

EXTREMES: THE IMPACTS OF URBAN POLICY ON THE OFFER OF HIGH AND LOW INCOME IN GOIÂNIA (2008-2018)

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ABSTRACT

This article aims at reflecting on the production of urban space in urban morphology and constructive typology, focusing on housing production to two extremes: high-income developments and the production of social housing. The rapid population growth of the large Brazilian cities and the real estate boom caused by the greater ease of access to housing - whether through social programs or the financial market - have caused significant changes in the urban landscape over the last decade, such as: the large number of real estate launches in the privileged areas and the disorderly urbanization. Instruments for inducing urban development and social management of land valorization would act to mitigate the effects of unequal urbanization in terms of access to urbanized and regularized land (HOLSTON, 2008; MARICATO, 2012). However, when analyzing the production of housing for high and low income in the last decade in Goiânia (GO, BR), it is notorious that urban policy - laws and programs - led to the creation of distinct and extreme territories: in one live those who have the right to all the benefits and services present in the city and, in another, those on the margins of it. Keywords: housing; city; Goiânia.

INTRODUCTION

The city has been changing over the centuries, so that the analysis of its dynamics of appropriation makes it possible to understand today and future planning. Talking about cities implies recognizing that the intention has a link with what is generated and built internally in addition to form (MEDEIROS, 2013). The urban literature points out that the built form of the city affects its performance (VILLAÇA, 2001; HOLANDA, 2003; ALARCON, 2004), so that location and accessibility are essential elements in the valorization of the soil. In this way, the distribution and occupation of land in urban settlements are largely motivated by profit (TRAMONTANO, 2006; CARDOSO, 2000; MARICATTO, 2001).

This article aims to reflect on the production of urban space under aspects of urban morphology and constructive typology, with a focus on housing production for two extremes of social segments: high-income enterprises and the production of social housing.

The main hypothesis raised here is that, in Goiânia, two legal milestones were the trigger for the creation of two distinct and extreme territories: in one live those who have the right to all the benefits and services present in the city and, in another, the ones who are on the sidelines of it. In other words, the Goiânia Master Plan (PD), in its parameters of zoning, land use and occupation, tended to favor the most privileged territory and the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV). In its implementation, from the point of view of location, urban morphology and construction typology, it tended to deepen the inequality already present in the urban mesh.

METHODOLOGY

Usually in the literature, the housing analysis of social interest and the analysis of high standard production undertaken by the market for the “1% of the population” in Brazilian cities occur in separate surveys. However, the present exploratory research takes as a case study the city of Goiânia, in a time frame from 2008 to 2018, seeking to analyze housing production in opposing social groups (low and high income) from the implementation of the Legal Frameworks: Master Plan of Goiânia (Complementary Law No. 171, May 29, 2007) and the MCMV program (Federal Law No. 11,977, of July 7, 2009).

For comparative purposes, this research is divided into two fronts: the analysis of high-income housing production and housing production of social interest. As far as the investigation is concerned, the methodological aspects of the research are based on the identification and comparison of the attributes contained in the occupation, such as: density, pattern, location and accessibility, reflected in the local urban landscape. It addresses the reflection of the 2007 Master Plan (PD) of the city of Goiânia in high-income housing production, analyzing the occupation based on the progression of verticalization and at the other extreme analyzes the same impacts on the production of social housing after the approval of the PMCMV Law.

BACKGROUND –THE PD 2007 AND THE PMCMV 2009

Goiânia, a city planned to be the capital of the State of Goiás in the 1930s, is today one of the main metropolitan cities in Brazil. Like other Brazilian metropolises, it saw its urbanization “explode” from the 1960s onwards and faces urban and metropolitan challenges, such as housing provision, especially for the social vulnerable population.

The Master Plan (PD) is the main instrument of urban planning and management in the country, being the device of urban planning and development, dealing with central urban issues, such as the offer of housing to its citizens. Therefore, however, the housing issue can be observed by two biases: housing as a universal social right and housing as a consumer good, as a commodity (IMB, 2018).

The Goiânia PD (2007) brings as a guideline the construction of a compact and mixed city. The plan took Linearity as the Spatial Model, based on the road system and supported by the public transportation offer. To this end, it established the structuring elements of the Model, according to its article 82, which established the axes of Exclusive Development. The rules for subdivision, use and occupation of the land would regulate the densification, volumetry and spatialization of the built space, as well as the activities.

