresa del Centro Histórico, ECH), established in the mid 1990s by the Municipality of Quito and Fundación Caspicara. This partnership allowed the local government, which owned the majority of the shares, to contract directly with the corporation, while at the same time the ECH could also operate as a private real estate developer because it has a private partner in its capital structure. This operational flexibility allowed the ECH to intervene in the conservation efforts of the historic center on a variety of fronts, including the improvement of the infrastructure and public spaces under contract with the municipality, the rehabilitation of public buildings, and the restoration of residential, commercial, and services buildings in partnership with landowners and private investors.

The ECH took risks in the rehabilitation of the historic center by pioneering the reintroduction of diversified commercial activities, and it shared the risks and returns of the investments with private partners by making the center once again appealing to middle- and upper-income households. When identifying the investments, the ECH saw the historic center as an area that should be able to compete commercially with the shopping malls of the periphery. To this end, the ECH promoted the diversification of the retail and service activities offered in the historic center and worked with the municipality to improve accessibility via public transportation and private vehicles. Also, the ECH, in conjunction with the municipal administration, was able to control the use of the rehabilitated public spaces, which led to a decrease in informal activities. These improvements contributed significantly to transform the historic center into an attractive place to visit, live, and conduct business. In just over fifteen years, the historic center of Quito has changed dramatically. Today it is a well-preserved functional area of the city that provides the population with ample services and a good living environment while still retaining its historic and cultural values.

2. A similar joint effort may cover the different cultural, productive, and recreational activities linked to festivals. The carnival, religious celebrations, and other traditional street celebrations generate a demand for costumes, musical instruments, floats and other implements that generate employment and income. They can be housed in available spaces in the CAS in or near the historic centre (as mapped in Figure 9) attracting residents to the area and providing them with cultural services that they value.
3. Modernize and consolidate the numerous museums that exist in the CAS. An integrated approach to the system of museums will increase their impact by consolidating collections; pooling resources to modernise the curatorial services;

implement new exhibition technologies; and purchase new assets. Like the historic centre itself, museums can become less insular and far more engaging and community-facing.

### **Strengthening the contribution of the CAS to the wealth of the city**

The CAS makes many contributions to the wealth of the city but they are hampered by the chronic stress of the fractioned nature of its residential, cultural and economic activities. Synergies are lost and conflicts exacerbated when the complementarities among activities are ignored or prevented from developing. There are short and mid-term interventions in housing, commerce, service provision, and urban design that can mitigate these stresses.

#### **Housing**

The paradox represented by the significant shortage of housing in the city—affecting an estimated 115,000 households in 2008 (Gordilho Souza 2008, Table 1)—and the existence of approximately 1,400 empty or abandoned properties in the CAS embody a stress in the city housing structure that reduces the contribution of the area's housing stock to the wellbeing and wealth of the city. There is also a significant number of very vulnerable people squatting or living in abandoned buildings in the CAS that generate a variety of stresses to other activities.

Short-term interventions to reduce the current level of stress in the housing situation in the CAS include:

1. The Municipality to mobilize its social services units to identify, evaluate and seek a solution to the persons living on the streets or squatting on empty buildings. The experience of the facilities established by the Municipality to assist drug addicts provide good basis for organising such a programme. Shelters can be made available in empty public buildings or in available space owned by charitable institutions. Federal and State funds can be tapped to finance this complex effort that requires the coordinated action of several municipal services to manage the gradual re-insertion into society of these vulnerable individuals.
2. The Municipality should update the detailed inventory of empty buildings, derelict properties and empty lots in the CAS and use the instruments contemplated in the Brazilian urban development legislation (Estatuto da Cidade) to reduce the incidence of unused properties in urban areas. As these instruments only show results in the mid-term, their prompt application is of essence. Of particular importance is the use of the incremental taxation of empty buildings and the exercise their first right of acquisition allowed to public institutions in case of sustained abandonment. These properties can be put to serve strategic uses for the materialisation of the long-term vision for the CAS.



