



DYNAMICS IN URBAN STATE HOUSING PRODUCTION: reflections on space formation

DINÂMICA NA PRODUÇÃO HABITACIONAL URBANA PELO ESTADO: reflexões sobre a formação do espaço

DINÁMICA EN LA PRODUCCIÓN DE VIVIENDA URBANA POR EL ESTADO: reflexiones sobre la formación del espacio

Lisandro Pezzi Schmidt  

Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste – Unicentro, Guarapuava, Paraná, Brasil

E-mail: <lisandrops@hotmail.com>.

Márcia da Silva  

Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste – Unicentro, Guarapuava, Paraná, Brasil

E-mail: <marcia.silvams@gmail.com>.

ABSTRACT

The multiple strategies for social housing production and market alter the functional and also social structure of urban space. The articulations of the real estate developers, the movements of the State and the growing demand for units arouses the need for reflection on behalf of the place wherein the projects are located, besides expanding the real estate businesses through spaces for circulating capital. This text aims to reflect on how these processes favor the formation of spatialities within Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV). To substantiating this analysis, it was necessary to combine several sources, which were systematized by intersecting theoretical contributions, field observations and information derived from projects grouped by Range 1 - Condominium Systems in PMCMV. The territorial cutting, configured by the cities of Guarapuava, Londrina and Ponta Grossa, in Paraná, is based on the logic of the real estate market, accentuating the fragmentation and socio-spatial segregation. This results from the creation of spatialities in city sectors unwanted by the real estate market, thereby encouraging the process of housing production in peripheries. It should be noted that this article contributes to the enhancement of studies on medium and small cities, allowing to monitor and update discussions on public sectorial policies, as well as to assess the structure and municipal management and the social function of the city.

Keywords: Public policy. Urban planning. Urban management. Housing.



RESUMO

As múltiplas estratégias visando à produção habitacional social e de mercado alteram a estrutura funcional e também social do espaço urbano. As articulações dos promotores imobiliários, o movimento do Estado e a demanda crescente pelas unidades, além de ampliar os negócios imobiliários, mediante espaços para circulação do capital, desperta a necessidade da reflexão sobre os interesses onde se localizam os empreendimentos. Este texto tem como objetivo refletir como o movimento e a produção favorecem a formação de espacialidades no âmbito do Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida/PMCMV. Para fundamentar a análise foram estabelecidos argumentos pela combinação de fontes diversas, sistematizadas de forma a haver o cruzamento das contribuições teóricas, da observação em campo e das informações derivadas dos empreendimentos da Faixa 1 no PMCMV. O recorte territorial, configurado pelas cidades de Guarapuava, Londrina e Ponta Grossa, no Paraná, tem por fundamento a lógica do mercado, acentuando a fragmentação e a segregação socioespacial, resultante da produção de novas espacialidades no contexto da produção de habitações em setores na cidade pouco procurados pelo mercado imobiliário, incentivando, assim, o processo de periferização da produção. Cumpre observar que o artigo tem por finalidade contribuir para a verticalização de estudos sobre as cidades médias e pequenas, permitindo acompanhar e atualizar discussões sobre as políticas públicas setoriais, bem como servir para avaliar a estrutura e a gestão municipal e a função social da cidade.

Palavras-chave: Política pública. Planejamento e gestão urbana. Habitação.

RESUMEN

Las múltiples estrategias orientadas a la vivienda social y la producción de mercado cambian la estructura funcional y también social del espacio urbano. Las articulaciones de los promotores inmobiliarios, el movimiento del Estado y la creciente demanda de las unidades, además de ampliar el negocio inmobiliario, a través de espacios para la circulación de capitales, despierta la necesidad de reflexionar sobre los intereses donde se ubican los proyectos. Este texto busca reflejar cómo el movimiento y la producción favorecen la formación de espacialidades en el ámbito del Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida / PMCMV. Para sustentar el análisis, se establecieron argumentos mediante la combinación de diferentes fuentes, sistematizadas de tal manera que se cruzan los aportes teóricos, la observación en campo y la información derivada de los proyectos del Track 1 en el PMCMV. El corte territorial, configurado por las ciudades de Guarapuava, Londrina y Ponta Grossa, en Paraná, se basa en la lógica del mercado, acentuando la fragmentación y segregación socioespacial, resultante de la producción de nuevas espacialidades en el contexto de la producción de vivienda en sectores de la ciudad. Poco buscado por el mercado inmobiliario, favoreciendo así el proceso de producción periférica. Cabe destacar que el artículo tiene como objetivo contribuir a la verticalización de los estudios sobre ciudades medianas y pequeñas, permitiendo monitorear y actualizar las discusiones sobre políticas públicas sectoriales, así como evaluar la estructura y gestión municipal y la función social de la ciudad.