Regarding the control and spatial planning, the plan replaces the utilization rate by the ideal fraction as a way of disciplining real estate density. As occupation control, it institutes new urban parameters, regarding occupation and removals. It uses as an instrument of Urban Policy the regulatory tools according to the provisions of the City Statute, which are the Onerous of the Right to Build and of the Change of Use (ODIR AND ONAULT).

Such devices opened up new fronts for verticalization, outlining a densification plan based on the city's drainage routes, allowing the construction of residential towers over 30 floors in places that were previously banned from verticalization. The Real Estate Market, which outlines the relationship between project density, revenues, development costs and land price (DIPASQUALE, WHEATON, 1996), seeing the possibility of minimizing the impact of the lot value with the sale of

a significantly larger number of units, it is mobilized in the launch of new developments with a focus on the high-income segment.

Two years after the launch of the PD, other law, this time federal, would impact the production of urban space now on the fringes of the city. The recent production of social housing in Brazil is marked by the experience of the MCMV Program, started in 2009.

In Goiânia, until 2014, the number of units contracted was 8,799 (LUCAS, 2016), a number that has not undergone any significant change, since the program was discontinued in 2016 by Michel Temer Government. The PMCMV presented negative and positive points in Goiânia, in a very similar way to the performance of the program in other locations, as Lucas (2016) points out: the majority of the projects have a bad location and disconnection with the urban network; they have architectural and urban projects of low quality, few green areas and deficiency or absence in the supply of public facilities and the predilection of elements that provide status (such as closed condominiums or the presence of suites) by constructive elements that guarantee "good architecture" (such as adequate solar orientation and opening windows).

The large contribution of public financing, providing the use of subsidies and the release of credit, made it possible to acquire the property itself for sectors of society that until then were mostly excluded by the formal market. Large companies hitherto concentrated on production for high and medium income, also turned to the so-called "economic segment" (FIX, 2011; REIS, 2011).

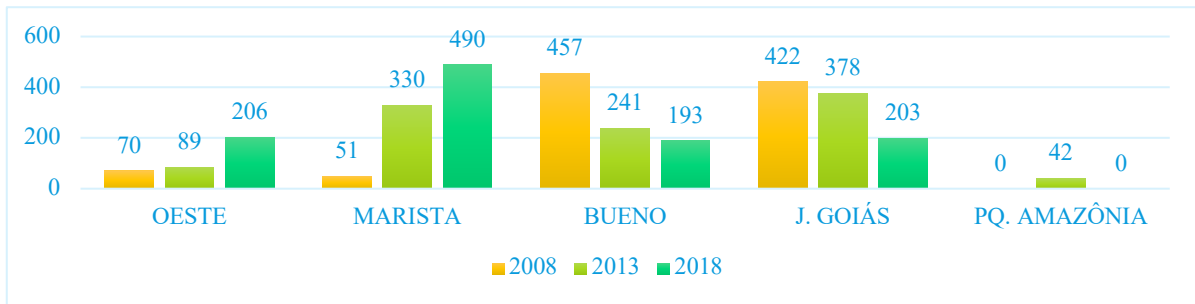
FINDINGS: THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Commonly, the priority urban occupation of the higher income social segments occurs in two ways: central regions in vertical condominiums (places with easy access, supplied by trade and excellent services), or in horizontal condominiums on the fringes of the city (alleged by security, distinction and greater individual living space).

It is observed, however, that this choice goes beyond personal motivations, goes through urban planning and management strategies and the interest of the real estate market. The PD (2007), from the beginning, brought a great movement of the real estate market. In 2008, 10,630 units were launched in 80 enterprises. The number of launches remained high until 2011, which was also driven by the economic moment experienced in Brazil.

If we compare the number of housing units with that of developments, we observe: 2008 - 132 hu / development; 2016 - 201 hu / development and; 2018 - 150 hu / development. This leads to a belief that the market, starting from the possibilities opened by the 2007 PD, sought to increase its gains; on the other hand, such initiatives foreshadow the impact that occurred in the city due to the expressive increase in density.

According to the survey, almost all launches over 200m² are located in the southern region of the city. The only exception is Parque Amazônia District, which appeared with one development. The following graphic shows Marista District as the preferred one, with an increase of almost 10 times in the number of units launched during the period.



Graphic 1. Developments launched by District - Goiânia - GO. Years 2008, 2013 and 2018)

Also confirming the reflection of the PD in high-income real estate production, the Figure 1 below shows the change in the profile of verticalization in the Southern region. The map representing the 2008 profile shows the densest areas in these regions, with four to nine floors in yellow and 10 to 19 in green. In 2018, new developments over 20 and 30 floors, represented by the orange and red color, most frequently distributed in Marista, Bueno and Jardim Goiás Districts.