3. The Municipality should consider the use of eminent domain to acquire the properties identified by the Fundação Mario Leal Ferreira for the first round of affordable housing projects in the Comercio area of the CAS based on the adaptive rehabilitation of abandoned commercial buildings. This is an emblematic project that will test the Municipality's capacity to reduce the incidence of abandoned buildings in the area and to secure financing for affordable housing. The experience gained in the seventh phase of the Salvador Historic Centre Rehabilitation Programme (SHCRP) provides data and guidance for seeking funding and implementing the projects. The pilot projects undertaken by the SHCRP demonstrated the need for government subsidies to cover the extra costs originating from the heritage status of the properties and their building characteristics and materials. There is a clear rationale for such subsidies as the rehabilitated properties contribute to attain a public objective (the preservation of a national heritage site); the issue is identifying the source of funding. In the past, the Federal Government contributed to the preservation of urban heritage areas through the PAC Programme.

In the midterm, the Municipality should develop institutional capacity to promote a more active involvement of the private sector in providing housing in the CAS. Possible interventions include:

1. Improve the urban residential amenities in the CAS, continuing its investments in better schools, public spaces, recreational areas, and better accessibility.
2. Expand the citizen safety activities to all neighbourhoods in the CAS, following the successful experience in the Pelourinho.
3. Establish a public corporation to enter in partnerships with property owners, developers, and financial institutions to implement mix-use adaptive rehabilitation projects in the CAS (see Box 2). The strict enforcement of the instruments of the Estatuto da Cidade should provide the Municipality resources (from the incremental taxation) and properties (acquired as a result of non-compliance with taxation and appropriate use regulations) for this endeavour. These properties can be put to strategic uses to diversify the supply of housing in the area.
4. The Government of the State of Bahia is a natural partner in this endeavour and cooperation of the Municipality and the proposed Real Estate Fund (FI) could be a viable avenue. The Municipality can encourage the FI to put its property to strategic uses exercising its regulatory powers on land use and buildings (see Box 3).

### Commerce and services

The CAS holds a variety of commercial and services activities; the majority oriented to the needs of the low and low-middle income consumers. A chronic stress experienced by these activities comes from the meagre street amenities in the areas where the commerce and services concentrate and the difficult pedestrian accessibility from the

other CAS neighbourhoods. These problems are compounded and by the impact of the street vendors that occupy the commercial streets in a manner that reduces amenities and impedes pedestrian movement.

The Municipality can greatly improve the situation with short-term interventions including:

1. The careful design of the commercial and services streets programmed for improvement in the coming months. The designs should give priority to the comfort of customers of the formal shops and public transportation access to the shopping areas. Attaining this goal involves the careful management of street vendors in the sidewalks and public spaces of the shopping areas. Pedestrian and public transportation priority involves reducing parking and private car presence and the complete elimination of street vending from parked cars.
2. The Municipality needs to manage the activities of street vendors in the CAS. Interventions need to go beyond the recent projects that provide sheltered space in the alleys discharging into the commercial thoroughfares. It is necessary to manage the public space to prevent conflicts and interferences. A first step would be to estimate the carrying capacity of the sidewalks and public spaces to determine the maximum street vendors they can accommodate and issue the right number of licenses for trading in the streets. Enforcement of the licences is of essence. The designs can include areas for the streets vendors in places that do not interfere with the other activities and the creation of special markets to accommodate the surplus demand (see mid-term recommendations in this section).
3. Improve the amenities of shopping and services streets with high volume of customers. Streets like J.J Seabra or Avenida 7 do Setembro that attract customers from different areas of the city that predominantly use public transportation will benefit from: expanded sidewalks with more street greenery or light covers to protect pedestrians from the sun; priority to public transportation in the allocation of circulation space; and redesigned public spaces as resting areas.
4. Engage shop owners and renters in the design, financing and management of the improved streets and public spaces adopting mechanisms similar to the Business Improvement Districts (see Box 4).

In the mid-term, the Municipality can seek more permanent solutions:

1. Part of the street vendors that do not depend on the demand created by passers-by but that cater to specific niches of demand-like trading in clothing or small appliances—can be accommodated in dedicated markets in the CAS. These markets can occupy empty lots or suitable empty buildings.
2. Promote the adaptive rehabilitation of abandoned buildings for mixed uses: commerce, services, offices, residences, and dedicated market spaces.

