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Guilherme Augusto Soares da Motta

RETROurbanism:

New Urbanization Models of the 21st
Century in a Global South Context



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To my family: To my father Onofre and I miss my mother Teresinha (in memoria).

To my masters and teachers.

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You reproach me because each of my stories takes you right into the heart of a city without telling you of the space that stretches between one city and the other, whether it is covered by seas, or fields of rye, larch forests, swamps. I will answer you with a story (CALVINO, 1972, p.152)

INTRODUCTION

The content of this book was prepared as a doctoral thesis presented to the graduate program Doctorate in Architecture and Urbanism at Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, defended in August 2019 in São Paulo, Brazil. The doctoral research was advised by professor Dr. Candido Malta Campos Neto. The board was positive and receptive in relation to the research that was approved with distinction and noted the importance of the research and theories presented by it for the understanding of the contemporary city, noting the complexity of the subject and the different methodologies used to elaborate the thesis. The didactics presented for the elaboration of the work were also highlighted and this whole set led to the publication of this book, so that this subject can be passed on and collaborate for other research on construction of fairer and equal cities, in the deepest concept of urban and social sustainability. The original work was written in Portuguese and has the title *Fragmentos Urbanos: Segregação socioespacial em Uberlândia, Minas Gerais State (MG)*, and is available for download through the internet. We chose to change the title of the book, in order to make the subject and accessibility to the content more universal, in addition to the maturity that the theme has acquired over time and the formatting and updates already made since the presentation and defense of the thesis.

The title of this book *Retrouurbanism: New models of urbanization in the 21st century cities in a global south context* was elaborated through reflections by the author after the conclusion of the research. Even if the term *retrouurbanismo* does not appear in the work, we understand that the prefix *retro* refers in this context or to an action that is directed backwards, such as a return or a setback regarding a location located behind urbanism. In terms of the setback, we see cities making the same mistakes of the past in the construction of cities in contemporary times, especially in the specific case under study, in Brazil. In this sense, *retrouurbanism* means that urbanism in the 21st century cities continues to make the same mistakes and approaches and think as cities thought in times past, contributing enormously to maintaining or otherwise increasing social inequality, land conflicts, pollution and urban unsustainability, among others, in a south global context.

This work proposes to study the transformations underway in the peripheries of the city of Uberlândia, Minas Gerais (MG), Brazil, leading us to believe that the city undergoes a change of scale in the urbanization process from the end of the 2000s, like what has been happening in other Brazilian cities.

In order to understand the reasons for this change of scale and when it occurs, it was necessary to go through the history of the urbanization of the city, a path that proved that in a given historical moment there was a significant leap in the scale of this process compared to previous periods.

The scale we are referring to is a set of factors that alters the urbanization process of the city, making the structure not only physical but also the social relations and the entry of large financial resources more complex, which is the main responsibility for changing this scale.

In this sense, we observe what were the reasons that led to this change in scale and the consequences of this process reflected in the contemporary urbanization of the city.

We start from the hypothesis that socio-spatial segregation on the peripheries of

Uberlândia-MG, from the second decade of the 21st century, was accentuated with the active participation of the State (public sector), in association with private sector, producing new forms of socio-spatial segregation which are added to the traditional ones, by means of a scale change that takes place from the end of the 2000s. To illustrate the size of this scale change of urbanization, we will demonstrate in this research that the city has approximately 230,000 urban lots (2019) and that 37.5% of the city's urban lots were implanted after 2010, demonstrating the great impact of the city's physical growth in this period. At the same time, according to the city's population growth forecast, IBGE¹ (2010, 2019) forecasted a 13% growth in the city's population between 2010 and 2018.

The dispersed and fragmented city of the 21st century is the result of the participation of the real estate market and of financial capital, made possible by the action of the state that contributes through the creation of laws and approval of land parceling processes and investments in infrastructure, reflecting the interests of private power, as opposed to the collectivity. These urban fragments are not connected in territorial terms and constitute a problem in the socio-spatial structure of the city and in the social cohesion of the urban space. The association of the State (public and political sector) along with the real estate market (private and financial sector), therefore, are responsible for the urban organization that allows new forms of social segregation for high-income groups on the peripheries of the city and confirms the traditional form of socio-spatial segregation of the low-income classes in their outskirts and at their edges.

The general objective of this research is to analyze the urban configuration of the city of Uberlândia-MG in contemporary times, from the point of view of the new forms of socio-spatial segregation present in its periphery. In this context, we must analyze the location of the neighborhoods destined to housing the high-income classes, social housing and the occurrence of irregular settlements.

Specifically, we can define some objectives for the research:

1. Understand the global south urbanization process, its contemporary trends, specifically in Brazil, South Africa and India.
2. Understand the influence of the real estate market and the financial market in the production of the contemporary city, identifying the form of action of public, private and social movements in the production of the city, analyzing it from the point of view of its urbanization scales, in order to understand its role as a business and the role of neoliberalism in urbanization processes in cities of the global south, specifically in Brazil.
3. Understand the influence of the real estate and financial market in the locations of the areas under study, together with the State's performance and participation in the contemporary urban configuration.
4. Understand the city of Uberlândia-MG, through the historical process of urbanization of its territory and its political, economic and population evolution, understanding the process of socio-spatial segregation of the income classes, through the location of the housing complexes in the intra-urban space of the city, in order to understand what is

1. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - Brazilian census.

new in terms of explicit forms of segregation in the urban space.

5. Understand the enterprises chosen for analysis, considering their form of urban insertion and how they contribute to the constitution of a segregated and fragmented city, and why they represent the urbanization processes that occur on the peripheries of the city of Uberlândia-MG.

6. Identify the role of irregular settlements in the city of Uberlândia-MG as an alternative found to promote housing and in the conformation of the contemporary city.

The study of the city in contemporary times and its social, economic and historical aspects, as well as the relationship between its producing agents is, therefore, the central approach of the book, considering as a structuring axis the importance of the process of economic globalization and technological evolution, and its relations with the territorial fragments of the city.

The theoretical approach in the city, the focus of this research, focuses on an analysis of the urban/geographic space, encompassing aspects of the economy and society and the result of these relations in the construction of contemporary society, the performance of the real estate market in the production of housing and the territory and the consequent reflection of this new structure in the urban configuration, considering urbanization trends in the global south, as a backdrop for studies of the processes verified in the city of Uberlândia-MG.

In order to achieve the objectives of this work we set out to create a timeline since the creation of the urban core of São Pedro de Uberabinha (now Uberlândia-MG), analyzing the process of availability of social housing throughout history and physical growth from the city to the contemporary. We focus, however, on demonstrating the current form and contemporary urbanization processes observed since the end of the 2000s, when we noticed the change in the scale of urbanization in Brazilian cities, especially in the city of Uberlândia-MG.

In order to deepen the studies of these processes, we selected four projects, implemented since the decade of 2010 and which will have the importance of demonstrating the impact of these transformations on the territory and on the physical and social constitution of the contemporary city.

This study is justified by the fact that the city of Uberlândia-MG lacks in-depth studies and research that analyze the city from the perspective of its contemporary urbanization, the socio-spatial segregation and the fragmentation of the territory caused by urbanization policies. This book aims to be instrumental in promoting more effective urban planning and management and that minimize the negative effects of an inefficient urban policy, which does not contribute to a socially and spatially cohesive human habitat. The main object of this research is to study the contemporary urban formation of the city of Uberlândia-MG, from three main structural axes of the space: (1) social housing settlements directed to the low and middle income classes, defined by the Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV², My house my life social housing program), located in the Western Sector - Residencial Pequis allotment and Construtora MRV, developments located in the vicinity of the Residencial Gávea Sul allotment; (2) the Granja Marileusa neighborhood (East Sector), and it will be

2. The PMCMV was implemented in the second term of president Lula, in the year of 2009, promoting social housing for different incomes.

important to note that in this context of contemporary urbanization, the city is going through an intense process of slumming, in which we highlight the emergence of (3) Glória Irregular Settlement (Southern Sector).

The investigation will seek, as Maricato (2011; 2015) approaches, to contribute fundamentally to the reflection on the reasons for the impasse that blocks the emergence of new directions for the Brazilian urban policy, which is established by the forces of commercialization at all social levels of the structure and observation of new forms of socio-spatial segregation perceived in the city.

Finally, the theme is the socio-spatial segregation promoted by the current housing policy, in a context of financialization of social housing and its relationship with the financialization of the real estate market as a whole, in a Global south panorama.

Always having the city of Uberlândia-MG as the focus of the study, and its contextualization in the processes of contemporary urbanization in the global south, some questions will guide the scope of the research.

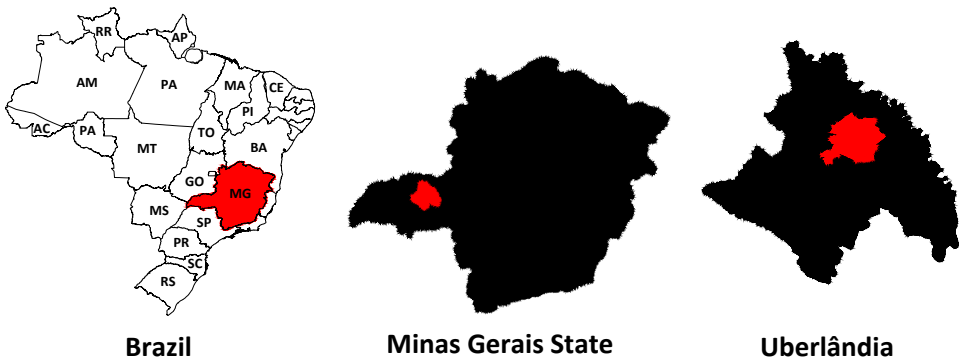


Figure 01- Location of the municipality and city of Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

How does the performance of your producing agents and the use of urban space interfere with the structuring of urban space and the production of its habitat? What is new in terms of forms of socio-spatial segregation in relation to the models of segregation historically observed in the city of Uberlândia-MG? How do housing policies and the location of developments for higher income groups influence the production of urban space? What is the relationship between the socio-spatial structure and the real estate market in urban regulation? What is the role of the State in the construction of the contemporary city? What is the impact of financialization and housing policies on the city's production?

The growth of the city of Uberlândia-MG reflects the fragmentation of its geographical territory. To that extent, how do these parts maintain spatial interrelationships with each other and how does this city within a complex and fragmented system highlight its spaces for social housing? The financial market and private investments in the city, the understanding of the city as a commodity, new forms of socio-spatial segregation, public policies on social housing and urban development and public spaces in the contemporary city are fragments

of this whole.

It is necessary to establish a vision of the city in contemporary times in a global south context and, in what way these territorial fragments are structured and produced from the point of view of housing policies and the financialization of public policies in cities in the 21st century, considering the political-economic moment that the country is experiencing.

As we have already explained, in this context some regions in the city stand out where these phenomena are accentuated or made explicit, in which urbanization is the result of a state intervention process and, also, of the real estate market and capital, in addition to social movements.

In this way, we established a time frame, comprising the projects that will be analyzed and were approved as from 2012, coinciding with the year of municipal elections, and the year in which the Glória Irregular Settlement occurs. This year marks the election of the Gilmar Machado government (2013-2016, of the Workers' Party PT) when the urban perimeter is expanded to implement several PMCMV projects. The territorial cut was delimited by the developments located in the West Sector of the city, highlighting the implementation of the PMCMV and the expansion of the urban perimeter in 2013 for the implementation of the program (Residencial Pequis, Monte Hebron, Fruta do Conde and Lago Azul) through about 8,000 housing units (Range 1 and Range 2).

We dedicate special attention to the Residencial Pequis allotment, in order to establish a spatial outline. We highlight the projects of the company Construtora MRV, destined to receive middle income classes, between three and 10 minimum salaries, located in different regions of the city, due to their importance and interference in the scale of the urbanization of the city due to the significant number of available housing units, cutting out the condominiums located in the region of the Gávea Sul allotment, Southern Sector. And, also, the Granja Marileusa neighborhood, destined for the middle and the high income class, in the East Sector of the city, responsible for the creation of new urban centralities and that accentuate the process of urban dispersion, as defined by Reis (2009). At the same time, we highlight the presence of the largest irregular settlement of the city, named Glória, located in the Southern Sector.

These projects should be analyzed in order to understand this new urban structure under construction in the city, reflecting all the issues raised and established in its contemporary urban fragments. It should be noted that these projects will be analyzed in order to highlight their urban insertion and not an architectural analysis of the projects.

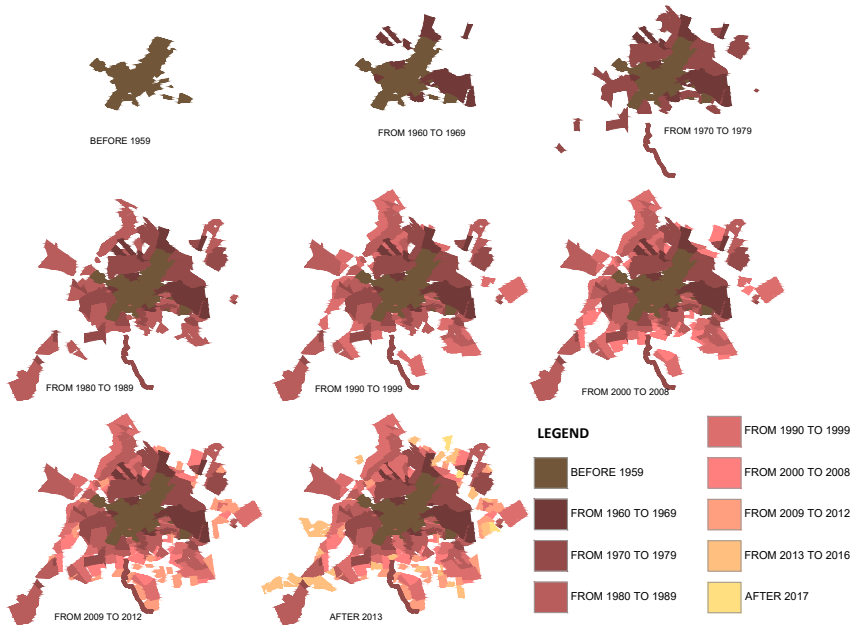


Figure 02 - Evolution of the urban fabric (1959 to 2016) in Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Base Map PMU (2017), adapted and modified by Guilherme A S Motta.

Theoretical Reference

This research proposes a reflection of contemporary society and the city it produces. In this context, we obviously think about the current condition of the city and how we envision it to present itself in the future. Lefebvre (2001) establishes that revolutionary measures are necessary to take charge of the solution to urban problems, through social and political forces. The author defines that the urban reform project questions the structures of the city, through the confrontation of its immediate and daily relations, placing itself against the established facts. The working class, in this case the segregated ones, are the actors capable of undoing this situation observed in the contemporary urban environment.

The new centralities created with the establishment of the current phase of capitalism contribute to a process of social exclusion that extends to the scope of territorial exclusion. Several authors confront this problem, like Lefebvre (2001) when discussing the right to the city, as a right to transformed and renewed urban life. This right would only be possible with the working class being an agent of that achievement. This view is important in this work, as we oppose the city's production to financial and real estate agents and to the State, paradoxically to society, especially to the low-income population.

It is necessary to discuss in the scope of the production of space issues of our current democracy and the participation of society in the construction of contemporary cities, in order to prospect a point of balance between the space of capital and the social space, in which we consider the prospective future of our cities. In this sense, we also frame the thinking about liquid and fluid modernity developed by Bauman (2001).

This discussion permeates the concept of territorial justice, concomitantly, with that of a just city in which Fainstein's (2010) work seems to us to be opportune, and the author demonstrates the notion of a just city in an epistemological context, focused on post-structuralism/post-modernism, articulating in favor of democracy, the values of equity, equality and diversity in urban territory.

The author argues that planning theory should address issues such as the relationship between the urban context and planning activity, how planning affects city users, and which principles should guide its formulation, content and implementation. This context is focused by Fainstein (2010) in which urban justice is one of the components for a good city. In this way, we can contrast the concepts of socio-spatial segregation observed in Brazilian cities with the concepts established by the author, such as equity, equality and diversity in the search for a just city.

As the authors above establish concepts that permeate the scope of the right to the city and the just city, it is convenient to analyze how Brazilian cities are built, in order to accentuate social differences in a model of socio-spatial segregation established by location of income classes in its intra-urban territory.

Villaça (1978, 2001, 2012) develops an urban model, which opposes the urban ecology model of the Chicago School (concentric models) and becomes applicable to Brazilian cities in which social classes dispute urban locations, creating a process of socio-spatial segregation, common in Brazilian cities. These studies allow us to understand the historical process of growth of the city and the establishment of social classes in the intra-urban space, observing in this way, how the socio-spatial segregation occurred in the city under study.

According to Villaça (2001), the best-known model of socio-spatial segregation in Brazilian cities is the center x periphery, the center being the region with the best infrastructure and public and private facilities and the sub-equipped and distant periphery. In addition to the location attributes established by the author, we can complement the location concept updated by Vargas (2014), which includes environmental, landscape conditions and issues of status, tradition and culture as location attributes.

The repetition of the model of Villaça (2001) is accentuated in the city of Uberlândia, mainly in recent years, with the implantation of the enterprises framed in the PMCMV, which moves the population of lower income to distant places, on the edges of the urban area of the city. But by other side his models are not applicable anymore when we observe the location of the high-income housing in the cities.

Policies for implementing social housing have been enhanced through the Federal Government's programs in recent years. Maricato (2011) notes that these policies were concerned with the number of houses and not with the urban condition of this population. In this point of view, according to the author, Brazilian cities have worsened, despite the advances in urban policies observed in the country. Investments in housing for income classes of up to three minimum wages have increased significantly. However, the result of these policies is observed in political clientelism and in real estate speculation evidenced in Brazilian cities, falling back to old urban problems such as the accentuation of socio-spatial segregation processes, road policies that prioritize the automobile and the real estate

market (land owners) establishing the location of the poorest in the urban space.

It is also important to understand the global financialization process of cities and their impact on the rights to land and housing of the poorest and most vulnerable, according to studies by Rolnik (2015). It describes and analyzes recent transformations in housing and land policies in several countries around the world, in the context of the expansion of a globalized neoliberal economy, controlled by the financial system, which caused a global process of insecurity of ownership. The author demonstrates how these transformations also occur in Brazil, contributing to an understanding of the facts that occurred in the city under study, since the realization of the real estate market in the urbanization and housing production processes is clearly observed in order to understand how these global phenomena are reflected locally.

Other authors are equally important in understanding this process of city production from the point of view of social housing, considering the transformations that occurred since the 2000s, as highlighted by Shimbo (2012) and as pointed out by Royer (2014) for the direction of financialization housing policy.

In order to direct the study to Brazilian cities located in the interior of the country, Sposito & Goés (2013), considering the peculiarities of urbanization in medium-sized cities in São Paulo state, analyzes closed communities and new forms of socio-spatial segregation. The authors concentrate their studies in the medium-sized cities of the State of São Paulo, where, due to the adjustments that have been promoted within the scope of international capitalism, in the last 30 years, a complete redefinition of the regional division of labor in this territory has been observed, which accompanies urban (interurban scale) and city (intra-urban) restructuring. Part of this process is the accentuation of socio-spatial segregation generated by new logics of urban space production, which includes its consumption and appropriation. His studies prioritize the analysis of the restructuring of the city, although the context in which these logics are redefined is always that provided by urban restructuring, through the study of closed allotments (the closed communities), as one of the elements that redefine the center x periphery order and which express the particularities that involve the production of urban space in medium-sized cities, in the current period. Since most of the urbanization studies in Brazilian cities focus on research in the metropolises, the authors are essential in producing knowledge about the peculiarities of large and medium-sized cities in the interior of the country.

These new processes no longer occur only in Brazilian cities, but also in the interior. Thus, the studies by Reis (2006), on dispersed urbanization, are important to understand the form of growth of cities. For him, urban centers suffer from a spread of their urban space and not just a population growth. The industries would be leaving the big cities and installing themselves, more and more, in the interior, contributing to the growth of these cities. The centers of the municipalities became almost exclusive points of business and services, tending to empty. Consequently, new neighborhoods are formed, slums or middle-class neighborhoods, in an extremely disorganized and mainly dispersed manner. Thus, the intra-urban space exploded and dispersed. These studies are essential to understand the city under study, since these phenomena of dispersion of its territory are clearly observed.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed method for the development of the research fits into the hypothetical-deductive method that according to Freixo (2012) establishes that science starts and ends with problems. Thus, to guide the methodological thinking of the research, the following sequence established by Popper (2006) must be followed: (1) the definition of the problem, which arises, in general, from conflicts before existing expectations and theories, (2) proposed solution consisting of a new theory with deduction of consequences in the form of testable propositions and, (3) the falsification tests that would be attempts to refute, among other means, by observation and experimentation.