Palabras-clave: Política pública. Urbanismo y gestion. Vivienda.

INTRODUCTION

Discussions about the production and access to housing of low-income social groups highlight the understanding of the construction of space influenced by practices and related interests among the agents, imprinting on the urban landscape traces of the articulation between the built environment and the distribution of residents in the urban fabric. In this context, some proposals listed by public policy focus on alternatives for land regularization, application of valued land instruments, as well the slow elaboration of social interest housing plans. It join real estate activity in conducting proposals in cities that present continuous housing demand. Real estate development and investor strategies directly influence the application of housing commodities.

The production of urban space results in accelerated appropriation by producer agents and social groups in different locations, such as the functional and social capacities of interests to boost the income opportunities of urban land. The reserved rights appropriate the advantages offered by the State in order “to create new spaces that serve the logic of capitalist reproduction” (BOTELHO, 2012, p.298). Thus, the need for deepening interdisciplinary understanding of the urban issue and under different analytical and explanatory approaches to be overcome in public policy is expanded.

From this conception, the articulations of the real estate developers, the movement of the State, the growing demand for the units, in addition to expanding the real estate business through spaces for the circulation of capital, arouses the need for reflection on behalf of the places wherein the projects are located. The word spatiality, according to Moura (2010), refers to the spatial clipping of a portion of the territory that is characterized by some determining feature in the interaction of social, cultural, economic, environmental, institutional and territorial dynamics in the phenomenon of space production, configuring a morphology particularized by community patterns, homogeneity, intense relationships or articulations.

It does not consider territorial or political-administrative divisions, expressing a fact (urban, urban-regional, regional). It should be noted that “Spatiality and territoriality overlap, given that, in a certain spatiality, different territorial cuttings can occur in articulation and / or dispute, further consolidating or fragmenting the kaleidoscope universe of spatialities in constant rearrangement” (MOURA, 2010, p. 190).

In the present reflection, in the appropriation of the term Spatiality we will address issues in the urban space focused on enterprises, aimed at Track 1 within the Minha
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Casa Minha Vida Program/PMCMV¹.

In this context, capital becomes a reproduction of what is in investment and in the valorization of land and a perspective for the expansion of businesses installed near the enterprises. This reflection is concerned with producing empirical information, producing theoretical and practical knowledge in order to build reflections on recent trends involving the management of the territory.

It is our intention to discuss the housing production understood by constituent elements of the city and related economic and social inequalities in different sectors. In this context, it can be seen that the dynamics of the production of housing units under the PMCMV has led to a redirection in speculative interests and the consequent evolution in the price of real estate (buildings or land), the expansion of the urban perimeter, the adjustments in urban legislation; considering the increased supply of real estate for sale in the market and investments in vertical and horizontal residential units. In some cases, there is the donation of areas of municipal domain and tax exemption, added to the financial contribution through the Caixa Econômica Federal.

With effect in the presented reflections, for the construction of the analysis it was necessary to make the combination of diverse and systematized sources in order to cross the theoretical contributions and the observation in the field and the information derived from the choice of projects aimed at Track 1 - Condominium Systems at PMCMV. We will focus, therefore, on the movements of real estate development in recent years (from 2010) influenced by the production of housing units.

The article consists of two parts. The first deals with considerations about housing public policy and some determining elements for real estate activity, which aims to identify how the legal and normative aspects encourage the occurrence of new Spatialities. The second deals with how the movement of capital favors possible Spatialities in the city. In addition to market products, it also articulates three levels: company (product supply, meeting emerging demand), state policy (at federal and municipal levels) and real estate gains (individual and company owner).

¹ There are 3 phases of the program. The reflection involves Phase I, considering the units already occupied. Phases 1 and 2 were hired in 2014 (term of office ended). Thus, the hires made in 2015 are considered as units of Phase 3. Besides the additional range, Phase 3 of the program established a new household registration rule. Interested families, within the range 1.5, can only register through a portal (MCMV Portal), which will define the beneficiaries through the new Sistema Nacional de Cadastro Habitacional (National Housing Registration System), coordinated by the Ministry of Cities (CBIC, 2016).