3. Physically connect the most active shopping streets with the surrounding neighbourhoods and the historic centre (see section on connecting dynamic areas below)

### **Box 3**

#### **Culture based urban development. The case of Glasgow**

Glasgow, Scotland is the preeminent example of an industrial city that leveraged its heritage through a strategy of culture- and place-branding to reverse a decades-long decline in the mid-to-late twentieth century. The city pursued new market activities through cultural events, cultural institutions, high-end retail, and tourism. The city leveraged its architecture, industrial history, and cultural uniqueness to repurpose the historic downtown to accommodate these new activities and market its rebranded image to the regional, national, and international public. The theory behind the cultural approach to rehabilitation is it creates a more attractive place for people to live and work, and where there is demand for people who can afford to prioritize cultural activities, there is demand for investment. One trenchant critique of this approach is its failure to address directly social inclusion, job-creation across a wide spectrum of education levels and creating amenities serving local (and disadvantaged) communities.

Glasgow's culture-centric redevelopment strategy not only reshaped the city's image, it reshaped the city's historic center through design interventions attracting new residents and fostering reinvigorated streets life. The design interventions were focused on Buchanan Street, a north-south central corridor in the historic downtown that was redeveloped as the city's premier shopping thoroughfare and later transformed into a pedestrian-only zone. At both the northern and southern terminus of Buchanan Street, the city established retail hubs: Princess Square and St. Enoch's to the south and the Buchanan Galleries to the north.

Glasgow's redevelopment strategy established the city as a cultural destination to promote regional and national tourism. To this end, the city built the Royal Concert Hall at the northern end of Buchanan Street adjacent to the Buchanan Galleries, which replaced the St. Andrew's Concert Hall which had burned down in 1962 in a neighborhood about a half mile from downtown. The city deliberately co-located the Royal Concert Hall, as well as other cultural facilities such as art galleries, with their retail corridor to cluster multiple tourism "draws" near one another rather than spreading them out across the city. This approach allowed the city to brand itself cohesively using by pairing the city's historic architectural heritage with its new cultural and retail establishments.

Glasgow marketed its downtown redevelopment to the regional, national, and international public to re-establish its identity as arts, culture, and shopping destination, replacing its former image as a declining industrial city. The city marketed itself through booster campaigns, such as the "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign the early 1980s, attracted cultural festivals, such as the 1988 National Gardens Festival, leveraged international awards such as the 1990 designation as the European City of Culture, and eventually hosted international events, including the 2014 Commonwealth Games.

**Box 4****Intergovernmental cooperation for the sustainable management of public properties, the case of Copenhagen**

The leaders of Copenhagen are well known for their rich planning traditions, quality of life driven interventions, and success in establishing Copenhagen as one of the most innovative and forward facing cities in Europe. Like Glasgow, Copenhagen pursued a cultural strategy to create a more vibrant and attractive city, but at the heart of its success is the institutional partnership between the federal government and the municipality of Copenhagen to utilize zoning regulations to generate value from publicly owned property. Like many cities around the world, Copenhagen owns a significant amount of property within its city limits. Facing a budget shortfall in the 1970s, rather than raise taxes or sell their properties, Copenhagen a) understand the value of its land holdings, b) actively manage those assets and used their power to regulate land use to increase the value of their properties, and c) sell or lease

**Box 5****Cooperation for improving the quality of business areas: the case of Cape Town**

In the early 2000s, businesses, government officials, and civil society organizations organized themselves to rehabilitate the central city of Cape Town. Their purpose was to reduce “crime and grime” that had come to characterize the city, regain private investments that had been siphoned off to the suburbs, create new lines of investment nationally and internationally, and establish Cape Town as a “global” city. Led the private sector the various sectors of the city formed the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) and the Cape Town Central City Improvement District (CTCCID), modelled on the North American Business Improvement District (BID). A BID is an organization formed and funded by local businesses that is responsible for the maintenance, beautification and marketing of the district while local and provincial government use their powers of taxation and land regulation to incentivize investment. In Cape Town, the CTCCID

While successful in giving Cape Town a global reputation, the approach has been critiqued for, at best, failing to address the gross social inequalities in the city, or at worst, exacerbating them.