In summary, through the hypothetical-deductive method, the hypothesis raised will be questioned so that the problem can be reformulated, or it can be confirmed through the results of this research.

We know that the method must not hamper research, since it must guide and help it not to impose rules that bureaucratize the course of this study. In this way, Serra (2006) defines that in urban studies it is common to be interested in considering complex systems that have large numbers of components and interactions such as a city.

As for research techniques, we highlight:

1. Observation: it was fundamental for the referred research in urbanism, stimulating spatial curiosity and understanding of the relationships between the spaces involved in the study. Since most of the observed phenomena were approved and implemented after the last demographic census (IBGE 2010), we had to have observation of the phenomena and the author's experience in acting both in the private market and in public bodies, in order to understand the observed phenomena, given the data deficiency and providing the research of scientific information.
2. Historical analysis: of relevant importance for understanding the urbanization process that took place in the city that is the object of research in order to project ourselves into the contemporary and urbanization processes observed today. To this end, we used several works that carried out this analysis until the 2000s, such as Pereira (2010), Soares (1988) and Fonseca (2007) and complemented the analysis and updating of data and information related to the city's urbanization process .
3. Data collection: data collection through research in the municipal departments responsible for planning the areas under study and the companies involved substantiated the research in quantitative terms. The researched and obtained data consist of tables, graphs, photographs, videos and, mainly, maps and urban projects. The data collected were carefully analyzed in order to be an important source of information. We emphasize, as already explained, the absence of data regarding the projects analyzed and implemented after 2010, date of the last demographic census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The maps were prepared by the author, based on consulted bibliography, constant of the used sources and also through the base map of the Municipality

of Uberlândia (2019). To create the maps, the AutoCad Maps 3D 2017 program was used. The maps referring to the city of Uberlândia, named Map 01 to Map 25, with the exception of Map 02 (city of Johannesburg) were georeferenced in the projected coordinate system UTM and Geodetic System 2000 SIRGAS Reference Set, spindle 22S. Figure 03, page 10, illustrates the current urban perimeter of the city of Uberlândia-MG and the location of the maps prepared for this work.

4. Review of the bibliography: the theoretical foundation to search for well-structured foundations for the definition of the research concepts, goes through a bibliographic review, which is attentive to the reading of the classic works regarding the studied subject and still searches for new sources that propose to conceptualize themes that permeate the research.

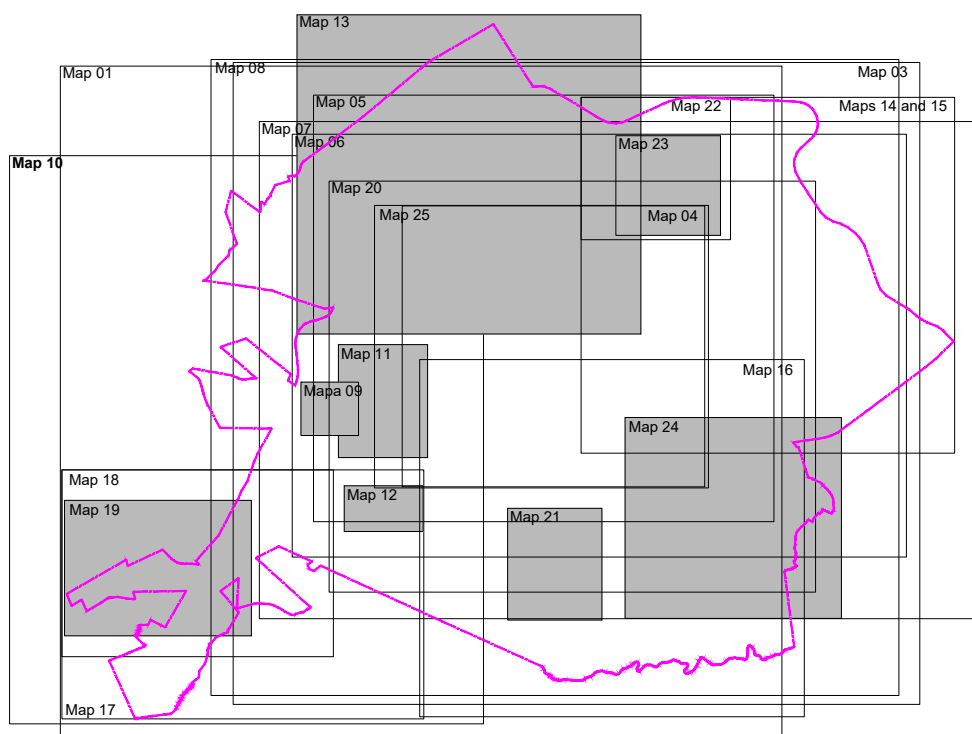


Figura 03 - Location of maps in the urban perimeter of Uberlândia-MG

Source: Data Base Map PMU (2019), adapted and organized by Guilherme A S Motta

In this way, the proposed research will have a qualitative and quantitative approach, such as the census data and data provided by public agencies, using descriptive, analytical and methodological purposes that are carried out through the observation of the studied phenomena, historical analysis of the process of urbanization and socio-spatial segregation, bibliographic and documentary research, field research, use of the Geographic Information System (GIS) tool and data collection.

Collecting the data from the public agency responsible for approving the projects under analysis aims to configure information in order to prove the hypothesis raised and achieve the detailed objectives.

The research is structured based on four moments, established here as the research axes. Axis 1) Theoretical-methodological review and definition, which includes reviewing the bibliography, reviewing urban and housing legislation and developing a data analysis methodology. Axis 2) Survey and historical analysis of the local urbanization process. Axis 3) Data collection and mapping of the areas under study. Axis 4) Analysis of the data and results obtained.

These axes were transformed, in order to organize this book, in four chapters, which we detail:

Chapter 1: The city as a problem: Urbanization of cities in the global south

In this chapter we have developed a study on urbanization in the global south. We use the term global south, in a post-colonial context, in order to differentiate the processes that occur in the North from those that occur in the South. In this sense, we establish theoretical bases that are discussed by authors such as Schindler (2017), Mabin (2015), Datta (2006), Hoelscher and Aijaz (2016), Roy (2009), Harrison and Todes (2015), Turok (2012), among others. To review this bibliography we used the CAPES journals tool and the Scopus database. Through this database, using keywords on research topics, we seek to gain access to current articles in order to establish a theoretical basis compatible with the proposal to study the city in contemporary times, using updated and reliable tools. The articles used were selected considering the quality of the journals they are published in and the relevance of the theme of each article, with a focus, mainly on theoretical issues involving the global south. This research was necessary because we did not find a bibliography on the global south theme, specifically, through authors known in Brazil. In addition to these articles, we will use the traditional bibliography and renowned authors nationally and internationally to theorize the problem under study. We also observe the great disinterest, not generalizing, of Brazilian researchers in aligning themselves with research in this context of the South.

In order to establish a territorial profile and not be so generalist, due to the cultural, political and economic diversity of the countries of the global south, we made an intersection between the countries that make up the so-called Global south and the economic group formed by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), arriving specifically in three countries in the South that will be the focus of theoretical considerations: Brazil, India and South Africa, covering three continents, Latin America, Asia and Africa, respectively.

From that moment on, we used the purpose of this theoretical apparatus to use experience to enrich the theoretical and methodological nuances of the research. We traveled during a sandwich doctorate period to South Africa, funded by a CAPES PDSE scholarship, where we had the opportunity to participate in research together with professors who were used as a theoretical reference in this research, at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS), in Johannesburg, in the second half of 2018. Taking advantage of our stay, we had the opportunity to experience urban experiences in large African metropolises, such as Maputo (Mozambique), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Nairobi (Kenya), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)

and Cairo (Egypt).

Through human relationships and contacts established at WITS, we were also able to connect with researchers from the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS), a center of excellence located in Bangalore, India, focused on interdisciplinary research that links theory and practice through studies that unfold the urbanization processes in India and the global south. The institute's research permeates topics such as Governance, Human Development, Economic Development, Systems and Infrastructure, and Environment and Sustainability. From this connection, we had the opportunity to present the progress of this research at the Fifth Annual PhD Workshop and participate in the IIHS Annual Research Conference City and the Region in Bangalore, India.

In the first chapter of this book, in addition to establishing characteristics in the urbanization processes in South Africa and India, we also demonstrate the process observed in contemporary Brazil, from the perspective of the implementation of the Urban Agenda and the political processes that culminate in an unfinished agenda.

Finally, this chapter also strives to understand the influence of the real estate and financial markets on the city's production. In this context, we will identify the form of action of public, private and social movements in the production of the contemporary city, analyzing it from the point of view of its urbanization scales, in order to understand its role as a business and the role of neoliberalism in the urbanization processes in the cities of the global south, specifically in Brazil.

Chapter 2: The city as history: The urbanization process

This chapter develops a history of the urbanization process in the city of Uberlândia-MG, contributing to the perception of the physical changes that generate the contemporary urban fragments observed in the city. Through historical analysis, it is necessary to identify the process of socio-spatial segregation of income classes within the intra-urban space in order to understand what is new in terms of explicit forms of segregation in the urban space.

We consider as a structuring axis of this chapter, the analysis of public policies to produce social housing, considering the urbanization of Brazilian cities. These policies are largely responsible for the urban shape of our peripheries. Aligning the proposals for social housing to the issues of elites' interests, regarding land valuation and real estate speculation, makes us understand how the contemporary Brazilian city is established.

We used methodologically; the structure proposed by Bonduki (2014). In his research, the pioneers of social housing: One hundred years of public policy in Brazil, volume 1, the author establishes certain historical periods to outline the panorama of public housing policies in the country. We will use this periodization in order to observe how the city of Uberlândia-MG fit into these policies throughout its history, from what the author defines as the origins of social housing (1930-1964) until today.

It is important to clarify that this work does not intend to explore the way the State acts through its housing programs, since several works have already satisfactorily demonstrated the historical processes of housing production in the country, as well as the work of Bonduki (2014), Royer (2014) and Shimbo (2012), among others.

We will analyze these policies and their inferences in the city of Uberlândia-MG,

correlating with other relevant facts in the history of the urbanization of the city, demonstrating in practice how these housing policies interfered in the urban space and the relations with the private policies of city construction. We used the following periods, as established by Bonduki (2014):

1. Origins of social housing/1930 - 1964.
2. The housing and urban policy of the military regime/1964 - 1986.
3. Decades lost or times of utopia and hope? /1986 - 2002.
4. The National Housing Policy of the 21st century: towards the right to decent housing? /2003 - 2010.

In order to update this process and achieve the objectives of understanding the urbanization of the city in contemporary times, we insert a last period, demonstrated by item 5 below, in which we analyze the urbanization process in the four sectors of the city's urban periphery, the West Sector , Northern Sector, Eastern Sector and Southern Sector:

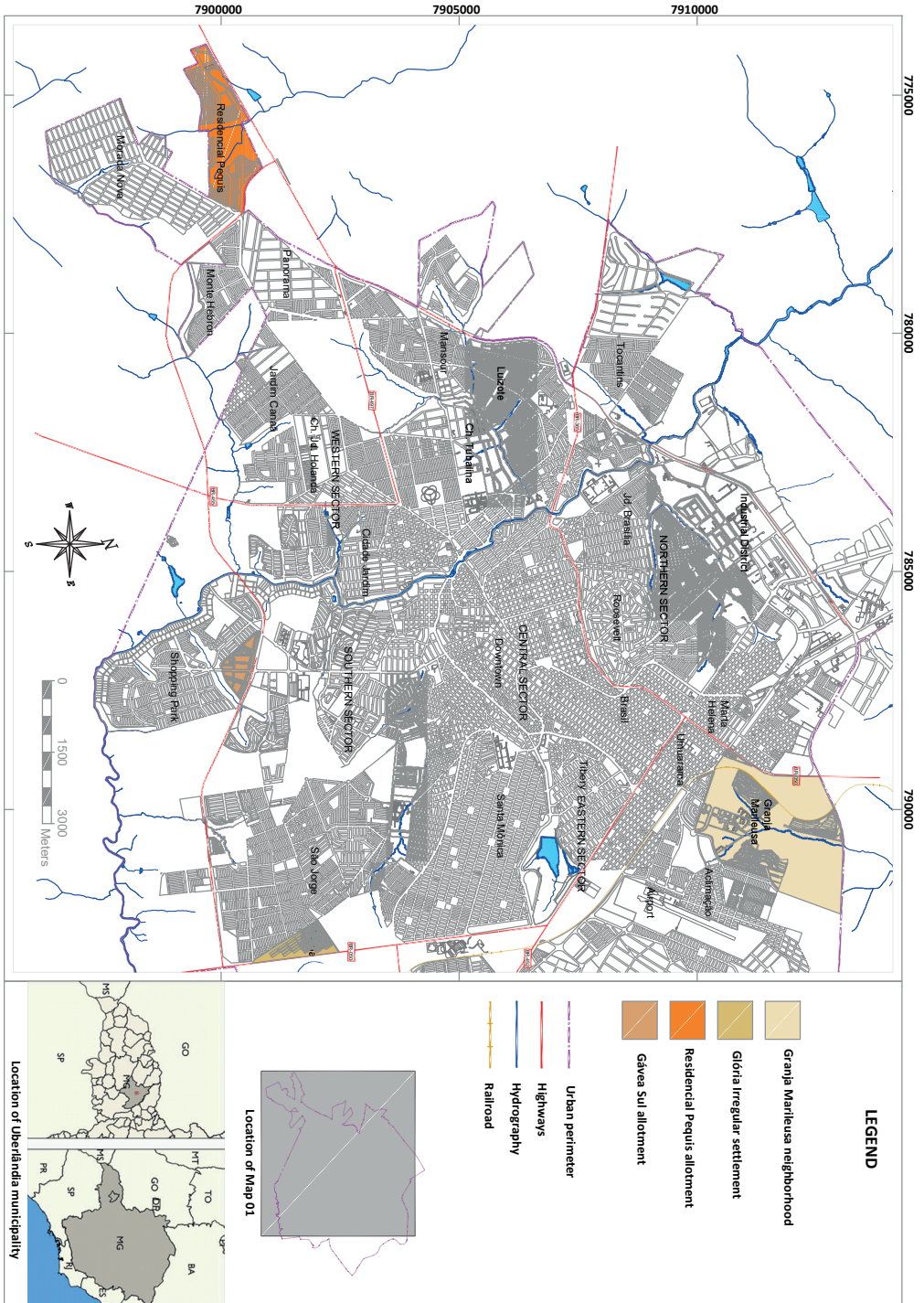
5. Dark times, now what? /2011 - 2019.

Chapter 3: The city as an object: The cases

This chapter sets out to analyze four contemporary urban processes perceived in the city of Uberlândia-MG and that encompass the three models of construction of the city from the housing that will be established in the first chapter, namely:

1. Model in which public sector and private initiative share the process, and the State is a promoting agent that finances part of the projects.
2. Private model or market model. In this model, the city's production, through the real estate market, is promoted only by the private sector.
3. Irregular settlements as promoters and active agents in the construction of the contemporary city in the promotion, mainly, of housing, often counting on the collusion and participation of the State and even of the market.

In this sense, we selected representatives of these three highlighted models, as shown below (see the locations of the developments on Map 01, page 14):



Map 01 - Location of the Residencial Pequís Allotment, Gávea Sul Allotment, Granja Marileusa neighborhood and Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Base Map PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

1. Residencial Pequis allotment (Range 1), Western Sector.



Figure 04 - Aerial view of the Residencial Pequis Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Sky to Fly, 2016.

2. Performance of the Construtora MRV company, specifically in the region of the Gávea Sul allotment, Southern Sector.



Figure 05 - Aerial view of the Gávea Sul Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta, 2016.

3. Granja Marileusa allotment, Eastern Sector.



Figure 06 - Aerial view of the Granja Marileusa Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: www.granjamarileusa.com.br, accessed in 2019, May 09.

4. Glória Irregular Settlement, Southern Sector.



Figure 07 - Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: André Vinicius da Costa Silva, 2018.

The task presented here follows a methodology established by the City and Housing Research Network in which they analyzed PMCMV projects, published by the Observatório das Metrôpoles and organized by Santo Amore, Shimbo & Rufino (2015). Through this methodology, the task would be to describe, understand and analyze the urban fabric where the projects are located and their relationship with the city and the relationship of the population that lives in these places with urban equipment and services. Although the methodology was used in the specific analysis of PMCMV projects, we observed that it

applies well for the analysis of urban developments of other types as their scales, categories of analysis and the evaluated indicators are not exclusive to one type of enterprise, being able, thus, to contribute for the analysis of all the cases chosen for study in that chapter. The details of this methodology are highlighted during Chapter 3.

Chapter 4: The city in fragments: The results

The urbanization processes that we highlighted in the first three chapters are characterized as a system and, thus, are represented by a set of elements and agents at different scales and that establish relations with each other in relative autonomy. These relationships make up the whole and this dynamic influences the structure of the entire system, not establishing hegemony between these elements.

This important chapter proposes establishing agent elements, which we observe to be structuring within this system, which is the process of contemporary urbanization in the city. In this context, we will analyze the results according to four elements.

The first element is social. This item was called City and people. After observing the movement of income classes within the intra-urban space, what is the social result of this urbanization process? In this regard, we will relate the resulting information with the second element, the physical, resulting in a process that is not only social, but also socio-spatial.

The second element is the physical, in which we must observe the physical results of this urbanization process of the contemporary city in the territory. We call this item City and urban form.

Then, in City and politics, we demonstrate the importance at the center of this process of urbanization of political issues, establishing the role of the State in the result of this process, throughout history, as already explained in Chapter 2, and its consequences in the constitution of the contemporary city.

In Cidade e capital, we highlight the role of the financial element, that is, what is the role of capital in the process of constituting the contemporary city and how it determines the socio-spatial and political relations in this urban system, considering the phenomena observed in the previous chapters.

Finally, we highlight the results observed in a global south context. We focus on observing the urbanization phenomena that have occurred, especially in the contemporary world, in the city of Uberlândia-MG. We can reaffirm questions that will be raised in the first chapter of this book, when we will highlight the characteristics of urbanization in the global south context. The results will be analyzed in order to allow verification of the hypothesis, proving it. The discussion of the results, as proposed by Freixo (2012) has three important functions, such as (1) drawing conclusions, (2) interpreting the results and (3) presenting the implications of these results.

We hope that this work will add and stimulate new research that will complement our approach and contribute to the scientific knowledge of the cities from the South. We wish you a good reading.

If you choose to believe me, good. Now I will tell how Octavia, the spider-web city, is made. There is a precipice between two steep mountains: the city is over the void, bound to the two crests with ropes and chains and catwalks. You walk on the little wooden ties, careful not to set your foot in the open spaces, or you cling to the hempen strands. Below there are hundreds of feet: a few clouds glide past; farther down you can glimpse the chasm's bed. (CALVINO, 1972, p.75)

THE CITY AS A PROBLEM: URBANIZATION OF CITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

1.1 Urbanization trends in the Global South

The study of the contemporary city requires the perception that there are characteristics of urbanization, which seem to disconnect the processes observed in the countries of the global south in a distinctive way from that which occurred in the central countries, what we call the countries of the global-global. In order to understand the trends of urbanism in the global south, we used the study by Schindler (2017).

But, although we analyze the city from the perspective of a global south thought, we also try not to generalize or create groups of cities, considering that Mabin (2015) states that cities are always incomplete and are always in transition suggesting that a single theory of cities fail to explain their epistemology.

We also do not want with this distinction to affirm that there is a theory that encompasses cities in the South, based on what Mabin (2015) says that the search for a new conceptual framework that tries to explain contemporary cities in the South is unproductive. Even though many researchers have studied these cities, this does not mean that these empirical corrections for the lack of attention to cities in the South, do not produce enough change for new thinking, being still potentially attached to references in the North.

In this sense, we seek to be careful not to attach ourselves to structuring a theory that explains the global south problem. Therefore, we agree with the proposition of Mabin (2015) regarding the risk of generalizations and that at the same time considers that the existing structures to explain urban issues, often become limited and that the theory about the South suggests that it can -if different perspectives, concepts and arguments are produced in relation to the traditional propositional, but the author questions what the theories of the north do not cover in relation to the South? And this is not the object of this work, but rather to seek characteristics in contemporary urbanization that are common in certain places in the global south, without even affirming any kind of theory about these cities.

Below we can see an illustrative figure of the North-South division.