Around these three levels of articulation, we chose to work with a territorial-analytical approach composed of the cities of Guarapuava, Londrina and Ponta Grossa, in Paraná. These are medium-sized² cities, according to IBGE classification, in which, based on public housing policy and some determining elements for real estate activity, as described above, we try to emphasize the effects and consequences the projects produced and the dynamics that involve private interests and the role of the State in promoting public policy.

So, the article aims to provide discussion for decisions that imply new forms of urban management and planning, providing the expansion of economic, social and cultural values provided for in public policy.

HOUSING PUBLIC POLICY: SOME DETERMINING ELEMENTS FOR REAL ESTATE ACTIVITY

From Fernandes (2008) ideas, it is possible to observe different paradigms regarding the public policy that characterizes the urban planning in the country and the aspects that affect the real estate activity. Until the 1980s and in the prevalence of the civilist paradigm of liberal legalism and the notion of individualistic property, the place of urban planning in the context of public policies was restricted, in other words, “urban planning was attempted without meaningfully interfering with the structure” (FERNANDES, 2008, p.127). Urban planning, according to the author, promoted a wide free grant of uses, occupation fees as rights for urban landowners to build without anticipated recovery for the communities or the public power of the generated land values, which determined a process of high valorization. real estate and speculation.

As a consequence, market forces appropriated the urban plan, which facilitated the generation of new forms of capital accumulation, while at the same time the place of residence of the impoverished was (and is still determined) by individual plans and actions in the area there is not regulated by market forces. In this context, as Cardoso and Aragão (2012) point out in the housing policies, after 1964, began to focus on stimulating economic growth and expanding access to housing for the middle and lower income groups.

² Guarapuava has an estimated population (2020) of 182,644 people, with 167,328 people in 2010, an approximate variation of 11%. Londrina has an estimated population (2020) of 575,377 people, with 506,701 people in 2010, an approximate variation of 11%. Ponta Grossa has an estimated population (2020) of 355,336 people, with 31,116 people in 2010, approximately 11% (IBGE, 2020).

Unregulated policies³ focused on urban development (in this case housing, besides transportation and infrastructure) are carried out by hiring private organizations, which has recently been revealed in the country deviations and public corruption in several cities. As for the responsibilities of the production of social housing before 1988 and during the military government, the supply of goods and services was managed by state-owned companies, having at the federal level the Banco Nacional de Habitação (National Housing Bank)/BNH (created in 1964) as a regulatory agency, where the construction of social housing was the responsibility of the Housing Companies (COHABs), state-owned or state-owned companies. In this operational model, the private initiative, as construction companies, was responsible for the execution of the projects according to the guidelines and terms established at the federal level (SCHEFFER, 2017).

Thus, housing developments favored the economy by generating jobs, selling construction materials and facilitating the implementation of housing policy with the authoritarian and centralizing government as the main responsible. Following the extinction of the BNH, housing policy at the federal level was alternated by various ministries and secretariats.

Between 1986 and 1994, several agencies succeeded each other in managing the federal government's housing policy, which evidenced strong political and institutional instability. “This policy, in 1989, had the power of the Ministry, and in 1990 it became the function of Secretariat and, from 1994, becomes a housing directorate of the Secretariat of Urban Policy of the Ministry of Planning and Budget.” (SCHEFFER, 2003, p.36). Scheffer (2017) confirms that during the period from 1986 to 2003, housing policy at the federal level showed institutional weakness and administrative discontinuity, with a low degree of planning and integration with other urban policies, while local initiatives took place in the municipalities, which themselves took over the social housing field.

To understand the reflection of public policy, in particular, housing policy as a social policy and municipal-level enforcement, it is appropriate to recall the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the subsequent approval of the City Statute (Law No. 10,257 / 2001, which regulates art.182 of the CF). After 1988, intergovernmental relations in the context of Brazilian federalism engendered a set of achievements that demanded competencies and

³ In Brazil, we have education and health as regulated policies, with budget defined by legislation and with supervision (ARRETCHE, 2010).

responsibilities from municipal governments differently from what was established in the country.

The right to housing is also considered a social right, according to art. 6 of the Federal Constitution (1988), in addition to education, health, food, work, transportation, leisure, security, social security, protection of motherhood and childhood, assistance to the helpless. Thus, urban property of public or private nature must serve the social function, performing purposes of housing, commercial or industrial exploitation, environmental preservation, principles of democratic management, among others. Fernandes (2008) argues that in the urbanistic legal order, the property right is an empty right, the content of which must be given in the importance of the Master Plan as a constitutive element of the property right itself, a fact that still needs to be fully understood.