**Connecting the dynamic areas of the CAS**

The CAS has an urban structure characterised by a set of rather physically isolated neighbourhoods that are poorly interconnected among themselves and with the most dynamic concentrations of cultural, commercial, and service activities (see Figure 3). Geography explains in part this structure as the original city and its neighbourhoods were established in the hills. History also contributed as subsequent growth of the CAS established the new neighbourhoods in the surrounding high lands. Expansion of the city beyond the CAS led to drainage of swamps and covering the creeks to build roads to connect the CAS with the fast-growing neighbourhoods outside the historic core. Recent

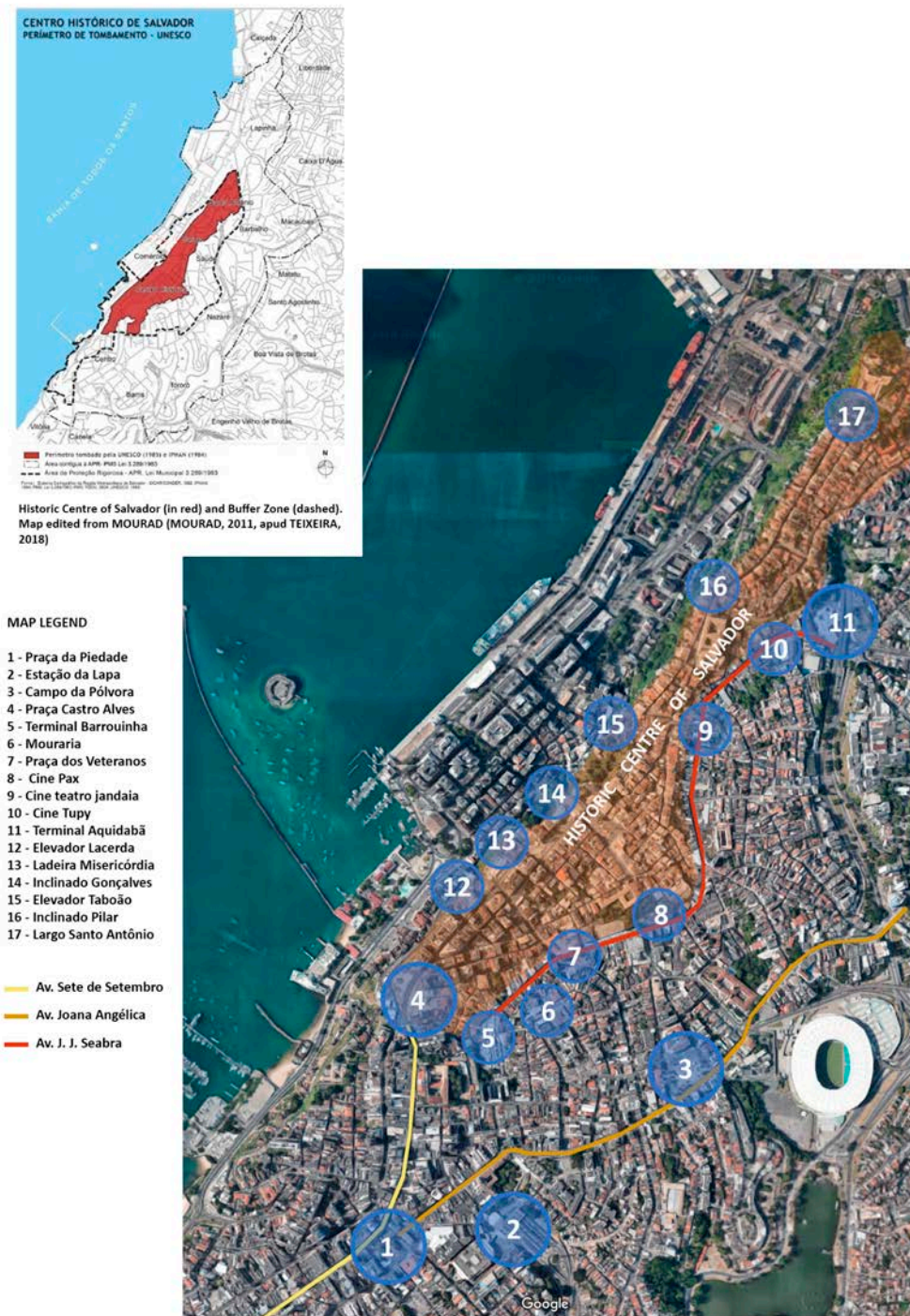
public interventions that promoted the historic centre as a tourist destination added a layer of psychological isolation of the Pelourinho from the rest of the neighbourhoods.