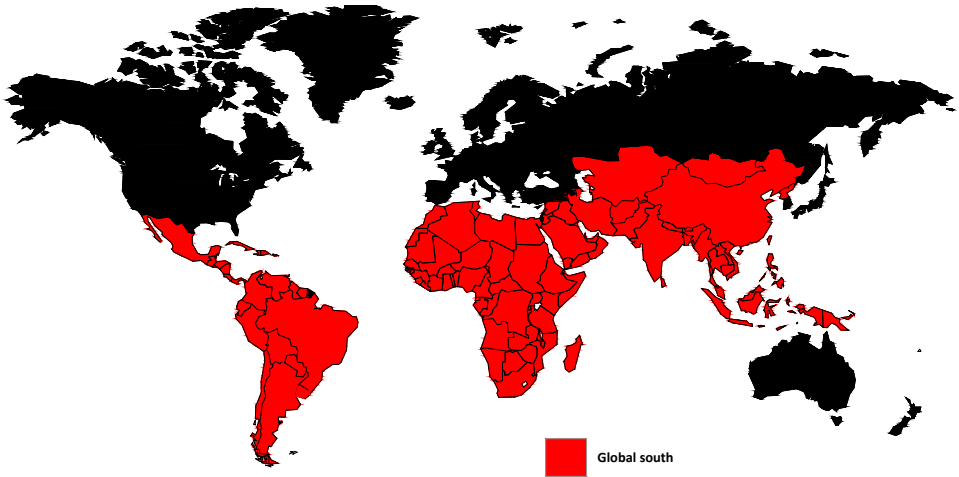


Figure 08 -Socio Economic division between Global-North and Global-South.
 Source: Elaborated by Guilherme A S Motta, 2019

The perception of this process is important in this research in order to connect the processes observed in Brazil to global urbanization processes, understanding that we must understand these phenomena as global issues, with characteristics that, despite their particularities, fit into the global urbanization trends of cities. For this, we also consider the connection to the processes observed in the cities of the global south, particularly in India, South Africa and Brazil, belonging to the group of countries called BRICS.

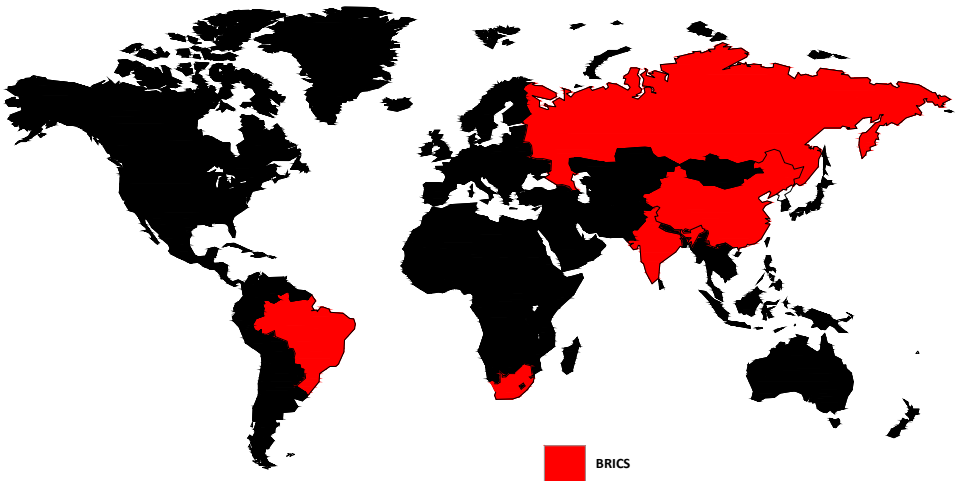


Figure 09 - BRICS member countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).
 Source: Elaborated by Guilherme A S Motta, 2019.

In this work, we will first trace the tendencies of urbanism in the global south, defined

by Schindler (2017), in order to seek common characteristics in the urbanization process of cities in India, Brazil and South Africa, and then find the specific characteristics at each of these study sites.

Schindler (2017) emphasizes that when urban theories are applied to cities in the global south, significant issues remain unexplained. The author notes that most of the critics of urban theories live and work in cities in the global north. In this context, he notes the lack of capacity of existing theoretical models to encompass aspects of urbanization, for example, African. He says that currently it still reflects the tension of demonstrating the complexity between the terms global north and south, while still reflecting extreme inequality and difference between them. The lines that separate these terms, according to the author, are even more confused than when they used to be grouped together, for example, as synonyms of rich and poor, developed and developing.

According to Schindler (2017), cities in the global south exhibit some tendencies that differ from the context of the problem-space of cities in the global north, fundamentally differentiating between themselves. It is in this sense that we do not believe in a theory about the South, but as for Mabin (2015), there are tendencies observed by new studies on the theme of the South, valuing the work and contributions of academics in this field, however without this taking the distinction of a new theory about cities in the South.

Thus, believing that there may be characteristics that differentiate them, however, at the same time without believing that they distance themselves to the point of already producing a theory about the South, we present below the three tendencies of urbanism of the global south, defined by Schindler (2017).

Tendency 1: Southern urbanism is characterized by a persistent disconnect between capital and labor, which gives rise to urban governance regimes geared toward the transformation of territory rather than the “improving” of populations.

For the author, the post-colonial regime was marked by changes that culminated in the juxtaposition between labor and capital in a context of scarcity. The labor that migrated from the countryside to the city was absorbed by urban work and governance models should manage the relationship between capital and labor in cities. In many cities in the global south, the author states that the overlap between work and capital is not a priority in governance regimes. These cities have accumulated more capital and labor than in any historical perspective, and this relationship remains disconnected. The formal economy does not have the capacity to absorb this number of people. The formal sector’s inability to absorb even part of the workers willing to sell their labor force is recognized by many governments that have implemented basic income subsidy systems. Public and private capital is inclined to be invested in infrastructure and in the real estate market instead of investing in production, profoundly altering the urban landscape. Thus, the productions of the populations are not the primary objectives of many governance systems. And, the municipal governments of the cities of the South, according to Schindler (2017) changed their emphasis from production to the transformation of the cityspace, even though many times the visions that demonstrate urban transformation will never be fully perceived, but the search for these visions explains the transformation of many cities in the South.

Tendency 2: The metabolic configurations of Southern cities are discontinuous,

dynamic and contested.

According to Schindler (2017), the metabolic configuration of Southern cities differs from Northern cities in different ways. The inhabitants of the cities of the South connect with this metabolism/functioning of the cities in an extremely unequal way. The formal urban infrastructure is accessed by a minority, while the majority is connected through informality. Thus, access is not universal. It is difficult to measure metabolic flows in southern cities, given the diversity of ways that people connect with metabolisms. As an example, the diversity of flows present in these places means that their understanding ends up ignoring the actors of the informal sector. In order to understand these cities, qualitative and quantitative methods are needed to visualize the city holistically, thus being able to contextualize the whole city as part of this metabolic configuration.

Tendency 3: Political economy and materiality are always already co-constituted in Southern cities, so neither can be reduced to structure or context.

For Schindler (2017), the relationship between materiality and political economy in cities in the global north are often conditioned by political economy. Rather than embracing a priori assumption in which capitalism structures or provides a context for urban processes in southern cities, however, it is believed that it should focus on the ways in which the materiality of southern cities and the political economy are interrelated. For the author, there is no initial moment when political economy or materiality sets the stage for its relations of dialectical evolution, and the complexities of metabolic configurations are lost if this co-constitution is obscured.

These three tendencies provide us with a point of view from which Southern cities are recognized as a type of settlement, which has explicit focuses on their contemporary problem-spaces and which tend to exhibit a rupture between capital and labor (work force). However, Schindler (2017) recognizes that it aimed to recognize the outlines of a paradigm that explains the heterogeneity of cities in the South, although accepting that they tend to exhibit characteristics that distinguish them from the North. He states that these trends are not complete and that the existence and the resilience, in some cases, of land ownership systems and the emergence of alternative logics of tenure, can also be considered a trend observed in the city of the South and, certainly, there are other trends.

For Schindler (2017) many critics will denote his use of the term global south as a territorial entity that configures a false dichotomy of cities in the North and South, pointing out that even cities in crisis in Europe can exhibit characteristics described as cities in the South. The author admits that there is no consensus that the South is a homogeneous geographic entity and that there are places that defy the North or South classification. Furthermore, for him, cities are always being prefabricated and capital and labor can do not be disconnected indefinitely. However, he points out that the trends characterize many cities beyond the North Atlantic and Northeast Asia. In addition, the paradigm that the author presents explains urbanization beyond what he calls the “Euro-American Cities” and Northeast Asia, transcending the stereotype of the globalization of the southern city as a “pathological” space in need of “salvation” in the hands of the most advanced countries.

The author demonstrates that the heterogeneity of cities can be accounted for with research of mixed multiscale methods, which will allow the three trends to be adapted in

cases of individual cities. These trends should serve as an adaptable starting point for research in cities that address the space problem of cities in the global south.

According to Potts (2015), the cities and countries of what we call the global south have experienced different urban trajectories. Therefore, we must be careful when comparing these cities, given their different urban processes that occurred during the 20th century, when these processes were consolidated in the global south. For the author, the different development strategies that cities have had implications for cities and their workforce.

The neoliberal hegemony observed since the late 1970s, as a means of global development, is the antithesis to access to international finance promised by neoliberalism. For Potts (2015) this meant the consolidation of exports of goods (minerals and agricultural products) as participation in this international financial policy. She further states that only countries that are globally significant in terms of population, labor force and market can bargain for power in the global economy.

Next, we will begin our discussion of the urbanization process in the global south, using the case of India (see location of India in Figure 10, page 23) and its characteristics.

1.1.1 Contemporary urbanization in India

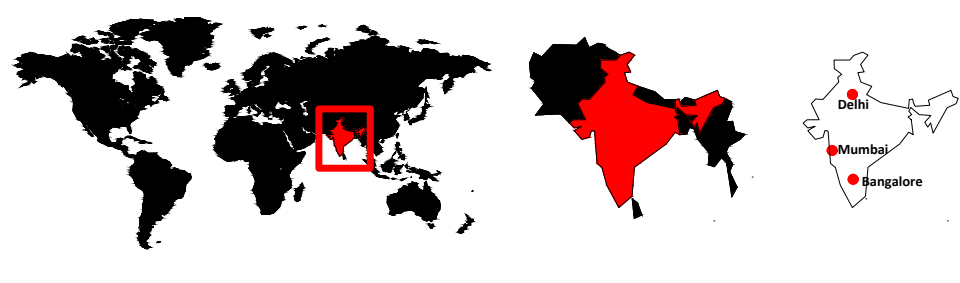


Figure 10 - Location of India.

Source: Elaborated by Guilherme A S Motta, 2019

Datta (2006) developed a work in which data from the Indian census (1901-2001) were used and established basic aspects and patterns of Indian urbanization. For the author, these aspects are:

- Lopsided urbanization induces growth of the population of lower income classes in cities.
- Urbanization occurs without industrialization and a strong economic base.
- Urbanization is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural-urban migration.
- Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.

- Urbanization occurs not due to urban attraction, but due to the impulse / expulsion from the countryside.
- Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of urbanization.
- Distress migration initiates urban decay.

According to Datta (2006), urbanization patterns in India are characterized by the large concentration of population and activities in large cities. Consequently, for the author, urbanization acquires some basic problems in the areas of housing, slums, transit, supplementation of drinking water and sanitation, water and air pollution, and inadequate provision of social infrastructure. Globalization, economic liberalism and privatizations address a negative urbanization process in India. According to Hoelsche & Aijaz (2016) the process of urbanization and urban growth in Indian cities are inserted in complex political, social, demographic, environmental and ethnic-religious contexts (such as conflicts between Hindus and Muslims and caste issues Hindu religion) and interactive. The size of this process can be seen when we have the demographic data that in 1901, 22 million people lived in urban areas, in 2011 that number was 380 million people and the perspective is that in 2030, about 600 million people will live in urban areas in India.

The authors claim that urbanization in India happens with its own set of challenges, for example, that poorly managed urbanization processes tend to aggravate inequality of rights, resources and opportunities, triggered popular tensions, cooled down investments in urban infrastructure and productivity and undermined political legitimacy. They further claim that the complexity of governance in Indian cities can further aggravate issues of social, economic and political exclusion. With the neoliberal economic modernization, India has come to see the so-called “invisibilization” of marginalized vulnerable groups and, urban ways of living can increase inequality of rights or access to economic and political opportunities.

A constant discussion on the theme of contemporary Indian cities, is the complex relationship between politics and exclusion, in which vulnerable groups are excluded not only by the elite’s political and economic interests, under the perspective of traditional neoliberalism, but also by class civil organizations. trying to reconfigure the nature of urban citizenship in modern urban India (Hoelscher & Aijaz, 2016).

India is included as one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change. Also according to Hoelscher & Aijaz (2016), in countries like India itself, urban settlements are generally located in areas with greater physical risk and vulnerability in terms of their infrastructure and built environments, and face rapid growth in the urban population, having the low-income population normally housed in precarious locations, and where there is a lack of technical and financial governance capacity to face the impacts of climate change. In this way, climate change will be better felt in vulnerable areas of developing countries.

Thus, the impacts of environmental changes create new geographies of urban vulnerability, presenting challenges for governance, inclusion and city planning.

A discussion involves the ways in which these changes will affect urban governance processes and urban political economies; how it will aggravate or create new forms of exclusion; how it is changing migration patterns for cities. These are questions to be

discussed about how to plan and live in cities according to Hoelscher & Aijaz (2016).

The authors analyze articles that deal with the theme of the issues above, interacting with themes such as urban governance and planning; social, political and economic exclusion and the conflicts generated by this exclusion; and climate change. They examine how economic liberalization has created new dualities between the public and the private.

Among the discussions, it was observed that place-making was used as a way of planning public spaces, with deep political involvement and several stakeholders who make claims about the city, in projects in India.



Figure 11 - Aspect of roads in Old Delhi, Delhi, India, 2019.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta, 2019.

Another theme observed by the authors falls on the issue of Smart Cities within the debate on urban informality in India. This discussion suggests that this concept emerges from the e-governance initiatives of the 2000s and is currently involved with a focus on issues such as retrofitting and projects in already consolidated areas, being projects considered elitist and that therefore contribute, again, to accentuate political inequalities, social and economic.

We can also perceive in the discussions, debates in which it is questioned how the urban poor engage in politics, in informal urban organizations through forms of “occupation urbanism” and “insurgent citizenship”. The authors suggest that poor populations are more embedded in local policies, however, they have failed to foster the participation of excluded communities that had been foreseen by both the state and civil society actors. Thus, for

Hoelscher & Aijaz (2016), the challenges that both the State and civil society face in politics, particularly where neoliberal agendas promote popular participation, collide with socio-political and semi-formal relations impregnated in the process.

Next, we will analyze informality considering that it is part of the planning process in Indian cities.

1.1.1.1. The language of urbanization in Indian cities

The planning of Indian cities according to Roy (2009) cannot be understood as something predictable or as a process of managing the growth of cities, on the contrary, urban planning in Indian cities today must be understood as the management of resources and land, through dynamic processes of informality.

Informality is understood as a state of deregulation, where the ownership, use and purpose of land cannot be designed according to any regulation or law process. The legislation itself is subject to interpretation according to the arbitrary interests of urban agents.

Informality in India, for Roy (2009) and the differentiation between formal and informal (and not legal and paralegal) is the substantial axis of inequality in contemporary urban India. Remember that we consider the informal from the level of urban management, from the economy to the form and occupation of the city. In this process, on the other hand, we can observe that the State assumes forms of urban development in which it uses the alteration of regulatory processes in order to make its acts legal, through processes that are legalized by the action of the state. As an example, the flexibility of the law to change land use, implement uses and domains and acquire land for specific programs in places previously not allowed by the law.

The State positions itself outside the law with the justification of mainly economic development. Roy (2009) states that informality is, therefore, a way of planning cities, a way of planning exercised by its various actors. As the state's developmentalism was held hostage by the informality that facilitates its transactions, so the insurgency was apprehended by the very informality that gave it space in the city. In short, the Indian city is possible through a planning language whose main characteristic is informality, and yet that language creates a territorial difficulty in governance, justice and development.



Figura 12 - Aspect of Ganga Nagar, Bangalore, India, 2019.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta, 2019

Considering, as Roy (2009) states, informality is a language of urbanization in Indian cities, it is, in fact, not casual or spontaneous. Informality is calculated and sustained by the State's territorial practices. From the state's point of view, informality is structural.

Next, we will consider the four propositions that demonstrate the structural nature of informality as a planning strategy according to Roy (2009).

1. Informality is not synonymous with poverty: It is customary to associate informality with poverty and the favela as a meeting place for marginalized poor. However, this thinking is not able to identify how informality is also associated with forms of wealth and power. Roy (2009) states that the fragmentation of urbanism does not occur in the rupture between formality and informality, but within the informal production of space. Thus, through a closer look at the metropolitan regions of different world contexts, it is observed that informal urbanization is as much an issue for wealthy urban residents as for slum dwellers. Neoliberalism allowed the so-called "privatization of informality". Before, informality was located and practiced mainly on public lands; today, it is an essential mechanism in privatized and marketed cities, as in the informal installments that constitute the peri-urbanization of cities. These forms of informality are no more legal than occupations and slums. They constitute expressions of class power and direct the availability of infrastructure, services and legitimacy in a way that marks them as different from the landscape of the favelas (slums). The author's question regarding the Indian context and others, is why some forms of informality are criminalized (illegal) while others enjoy state support or are even practices of it.

2. Informality is a deregulated rather than unregulated system: It is common to treat informality as a lack of regulation, that is, what is not regulated. But the author makes a distinction between unregulated systems and those that are deregulated. Deregulation indicates calculated informality, which involves intentional action and planning, and where the apparent withdrawal of regulatory power creates a logic of allocation, accumulation and authority. It is in this sense that informality, as a system of deregulation, can be thought of as a mode of regulation. And this is something quite different from what we could call the failure of planning or the absence of State action.

3. The State is an informal entity, or informality from above: Informality is defined as a set of unregulated activities, which is why it is often understood as unplanned. The informal sector is seen as existing outside “institutionalized regulation”. For the author, informality must be understood not as a basic phenomenon, but as a characteristic of power structures. Informality is a system that is parallel to the formal and the legal. However, the formal and the legal are perhaps better understood as simulations, as moments of fixing otherwise volatile, ambiguous and uncertain planning systems. For Roy (2009), therefore, informality exists at the heart of the state and is an integral part of the territorial practices of state power. It is this territorialized flexibility that allows the State to change land uses, devalue current uses and allow gentrification, in short, to plan. Instead of state practices, they are elements of a predominant set of power and territory management.

4. Insurgency does not necessarily create a just city: It is customary to interpret the tactics and struggles of the urban poor in cities in the global south as needs for rebellion and mobilization. For Roy (2009), the relationship between insurgency, informality and planning is complex. Since planning is not an antidote to informality, insurgency is not an antidote to the excluded in the city, not to types of exclusion that are deepened and maintained through informal state practices. Insurgency forms, then, often cannot call into question the urban status quo; they can think, but they cannot implement the just city. They depend and perpetuate, simultaneously, the deregulation and unmapping systems that constitute the language of planning. This is the informal city, and also an insurgent city, but it is not necessarily a fair city, where the legal basis of informality has been challenged by the urban poor, and it is also a city of exclusion where the poor recreate the margins of legality and formality, imposing new socio-spatial differentiations in the periphery.



Figure 13 - Strand Road, South Mumbai, India, 2019.
Source: Guilherme A S Motta, 2019.

Roy's (2009) great contribution, when framing Indian cities as a representation of the Third World megacity, defies all norms of rational planning. The persistent failure of planning or the fragmentation of cities through the privatization of planning seems to us to be convincing. The author contributes by outlining that the urban crisis in India is not linked to the failure of planning, but to a characteristic of planning, that is, its language (idiom), in particular, identifying informality as a fundamental characteristic of this language, of so that Indian planning proceeds through systems of deregulation, unmapping and exceptionalism. These systems incorporate a distinctive form of rationality, and yet, at least in India, urban development remains condemned by the deregulating logic that fuels it.

In the next item, we will outline a panorama of contemporary urbanization of the post-apartheid South Africa.

1.1.2 Contemporary urbanization in South Africa

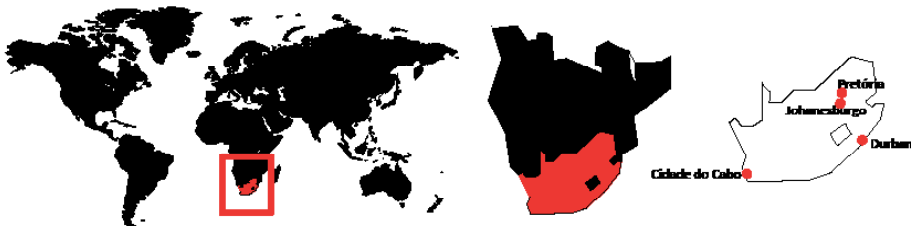


Figure 14 - Location of South Africa.
Source: Elaborated by Guilherme A S Motta, 2019.

The processes that occurred in South Africa (see Figure 14) since 1994, with the end of Apartheid, in what we call processes of spatial control, are complex, according to Harrison & Todes (2015). For them, the so-called loosening of the State in space processes begins before the end of apartheid, however, this loss of state power occurs along with a program to transform society and the construction of a non-racial or sexist democracy, which also it is felt in post-apartheid space policies, to create spatially compact, integrated and sustainable cities.