Bueno (2007) discusses that the municipality is an autonomous federative entity, however, its public finances do not reflect autonomy, both the lack of regulation of decentralizing laws and the concentration of resources at the federal and state levels. Advances in housing legislation should be highlighted, with the approval of housing as a constitutional social right through amendment 26 in 2000 and the regulation of the constitutional chapter of urban policy, Articles 182 and 183, establishing the Statute of the City through Law 10,257 of 2001, with principles regarding participatory planning and the social function of property.

With the implementation of the Aceleração do Crescimento Program (Growth Acceleration Program - 2007) and, subsequently, the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (2009) real estate activity finds conditions facilitated by the action of the municipal government and the availability of real estate financing for production in urban centers. In different economic spatialities, as presented by research results (PONTAROLO; SCHMIDT, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2016 and PONTAROLO, 2015).

The Federal Program involves the direct partnership with two branches: one with municipalities that participate in the program and another with construction and sales companies. The partnership with the construction companies varies according to the criteria adopted by Caixa Econômica Federal, which acts as operator and financial agent. The Federal Program involves the direct partnership with two branches: one with municipalities that participate in the program and another with construction and sales companies.

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adopted by Caixa Econômica Federal, which acts as operator and financial agent. The partnership with the construction companies varies according to the criteria adopted by Caixa Econômica Federal, that acts as an operating and financial agent⁴.

A survey conducted by Scheffer (2017) in the city of Ponta Grossa and not far from other cities served by housing policy, identified participants and skills in PMCMV. Among the participants: Caixa Econômica Federal, the official federal financial institutions - executing agent, Municipalities and Companies in the Construction Sector. In the latter, as competence and attributions, since the presentation of projects of production ventures for alienation of real estate, the execution and delivery of units. However, there is the absence of planning and management strategies compatible with the objective of meeting the scheduled municipal demand.

It means that the Municipality has as its main purpose to facilitate the execution of the Program and meet the requirements of the federal sphere, as well as the actions arising from the production process. It also corroborates Scheffer (2017), that the definition of municipal criteria by the Municipal Housing Council is the only reference to this instance, intended to discuss local issues in the housing area. This is a legal omission in view of the social control mechanisms provided for in the constitutional premises regarding societal participation, and the formulation of the program does not foresee the logic of participatory management.

According to Silva et al (2011), still in Brazil, and more generally in Latin America, it is recurrent among public managers and real estate developers that the private market - and even public agencies - can offer affordable products for the lower income brackets, it is necessary to “relax” norms and “decrease” requirements such as minimum infrastructure conditions, minimum lot sizes, availability of public areas, among others.

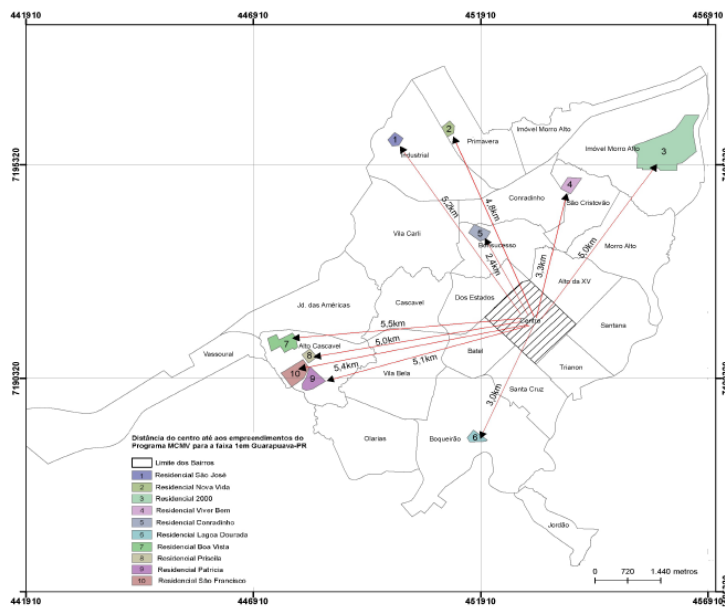
In the execution of the PMCMV it is up to the municipalities to register and select the families to be benefited, donation, acquisition or sale of public land, elaboration and approval of urban projects, mechanisms that aim to minimize the formalities of