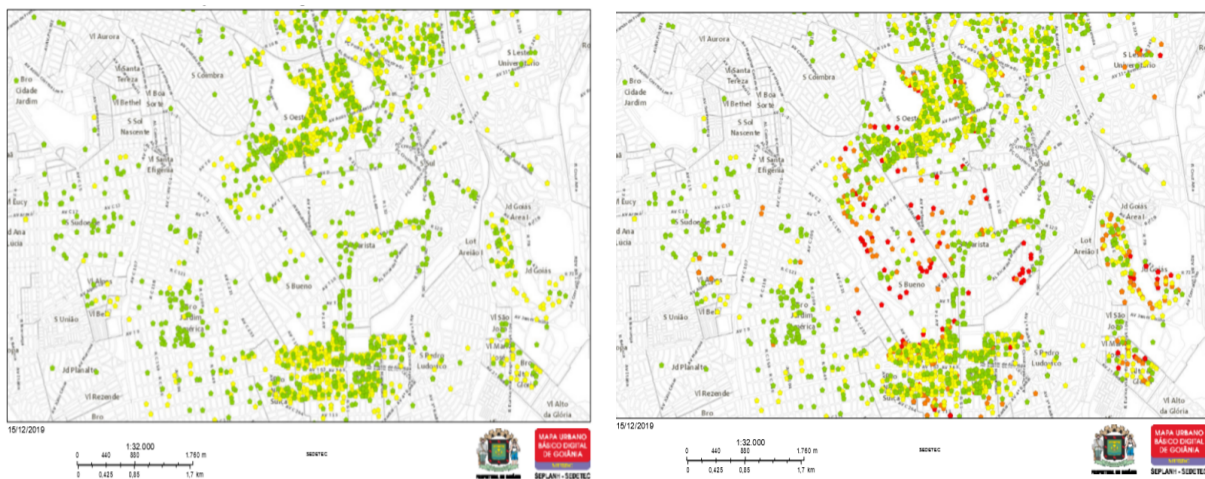


Figure 1. Verticalization Profile - Southern Region of Goiânia in the years 2008 and 2018, respectively.

Single-family homes have been replaced by high-standard towers, which have sharply increased the profile and density of the region (Figure 3). In fact, some factors condition the choice of the place of residence and are directly linked to the characteristics of the surroundings, more central areas, with better integration and served with spatial differentials have greater demand and consequently greater value (CARVALHO, SABOYA, 2017).



Source: <https://www.fotografiasaereas.com.br/imagem-aerea/parque-areiao>

Source: <https://seuimovelgoiania.blogspot.com/2019/02/lancamento>

Figure 2. Verticalization Profile – Areião Park View – Marista District, 2008 and 2018.

The squares inserted in these areas added to their aggregating elements of "well-being" intensify this dynamic. They have been adding new values and meanings in contemporary society over the years, bringing facilities and multiple stimuli, valuing urban life; on the other hand, these experiences have increasingly generated dynamics, impersonal relationships and market interest (VAZ, 2010).

At the other end of the city, the PMCMV presents us with different space production strategies: small closed condominiums, blocks of social interest in new neighborhoods and large housing estates, - all models present on the outskirts of the city.

In Irisville and Bertim Belchior (2009) sets, the subdivision project is based on the creation of closed condominiums with isolated houses on the lot in extremely peripheral areas and disconnected from the existing urban mesh. The strategy here is to impose a status standard by taking the focus off really important issues, such as proper location and the lack of public spaces and services in the region.

Another model found in Goiânia is the occupation of blocks in private subdivisions, in which the public authority is only responsible for defining typologies and the production of the units - since the design and location of the neighborhood are defined by the owner. The entrepreneur starts donating lots to the city administration, and as a rule the areas with the worst location of the enterprises are available to the municipality. On the other hand, the area has a high public investment, generating appreciation for the project.

The large housing complex on the fringes of the city is another resource used by PMCMV entrepreneurs. Residencial Jardim do Cerrado is an example of this model. Located in the western region, very close to the border with the municipality of Trindade, it is almost 25 kilometers away from the center of Goiânia.

In the enterprise there are two models of land occupation: the isolated house (steps 1 to 4) and condominiums of houses, overlapping houses and townhouses (steps 6 to 11). When we analyze the project to implement the overlapping houses, we see that, instead of proposing greater density to bring free and qualified spaces, more roads are created. It is possible to reach the summit of observing three parallel pathways with the same function: giving access to the residential unit (see

figure 3). Public and free spaces were ignored to the detriment of small, segregated indoor playgrounds.