According to the authors, post-apartheid urban policy aims to ensure equitable access to opportunities found in cities, through processes that lead to an increasing number of people in the spatial proximity to urban jobs and services. However, although there was a policy to restructure the fragmented and expanded cities built by Apartheid, urban policies did not attempt to proactively address racial segregation, nor did they directly encourage urbanization, leaving this policy to be exercised by the market.

For Harrison & Todes (2015), this issue is structured in three dimensions of urban spatiality that are related to the level of access, but that are unequally associated with formal government policies: the pattern of urbanization, the shapes of cities and the patterns of socio-spatial segregation.

Turok (2012) states that South African urbanization occurred in an unusual way for several aspects. Until the 1990s, the period of the end of apartheid, the government intensively intervened in this process in order to first accelerate a form of countryside-city migration and subsequently restrict migration to cities. The government used a variety of instruments, laws and institutions to influence the mobility of families, including racially discriminatory government controls over the possibility of people owning land, the ability to settle wherever they want, job regulation and the education system.

According to the author, urbanization in the country accelerated during the 1980s, as many Apartheid restrictions became impossible to apply. For him, the reasons for the rural-city migration in South Africa are the differences in economic opportunity, such as the availability of jobs, as occurs in most urbanization processes in different parts of the world.

Colonial and racial segregation policies during apartheid left, according to Turok (2012), a legacy of fragmented urban forms with unequal access to urban jobs and public services. The author demonstrates that demographic densities in South African cities are also unequal, ranging from four to 12 people per hectare in white suburbs and between 100-150 people per hectare in informal settlements in Cape Town, becoming a challenge for urban management and social integration, as these areas are generally separated by physical barriers.

The author reports that middle and upper-class families live in low-density suburbs, separated by expressways that reinforced the separation of work, leisure and housing. Meanwhile, low-income class families have been segregated into overcrowded districts and informal settlements; and with education, social and health services equally overburdened, located in areas of cheaper land, with environmental vulnerabilities such as flood risks in vacant lots and geological risks.

Harrison & Todes (2015) also reported that post-apartheid urban policies aimed to create more compact and integrated cities, structured in a norm of more demographically

dense cities and established on transportation axes.

The state's loosening process, observed in the post-apartheid period, had multiple and complex consequences, according to Harrison & Todes (2015), in South Africa, which we will see below:

a) With regard to urbanization trends, in South Africa, the loss of control (loosening of the state) was associated with a change in the scale of urbanization. In the 2011 census, the trend is confirmed in which urban agglomerations, in the case of Johannesburg, where most of the jobs created are concentrated and where household income is higher; and, in other urban agglomerations, this growth occurred more slowly.

b) In South Africa, the spatial shape of cities changes with the end of Apartheid. There is a decentralization of the city of Johannesburg and a pattern of polycentric development begins, with business and the white population migrating to the suburbs, leaving the center. It appears that this pattern of development also occurs in smaller cities. At that same moment there is a proliferation of shopping malls retailers in the so-called townships 21 and the growth of the informal market among the poorest population. The patterns of spatial areas in residential areas are also complex, observing the continuation of the urban sprawl process of cities, while an increase in urban density can also be observed in parts of cities. In these cases, the loosening of the State's performance occurs through an intrinsic interaction between the State, the market and people's actions.

c) We observed, in South Africa, since the end of apartheid, that the black population moves to areas previously restricted to other races, although many remain in the townships for several reasons, such as identity issues. However, whites did not migrate to black areas. While this loosening of the State has enabled levels of disaggregation, integration is elusive and complex. Black populations take previously unoccupied areas as the center, while whites' exclusive areas decrease, however, patterns do not change if we consider the formation of white suburbs north of Johannesburg, although the black population grows in most neighborhoods of the city.



Figure 15 - Diepkloof, Soweto area, southwest of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, South Africa.

Source: Guilherme A S, 2018.

Harrison & Todes (2015) conclude that in the South African case, despite the loosening of State action, there is also an attempt to create a new spatial order through the restructuring of cities, through a more compact and integrated urban form, offering opportunities to those previously excluded, reducing the economic marginality of townships and improving living conditions in those places. The removal of state controls (loosening its performance) was a major contribution to the change, enabling private companies and individual investors to make choices that have reshaped urban space in South Africa.

Despite this attempt, analyzing the official data from the South African census, we still realize that the differences related to ethnic and social issues are still very deeply rooted in society. The following data were collected through the official South African statistics website, called Statistics South Africa (www.statssa.gov.za).

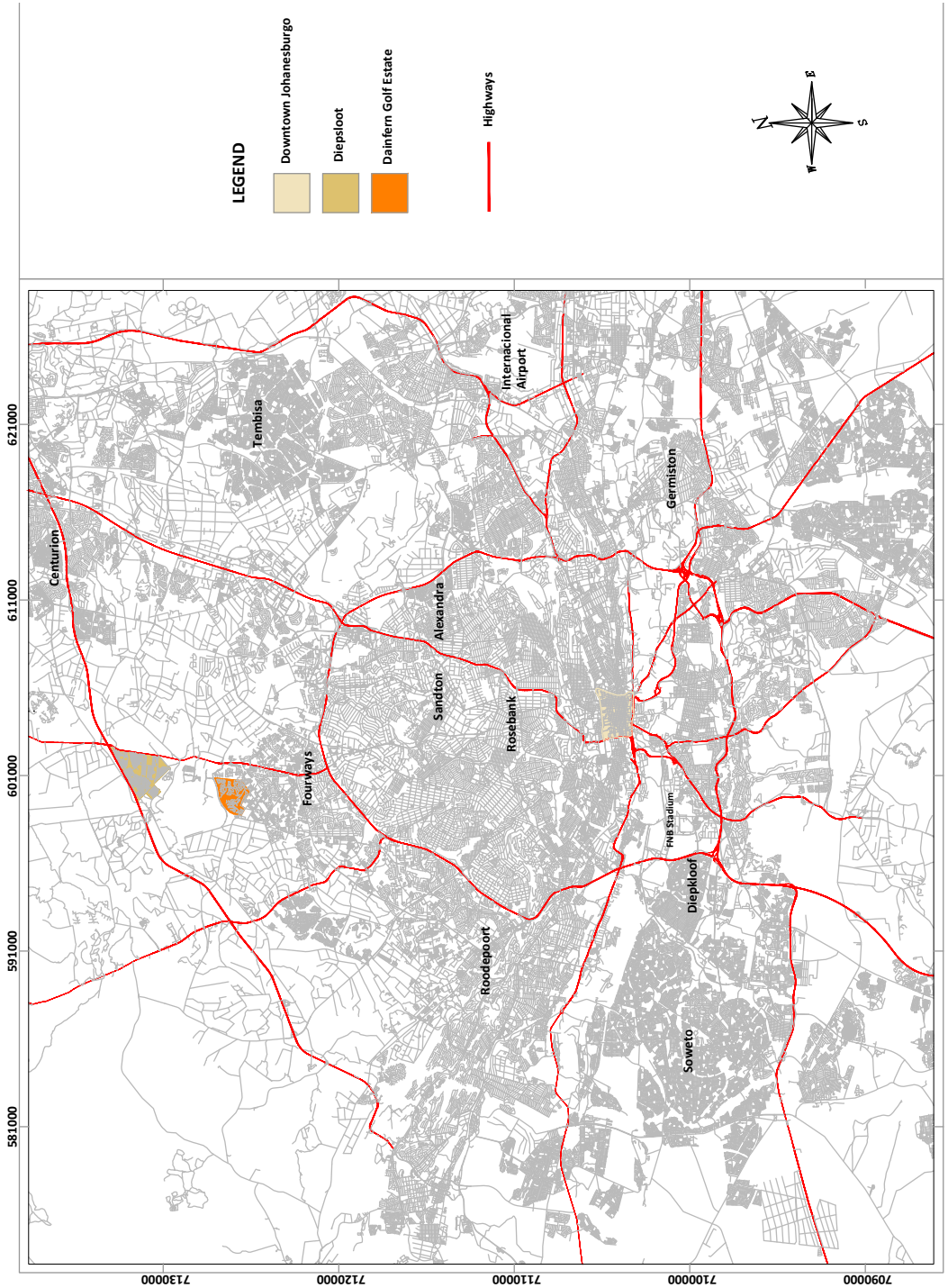
In order to exemplify these issues of socio-racial segregation in South Africa, we demonstrate data about the city of Johannesburg - which has about 4.4 million inhabitants distributed by race, according to the table below:

Racial group	Percentage
Black African	76,4%
Coloured	5,6%
Indian and Asian	4,9%
White	12,3%
Other	0,8%

Table 01: Population by race in Johannesburg, 2018.

Source: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>, adapted by Guilherme A. S. Motta.

The table shows that more than 76% of the local population is made up of black Africans, while the white population is around 12% of the total. However, when we look at the data below, we will see that this population remains segregated by race, depending on the income classes of the neighborhoods the population inhabits.



Map 02 - Johannesburg city region, South Africa.

Source: University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2019, adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The condominium called Dainfern Estate, located in Johannesburg (see Map 02, page 33), has a population of 6,600 inhabitants, 70% of whom have an income above R76.400. The condominium has rates close to 100% availability of the public electricity network, distribution of drinking water and sewage. The distribution of population by race is distributed according to the following table.



Figure 16 - Dainfern Golf Estate, north of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Source: <http://www.estate-living.co.za/estates/dainfern-golf-estate/>, accessed on 2019, April 14.

Racial group	Percentage
Black African	25,8%
Coloured	1,7%
Indian and Asian	7,7%
White	61,0%
Other	3,8%

Table 02: Population per race in *Dainfern*, Johannesburg, 2018.

Source: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>, adapted by Guilherme A. S. Motta (2018).

On the other hand, Diepsloot (see Map 02, page 33) is a township located in the north of Johannesburg, with a population of approximately 138,000 inhabitants, of which 93.1% have an income below R76.400¹. Diepsloot has 18.4% of assistance through a drinking water distribution network, 61.2% through a public electricity network and 74.1% through a sewerage network. Local distribution by race takes place according to the table below:

Racial Group	Percentage
Black African	98,0%
Coloured	0,2%
Indian and Asian	0,1%
White	0,2%
Other	1,5%

Table 03: Population por race in Diepsloot, Johannesburg, 2018.

Source: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>, adapted by Guilherme A. S. Motta (2018).

1 Corresponds to US\$ 5.594,95 in 2019, January 29th.

The data in the tables show how the country after apartheid managed to insert a portion of the black population in the higher income groups. However, the disparities are still very noticeable considering that 76.4% of Johannesburg's population is made up of blacks, who occupy only 25.8% of the high-income population living in the Dainfern condominium. And that, in turn, 98% of the population living in Diepsloot, a low-income township, is inhabited by blacks.



Figure 17 - Diepsloot, north of Johannesburg, South Africa.
Source: <http://praag.org/?p=11206>, accessed on 2019, April 19.

1.1.2.1. Inclusive housing policies in South Africa

Housing policies are commonly used to promote social diversity. In this sense, in South Africa, according to Klug et al (2013), there was a concern that social diversity policies were applied in the country, however, they had limited effects in reducing ethnic and income segregation.

According to Marais & Cloete (2017), during apartheid, blacks were not allowed to own land. These policy changes only occurred in the mid-1980s, but it did not reach the poorest, being limited to an emerging black middle class.

According to Klug et al (2013) and Marais & Cloete (2017), there was an interest in the country in using inclusive housing policies in order to repair and mitigate the effects of the segregation policies established by apartheid. The policies were not intended to increase ownership or reduce the role of the state in promoting social housing, but rather to correct previous policies, established by apartheid.

Klug et al (2013) affirm that after the end of apartheid there was a certain level of desegregation among the middle classes, however, mainly in the interior cities are increasingly occupied by poor blacks. Thus, many of the old patterns and practices remain,

such as urban sprawl and long commuting distances are still a reality for many residents.

Marais & Cloete (2017) established a phase of housing policies in South Africa that occurred between the 1980s and 1990s. Before that, from 1950 to 1970, there was the construction of social housing for blacks, having been drastically reduced after that period of investment in housing. The neoliberal policy of the 1980s influenced the process of privatization of housing policy in the country. The possibility of possession by the blacks also allowed for a change in the structuring of the townships, with the emergence of a black middle class.

However, due to the default caused by economic problems in that period, whites started to see investments in the townships as risky, giving the turbulence in the process of negotiating the end of apartheid.

From there, the authors demonstrate that in the 1990s it becomes important to structure a way to bring investments back to the townships, giving assurance to the whites of their investments. In this sense, the government releases loans in the form of mortgages to the lower income classes. Despite this, there was little connection between the private financial sector and the development of social housing, falling short of what was expected by the government and generating conflict between whites and the government. In this way, the guarantee of investments made by the government is removed, resulting in 1998 in the departure of whites from the low-income market, for the second time. In the same period, the government also promotes institutions to lend money to low-income classes to invest in housing.

In a third phase, which occurred between 2000 and 2007, according to Marais & Cloete (2017), the government's strategy of attracting the private sector back to housing promotion is emphasized. New legislation is created to allow free information on housing finance and to promote private sector investment in housing. As a result, some advances occur in housing financing, such as changing the law and increasing microcredit.

Klug et al (2013) demonstrate that government policy proposes to promote more compact and integrated cities. However, programs such as the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Program) have implemented 2 million housing units, reinforcing the standard of making projects available on the peripheries due to the low price of land. Thus, they claim that the restructuring policies of post-apartheid cities have not been successful. However, for the authors, the key question is whether inclusive housing policies have the potential to restructure South African cities.

In the country, in 2007, according to Klug et al (2013) a policy was developed to promote affordable housing within private real estate properties, however, this policy was never established as a law. Despite the absence of legislation that articulated housing policies, cities like Johannesburg tried to promote inclusive housing.

The inclusive housing policies developed were carried out in order to respond to the fact that little had been done to repair the city built during apartheid. In this sense, we sought to encourage the private sector to contribute to the provision of social housing in an approach of social inclusion and "capturing value".

Thus, according to Klug et al (2013), several initiatives have been established in this regard. In 2004, an initiative called BNG (Breaking New Ground) demonstrated a broader

approach to housing, through calls for creative use of planning instruments, in order to promote densification and social and urban integration. In 2005, Housing Indaba aimed to invite interested parties in the housing sector to discuss vital issues on the subject, and to sign a Social Contract in order to promote social housing. The Association called South African Property Owners (SAPOA) was against any compulsory approach, not supporting housing programs, raising questions about the government's ability to articulate housing programs. This was mainly due to the lack of institutionalization by the government regarding social housing policies.

In a fourth phase, as established by Marais & Cloete (2017), which occurred after 2008, it was observed that the volatility of inflation and interest rates and the accessibility of low-income classes to mortgage financing, coupled with the desire of the southern population African in owning their home probably contributed to lessen the impact of the global financial crisis that occurred in that period. Therefore, in the economic environment, these conditions contributed to the increase in housing prices, and allowed an increase in housing financing for the lower income classes.

For the authors, the financial crisis of 2008 caused two distinct effects, first, at the beginning of the crisis, together with the increase in interest rates (2007-2008) and then, felt as the economy enters into recession (2009), leading rising unemployment and impacting housing policies, especially after 2010.

According to Klug et al (2013), in 2009, concerns about previous programs were evaluated, demonstrating the care in bringing the private sector to participate in these policies, the ability of municipalities to manage the programs, with the costs of offering incentives in the form of reducing investment in infrastructure, presenting a great effort with low impact in the promotion of inclusive housing.

Finally, Klug et al (2013) demonstrate that the lack of institutional and legal support in government efforts, in order to provide inclusive social housing, becomes a challenge as to how to select the beneficiary families of the programs and even, for example, how to ensure that the housing available will not be sold to other social niches.

Studies by Marais & Cloete (2017) have shown that the South African government has been trying for the past 30 years to expand housing finance for low-income families. In the post-apartheid period, we observed the attempt of several agreements between the private sector and the government to provide financing for social housing. With the volatility of interest rates, loans increased solidly, however, after 2007-2008, the increase in interest rates and the economic downturn hampered mortgage access to low-income families. On the other hand, for the authors, the low interest rates observed since 2010, contributed to the development of a housing market in the old areas for blacks.

In South Africa, Marais & Cloete (2017) claim that unlike other nations, the reason for including banks in housing finance was not with the aim of increasing the availability of housing to a certain social niche, but rather strongly linked to the intention to reduce the inequalities generated by apartheid, as already exposed.

In this sense, the authors also affirm that it is the economic conditions that establish the changes in the relations between the government and financial institutions. However, the various agreements between the government and the private sectors play a major role in

expanding housing finance for lower income class families. Although not all objectives were achieved through these agreements, they were the ones who contributed to prevent a major housing crisis from establishing itself, as the country has not developed national legislation to address inclusive social housing.

Thus, for Klug et al (2013), in South Africa there is a need to develop a national policy that is applicable to all municipalities, since the current programs are limited to scale and do not include most of the poor population. In this way, it is hoped that social housing in the country can contribute to the reduction of spatial segregation and to the construction of more inclusive cities, and there to repair part of the urban problems associated with apartheid.

In the next item, we will analyze the process of change that occurred in Brazil since the Federal Constitution of 1988, and the consequences of the way in which the State and the real estate market act in the process of contemporary urbanization of Brazilian cities.

1.1.3 Contemporary urbanization in Brazil



Figure 18 - Location of Brazil.

Source: Elaborated by Guilherme A S Motta, 2019.

The urbanization process observed in Brazil today comes from an attempt to change established by the 1988 Constitution, through a chapter dedicated to Urban Policy. Several attempts came to regulate this chapter, which only happened with the City Statute (Brazilian federal law), Law 10,257, of July 10, 2001.

The context observed in the 1980s is marked by a period of profound economic and social degradation and, consequently, the reflexes of this crisis in Brazilian cities. The excess of vehicles on city streets, the lack of investments in public transit, socio-spatial segregation, increased urban violence, among others, were immediate reactions that were seriously felt in this period, as a result of inefficient public policies taken in previous times.

In the same period, the process of economic globalization intensifies, since the bipolarizing effect of the world is undone and neoliberal policies are established. The intensification of the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), from the 1980s onwards, and its popularization in the following decade, begins a new period of world civilization that is known as the globalized world. One of its main characteristics is the global economy, which according to Castells (1999), was only possible due to the new infrastructure provided by information and communication technologies.

With the return of Brazil to democracy, the Collor government (1990-1992) started

a cycle of modernization of the country, with the opening of the national market to imports and the beginning of the privatization of national companies. This president was removed in 1992, due to an impeachment process motivated by allegations of corruption. The country was plunged into an economic crisis, with inflation out of control.

Still in 1992, the Rio-92 conference, promoted by the United Nations (UN), took place in Brazil. The conference had as its theme the Environment and defended the democratic management of the city, the right to citizenship and the social function of the city and property, themes also addressed in the 1988 Constitution.

The territorial exclusion process established over the 1970s had serious results made explicit in the cities in the late 1990s. Maricato (2001) highlights two consequences of this process, one of which is what the author calls environmental predation, due to this dynamic of housing exclusion and spontaneous settlements, and the increase in urban violence, felt most intensely in areas marked by homogeneous poverty, in large cities.

Collor's vice president, Itamar Franco (1992-1994), assumes executive power in the country, and begins a process of implementing yet another economic stabilization plan, through the reduction of inflation, which was called Plano Real. The success of this plan and the hope of the Brazilian people in the measures taken by Itamar Franco, contributed to the election of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, then Minister of Finance, as the country's head of government, in 1994.

From then on, President FHC (1995-1998, 1999-2002) ruled the country for two terms and continued President Collor's privatization program. The country's stabilization was a priority.

Therefore, the initial success of Plano Real ensured Cardoso's election. A moment of euphoria and growth in consumption levels of the Brazilian population was felt at that time. Brazilian families started to enjoy the advantages of economic stability, with low levels of inflation. However, the maintenance of this low inflation was subject to measures that were often unpopular, but important for the economic stabilization of Brazil.

The success of the Plano Real also went through instabilities. Several crises surfaced in Brazil during the Cardoso government years. The cost of stability was high. The 1999 crisis caused the country to fear hyperinflation again, the free exchange rate was implemented, a year without growth was experienced, but the government's inflation targets worked. After the return of growth in 2000, we lived in the shadow of crises and again in 2001, through the energy crisis and the reflexes of the economic paralysis in the United States due to the attacks of September 11th. The country's growth after the implementation of the Plano Real saw barriers on the energy issue. Brazilians had several televisions, washing machines, microwave ovens or new refrigerators at home. Companies needed to grow to keep up with the new national demand. However, even with the high price paid for maintaining low inflation, the country observes political stability, with the maintenance of fundamental rights and guarantees and economic stability.