⁴ Housing production companies in the selected territorial-analytical approach: among the main construction companies in Londrina, with more than 3.700 unities for Range 1: FETAEP, Laff Construtora Ltda., Const. Almanary, Bonora & Const. e Incorp. Ltda, Sial Construções Civas Ltda, Terra Nova Rodobens/Marajó Incorporadora e Imob. Londrinense, Protenge Engenharia, Yticon Construção e Incorporação, Artege Construções Civas Ltda, Terra Nova Eng. Ltda, MRV Engenharia e Participações S. A. (AMORIM, 2015). In Guarapuava, more than 1.300 unities were constructed for Range 1 by companies Marma Construção, La Koppe Engenharia, Builder Engenharia (PONTAROLO; SCHMIDT, 2016). In Ponta Grossa, 6.209 unities were constructed in 19 projects for families in Range 1 of PMCMV by companies Yapó, Piacentini, Arena, Menin, RCM, R.P.W Empreendimentos (SCHEFFER, 2017).

documentation, flexibility of own laws (case of Areas or Specific Areas of Social Interest) and/or meet the objectives of the PMCMV, promotion of public facilities and projects that must meet social demands, such as social assistance networks in the context of PMCMV's enterprises.

Regarding housing and urban land, in studies already conducted by Pontarolo and Schmidt (2016), it is found in Guarapuava the question of true political interests regarding access to housing for segments with income of up to three minimum salaries. The discourse of the different municipal administrations about the inexistence of large and affordable land for the elaboration of housing projects and programs is notorious. By examining the location of the units produced (apartments and houses) - Figure 1, it is clear that the criteria for the location of housing estates are part of the price of land that can effectively meet what is intended to be produced in a larger number of units and ease of financing and priorities that fit the availability of funding.

Figure 1: Distance from downtown to MCMV Program developments for track 1 in Guarapuava-PR



Source: PONTAROLO, T. M., 2015.

Thus, in relation to the dispersion movement that according to Botelho (2012) would correspond to a change in urban scale, a change that would have to do with the change in capital accumulation itself, in the cases of (Guarapuava, Ponta Grossa, Londrina), reaches two explanatory lines for the fact, according to the author:

Statist: the State would be a fundamental agent for understanding urban sprawl through a series of sometimes contradictory actions such as: granting subsidies and financing to the residents of the suburbs, the lack of control over the actions of the private agents, the zoning and planning that would guarantee the desired functional homogeneity in the suburbs, the provision of road infrastructure that would ensure accessibility to areas furthest from traditional centers and the construction of housing for the poor in distant areas. Liberal: urban sprawl would be the effect of the individual and rational choice of members of society. The option for housing in more remote areas would be possible from the democratization of the political system, which would give families greater freedom of choice; the prosperity caused by economic growth; and mobility guaranteed by the means of transport (BOTELHO, 2012, p.304-305).

In general, the housing policy guidelines in the country and the urbanistic legislation supported in a context that imposed changes in the form and content of reaching a city for all, still accentuated a poorly integrated view of the city.

As a new development is produced in the city, real estate speculation is expanding, raising the interests of private organizations trying to get the most out of their areas and businesses. According to Fernandes (2008), the Master Plans (after the City Statute, 2001) do not yet present a consistent attempt to directly intervene in the production of land values and in land price formation and the various legal possibilities for recovery of public investment that have not been properly exercised. At the same time, the lack of some appropriate technical criteria in municipal management is often questionable, such as the Urban Land Tax / Progressive Property Tax, where the aliquot application is the same for the landowner and the owner of a single lot.

In addition, real estate business decision-making is defined by the association between public policy guidelines and their managers and real estate developers. Thus, independence is created for the decisions and dynamization of capital, through reformulations of the laws, resulting from the pressures of the real estate market. Following, it is reflected on the movement of capital.

THE MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL AND THE SPATIALITIES IN THE CITY

The promoted spaces still reach the interest for the housing demand and do not connect them with other elements placed in the urban as means for integration, consequently, as pointed out by Botelho (2012) provides the dispersion of the built space, the proliferation of fenced areas and restricted access, the segregation of the poorest in areas far from the centers of production, consumption and leisure.

Such facts are clearly observed in the cities of Guarapuava, Ponta Grossa and Londrina. Thus, the movement of capital invested in housing production will respond more quickly by finding advance decisions of the state or if the amount accumulated in neighborhood sectors whose strategies are already defined and await the deliberations of the state itself. Attracting new investments, streamlining capital circulation among residents and other neighborhood sectors, redefining new Spaces with well-defined objectives to facilitate a new economic cycle in dispersed urban sectors.