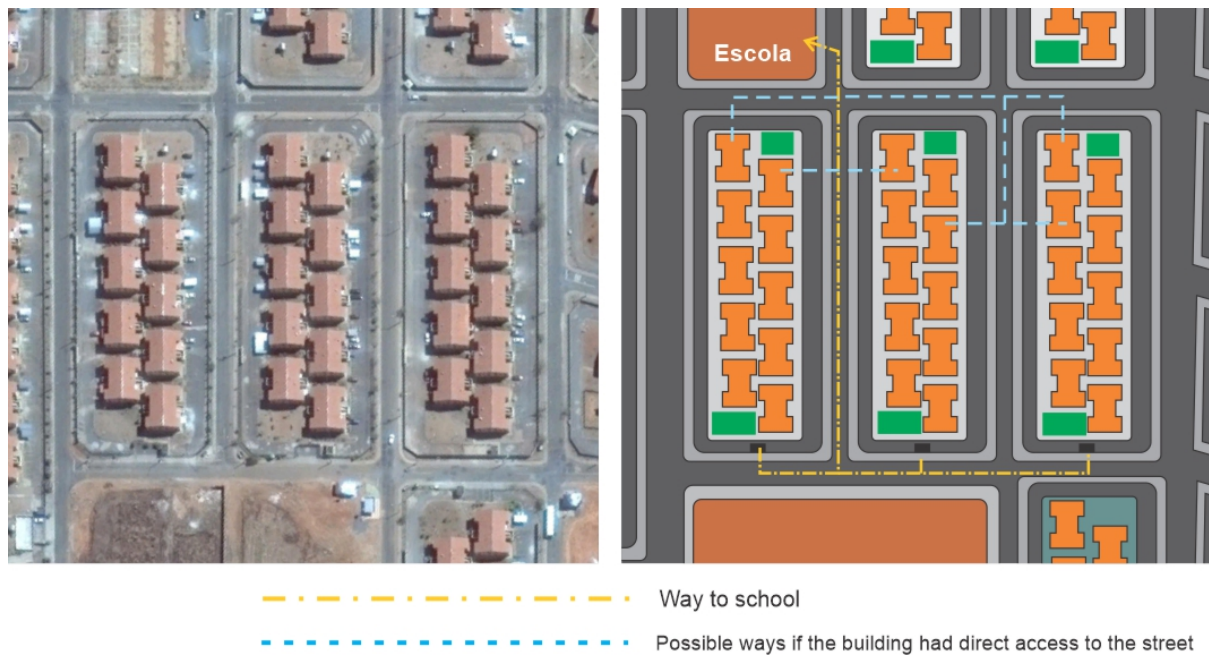


Figure 3. Residential Jardim do Cerrado. Source: LUCAS, 2016.

The way in which the condominiums are located discourages the use of public space on the street, as the entrances are unique in a large block, hindering the permeability for those who move around on foot.

Thus, the strategies that produce urban space - segregated, monotonous, walled, between bars, with more roads than public spaces - express the (re) production of capital and its public-private partnerships, in which the quantity and immediacy are superimposed on the quality and end up building a good part of the city. In the following mapping, the production of social housing on the fringes of the city is clear, disconnected from a comprehensive city planning and its operating costs.

CONCLUSIONS

Two scenarios were presented. The first one is the high-income housing production, which was triggered by the 2007 City Master Plan (PD) and is characterized by the verticalization of well-located areas with public and private infrastructure and services. At the other extreme, the production of social housing recaptured on a large scale by the PMCMV, which produced an immense and monotonous housing complex on the fringes of the municipality, without adequate infrastructure and services. In the same municipality, two very different realities, as if there were two cities: in the center live those who have access to the city and all its benefits and in the other extreme those who live on the margins.