This structure precludes many synergies that may exist among activities in the CAS to emerge. Examples abound for instance, customers of busy shopping streets like J.J Sabra do not go the historic centre whose most emblematic areas are less than 100 meters away. This is in part the result of the over-specialisation of the Pelourinho in tourist-oriented activities that do not serve the low and low-middle income customers that frequent the street. It is also in part the result of poor physical connections between the commercial street running at the foot of the hill along the former creek and the historic area 20 or more meters above. Similar situations exist between traditional neighbourhoods like Saúde and Nazaré. Poor physical connectivity among residents and activities represents a chronic loss of opportunity for the city as the complementarities that exist among them find it difficult materialise or do not emerge at all.

The Municipality can take action to overcome this weakness of the urban structure by giving priority to investments that facilitate the interconnection among activities. There are several public spaces that can play this role if properly designed and managed (see Figure 7).

**Figure 7**

**Public spaces in the historic centre that can act as physical connectors within the CAS**



Source: Authors' elaboration



In the short-term, the Municipality can:

1. Promote a greater connectivity between the lower city and the upper city facilitating the movement of persons across the Comercio neighbourhood. Current plans for improving the public spaces give priority to the movement systems along the neighbourhood linking the renovated Mercado Modelo with Praça da Inglaterra and Praça Riachuelo along Avenida Estados Unidos y Rua Miguel Calmon. By including into the project the redesign of Ruas Pinto Martins and Polônia that run from the sea front to the cliff and linking with the Plano Inclinado Gonçalves and further along with the Elevador Lacerda, the connectivity between the two cities is greatly improved (see Figure 8).
2. Similarly, the connections between the historic centre and the Mouraria neighbourhood can be greatly improved with minor interventions along the streets that connect the neighbourhood with the Baixa de Sapateiros and from the Baixa to Largo do Pelourinho and Terreiro do Jesus. These connexions will also benefit the commercial area along the Baixa improving the connectivity of the cultural activities of the Pelourinho with the shops and services of the Baixa (see Figure 9).
3. The connectivity between the lower city (Comercio) and the upper city (Historic Centre) will improve with the introduction of activities attractive to all citizens along the roads connecting them. A case in point is the opportunity offered by a group of properties owned by the Government of the State in the Ladeira da Misericórdia. They lay empty while they could be rehabilitated for commercial, recreational and cultural uses. These activities located mid-way between the lower and upper cities will incite the movement of people enhancing connectivity.

In the mid-term, the Municipality can promote more ambitious interconnections in the CAS. As an example of this kind of undertakings, Figure 10 shows a potential circuit of cultural institutions that can be established using the abandoned or poorly utilised theatres along the Baixa. This type of projects demand more public-private coordination than those suggested for the short-term. However, they can bring greater benefits to the city superimposing a set of strong cultural activities with an already busy commercial street that is well served with public transportation linking two major transpiration hubs (the Barroquinha and Lapa terminals).