At the end of Cardoso's mandate, Brazilian policy gains a specific law for urban policy, important for implementing the necessary changes for the planning of Brazilian cities. The City Statute, as Law 10.257 of 2001, July 10th became known, regulates the urban policy chapter of the 1988 Constitution. The structure of this law is made up of articles

that regulate general guidelines, urban policy instruments, the plan director, the democratic management of the city and general provisions of the law. At that time, the planning of our cities gained an important legal ally for the implementation of policies capable of improving the quality of life of the Brazilian population living in urban spaces, the result of so many historical reactions that reflect on their social and economic structure.

Still in the same year, journalist Moreno (2001) discusses the transformations that society has undergone in the last decades and the emergence of new ways of life and, consequently, new urban forms that occurred due, according to the author, to the exhaustion of the economy industrialization, financial globalization, cultural diversity, transformation of family composition and advances in information technology. At this moment, the author sees that the City Statute creates:

“(...) conditions for the general population to participate in defining the future of our agglomerations, through collegiate bodies, [...] conferences and the popular initiative of bills and urban development plans, programs and projects”. (MORENO, 2001. p. 14-5).

The election of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2006/2007 2010) takes place amid the population’s desire to maintain economic stability, achieved by the previous government, but also the need for urgent improvements in social policy.

The country is experiencing great euphoria. Its poorest population begins to identify itself with the new president, of worker origin and social discourse. The markets, obviously, are attentive to the changes, since Lula had a leftist speech that caused discomfort years ago. However, its policy was responsible and of continuity, maintaining the country’s inflation and growth targets, based on investment in infrastructure. His first act as president was the launch of the Zero Starvation program, which aimed to remove thousands of people from the country from the poverty line.

In pursuit of urban policies initiated in 2001, with Law 10.257 (City Statute), Lula implements, in his government, the Ministry of Cities. According to the ministry’s own website (www.cidades.gov.br), its creation sought to be innovative in urban policies, integrating sectorial policies for housing, sanitation and urban mobility.

The social movement formed by professionals, union and social leaders, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), intellectuals, researchers and university professors, was fundamental for the creation of the Ministry of Cities. Also, according to the website, this movement has achieved several achievements in the last 19 years, such as the unprecedented insertion of the urban issue in the Federal Constitution of 1988, the City Statute, 2001, and the Medida Provisória 2220, also from 2001.

According to IBGE (2010), more than 84% of the Brazilian population lives in cities. In this way, the Ministry of Cities occupies a void observed in the Federal Government’s urban policy. The role of the ministry is also to define a policy in line with the other structures of the Federation (municipalities and States) and with the other powers of the State (Legislative and Judiciary).

In view of this quick retrospective, it is concluded that the Ministry of Cities tries, among many challenges to overcome, to institute a long-term policy, which would have

continuity and be sustainable (as required by the continuous changes in the situation of large cities) and subordinate financing the guidelines of the urban development policy, seeking to avoid the mistakes of the past.

The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was created in 2007, already in Lula's second term. Its objective was a set of measures programmed to accelerate economic growth through investment in infrastructure, basic sanitation, housing, transportation, energy, among others.

In the first year of the election of President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2014 / 2015-2016), PAC 2 was launched, which included the PMCMV (My house my life housing Program). The first aimed to face the main challenges of large urban centers to improve people's quality of life and included Urban Mobility programs for large cities and medium-sized cities, including the so-called World Cup PAC, concentrated in the cities where would play games for the 2014 World Cup. Part of this program was implemented in large cities.

Still part of PAC 2, the PMCMV fits in with the objective of reducing the housing deficit, boosting the civil construction sector, and generating work and income. The program, according to Maricato (2011, p. 67), *“resumes housing policy with an interest only in the number of houses, and not in its fundamental urban condition”*. The program, according to the author, despite having boosted the civil construction sector, contributed to the acceleration of the project of social segregation that occurred in Brazilian cities, mainly since real estate agents are defined without obeying public guidance. It happened that the locations follow trends in the real estate market and the land tenure problem in Brazilian cities worsens.

“(…) the increase in investments in housing without the necessary change in the land base has led, in a spectacular way, to the increase in land and property prices since the launch of the PMCMV”. (MARICATO, 2011, p.70)

Although social advances have occurred over those years in the country, the author says that cities have worsened. This is seen in the way the public policies of the last governments treat the city. In addition to the PMCMV, with the crisis triggered worldwide in 2008, the Federal Government lowered the Tax on Industrialized Products (IPI). This reduction raised the level of consumption of Brazilians in the so-called white line, such as the purchase of stoves, refrigerators and washing machines, without investing in manufacturing structure and energy to support this growth. The consequence was an increase in inflation.

Another measure was the reduction of the IPI on new vehicles, creating a considerable increase in sales, mainly by the lower income class, allowing many citizens to acquire the first vehicle, indebting families and, mainly, resuming the incentive to individual vehicles, in return investment in public transit. The consequence of this is the explosive increase in congestion and pollution in Brazilian cities, including the increase in vehicle traffic in medium-sized cities, as also seen in Uberlândia.

“The situation of cities has worsened greatly in the last 30 years and will continue to worsen, even though investments in housing and sanitation have been resumed by the Federal Government since 2003. There was no change in the route that guided the construction of cities, especially metropolises. The

lack of control over land use and occupation - a central issue to ensure social justice and environmental preservation - is evidenced by the occurrence of floods and landslides with hundreds of fatalities and thousands of homeless people, notable facts in cities across the country in the rainy season in the years 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010". (MARICATO, 2011, p. 77)

As we can see, despite all the social progress that the country went through between 2002 and 2014, our cities got worse; and, despite the decrease in social differences, our cities are even more segregated, made worse, especially, in recent years, by the implementation of the PMCMV, which imposed a form of segregation of space on the income classes served by the program.

The year 2014 marked the re-election of President Dilma Rousseff and her new term, which began in 2015, was marked by an economic adjustment due to the large public expenditure previously made to combat the reflexes of the 2008 economic crisis in the country. This was reflected in rising inflation in early 2015 and investment cuts in some social programs. The beginning of his mandate was also marked by the worsening of the crisis at Petrobras, due to allegations of corruption, reflecting on the value of the company's shares and the fall in investments. The global rise in the US dollar was reflected in the country, which accompanied an even greater increase than the international market trend. The manifestations of agents opposing the government became more regular, reflecting the general dissatisfaction of the population with respect to politics and the national economy, which culminated in the impeachment of the president on August 31, 2016.

In the government of Michel Temer (2016-2018), we observed a drop in public investments related to the social and urban policies of the previous period. Despite the quantitative increase, mainly in investment in social housing for lower income classes, cities have become even more segregated and the implementation of these investments did not observe the urban concern that the City Statute would bring to national urban policy.

In 2018, President Jair Bolsonaro was elected for the period from 2019 to 2022. His government plan was consulted through the official website (www.bolsonaro.com.br). Reading the government plan of the current president of the republic demonstrates the lack of interest in themes related to the New Urban Agenda. Issues such as housing, sustainability and urban management are not mentioned in the plan. In this context, the Ministry of Cities, created in 2003, was extinguished. Already in the end of 2020, the year marked for the Corona virus spread, we saw the country enter in a profound economic crisis where millions are unemployed and none action about the urban agenda.

The PMCMV was configured, therefore, in the same way as the National Housing Bank (BNH) in previous periods, as a strategy for economic growth (STROHER, 2017). In this way, urban planning in the 1980s and 1990s passed to local governments and established, in this sense, the interests mainly of landowners of local elites.

The power of local and regional elites, also dominating local politics, starts to establish the real estate guidelines of cities, through what Stroher (2017) calls the protagonism of the local scale. The author states that the PMCMV was the program that most contributed resources to the low-income population in the recent history of the country, however, despite the need to contain real estate appreciation, national urban programs and policies have made little progress, with the concentration of land ownership remained outside the center

of discussions on housing policy.

“(…) the opportunity to associate the important return of large investments in housing and infrastructure with a universalizing territorial strategy was lost, which is associated with the novelty of improving income at the base of the social pyramid and policies of income distribution, power have contributed to a socio-spatial insertion, in addition to the insertion for consumption”. (STROHER, 2017, p. 280)

What we see in this context was a reproduction of mistakes made in previous periods that, despite the increase in the share of resources destined to the spatial issues of the city for the lower income classes, contributed to the increase in the socio-spatial segregation of Brazilian cities and the fragmentation of the territory. This was permitted, as we shall see later, by a profound association between the local political powers and the real estate market, or the financial agents involved in this process. This reproduction of mistakes made by old housing policies and keeping of the social-spatial segregation in the territory is what we call *Retroubanism*.

Stroher's research (2017) for the metropolitan region of Curitiba, Parana state capital, notes that the lower income class population looks for housing options where the real estate market has less interest. In this sense, there is an intense process of irregular occupations in uninteresting spatial structures for the real estate market. On the other hand, the uneven distribution of public and private investments in the metropolis of Paraná, generates an unequal appreciation and the so-called spatial differentiation in the establishment of social classes in the territory.

The author describes that this scenario characterizes the urbanization of peripheral metropolises, what she calls “uneven and combined”. The instruments of the City Statute become selective in their performance. The selectivity of the application of the master plans concerns the interests of public and private agents in its implementation.

In this context, the case of Curitiba may be one of the exclusive patterns of Brazilian metropolises, according to Stroher (2017), observing a disparity in the distribution of social classes in the territory, in the permanence of the housing deficit for the lower income classes and in the continuity of informal urban occupation processes, where the success of housing policy is linked to the need for continuous real estate valuation.

Nascimento & Matias (2011) demonstrate that the State's action privileges the highest income classes and ignores the needs and interests of the general demands of urban inhabitants, contributing to the old way of reproducing the socio-spatial inequalities that exist in Brazil in the contemporary city, being that the legal instruments used do not seek to reverse this situation.

The authors carried out studies in the city of Ponta Grossa (Paraná state) and found the speculative dynamics of urban evolution in the city, revealed by the low percentage of occupation of the lots. The fragmentation processes of urban space in the city, through the creation of allotments separated from the urban network, contributed to the reproduction of a pattern of urban expansion that gives speculators the valuation of their areas at the cost of socio-spatial fragmentation and segregation. It was observed, therefore, in the pattern of urbanization in that city, a widespread pattern of growth in the city, an insufficient

performance of the State in housing policies, generating a social disparity in the occupation of urban space, given by income groups.

In Ponta Grossa (Paraná state), the authors also demonstrate that in the same urban process, the growth of irregular occupations that reached 17.6% of the urban population living in these locations in 2006 stands out. It is also noted that in the city, the slum's occupation pattern is due to areas considered more inappropriate, that is, uninteresting to the real estate market, indicators of segregation and social exclusion in the urban space, confirming urbanization patterns observed in the history of our cities.

According to Inostroza (2017), informality is a structural feature of urban development production in Latin America, difficult to resolve through the paths of urban legality.

Carlos (2009), through his studies in the metropolis of São Paulo, launches the hypothesis that the reproduction of the urban space signals that financial capital is produced through a "real estate product", establishing a transition from industrial capital to the preponderance of financial capital that it produces space as a commodity, that is, a real estate product.

In this context, it is observed that in the metropolis of São Paulo, as well as in other national urban structures, the passage of money from the industrial productive sector to the real estate sector. This process of integration with the logic integrated to globalized capitalism generates, on the other hand, an area outside the logic of the immediate reproduction of financial capital, which the author calls "disintegrated" in relation to the reproduction of capital, creating a deepening of inequality, strengthening the informal sectors, disintegrated from the globalized logic of capital.

Although the author calls these informal areas as not integrated into the globalized sector of the economy, forming a complex, non-traditional periphery, since today the periphery also encompasses different income classes and industries, and is part of the reproduction of the real estate space. For Carlos (2009), as in Ponta Grossa, through the studies by Nascimento & Matias (2011), this portion of the population not included in the processes of capital globalization, occupies areas that are not interesting to the real estate market and even areas public areas or areas of environmental protection.

We recall that in the case of urbanization of Indian cities, Roy (2009) defines this process of informalization of space as a form of planning, interwoven by the State and real estate policies as included in the city planning processes.

For Baltrusis (2010), this type of housing (informal, self-built and precarious) was fundamental for the economic development of the countries of peripheral capitalism. From the 1980s onwards, from the change in Fordist logic that had been going on until then, there was a dispute over a privileged location in the hierarchy of urban space, changing the logic of the territorial distribution of cities. As an example, abandonment in large cities of industries hitherto centrally located, abandoning and emptying urban spaces that were partially occupied by the poor, unemployed and with no place to live. On the other hand, abandoned areas also become the object of desire for the new economy established by the real estate market in a logic of meeting the new demands of capital and redesigning the city.

According to the author, the new forms of contemporary living of the high income classes in Brazilian cities, established by closed, fortified enclaves, in order to avoid the

other, was responsible for the process of fragmentation of the urban fabric that, together with condominiums of luxury and slums, accentuate the processes of socio-spatial segregation of Brazilian cities.

“(…) The growth of informality now passes, necessarily, through the commercialization of the space produced irregularly by or for the poor, often with the connivance or omission of the constituted public power, thus reducing the possibility of reducing inequality socio-spatial of our cities and contributing significantly to the consolidation of unsustainable metropolises”. (BALTRUSIS, 2010, p. 239)

For Angotti (2013) the clients of these fortified or closed enclaves are the high-income extracts that bring with them ideologies and practices of separation and superiority that flow from Eurocentric cultures, with trends in copies of external models and urban design. These spaces arise through a philosophy of exclusion and neoliberal policies to reduce public spending and privatize spaces.

In the next item, we will investigate the result of neoliberal policies applied in the last decades in the country, in relation to the emergence of a new real estate cycle, and the participation of the State in this process, allowed by the institutionalized public policies in Brazil in recent years, mainly those related to the housing policy.

1.2 The city as a product: The market

This item must understand the influence of the real estate and financial markets on the city's production. In this context, to identify the form of action of public, private and social movements in the production of the contemporary city, analyzing it from the point of view of its urbanization scales, in order to understand its role as a business and the role of neoliberalism in the urbanization processes in the cities of the global south, specifically in Brazil.

In order to understand the constitution of the city as a product, it is necessary to understand how the market operates in contemporary times, in the social and urban transformations in question.

Touraine (2010) demonstrated that there are fundamental elements of the society in formation after the crisis of 2007. For him, the economic globalization accentuates the autonomy between the actors and the institutions, having more and more autonomy of the economic system in relation to the institutions and the forms of social organization. In this sense, the author states that there is a rupture in the ties between economic history and social history, and if globalization has destroyed the institutions and society itself in effect until then, only the individual remains alive in this field of change.

It is in this sense, therefore, that liberals defend the action of individuals in order to annihilate collective institutions and actions. This is true for Touraine (2010), that it is no longer work that liberates men, but consumption, thus realizing the foundations of individualistic freedom.

Ianni (2006) demonstrates that the systemic view of international relations, also called globalization, is a functionalist approach where individual, collective or institutional actors stand out, being a synchronic approach, in which the international or world scenario

must be understood in terms of its agents in a systemic whole.

Dufour (2016) demonstrates that today the formation of the so-called “hyperclass” is observed, in a reduced number of people, in which wealth and the “hypoclass” are concentrated, which on the contrary is increasingly numerous, subject to poverty, realizing it increased financial income inequalities. For the author, the same crisis in which Touraine (2010) analyzes a change in society, reaffirms the conditions that the release of pleonexia caused the destruction of individuals, institutions and cities, through a financial bubble that occurred in the 2008 crisis.

The overcoming of this crisis occurs when the private sector, praised by liberalism and its financial practices, at the moment in crisis, observes the State’s role in transferring debts from the private sector to the public sector, creating crises in nations in Europe, which started in Greece.

Dufour (2016) states that despite the changes that have occurred with this crisis, the neoliberal logic has not been changed since greed is at the center of the system, passing:

“(…) from hyperclass to hypoclass. In short, it contaminates everything. What can we say like this: the desire for more of the financial oligarchy always generated the desire for more objects on the part of individuals, thus reduced to pure and simple consumers, which obliges, if not to destroy it, at least to reconfigure the old Cultural city to make it compatible with the new mercantile city, to further explore all resources, (…). The proof is that the market is this instance that promises to offer (that is, to sell) constantly to every one every manufactured object, every commercial service, every ghost produced by the cultural industries to satisfy all appetites, whatever they may be”. (DUFOUR, 2016, p. 23)

Ianni (2016) notes that at the base of what he calls the internationalization of capital are the formation, development and diversification of what he calls “global factory”, in which the world is transformed into a large and complex factory. In this sense, there is an intensification and generalization of the process of geographic dispersion of production, of the productive forces that comprise capital, labor force, technology, the division of social labor, planning and the market. This materializes the globalization of capitalism in terms of geography and history, and in space-time.

“At the time of the world capital markets, when the most diverse forms of capital started to move in an increasingly accelerated and generalized way, at that time national controls were reduced. More than that, the national governments, their agencies and organizations that traditionally manage and guide the movements of capital, all the so-called national bodies see their capacities to control the movements of capital reduced”. (IANNI, 2006, p. 65-66)

It is in this context of acceleration in the world capital markets, in which capital reaches a scale never reached, occurring a process of deterritorialization that is reflected in the world economic and political scenario.

As a reflection of the performance of companies in a globalized way, using neoliberal principles, Santos (2001) states that the expansion of the market is governed by competition between companies and the reflection of this in the territory, through an exercise of power

differences, seeking their own ends, excluding what the author calls social solidarity.

Therefore, the fact that each company acts in a part of the territory according to its own interests and goals, causes the fragmentation of the territory and there is no possible regulation, given the interests involved in these actions. The author states that this power of the companies in the territory *“is, by nature, disaggregating, excluding, fragmenting, hijacking autonomy to the rest of the actors”*. (SANTOS, 2001, p. 86)

It is important to note that the author establishes that globalization provides competitiveness between companies, which drags the State and its normative force, in order to promote interests to the ends of companies and favoring those with greater power. They are the power relations in which the State changes its rules and features in a game of external influences and internal realities, becoming passive, even if this is not the path sought to establish the interests of a nation.

In the global context, the policy for Santos (2001) is made in the market in which the actors are the companies that do not have ethical concerns, becoming competitive in an increasingly individualistic logic, in which the State is also not solidary and yet where the third sector starts to assume even assistance works, previously granted to the public power. This generates inequalities and differentiations that reflect contemporary society. Companies set up and establish their enterprises with the support of the public authorities, causing social imbalance, justified by their contribution to job creation and modernity, being considered indispensable. They hold the power of blackmail to the public power, sowing what the author calls the seed of ungovernability, due to the fact that there is a weakening of those in charge of taking care of the collective interest, giving this responsibility to the market, producing fragmentation and disorder of the territory.

In this way, we have seen that the thinking of the city as a collective asset is weakened, since it becomes primarily an instrument for the accumulation and reproduction of capital. The contemporary Brazilian city is seen by private agents as a product to be consumed by its citizens to nourish the real estate market (companies), and as a justification, economic development and job creation are used. We no longer just consume in the city, but we consume the city as a business. A real estate product that generates surplus value and capital, sold as status, way of living, working or even generating exclusion, and consequently informality, inequality and fragmentation of the territory. In this sense, in the relationship between capital and labor, there is the logic of the production of industrial surplus value in which the accumulation of capital passes through the exploitation of labor.

The global reach of capitalism and the intense movements of capital through the internationalization of finance, made possible by what Ianni (2006) defines as the wonders of science and technology are not translated into the reduction or elimination of inequalities, but, on the contrary, they preserve, recreate or deepen inequalities.

Carvalho (2003) realizes that the effects of globalization homogenize national spaces and weigh in the configuration of socio-spatial inequalities, as well as in the bonds and relations of sociability such as associative, segregation and even those of differentiation. He notes that in South America, at the same time that high technology and the complexity of the electronic sector encompass the production of goods and the automation of services, there is a weakening of national economies, making them even more vulnerable social segments,

and consequently, being pushed into medium-sized cities.

The author observes, therefore, that despite the new dynamics established by globalization, the enrichment of cities generates, on the other hand, an increase in social inequalities, which is felt in urbanization processes, increasing the exclusion of the poor in productive processes. In this way:

“(...) the new inequalities are not just reduced to the economic issue, but it is multidimensional, articulating social exclusion, resulting in an urbanization, whose urban growth has reproduced contradictions in medium-sized cities that are difficult to solve”. (CARVALHO, 2003, p. 4)

Herce (2015) states that the increase in the average size of real estate launches is felt by the penetrating power of the financial system in the real estate sector. The concept of location itself changes, since the geographical location no longer depends on the existence of services and infrastructure. Capital gains dazzle real estate entrepreneurs and, in the short term, dazzle the government, due to the increase in revenue, job creation and economic development.