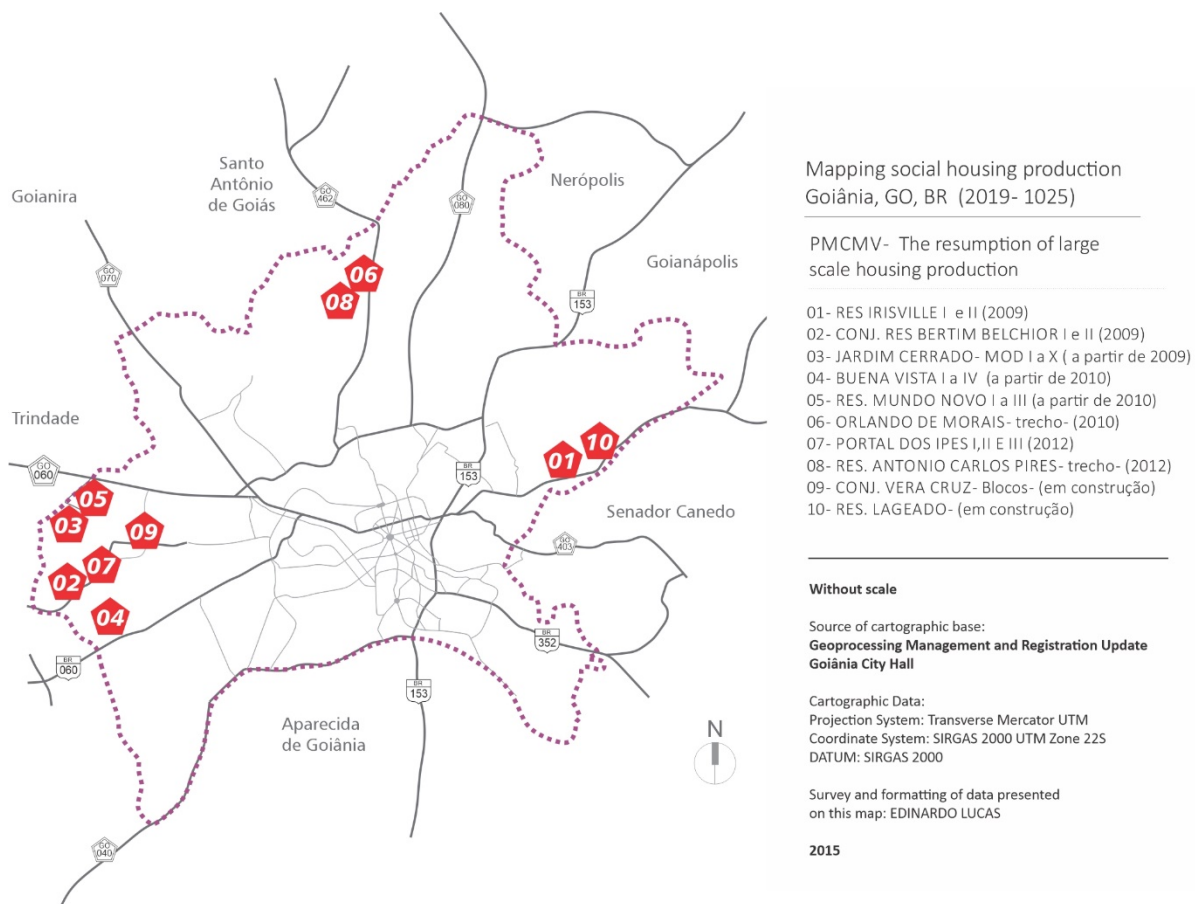


Figure 4 - Schematic map with the location of the enterprises. Source: LUCAS, 2016.

It is a fact that the PD did not promote the integration of the various urban policies. While instituting instruments for the real estate market to increase its profits with unlimited verticalization, the PMCMV produced part of the territory in spite of the plan's guidelines, such as "creating a compact and mixed city". The PD should articulate instruments that promote the best location of housing for low and middle class. Those instruments would oblige the occupation of urban voids and vacant lots containing the indiscriminate expansion of the city. Nor does it mean that only the creation and insertion of the instruments in the master plans would be able to achieve such objectives, because as Ermínia Maricato points out, "no instrument is adequate in itself, but it depends on its purpose and operation" (MARICATO, 2013, p.96).

It is important to understand that the two extreme landscapes are the product of legislation created by the public authorities, in line with private companies; they are also a portrait of the inequality present in Goiânia, which, according to the UN, is the most unequal capital in the country and the tenth in the world. In short, it can be the production of housing for high or low income, "it is the process of reproduction of capital that will indicate the ways in which society occupies space, based on the mechanisms of private appropriation" (CARLOS, 2008, p. 89).

Studies show that urban design is incapable of providing social and cultural change on its own (HOLANDA, 2003); however, they induce the creation of conditions - spaces, spatial organization, and architectural means - that allow the street or public space to be a meeting place for distinctions and different actors, in order to provide the exchange of experiences. There is where our responsibility lays. We continue trying to understand the cities in order to be an instrument to transform them.

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