**Figure 8**

**Urban design interventions to increase the connectivity of the Lower and Upper cities**



Source: Authors' elaboration

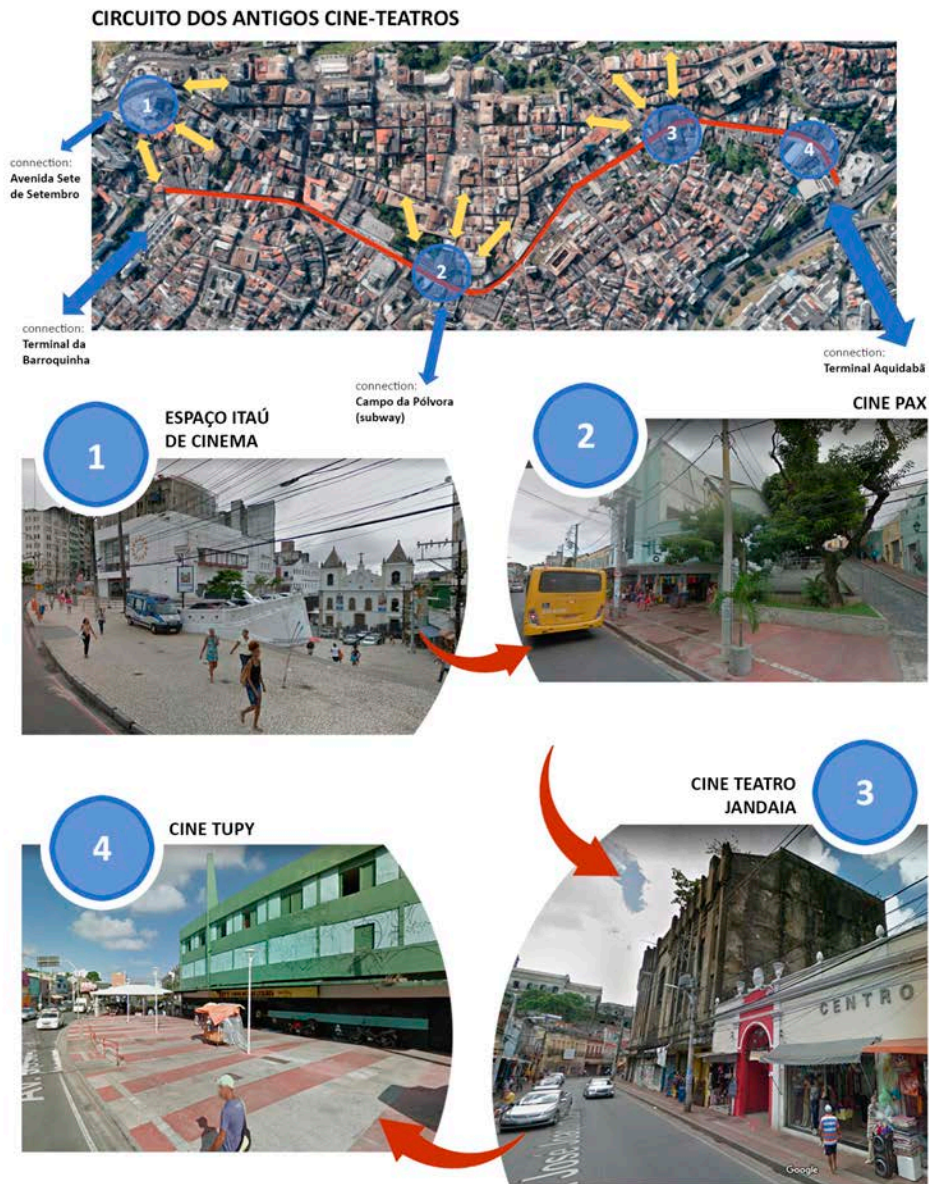
**Figure 9**  
**Urban design interventions to improve the connectivity of the CAS neighbourhoods with the historic centre**



Source: Authors' elaboration



**Figure 10**  
**Potential system of cultural institutions enhancing the linkages of the CAS**  
**neighbourhoods and the historic centre**



Source: Authors' elaboration

## Comprehensive Summary of Recommendations

Refer to earlier sections of the report for more detail on these recommendations, including the roles of different government agencies and other actors.

### Strategy 1 Formulate a long-term vision:

#### SHORT-TERM ACTIONS:

- Reinforce and expand cultural and educational activities that attract all types of citizens to the CAS.
- Improve the functioning of the CAS's commercial and service areas that cater for the needs of a wide variety of low, low-middle and middle-income citizens; this include improvements to streets with designs that accommodate all users and dedicating public properties to install vendors' markets.
- Improve the physical connections between the commercial and service areas with the areas concentrating the cultural and educational activities.
- Assist the vulnerable residents in solving their health and subsistence issues.

#### MEDIUM-TERM ACTIONS:

- Open wide discussion about a long-term vision for the development of the historic core and the whole CAS with the Federal and State agencies operating in the CAS and involving other social actors (public, private, community and non-government interest groups) with clear interests in the area to debate and agree upon a long-term vision for the development of the CAS.

### Strategy 2 Removing barriers:

#### SHORT-TERM ACTIONS:

##### Overall

- Extend the citizen security activities currently underway in the Historic Centre to the whole territory of the CAS.
- Incorporate pedestrian-friendly and street commerce-friendly features in the designs for the rehabilitation of commercial streets already programmed.
- Develop projects that demonstrate the feasibility of supplying affordable housing in rehabilitated heritage properties.