Reinforces Rolnik (2015, p.152) by stating:

In times of financialized capitalism, where income extraction overpowers the value of productive capital, urban and rural land has become highly contested assets. This has dramatic consequences, especially - but not exclusively - in emerging economies. The dynamics accompanying the liberalization of land markets are increasing market pressure on territories controlled by low-income communities. This occurs in a global context where urbanized land is not available to the poorest groups. Then communities are under the constant threat of spoliation of their territorial assets.

As a consequence, Rolnik emphasizes that there will be “a new relationship of capital with space in relation to housing” (ROLNIK, 2015, p.160), where land is no longer merely a means of production, it also becomes a powerful reserve of value, a situation that has enormous consequences for the less affluent groups who have even more difficulty accessing housing. Thus, it is noted that the distance between housing developments accentuates the slow public investment and, above all, of interest to private capital in creating new products close to the agglomeration with the same objective, predominantly the production of popular housing⁵.

Real estate circuits created in different sectors of the city raise the level of decisions based on directions taken by the private agent and not by state regulation, that is, the urban fabric is produced according to the interests of private enterprise and according to the availability of public funding that will encourage the consumption of much of the population.

⁵ Subnormal agglomerates, according to the classification adopted by IBGE, are forms of irregular occupation of land owned by others (public or private) for the purpose of housing in urban areas and, in general, characterized by an irregular urban pattern, lack of public services and location in areas with restrictions on occupation (IBGE, 2020). The state of Paraná has 192 areas classified as subnormal, most of them in Curitiba, that counts 126 areas. This city is followed by Ponta Grossa with more than 13.000 people living in such conditions, Foz do Iguaçu, Colombo, Paranaguá, Araucária, Campo Largo, Almirante Tamandaré, Umuarama, Campo Magro, Itaperuçu, Jataizinho and Campo do Tenente (GAZETA DO POVO, 2011). According to IBGE (2010), Paraná has more than 61.000 units classified as subnormal agglomerates. IBGE, however, left out needy areas from other large cities in the state, such as Londrina, Cascavel and Guarapuava. In this sense, the requested data has not been presented.

In this movement, the few own resources will contribute to the greater interest of real estate agents in places conducive to the reproduction of capital.

It is noteworthy that, as we observed in field work, the locations are in neighborhood sectors where the disclosure and commercialization of new properties is low. These are neighborhood sectors that have been busy for some time and with market values below other neighborhoods, valued by the market and new releases.

As highlighted by Silva et al (2011), the form of organization of the Brazilian state in the field of urban development, the distribution of revenues and competences among the federation entities, the sectoral and fragmented model that structures the area since BNH, also contribute to decisive way to limit the possibilities for municipalities to offer well-located urbanized land for popular housing. The very nature of housing programs - aimed at fostering the construction industry rather than meeting housing needs contributes to this detachment between urban policy and housing.

Soja (1993) comments on manipulation of the built environment, understood as an instance of capital, in other words, real estate capital, generates in the urban (in the surroundings of the developments), not always the values driven by real estate activity aggregates speculation. valuation, as can be seen in figures 2 and 3.

Figure 2: Partial view of Residencial Conradinho (Guarapuava)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2019.

Figure 3: Partial view of Vista Bela Residential Complex (Londrina)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2019.

Inequality in urban space (land value, built environment in areas where predominantly low and middle income residential neighborhoods are located), also generates

income (through rents) or the value of products sold in grocery stores, bars, bakeries , pizzerias, salon and beauty, workshops, pharmacies, among others, close to the residents of the groups.

It is observed that obtaining ownership of the property does not instantly change the dynamics of space production by real estate expansion with new products, far from those that were produced through state financing. In this process, the location will also define the capacity to install larger projects.

The free expansion of local forces and capital in the urban environment leads to state-funded housing programs, the repetition of contradictory movements between the mechanisms provided for urban legislation and real estate speculation. Figure 4 the property for sale, figure 5 larger land and figure 6 house for rent in Jardim Patrícia (Guarapuava).

Figure 4: View of Property for Sale (commercial) near Residencial Conradinho (Guarapuava)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2019.

Figure 5: View of Property for sale (land) next to Residencial Conradinho (Guarapuava)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2019.

In fact, the dispersion of housing production increases the concentration of the main access roads to the housing estates and other nearby occupied areas, generating the intensity of the uses, turning into the neighborhood itself elements that increase the concentration of activities and, consequently, the increase in the value of some properties compared to those furthest away.

Figure 6: Residence for rent near the Boa Vista and Priscila
Residentials (Guarapuava)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2019.