This thinking is a clear reflection of the neoliberal policies adopted, according to Deák (2016), with greater or lesser intensity, varying degrees of success and participation of its populations. These policies were intended to dismantle the welfare state's policies, with an attempt to counter the tendency to generalize the commodity form, disqualifying and delegitimizing the state. Thus, the State is no longer the depository of the collective interest and agent of planning, favoring individualism and short-term perspectives.

The process of economic change, which started in the 1990s, according to Santos (2015), resulted in the migration of capital to the financial segments, as evidenced by the low real growth rates (around 2.4% per year) , while the growth in financial income grew at around 29% per year.

“From that moment on, the valuation possibilities became increasingly strongly associated with investments in papers that, in the great majority, acquire a speculative character”. (SANTOS, 2015, p. 178)

Still for the author, the financialization processes and the consequent internationalization of the flows of financial capital added to the real estate market are felt in the Brazilian metropolis, mainly in São Paulo, and yet, we will observe the entry into this system, of the real estate market in the interior cities. of the country, participating in contemporary financialization processes, with major consequences, especially in the urbanization scales of cities.

When observing the processes that we are exposing, it is important to note that for Pereira (2016) less and less cares, from the point of view of the capital and labor relationship, the place, whether Europe, the United States, Belo Horizonte or São Paulo or any other Latin American city, since the universalization and global character of capitalist reproduction is observed. In this regard, the applicability of several studies about the processes of financialization of capital is justified, on which we base ourselves in order to understand the city under study, which will be treated more specifically in the next chapter.

Pereira (2016) highlights the importance of understanding the role of urbanization for the survival of capitalism, observing the accumulation of capital. For him, the rise of financial capital, in moments after the 2007 crisis, boosted real estate construction and property business, creating the assumption that apparently everyone would be gaining from this dynamic, through the offer of housing, its rentier agents and the population that could acquire housing.

It is in this context of urbanization that condominium typology and even the construction of neighborhoods and entire cities are generalized, through this form of appropriation of urban space. Thus, the illusion that everyone would be gaining from this dynamic falls to the ground since, in the face of subordination to capital, the urban function is reduced to the conditions and needs of capital, being just a business. In this sense, the author points out that *“the emergence of contemporary urbanization is presented in the rise of financialization and acceleration of the use of space as an instrument of reproduction”*. (PEREIRA, 2016, p. 127)

Capital in the real estate sector, according to Pereira (2016), combines two reproduction processes that present themselves as if they were independent. First, the process of labor exploitation with the performance of work incorporated into the value of the product through the immediate production of the construction. Second, the increase in the final price of the product created from the general conditions of production, associating it with changes both in the structuring of space and in the relationship between goods as a financial asset. This is an exploitation of the workforce with exploitative processes.



Figure 19 - Manhattan Closed Condominium, Southern Sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: <http://www.cimaengenharia.com.br/site/portfolio/manhattan>, accessed on 2019, May 09.

These conditions allow the construction entrepreneur to dedicate himself to pleasurable ways of increasing the gains with real estate, predominating:

“(...) a monopoly price that favors political reasons in the real estate market and attenuates the economic rationality of increasing the material productivity of production with the concern to save labor”. (PEREIRA, 2016, p. 131).

It is in this context that capital and its agents, in association with the State, seek political control of this process of capitalization of income, focusing on the formation of prices instead of just the creation of surplus value.

In this way, the appreciation of real estate in the city is subordinated to the needs of capital through the action of the State that manages and perpetuates the dominant interest that controls the production and access to real estate. Although it is not a novelty in the Brazilian urbanization processes, we observe a new scale of action by capital in this process and a performance by the State that was less present.

For the author, contemporary urbanization is characterized by the emergence of financialization and the form of incorporation in the production of space, and the urban space affects the reproduction of capital in its global movement, forming exorbitant prices with contradictory consequences such as an increase in the number of properties unemployed and the number of homeless people.

For Sánchez (2001), to carry out the current phase of capitalism, it is necessary to produce a new space that is pressured by the demands of new forms of accumulation, through logics and strategies on a global scale. Agents and interests combined in different fields, policies and territorial arrangements act in the production of this space, and the world market in cities is driven by different markets, such as the real estate market in which the increasing mobility of its capital allows fluency in agency large operations with international capital investments.

All issues arising from neoliberalism do not contemplate improving the lives of the excluded and on the contrary lead to extreme levels of poverty. According to Benatti (2003), the unemployment of the population excluded from the system generates the production and reproduction of new areas in the cities, occurring the spatialization of exclusion, noticed mainly through the informalization of space and the occupation of areas such as mangroves, water sources, land public and peripheral (see Figure 20, page 58, occupation of area owned by the Union in Uberlândia-MG).



Figure 20 - Glória Irregular Settlement, Southern Sector, Uberlândia, 2018.

Source: <http://g1.globo.com/mg/triangulo-mineiro/noticia/2018/11/28/moradores-do-assentamento-gloria-recebem-certificado-de-posse-da-propriedade-em-uberlandia.ghtml>, accessed on 2019, May 09,

It is important at this point in the text, to start to understand how these observed changes can be felt in the production of our cities, from the point of view of the production of housing for different classes of incomes.

Shimbo (2012) traces a panorama of the recent history of the confluence between State, market and financial capital, from 1986 with the dissolution of BNH, until the housing policies implemented by the Lula government in the 2000s, demonstrating the approximation between financial capital and the real estate sector in Brazil, and its implementation in the second half of the 2000s.

The author demonstrates that since the 1990s, legal and institutional mechanisms have been established in the country in order to consolidate what we see today, which is the consolidation of private housing production, not only for the upper and middle income classes, but now also for a range of income that was not served by the formal market promoted by large companies. At this moment, the author states that the real estate market occupies a central role in Brazilian housing policy today.

For Shimbo (2012), this relationship between public housing policy and private production has always existed, however, its scales of action have changed with the entry of financial capital from large construction companies and increased public and semi-public resources such as the Guarantee Fund by Time of Service (FGTS), the Brazilian Savings and Loan System (SBPE) and the Housing Finance System (SFH).

Therefore, there was an increase in the housing production of large companies that can access SFH credit. This segment fits the production of residential properties for families with monthly income between three and 10 minimum wages, contributing to the increase in the scale of production of houses for this income class in a short time, in the late 2000s.

In this context, Shimbo (2012) states that a new private agent emerges in the production of housing that presents roles of developer and construction company in the same figure, being responsible since the purchase of the land, executes the construction and even commercializes the housing units, including articulating the client's housing finance. In

this system, the agent also captures funds in the capital market, in addition to those of SFH.

With these changes observed in the production of housing in Brazil, we can already consider that there are three models of building the city from housing. A first model is one in which the public authorities and the private sector share the process, and the State is a promoter that finances part of the projects. This model was fundamental for the growth of large construction companies in Brazil and in the increase in the supply of social housing in which the State acts not only as a regulator, but also as a financier, intervening directly in the financial contribution together with the private market, in promoting social interest housing. With the creation of the PMCMV in 2009, this articulation becomes even more tenuous, where we still observe the performance of the private market in the production of social housing for lower income classes, in order to reduce the housing deficit for these income classes, the so-called Track 1 of the program.

By this first model, private companies take advantage of this new capital increase that starts to enter the process, and changes their scale of performance and production, starting to act in the so-called production of social housing in the market. According to Fix (2011), there is a logical difference between enterprises aimed at income brackets from zero to three minimum wages and those destined to income classes between three and 10 minimum salaries, which consists of the fact that enterprises destined to the zero to three bands, the companies are contracted by Caixa Econômica Federal Bank (CEF), are remunerated for the construction and have the demand organized and registered by the city halls. In the second case, the companies take charge of the incorporation that it launches on the market and assumes the risks if they are unable to commercialize the units.

These real estate logics will be illustrated in the third chapter, in order to understand its effects on the socio-spatial processes of segregation and fragmentation of the territory.

In this model, we will study two cases, a first that will deal with PMCMV's enterprise, destined to the bands from zero to three salaries (Residencial Pequis allotment) and a second, represented by the company Construtora MRV, destined to the income classes of three to 10 minimum salaries.



Figura 21 - Aerial view of Parque United Coast Condominium, Gávea Sul Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: <http://today24.su/watch/Video-Panoramico-do-Parque-United-Coast-UberlandiaMG---Drone-MGV/7yFdBuTewfE>, accessed on 2019, May 05.

A second model, we call the private model or market model. In it, the city's production, through the real estate market, is promoted only by the private sector. The public authority in this case assumes the regulatory role when drafting laws to approve the projects or even when creating legal benefits for the implementation of the projects, such as the easing of land use and occupation laws. However, the State does not participate as a promoting agent that finances the market.

In this second model, Silva (2016) raises questions about the commercialization of urban space and its relations with the process of expansion of the city in Brazil whose standards established by real estate production aim at the reproduction of Capital, and that urbanization companies play a relevant role in order to understand the processes of contemporary urbanization.



Figure 22 - Aerial view of the Acácias Uberlândia Allotment, Southern Sector, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: https://deskgram.net/p/2019144431287164829_384450632, accessed on 2019, May 09.

We also consider a third model, in which irregular occupations are framed as promoters and active agents in the construction of the contemporary city in the promotion,

mainly of housing, often counting on the collusion and participation of the State and even of the market.

In this text, we are not going to stick to any historical panorama of how real estate arrangements took place in Brazil over time, since several quality works have studies in this direction, including authors such as those mentioned above. Fix (2011) gives us a subsidy to understand how this process took place in real estate cycles in the country up to the present. As we intend to stick to current processes, we focus on exposing the primacy of the city as a product exercised by the real estate market today, and further ahead its consequences in the construction of the contemporary city.

In the next chapter, we will begin to understand the changes that occurred in the city under study, Uberlândia (Minas Gerais state), through a historic urbanization process, in order to perceive the moment when a new scale of urbanization can be noticed locally.

There is little I can tell you about Aglaura beyond the things its own inhabitants have always repeated: an array of proverbial virtues, of equally proverbial faults, a few eccentricities, some punctilious regard for rule. (CALVINO, 1972, p.67)

THE CITY AS HISTORY: THE URBANIZATION PROCESS

2.1 The beginning of the urban expansion process and the first peripheries

This chapter develops a history of the urbanization process in the city of Uberlândia-MG, contributing to the perception of formal and social changes that generate the contemporary urban fragments observed in the city. Through historical analysis, it is necessary to identify the process of socio-spatial segregation of income classes within the city's intra-urban space in order to understand what is new in terms of explicit forms of segregation in the urban space.

The importance of socio-spatial segregation processes in the formation of the urban territory of the city of Uberlândia is historical. Thus, it is necessary to understand the nature of this process.

Villaça (2001) states that there are segregations of the most varied natures in Brazilian metropolises, mainly of classes, ethnicities or nationalities. The first two types are observed in the city of Uberlândia, since the creation of the neighborhood called Patrimônio in 1889. This neighborhood emerged, in addition to the original nucleus of the city, after the physical barrier established by the São Pedro Brook (currently Rondon Pacheco Avenue) in a region of difficult access and located near the municipal slaughterhouse, inhabited by poor blacks.

These physical and social characteristics also portray, according to Villaça (2001), the best known pattern of segregation in the Brazilian metropolis, which is that of the center x the periphery. We could, with the advent of the constitution of the neighborhood called Patrimônio, observe for the first time in Uberlândia, the segregation of the low-income and black class located in the sub-equipped and distant periphery in contrast to the original center of the city, occupied by the higher-income classes, in location with the majority of urban, public and private services.

Figure 23, on page 57, shows that the city begins its settlement between three water courses, the Uberabinha River, São Pedro Brook and Cajubá Stream, making these natural limiters of the old urban center.

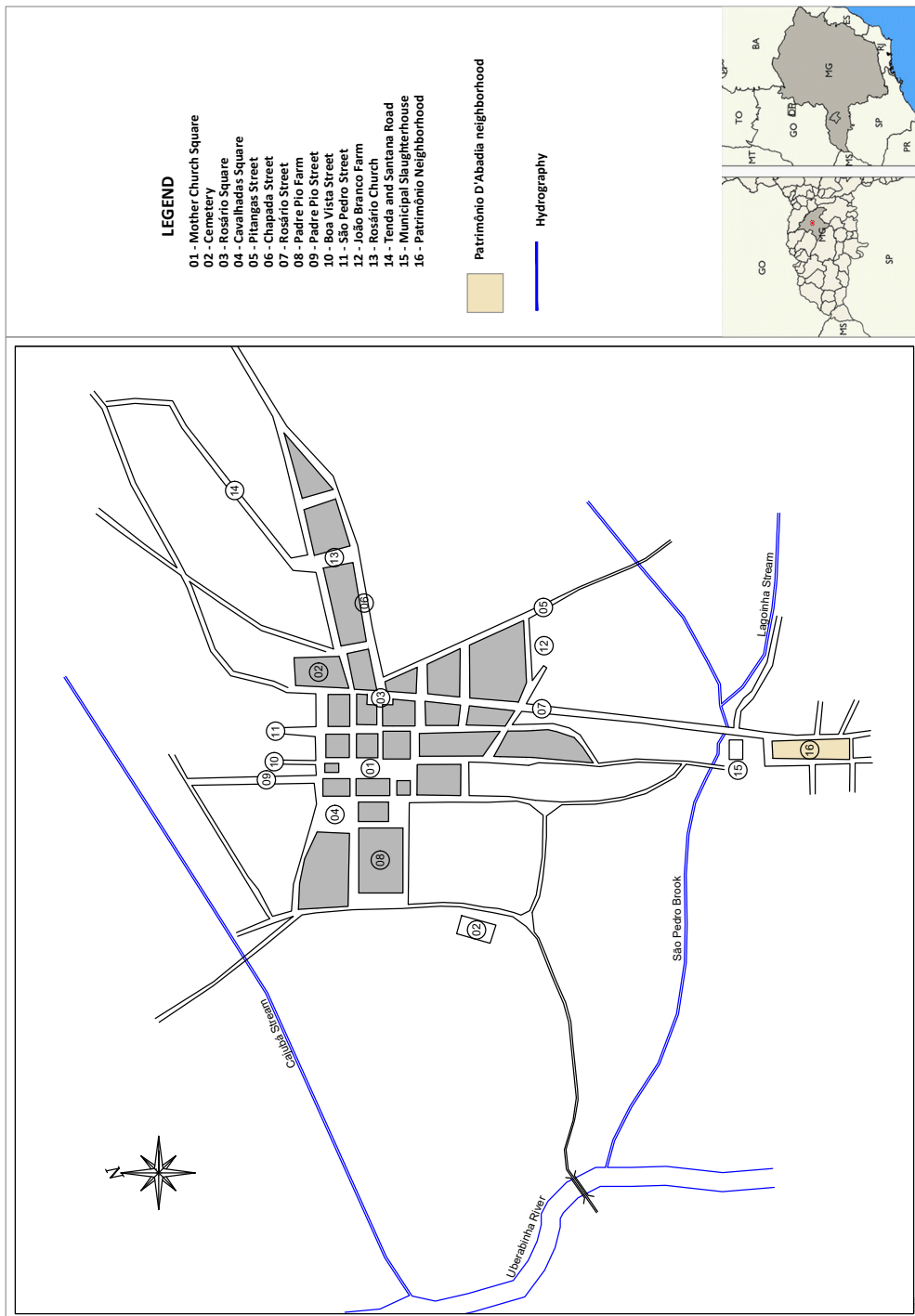


Figure 23 - São Pedro de Uberabinha (now Uberlândia-MG), 1891.
 Source: Soares (1988), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

With the arrival of the railroad in Uberlândia in 1895, the city began a new growth process. Between 1907 and 1908, engineer Mellor Ferreira Amado developed the Urban Project called “Plano das Avenidas” (The Avenues Plan) that connected the area of the old urban center, nowadays Fundinho neighborhood, to the region of the railway station, recently built, where today is located the Central Bus Terminal, part of the local SIT (Integrated Transit System). The plan proposed orthogonal blocks and wide Avenues, for the standard existing at the time, in an elevated and flat area, water divisor, between the basins of São Pedro Brook and Cajubá Stream - these streams were channeled and are currently under Rondon Pacheco and Getúlio Vargas Avenues, respectively. In this region, according to Motta (2017), the city’s commerce developed, and the economic elite of the time built their new homes, concentrating mainly along the João Pinheiro and Cipriano Del Fávoro Avenues.

The arrival of the railroad tracks and the construction of the train station are another limit to the urban center of the city. Thus, the Uberabinha River, São Pedro Brook and Cajubá Stream, and now also the Railway Station and its tracks delimit the city. Beyond these limits, we will see below that the first peripheries (suburbs) of the city will appear, destined to shelter the working and lower income classes.

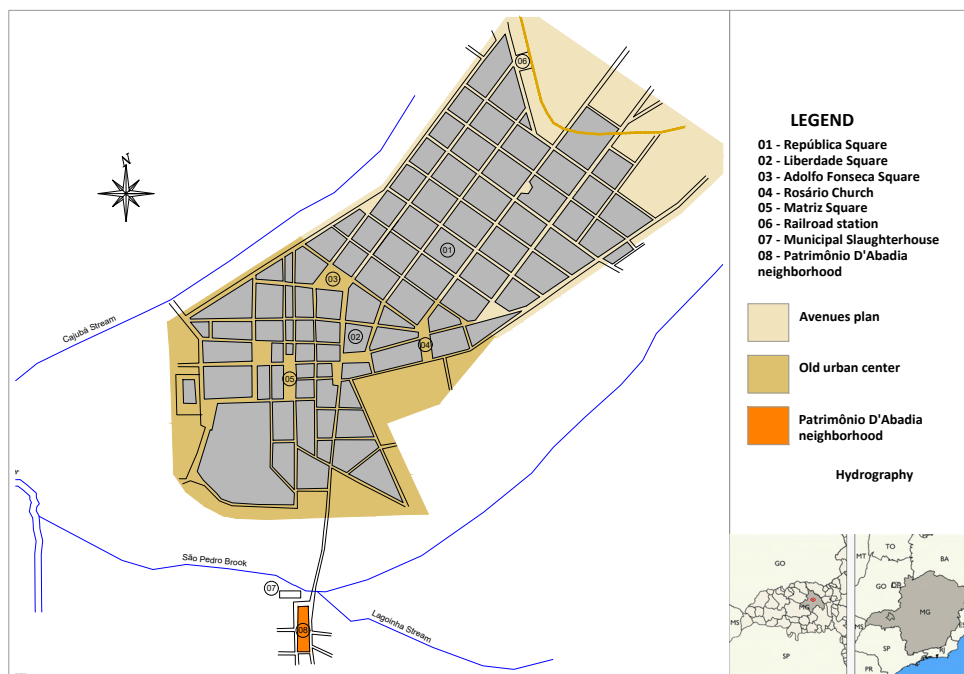


Figure 24 - São Pedro de Uberabinha (now Uberlândia-MG), 1927.

Source: Soares (1988), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Soares (1988) states that the beginning of the 20th century is marked in the city of Uberabinha by investing in equipment such as a public school, telegraph station, squares, drinking water supply, paving of public roads and public chain. For the author, from that

moment onwards the stratification of the spatial structure occurs in which the low-income population leaves the central areas that start to receive new construction standards and investments in infrastructure. The intensification of this process occurs mainly from the 1920s, through the insertion of new agricultural areas into the urban environment, changing the shape of the city and increasing population growth.

With this housing growth that occurred mainly after the end of the First World War, and the installation of several industries in the city, there is a significant housing deficit characterized mainly by the working class.

The presence of the railway and the railway station attracted the implantation of industries. In the same region, the first neighborhood of workers in the city emerges, called Vila Operária (1925). At that time, together with Patrimônio neighborhood, they constituted the first peripheries of the city.



Figure 25 - Aerial photo of the city of Uberlândia, 1940.

Source: <http://www.uberlandia.mg.gov/?pagina=secretariaOrgaos&s=23&pg=320>, accessed on 2018, September 15.

Soares (1988) confirms that the location of the industries and the railway station, as well as the presence of the railroad tracks, accompanies the emergence of the first suburbs of the city, configuring itself as a physical barrier that determines the occupation of the territory by the different income classes.

From that moment on, the city undergoes significant physical growth. Thus, three new neighborhoods named Vila Martins (1925), Vila Osvaldo (1938) and Vila Carneiro (without precise date information) appear.



Figure 26 - Vila Operária, 1920s, Uberabinha (now Uberlândia-MG)

Source: [www.facebook.com, profile @fotosuberlandiariguette](https://www.facebook.com/fotosuberlandiariguette), accessed on 2019, May 09.

An important mark in the historical process of urbanization in the city of Uberlândia, was the creation of the first real estate company in the city, Empresa Uberlandense de Imóveis, owned by Tubal Vilela da Silva, in 1937. Subsequently, the company changed its name to Imobiliária Tubal Vilela and is still active in the city until today. According to information from the company itself, in its more than 80 years of experience in the city's real estate market, more than 75 thousand lots were sold in a total of 18 million square meters (6,95 square miles) of commercialized area.