##### Culture And Heritage

- Expand the activities of the Directorate for the Historic Centre to attract more visitors to the Historic Centre with cultural, educational, and recreational activities attractive to city residents of all income levels.
- Establish a program for conserving and expanding the presence of the culinary traditions of Bahia

- Establish new and strengthen existing “farmers markets” to supply ingredients for traditional cuisine and ensure the availability of good quality, local food.
- Organise the suppliers of traditional “street food” (Comida das Ruas) to ensure health and improve the productivity of the trade.
- Encourage traditional religious and cultural practices of the Afro-Brazilian population in addition to the other religious festivities taking place in the historic centre.
- Provide information about opportunities for citizens to use the CAS.

#### **Housing**

- Mobilize Municipal social services units to identify, evaluate and seek a solution to the persons living on the streets or squatting on empty buildings.
- Update the detailed inventory of empty buildings, derelict properties and empty lots in the CAS and use the instruments contemplated in the Brazilian urban development legislation (Estatuto da Cidade) to reduce the incidence of unused properties in urban areas.
- Consider the use of eminent domain to acquire the properties identified by the Fundação Mario Leal Ferreira for the first round of affordable housing projects in the Comercio area of the CAS based on the adaptive rehabilitation of abandoned commercial buildings.

#### **Commerce**

- Redesign commercial and service streets to give priority to the comfort of customers of the formal shops and public transportation access to the shopping areas.
- Manage the activities of street vendors in the CAS.
- Improve the amenities of shopping and services streets with high volume of customers.
- Engage shop owners and renters in the design, financing and management of the improved streets and public spaces adopting mechanisms like the Business Improvement Districts.

#### **Connections**

- Promote greater connectivity between the lower city and the upper city by improving the public spaces and giving priority to the linkages between neighbourhood
- Rehabilitate underutilized properties located mid-way between the lower and upper cities for commercial, recreational and cultural uses

### **MEDIUM-TERM ACTIONS:**

#### **Overall**

- Prepare projects and allocate Municipal resources for the improvement and rehabilitation of streets and public spaces connecting the different sectors of the CAS, in particular Comercio with the Pelourinho and Baixa de Sapateiros with the Pelourinho.

- Promote the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties and new construction to satisfy the demand for housing in the CAS including student residences and housing for vulnerable households.
- Promote new cultural, educational and recreational activities in the CAS to reinforce its role as the soul of the city.
- Diversify the educational and cultural activities taking place in the CAS.
- Implement the affordable housing projects currently under preparation.

#### **Culture And Heritage**

- Coordinate joint efforts by training intuitions and owners of empty properties in the CAS to establish training and development centres for local cultural practices and festivals.
- Modernize and consolidate the numerous museums that exist in the CAS.

#### **Housing**

- Improve the urban residential amenities in the CAS, continuing its investments in better schools, public spaces, recreational areas and better accessibility.
- Establish a public corporation to enter into partnerships with property owners, developers and financial institutions to implement mix-use adaptive rehabilitation projects in the CAS
- Encourage creation of a Real Estate Fund (FI) to put the Municipality's property to strategic uses.

#### **Commerce**

- Accommodate street vendors in dedicated markets in the CAS, in empty lots or suitable empty buildings.
- Promote the adaptive rehabilitation of abandoned buildings for mixed uses: commerce, services, offices, residences and dedicated market spaces.
- Physically connect the most active shopping streets with the surrounding neighbourhoods and the historic centre (see section on connecting dynamic areas below).

#### **Connections**

- Promote more ambitious interconnections in the CAS, for example a circuit of cultural institutions that can be established using the abandoned or poorly utilised theatres along the Baixa.

### **Strategy 3 Integrated management:**

#### **SHORT-TERM ACTIONS:**

- Prepare a tool kit of activities and approaches for using heritage assets to catalyse economic development and other resilience efforts in the CAS.
- Create a conceptual "partnership map" to identify the network of partners and organize strategy the relationships between partner organizations in public, private and third sectors

- Expedite the approval of comprehensive regulations for the protected area to facilitate private investment.
- Encourage institutional landlords to diversify the uses of their properties renting for enterprises and households that represent the diversity of the demand for the CAS.

**MEDIUM-TERM ACTIONS:**

- Develop a cooperation culture among individual and institutional actors—including mechanisms like mixed-ownership corporations to manage public and other institutional properties in the CAS, and business improvement district organisations—to coordinate and guide public and private all efforts in ways consistent with the long-term vision.
- Expedite the preparation and approval of land use, development, and conservation regulations for the CAS.



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