Retail establishments close to the ventures do not generate new jobs or expand offers (figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7. View of commercial point in the
proximity of Residencial Boa Vista
(Guarapuava)



Source: Autor (Jul/2017)

Figure 8. View of commercial point in the
proximity Residencial Priscila
(Guarapuava)



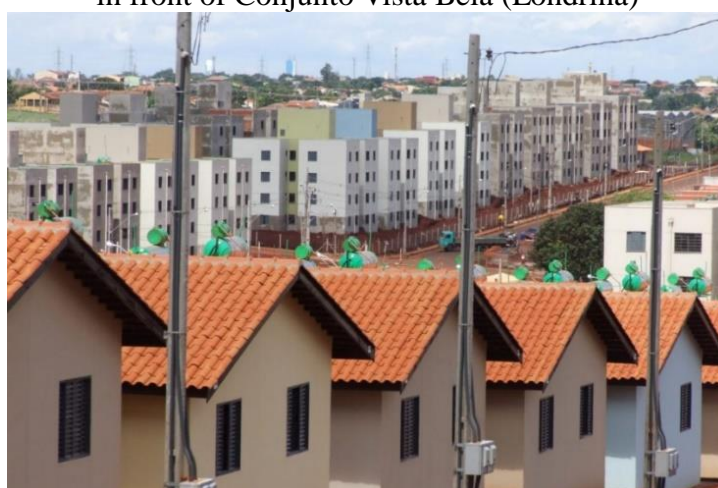
Source: Autor (Jul/2017)

Given the economic, social and institutional aspects presented, we identify, therefore, the directions promoted by the real estate appreciation and triggered by the PMCMV have led to the following effects: higher land prices, need to expand the urbanized territory (through market pressure), creation of spaces that promote and expand new housing units and that considers the appreciation of the price of land for the construction of new units.

The constitutional and normative issues of the PMCMV have broadened the possibilities for securing the settlement of the low-income population. However, the effects of market activities and developments in areas occupied by public policy reinforce socio-spatial segregation.

The post-occupation technical and social work of the enterprises implemented under the responsibility of the municipalities is slowly defined and executed, as can be seen in figure 9, at the state school that is nearing completion.

Figure 9: View of the state school nearing completion in front of Conjunto Vista Bela (Londrina)



Source: SCHMIDT, L. P., 2018.

It corresponds to what Botelho (2012) comments by stating that it is in the transformation of space into commodity that conflicts of interest between various fractions of social groups emerge, it is in this logic of accumulation that the production of space in the capitalist city establishes a space that becomes fragmented and segregating.

The strategies of real estate developers and investors, therefore, directly influence the application of housing commodities. Regarding the production of space by real estate activity, the strategies and the game aiming at the movement of capital reproduce contents and forms of socio-spatial segregation, because, in practice, capital is valued by the articulation of the contracted services, capturing land rent for those who are owners (SMOLKA, 1987). Through the social stratification of urban space and invested capital, as Smolka (1987) states, capital co-opts certain segments of society and thereby establishes its hegemony in the structuring of urban space, guaranteeing real estate agents the extraction of income from urban land.

The public power favors the interests of local agents and the development of capital through the formation of better structured neighborhoods, usually those densely occupied by segments of the population with higher income and status. Following these observations, Lojkine (1981) asserts the role of public power and its actions solely to the appreciation by and for capital. As a result, municipalities pay land at market price, as the social function of property has not been applied, and often above-market prices, as is the case with land grabs (MARICATO, 2009).

Among the means used to finance the urbanization process, Furtado and Smolka (2004) emphasize the need for more local resources reinforced by current social demands and political pressures associated with ongoing democratization processes and increasing levels of popular participation. Also, the redefinition of state functions (including privatization processes) provided the basis for the development of more flexible interventions and direct negotiations on urban land use regulation and public-private partnerships, in some cases tendency to make public areas available for the real estate market.

From this perspective, Abramo (2007) points out that spatial (residential) configuration and decentralized investment market decisions promote “the central place of cross-anticipation when individuals make decisions in an environment that changes as a result of their own actions” (ABRAMO, 2007, p.42). It means that the social and economic actors, which we understand in the research, as the developer, the builder and the broker would be, according to Abramo (2007), conducting housing transactions in space that brings together a set of externalities, defined by the relative locations of the various types of agents and families that make up the city's residential market.