Tubal Vilela da Silva, owner and founder of the company was mayor of the city of Uberlândia between the years 1951 and 1954 and a state deputy for Minas Gerais between the years 1955 and 1959. A process begins in which the State and the real estate market are confused, which is perpetuated until today, marking the urbanization process of the city of Uberlândia-MG.

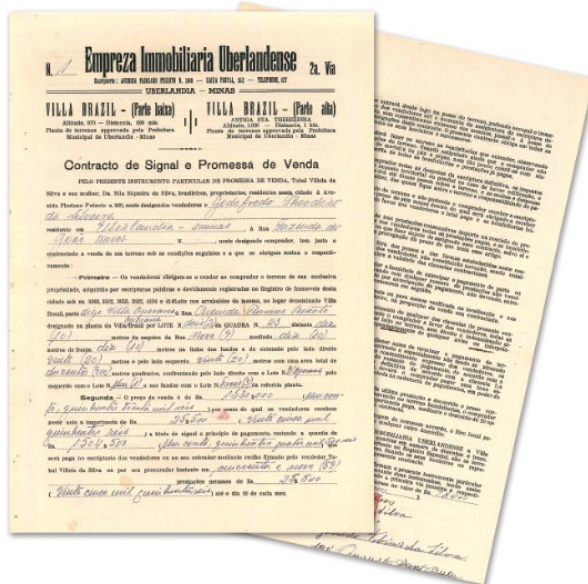


Figure 27 - First sale contract for Empresa Imobiliária Uberlandense, 1937.
 Source: <https://itvurbanismo.com.br/linha-do-tempo>, accessed on 2019, April 14.

Table 04, page 61, shows the list of allotments promoted by the company since its foundation and its location in the urban area of the city of Uberlândia-MG, check spatialization on Map 03, page 63.

Allotment	Year of reference	Location (Sector)	
1	Vila Nova	1928	Central
2	Vila Oriente (Central and Aparecida)	1928	Central
3	Vila Esplanada	1928	Central
4	Vila Brasil	1935	Central
5	Vila Mendonça	1935	Central
6	Vila Carneiro	1938	Central
7	Bom Jesus (Vila Tabocas)	1938	Central
8	Vila Presidente Vargas	1942	South
9	Fluminense (Brasil)	1946	Central
10	Vila Ribeirinho (Lídice)	No data	Central
11	Brasil (Vila Operária)	No data	Central
12	N. Sra. Abadia	1947	South
13	Vila Fátima	1947	Central
14	Vila Saraiva prolongamento	1953	South
15	Pampulha	1953	South
16	Tubalina	1954	South
17	Cazeca	1954	Central

18	Granja Rosa Maria	1962	East
19	Jaraguá	1966	West
20	Sítios de Recreio Ibiporã	1973	South
21	Jaraguá (Prolongamento)	1974	West
22	Tubalina Granges Sector	1978	West
23	Planalto I	1982	West
24	Santo Inácio	1983	West
25	Planalto	1986	West
26	São Lucas	1995	West
27	Jardim Europa	2000	West
28	Jardim Sucupira	2004	East
29	Jardim Itália	2007	West
30	Novo Mundo	2009	East
31	Vida Nova	2012	East
32	Bem Viver	2014	East
33	Reserva dos Ipês	2015	East
34	Reserva do Bosque	2019*	East
35	Itamar Cardoso	2019*	South
36	Sociedade Católica	2019*	South

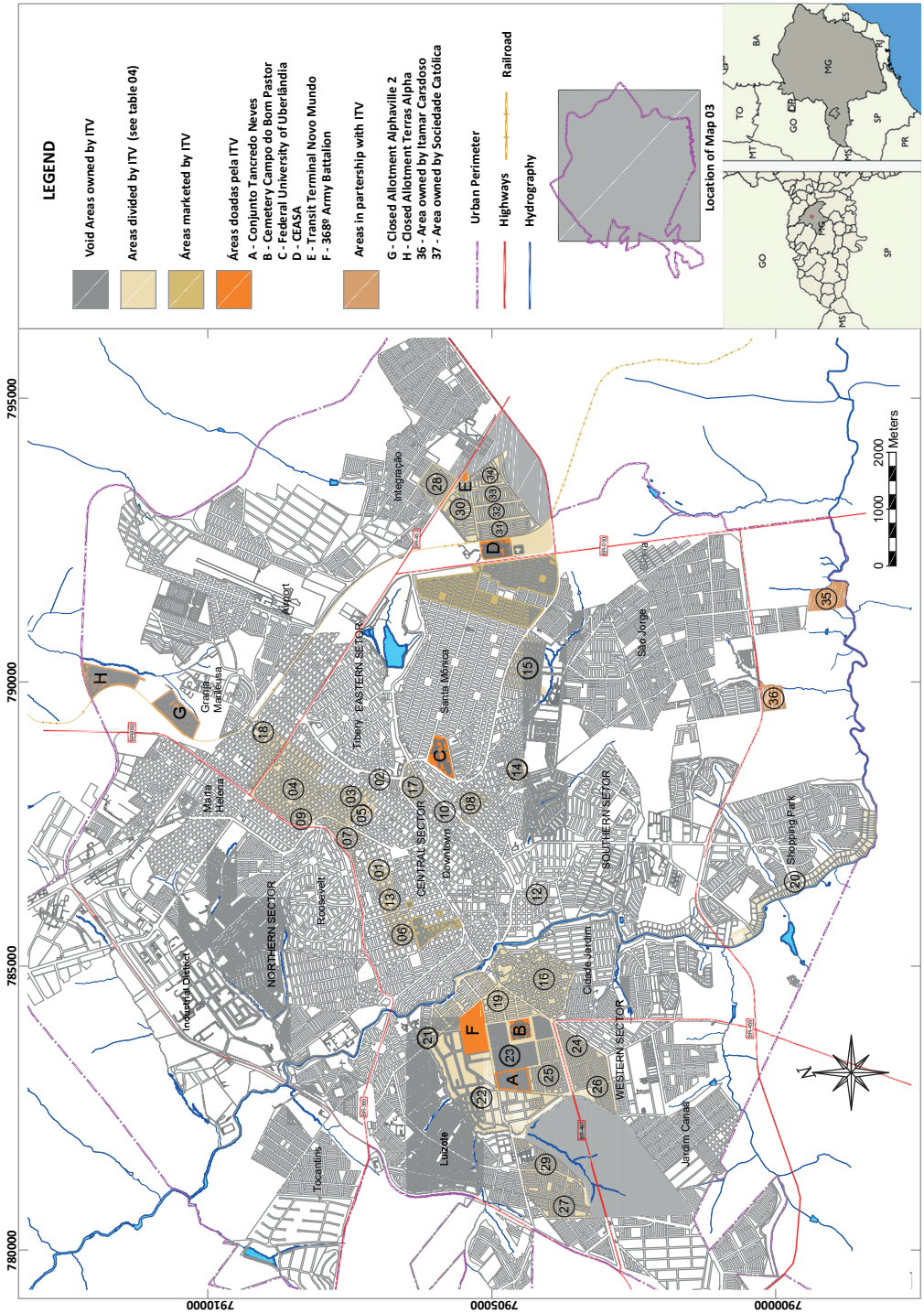
* Projects under approval in 2019.

Table 04: List of allotments of Tubal Vilela Real Estate, 2019.

Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano (2019) e Imobiliária Tubal Vilela (2019), adapted by Guilherme A.S. Motta.

Soares (1988) states that the company's success was due to the modest prices that the lots were sold, and also due to the form of payment, characterized by long-term installments, which occurred with the allotments in the north of the city called Alto da Vila Operária, Vila Santa Terezinha and Brasil.

According to the author, it is in this period of expansion of the peripheries of the city, understood by the 1930s, that the consolidation of the new commercial center that moves from the old urban center to the region of the Plan of the Avenues occurs, affirming Afonso Pena Avenue as the commercial center of the city and its surroundings, with João Pinheiro, Cipriano Del Fávoro Avenues and Clarimundo Carneiro Square (former Liberdade Square) as a place for grouping the high income classes.



Map 03 - Location of allotments undertaken by ITV and areas owned by ITV, Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Base Map PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta

“The growth of the city occurred, during this period, without any planning, in disorder. Most of its neighborhoods were born at random, the result of real estate speculation. They were occupied not because of their better location and infrastructure, but because the lots were sold with more facilities, therefore, more accessible to the purchasing power of the existing population.

Since the founding of the village, the Public Power Sector has had the role of generating conditions for the expansion of the city. Its performance, however, privileged the dominant class, either by donating land, providing infrastructure, or by exempting taxes for each new investment. This behavior resulted in the production of a multifaceted urban space, with urbanized areas interspersed with empty spaces, facilitating the process of social stratification and encouraging real estate speculation”. (SOARES, 1988, p. 43).

From the 1940s, the author demonstrates that the city’s growth was marked by major transformations, driven by the country’s industrialization and the increase in the tertiary sector and the construction of the new federal capital, as well as:

“(…) the intensification of capitalism in the countryside and the strengthening of the road network deepened the social division of labor, (...), thus creating a space for contradictions and conflicts, following the very dynamics of Brazilian social formation”. (SOARES, 1988, p.44)

From this growth observed in the city, according to the numbers shown in the table below, the process of occupying the peripheries and new ways of living such as the favela, the tenement, the housing estate, among others, consolidates, as shown by Soares (1988).

Year	Urban	Rural	Total	urban %	Rural %
1940	22.123	20.056	42.179	52,5	47,5
1950	35.799	19.185	54.874	65,1	34,9
1960	71.717	16.565	88.282	81,2	18,8
1970	111.466	13.240	125.706	89,4	10,6
1980	231.598	9.363	240.961	96,1	3,9
1991	358.165	8.896	367.061	97,6	2,4
2000	488.982	12.232	501.214	97,6	2,4
2010	587.266	16.747	604.013	97,2	2,8
2018 (estimate)			683.247		

Table 05: Population residing in Uberlândia, 1940-2018.

Source: Soares (1988), IBGE Census, BID (2018), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The growth of the city, made possible by the expansion of the industry and the diversification of the local tertiary sector, consolidates the position of regional importance of the city of Uberlândia and attracts improvements, which according to Soares (1988), stands out for the landscaping of squares public works, construction of the municipal airport as well as highways, expansion of the urban water distribution infrastructure and sanitation. These new conditions were established in order to:

"(...) to create conditions for the accumulation and expansion of industrial capital. Concomitantly, real estate capital encouraged the opening of allotments, incorporating new areas into the urban area, thus increasing its space". (SOARES, 1988, p.47)



Figure 28 - Huge houses on João Pinheiro Avenue (20th century, undated).

Source: <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/mg/uberlandia/historico>, accessed on 2019, April 14.

Also, according to the author, the Empresa Imobiliária Uberlandense was fundamental in the urban structuring process of the city, since the real estate market defines the areas that will be endowed with investments, creating new values for urban land. Thus, this new urban dynamic observed from the 1930s, and intensified in the following decades, for Soares (1988), created the conditions for the expansion of the urban fabric of the city of Uberlândia.

In this sense, real estate was essential in the creation and consolidation of the first peripheries of the city of Uberlândia, in addition to the old core of the city and its expansion towards the train station, a region made up of flatter terrains and where the center was concentrated commercial and residential properties of the local elite, therefore, the first peripheries appear. They were born as a provision, mainly, of housing for the working class, with the arrival of the first industries in the city. The expansion of the peripheries, therefore, happens through the displacement of the city's road network towards the north and west of the city, a region where the Integrated Neighborhoods Brasil and Nossa Senhora Aparecida are currently located, to the North and Osvaldo and Martins, to the West.



Figure 29 - Social housing built by Empresa Imobiliária Uberlandense, in the 1950s, on Fernando Vilela Avenue, Vila Martins, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Municipal Public Archive, PMU (2019)

2.2 Social housing and the expansion of local peripheries

Public policies that produce social housing, considering the urbanization of Brazilian cities, are undoubtedly largely responsible for the urban conformation of the periphery. Aligning the proposals for social housing with the issues of elites' interests in terms of land valuation and real estate speculation makes us understand how the contemporary Brazilian city was formed and transformed.

Thus, we could not fail to understand the city of Uberlândia-MG through its participation in public policies to promote social housing. For this, we used methodologically, the structure proposed by Bonduki (2014). In his book "Os pioneiros da habitação social: Cem anos de política pública no Brasil, volume 1" (The pioneers of social housing: One hundred years of public policy in Brazil), the author establishes certain historical periods to outline the panorama of public housing policies in the country. We will use this periodization in order to observe how the city of Uberlândia has participated in these policies throughout its history, from what the author defines as the origins of social housing (1930-1964) until today.

It is important to clarify that this work does not intend to explore the way the State acts through its programs, since several works have already satisfactorily demonstrated the historical processes of production of housing in the country, as well as the research by Bonduki (2014), Royer (2014) and also Shimbo (2012), among others.

Thus, we will analyze these policies and their inferences in the city of Uberlândia, correlating with other relevant facts in the history of urbanization of the city, demonstrating in practice how these housing policies interfered in the urban space. We used the following periods, as established by Bonduki (2014):

1. Origins of social housing / 1930 - 1964
2. The housing and urban policy of the military regime / 1964 - 1986
3. Decades lost or times of utopia and hope? / 1986 - 2002
4. The National Housing Policy of the 21st century: towards the right to decent housing? / 2003 - 2010

2.2.1. Origins of social housing in Uberlândia / 1930 - 1964

The accelerated Brazilian urbanization process occurs, according to Soares (1988), in the middle of an industrialization policy with the expansion of capitalism in the countryside, accentuating the rural-city migration and provoking an accelerated urbanization process with serious social consequences such as lack of urban infrastructure and collective equipment and housing. In this sense, the State begins its participation to improve the general conditions established by the accelerated urbanization process.



Figure 30 - Panoramic view of the city of Uberlândia-MG in the 1940s.

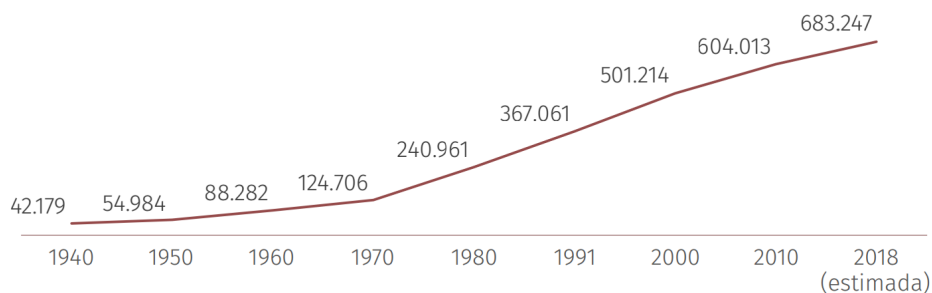
Source: <https://historia-de-uberlandia.webnode.com>, accessed on 2019, May 09.

Bonduki (2014) establishes that the Vargas period, starting with the 1930 Revolution, marks the rise of social housing in Brazil, where the State starts to interfere in all aspects of the country's economic life, including in the production process and in the market housing lease.

As noted in Table 05, page 64, the urbanization rate in the city of Uberlândia-MG, already in the 1940s (see Figure 30, page 67) was 52.5%, while in Brazil this rate was 31.2

% (IBGE). In Brazil, the urban population surpassed the rural population in the 1970 census, when the urbanization rate increased to 55.9% and the urbanization rate in Uberlândia-MG was already 89.4%.

Graph 01, on the left side, shows that the city's population has been growing since the 1940s. From the 1950s to the 1960s, the urban population doubled, from 35,799 inhabitants to 71,466 inhabitants. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the total urban population tripled, from 71,717 inhabitants to 231,598 inhabitants.



Graph 01: Population residing in Uberlândia-MG, period 1940-2018.

Source: IBGE census, adapted by Guilherme A. S. Motta

According to Bonduki (2014), it was only at the end of the Estado Novo¹ that a new institution emerged, specifically aimed at implementing a universalist housing policy. The Casa Popular Foundation was created on May 1st, 1946, starting the process of State participation in the production and commercialization of social housing in the country. In 1954, in the city of Uberlândia, 50 houses were built by the Casa Popular Foundation, in Patrimônio neighborhood (South sector), coincidentally, in the same region occupied by black workers at the end of the 19th century, which we consider the first process of socio-spatial segregation in the city .

“The implementation of a housing complex at that time already meant that new neighborhoods were created in its vicinity, considering the infrastructure invested in the area. However, the location of this complex was not appropriate, the shopping center being too far away, making it difficult to incorporate this area into the city. It thus constitutes a problem for the production of goods for collective consumption, such as: extension of water, electricity and sewage networks and, mainly, transportation. At that time, its construction at that distance was not justified, considering the size of the urban area, the number of inhabitants and the level of land occupation in the city, which had voids, even in the central part”. (SOARES, 1988, p.55-56)

¹ Estado Novo, or Third Brazilian Republic, was the Brazilian political regime established by President Getúlio Vargas on November 10, 1937, which was in force until January 31, 1946. It was characterized by the centralization of power, nationalism, anti-communism and its authoritarianism. It is part of the period in the history of Brazil known as Era Vargas.

According to the author, the construction of this residential is adapted to the logic of the capitalist system in which the expansion of the urban fabric conforms to the objectives of real estate speculation, observing, in this sense, a State action in favor of real estate agents, creating locations privileged properties and real estate valuation.

The second housing development carried out by the Casa Popular Foundation was built in 1957 and delivered to the population in 1959, with more than 80 houses. In the same way as the first housing development in Patrimônio (Figure 31, below), the JK Complex was also built far from the occupied area of the city. See Map 04, page 70, for the location of these developments in the 1959 urban network.

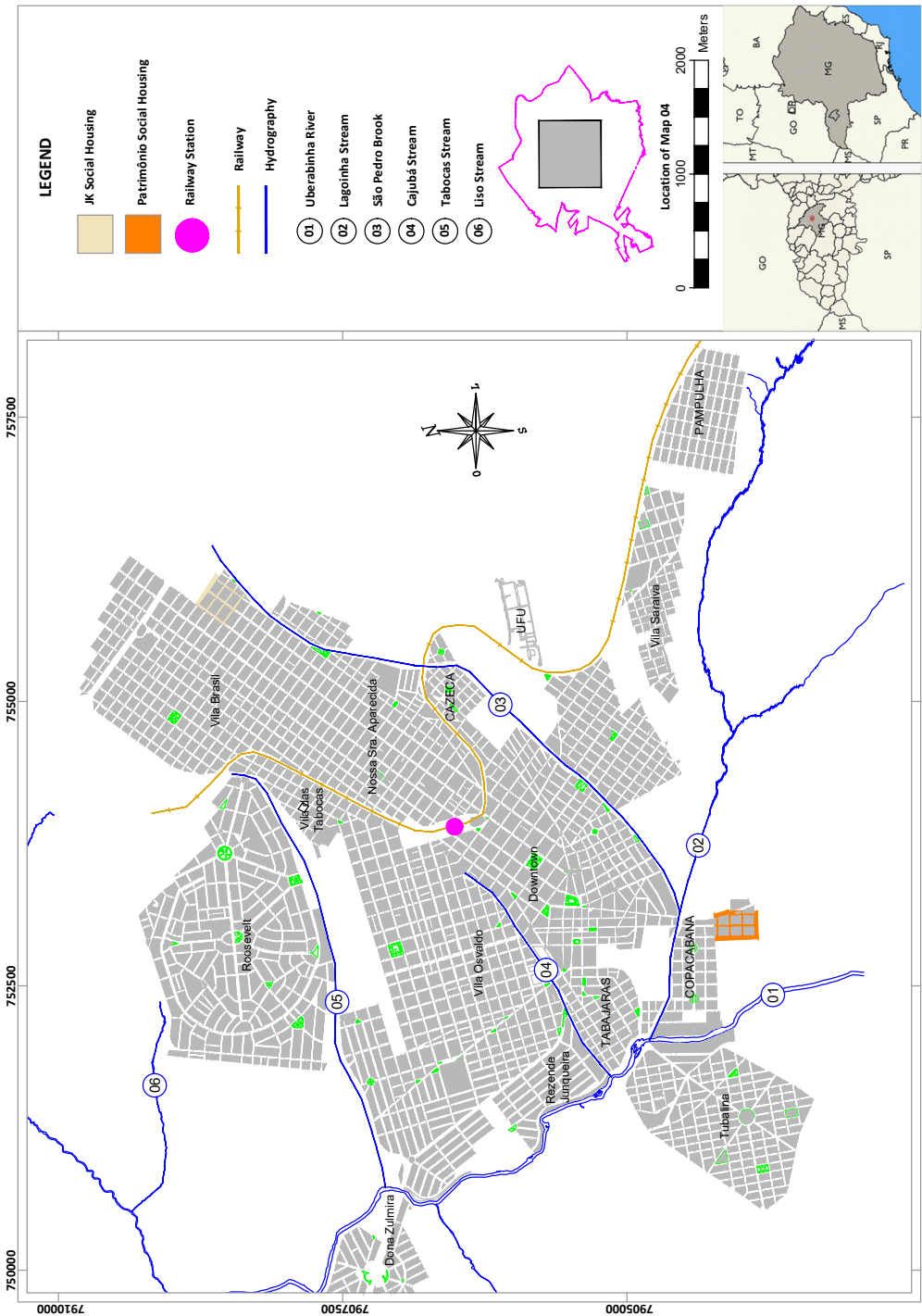


Figure 31 - Housing development in Patrimônio neighborhood, 1950s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Municipal Public Archive, PMU (2019).