Socio-spatial differentiation in the contemporary period, according to Sposito (2014, p.127) is a “growing expansion of economic relations on an international scale, mediated by new technical systems and, mainly, by political practices and interests of economic groups, This requires expanding the scale of understanding of the actions and flows that reveal and sustain them.” Thus, broadening the discussion to different realities allows the comparison and monitoring of processes in which political instruments and ideas reconfigure spaces. Emphasizes Lan, Linares, Nucci et al (2010, p.115) “In order to effectively understand socio-spatial inequalities in the city, it is necessary to incorporate into this analysis the inequalities produced by the residential uses of the territory, which capture an important part of the distribution of wealth generated in the urban space ”. In this direction, they create

corridors forming new spatiality to represent the local politics and the overvaluation of real estate, target of the new real estate projects.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Municipal governments are gradually strengthening strategies for autonomy and with this the implications for decisions for cities and, in particular, for housing, and often the desire to ensure the role of government as the main responsible and thus develop partnerships with private organizations to ensure patronage ties. Law N. 11.977 / 09 presented a content with wide connotation for the city and the community, mainly for the promotion of Land Regularization⁶. The role of the municipal government should enable the settlement by the Program units in areas or Areas of Social Interest or even in the exchange and or acquisition of areas.

The reading and reflection carried out throughout the research directs some permanencies and trends to be understood: finally, what do you lose or what do the spaces gain with PMCMV? what is being applied? What new components can become part of existing demands? How is social function being achieved?

These observations can be understood when the delivery units for families met. The effort for legal certainty is carried out; Infrastructure services are performed to guarantee production. However, we observed in the field that access to options such as health services, schools, day care centers are slowly being realized.

The logic of the market is configured, accentuating the fragmentation and socio-spatial segregation in the city, resulting from the production of new Spatialities in the context of housing production in sectors in the city little sought by the real estate market, thus encouraging the process of peripheral production. The need for further discussions on the promotion of legal provisions that consider the evaluation of what was really important with the implementation of housing developments for the neighborhood and city sectors is necessary.

The legal mechanisms that allow the use and occupation of the areas should also be able to stimulate new participatory practices of the population, regarding the monitoring of

⁶ Recently, Law 13,465 / 2017, passed on July 11, 2017, deals with the urban and rural land regularization and with several changes for the sector.

public and private investment. Public policies for urban planning and management should be implemented based on the needs surrounding the enterprises and linked to other plans for the whole city and not only the free initiative of private investment as a motivation.

Special Areas of Social Interest should ensure the production of housing units for those who need and not exclusively the market reserve. However, regularized production through housing development does not eliminate informality, although Zoning Laws are “adapted” to Housing Complexes, in addition to Closed Condominiums, Installation of Higher Education Institutions; This reinforces the pressure of real estate agents to use the urban development instrument to implement their wishes, supported by the decisions of local governments that also seek to gain advantage to guarantee the installed power.

The regularization of housing developments, in the case of Guarapuava, is accelerated when the offer of new units under the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program is at a slow pace. Thus, it is noted that the initiatives serve to maintain the policy of regularization of areas and ensure sequential steps for the establishment of patronage and populism.

The tendency for exceptions in specific plans for the production of social housing is clear and revealing that centralism in public investment decision-making remains the actions of governments in the 1980s and 1990s. The promotion of housing policy for housing production for low and middle income only reinforces the close ties between the state and the interests of investing companies in the housing market.

Therefore, the approach presented in this reflection may serve to evaluate the municipal structure and management for different cities and locations and how the social function of the city has been ensured. Although legislation and federative pacts in national policy motivated the realization and some municipal autonomy in the country, they did not change transformations in regulatory issues that were strong enough to overcome the interests of companies and individual investors.

The limits of work must be overcome and involve other elements for further research as the profile of its social distribution is also essential to understand the scenario of the urban environmental conditions of popular housing. By the way, the research reflections aim to integrate the multiple institutional interests, included in the didactic and research activities, an emerging moment that all over the country seeks to consolidate new forms of governance.

In addition, it is hoped, through continued research, to generate knowledge that

will foster new public policies of social interest. Thus, the scientific contributions aim to generate theoretical and empirical knowledge in order to rescue recent trends for territory management, as well as overcome the gap of a methodology that considers the Minha Casa Minha Vida Housing Program.

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Autores

Lisandro Pezzi Schmidt – He has a degree and Masters in Geography from the Universidade Estadual de Maringá (UEM) and PhD in Geography from the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC). Currently, he is professor at the Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste (Unicentro), Guarapuava, Paraná.

Márcia da Silva – She has a degree and PhD in Geography from UNESP from the Presidente Prudente-SP and a post-doctorate from the University of Lisbon, Portugal. Currently, she is professor at the Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste (Unicentro), Guarapuava, Paraná.

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