Pereira (2010) demonstrated that the new allotments that emerged after 1928 in the city of Uberlândia, were considered positive because they broke the geographical limits of the old Church Heritage (area of the old local urban nucleus). For the author, at that time any urban expansion, like the new allotments, was a “*progressive initiative and inducer of progress, therefore of high public interest*”. (PEREIRA, 2010, p.517)

In this sense, the private ventures that have emerged since then had most of the implementation costs attributed to the government. Allotments were only concerned with dividing the areas into lots and the City Hall later promoted the urbanization of the area. This practice was observed in urban life until around 1966. In Uberlândia-MG, in 1967 with the inauguration of Mayor Renato de Freitas (1967-1970, 1974-1977), a conflict of interest began between the real estate market and the public power, which we will see later.

The city of Uberlândia-MG, since the 1940s has clearly presented a process of real estate speculation that was demonstrated by Soares (1988). According to the author, in the 1940s the city had 7,000 lots and a population of 21,077 inhabitants, 18 years later, in 1958, the city had 28,271 lots and a population of 61,142 inhabitants, which represented a surplus of 16,043 lots (56.5% of the land was vacant). Even with this panorama, the local elite justified using the discourse of the city’s progress and growth, urban expansion and the opening of new allotments.



Map 04 - Location of Patrimônio and JK housing developments in the 1959 urban grid, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Base Map PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

In these two developments, we observed the practice of real estate speculation allied to the State, in the promotion of social housing in remote areas of the central regions, generally without sufficient urban infrastructure, forcing the growth of the urban network and contributing to a process of real estate speculation.

During this period, according to Silva Junior (2013), Vila Presidente Roosevelt was subdivided between the 1940s and 1950s. The subdivision was carried out on a farm owned by the Freitas family, belong by the Mayor Renato de Freitas (1967-1970, 1974-1977), son of Colonel Olímpio de Freitas, one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party of the municipality. The subdivision was delivered without any urban infrastructure and was only regularized in 1976, during his term as mayor. He was the owner of the construction company Fonseca e Freitas, responsible for several real estate projects in the city, including the construction of social housing.

It is important to highlight that in the 1950s the Altamira allotment was undertaken, in the Southern Sector of the city of Uberlândia. This area was owned by Nicomedes Alves dos Santos, who names the main Avenue that connects downtown to neighborhoods in this region of the Southern Sector. Nicomedes was father-in-law of Virgílio Galassi, who would come to be mayor of the city of Uberlândia for four terms. Nicomedes was the father of Rui de Castro Santos, who, as we will see later, was the owner of much of the land in the Umuarama and Alto Umuarama neighborhood region, in the hands of his heirs and even today in allotment processes in the East Sector of the city.

Mayor Raul Pereira de Rezende (1963-1966) was a rancher and owner of the real estate company Urbanizadora Segismundo Pereira who undertook the Santa Mônica and Segismundo Pereira allotments, approved in the same period of his mandate.



Figure 32 - District of Santa Mônica neighborhood, Eastern Sector, in the 1970s.
Source: Pacheco (2015)

Figure 32, page 71, clearly demonstrates how to implement a subdivision, following the logic of real estate speculation. The allotments of Santa Mônica neighborhood were

approved between 1963 and 1966, however, since the image is dated to the 1970s (see also Figure 33, page 72), we see that part of the undertaking between Sector A and Sector C and D were not implanted, obeying the speculative logic.



Figure 33 - Construction of the Sabiá Park Stadium, in the background of Santa Mônica neighborhood, 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Municipal Public Archive, PMU (2019).

In the same period, the implantation of the Santa Mônica campus of the Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU), then Faculty of Engineering (1968) boosted the growth of the region, consolidating the Santa Monica neighborhood as one of the most important in the city.



Figure 34 - UFU Santa Monica Campus, June 1981, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Municipal Public Archive, PMU (2019).



Figure 35 - UFU's Santa Monica Campus in 2018.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DpJodw3KHED>, accessed on 2019, May 09.

2.2.2. The housing and urban policy of the military regime/1964 - 1986

According to Bonduki (2014), the Casa Popular Foundation was transformed into the Federal Housing and Urbanism Service (SERFHAU) shortly after the military coup. In the same year, in August 1964, the National Housing Bank (BNH) was created, beginning the structure of a national housing policy, based on a new Housing Financial System (SFH).

For the author, the BNH played a strategic role, restructuring the institutional and economic order proposed by the military and becoming one of the central instruments of military governments.

The 1950s, for Soares (1988), were marked by transformations occurred by the concentration and centralization of capital in Brazil, constituting a pattern of accumulation and production of durable consumer goods that leveraged the national economy. Together with state intervention in the economy, allowing foreign capital to enter, it became a favorable space for the expansion of the economy and the introduction of new technologies. The country is industrialized, and a developed technical and social division of labor changes the national social structure consolidating a new social segment, the middle class.

In this sense, the first industrial park arises in the city of Uberlândia-MG, in the early 1960s, which, according to Soares (1988), was the result of the accumulation of wealth generated by commercial and agricultural activities. This initiative generates jobs in the city and attracts a larger number of immigrants, increasing the urban population, as shown in Table 05, page 64.



Figure 36 - Uberlândia Industrial District, probably in the 1980s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Municipal Public Archive, PMU (2019).

Soares (1988) demonstrates that the consequences of disorderly growth were felt in the materialization of the demands of the workforce in relation to the availability of transportation, schools, access to health services and housing. Housing has become a serious local issue, with the emergence of slums and rising rental prices.

“Real estate companies have appropriated the urban land and imposed a disorganized form of use. Lots without infrastructure and transit were sold, making life difficult for the low-income population who, living in the peripheries of the city, spent more time commuting. The residents installed there mobilized to claim from the Local Government the extension of water, electricity, paving the streets, sanitary sewage and public transportation”. (SOARES, 1988, p. 67)

As we have already said, the election of Mayor Renato de Freitas (1967/1970) exposes a conflict of interest between the real estate market and the local government. According to Pereira (2010), the vision of the mayor was to try to control growth, to prepare the city for the future, not allowing urban expansion without control. “*In the same spirit, the City Hall has started not to allow new allotments without infrastructure built by the subdividers*”. (PEREIRA, 2010, p.518)



Figure 37 - Downtown Uberlândia-MG, 1960s.

Source: [www.facebook.com, profile @fotosuberlandiariguette](https://www.facebook.com/profile/@fotosuberlandiariguette), accessed on 2019, May 09.

The consequences of Mayor Renato de Freitas' decisions were demonstrated by a report in 1971 by SERFHAU that noted, among other issues, investment in the construction works of schools and sports squares, investment in channeling streams, creation of rain galleries, increased service of the population by drinking water network, creating a catchment system in the Uberabinha River, a decrease in population growth compared to the previous decade. During this period, only six land subdivision projects were approved, with the majority regularizing existing allotments.

In the same way as Empresa Imobiliária Uberlandense, later Imobiliária Tubal Vilela, whose owner became mayor, according to Pacheco (2015), the family of Mayor Renato de Freitas is linked to the company R. Freitas Empreendimentos Imobiliários, which operates in city these days. The mayor owned land mainly in the northern sector of the city. As we have already demonstrated, the farm that originated Vila Presidente Roosevelt was owned by his family, Figure 38, page 76.



Figure 38 - In the foreground Presidente Roosevelt neighborhood, 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019)

In 1968, during the administration of Renato de Freitas, the School of Medicine was inaugurated in the Umuarama neighborhood (Figure 39, page 76), in an area donated by Rui de Castro Santos. He owned the land of the current company Alto Umuarama Empreendimentos, which has large empty areas in the Eastern Sector of Uberlândia until today, as can be seen in Map 15, shown on page 136.

In the next term, Mayor Virgílio Galassi (1971-1973) maintained the effort to attract companies to the Industrial City and invest in infrastructure, with no incentives to accelerate the pace of urban concentration. In this period there was also no approval of new allotments, which according to Pereira (2010) indicates the maintenance of the previous mayor's thinking.



Figure 39 - Umuarama neighborhood where the School of Medicine is located, 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019)

Renato de Freitas returns to the City Hall (1973-1976) and according to Pereira (2010) maintains the investment policy in the existing city, and does not support the opening of new allotments, unless they are carried out with urban equipment needed.

The migration wave that occurred from the countryside to the city and even from smaller cities to developing cities, as was the case in Uberlândia, resulted in a process in which, according to Pereira (2010), the low-income population who did not have the purchasing power to acquire plots and build were referred to popular housing programs.

Another portion of the population that could purchase cheap plots, were the favorites of the real estate market that offered plots without infrastructure, which brought great profits to the developers.

The population without income occupied precarious and temporary housing in irregularly occupied areas, often encouraged politically or by landowners, who were later interested in negotiating their areas with the city. The 1971 SERFHAU report reports on the local housing conditions of that period, demonstrating that the city center has a greater population density and medium and higher residential standards and “affordable housing”.

The report also distinguishes that some neighborhoods are made up of subnormal agglomerations with low hygienic conditions and lack of services, with some neighborhoods close to the perimeter, facilitating their recovery while others are quite remote and hinder improvements.

Despite the presence of agglomerates that the SERFHAU report calls subnormal, according to a study by SESI (1970), regarding slums in the city, the study reports that despite the existence of houses with slum characteristics, they are found in quite a reduced number.

In 1968, BNH began operating in Uberlândia-MG, through the construction of 300 housing units by COHAB-MG (Minas Gerais State Housing Company) in Industrial neighborhood (Figure 40, page 78). From the 1970s onwards, BNH's performance increased, which according to Soares (1988) is due to the city's growth. The construction of the complex in Neighborhood Industrial (1968), according to the author, follows the logic of the peripheral location, about 7km from the city center, with collective equipment, such as school, church, square, water network, sewage and electricity.



Figure 40 - 40 Industrial City Housing Complex, COHAB-MG, 1968, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: [www.facebook.com, profile @fotosuberlandiafiguette](https://www.facebook.com/fotosuberlandiafiguette), accessed on 2019, May 09.

The second term of Mayor Virgílio Galassi (1977-1982), establishes the consolidation in the city of Uberlândia of the construction of housing units in the COHAB-MG model, of great proportions, changing the scale of urbanization through popular housing in the city, and changing the prioritization previously given by Mayor Renato de Freitas to existing areas of the city without infrastructure.

During this period, the city consolidates its population growth. And, at the beginning of the then mayor's term, the construction of two large housing estates began, the Cruzeiro do Sul housing complex (northern sector, Figure 41) and the Luizote I housing complex (western sector, Figure 42, page 79).



Figure 41 - Cruzeiro do Sul housing complex, late 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).



Figure 42 - Luizote de Freitas allotment, late 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

“The debut of the large housing estates in Uberlândia was made in better conditions than those practiced in the rest of the country, in compliance with the municipal law that required complete infrastructure in all land installments. In effect, (...) it did not distinguish between common allotments and those for housing estates. In all installments, the entrepreneurs were, in addition to reserving areas for community equipment, obliged to build the entire infrastructure”. (PEREIRA, 2010, p.540)

Despite this, in 1977 the mayor changed the law and eased the obligation to build infrastructure for common allotments or for social housing, with the construction of curbs, rainwater networks and paving no longer mandatory. This infrastructure would be subsequently implemented by the municipality and the owners of the lots would be charged with an improvement contribution.

According to Pereira (2010), during this period there was a balance between the demand and the supply of housing in the city, and the municipality has managed, until then, to prevent the constitution of slums. However, the author clarifies that “*in 1982, there were already indications of a gap between the demand and the offer of residences, although the number of private constructions was expressive*”. (PEREIRA, 2010, p. 542)

In the same year of 1982, the mayor Virgílio Galassi (1977- 1982), suppressed even more mandatory infrastructure items for installments destined to housing estates, consisting only of the mandatory construction of an electric and lighting network and a drinking water supply network. Despite this, there were attempts by entrepreneurs of non-popular allotments to necessarily fall under this law.

Knowing the interest of COHAB-MG in building housing estates in the city, Mayor Virgílio Galassi acquires, through his company, Viga Empreendimentos Imobiliários, the farm where the housing estates of the Luizote de Freitas neighborhood would be built and sells it to COHAB-MG. Importantly, the mayor’s company owned the Neighborhood Jardim Patrícia region, an area that was speculated through the construction of housing estates and

was only subdivided in the mid-1980s, taking advantage of the infrastructure implemented by the housing estates.

From 1955 to 1987, according to Soares (1988), 19,142 social housing units were distributed in 57 social housing estates by Casa Popular Foundation and BNH. Several sets are built by construction companies, financed by SBPE, and from the mid-1970s onwards, more housing was produced. These developments were built more than 10 km from the city center and had essential services such as water, sewage and lighting, and other collective equipment absent in these developments were later claimed by the population.

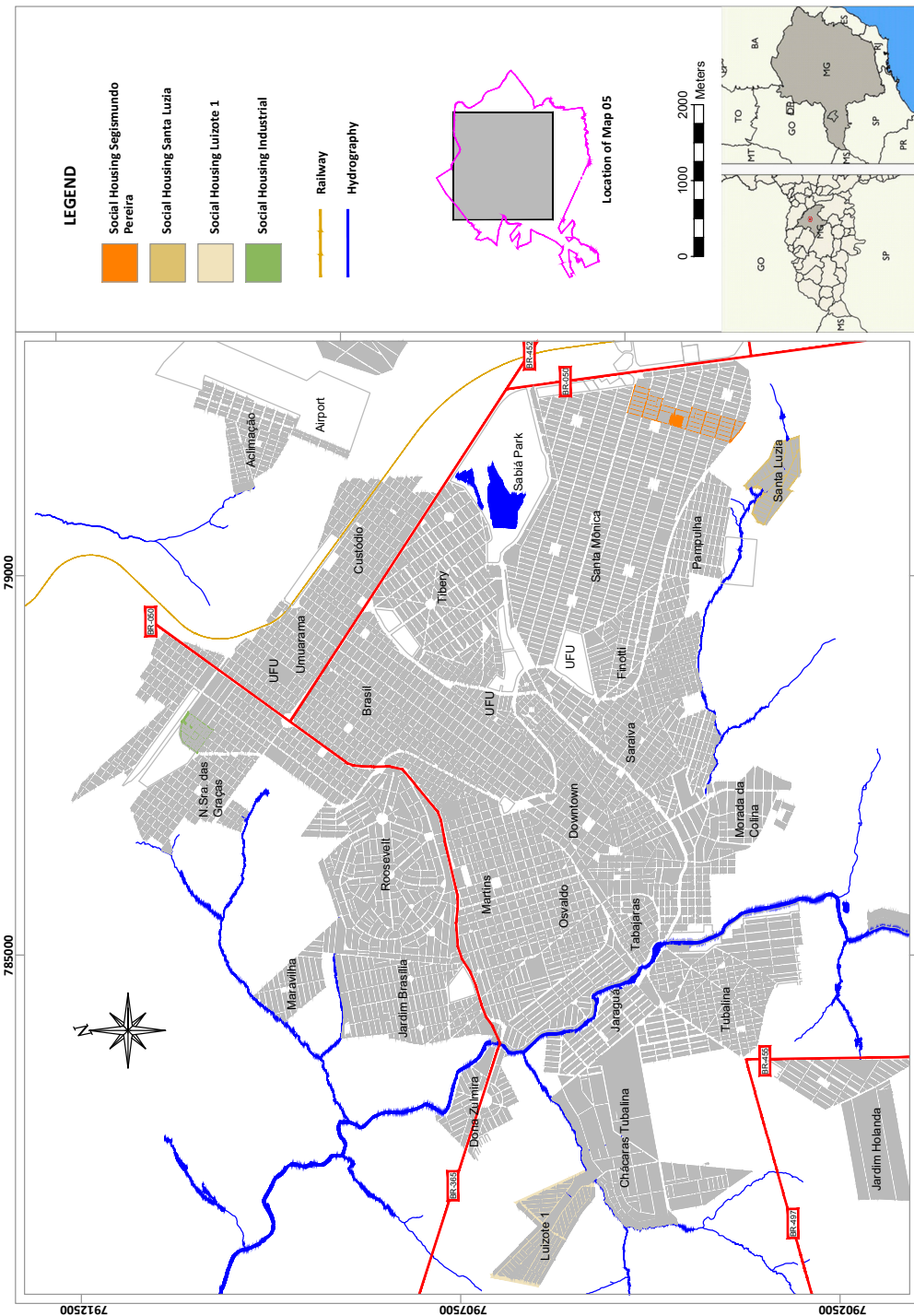
The largest sets implemented by COHAB-MG were the Luizote de Freitas Social Housing Complex (4,032 units), Segismundo Pereira (1,055 units, Figure 43, page 80) and Santa Luzia (799 units), executed in the late 1970s.



Figura 43 - Segismundo Pereira region, late 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive

The logic of the implementation of these housing developments contributed to a process of real estate speculation based on the entire infrastructure implemented for these housing developments. The constitution of large urban voids, and the consolidation of a process of socio-spatial segregation constituted by the location of the housing complexes, alters the scale of urbanization in the city, which in this period, from the 1970s onwards, undergoes major housing growth.

It is interesting to understand that Mayor Virgílio Galassi (1977-1982) was the owner of the real estate company Viga Imóveis, owner of the area where the Luizote de Freitas I and II Complex (1978) was implanted, and of the empty area, in which the Allotment was subsequently implanted. Jardim Patrícia I (1982) and Jardim Patrícia II (1983), in the West Sector. The then mayor was also the owner of areas in the Southern Sector, where the Morada da Colina lots were implemented (1979 and 1984) and the company Viga built the Carajás Residential Complex (1980) with 380 houses.



Map 05 Location of COHAB housing developments in the 1979 urban fabric, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Base Map PMU, organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

In the same period, between the mid-1960s and the 1980s, the approval of dozens of urban allotments was observed concurrently. The impact of the approval of these allotments on the urban ax of the city of Uberlândia can be seen in figure 44 below.



Figure 44 - Evolution of the urban fabric between 1959, 1969 and 1979 in Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urban, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

According to Soares (1988), the COHAB sets:

“(...) they are organizers of the city’s growth. From its implementation, new neighborhoods, production areas and circulation of goods are brought to its surroundings. The housing complexes built by COHAB, despite not having solved the “problem” of housing for the working classes, ended up producing a new space in the city. It contains a portion of the salaried working class, spatially segregated into similar residential units, giving the “idea” of uniformity. However, it reconstructs and reorganizes the space, as a condition of its existence”. (SOARES, 1988, p.156)

Also according to Soares (1988), in this period, the existence of urban voids promoted by the policy of location of the undertakings, which were executed according to the will of the subdividers, generating an underutilization of the areas and changing the shape of the city and the costs of urbanization, were produced by the absence of land occupation norms or laws. For her, the regulation could prevent serious urban problems from happening through the implantation of these groups.

However, we will see later on, that even with the regulation of both the land parceling law (Federal Law 6766/1979), as well as the new Federal Constitution (1988) and the approval of the City Statute (Law 10.257 / 2001), there is no were sufficient to alter this logic, which is maintained until today.

Considering, as we can see in Table 05 (page 64) and Graph 01 (page 68), the population growth in the city of Uberlândia-MG took a leap mainly from the 1960s and 1970s.

In the period between 1964 and 1986, according to data from the Municipal Secretariat of Urban Planning, there were 115 new allotments, as shown in table 06.

Allotment	Approval	Sector	Lots
Chaves	1966	Central	392
Tobias Inácio	1966	Central	38
Jardim Califórnia	1966	East	865
Santa Monica Setores	1966	East	11.715
Novo Horizonte	1966	East	656
Jardim Umuarama	1966	North	2.530
Aclimação	1966	East	862
Maravilha	1966	North	1.419
Marta Helena	1966	North	3.822
Santa Rosa	1966	North	653
Vila Satélite	1966	North	229
Vila Maria	1966	North	565
Jd. Brasília A B C D E F	1966	North	2.685
Vila Cilene	1966	South	63
Vigilato Pereira	1966	South	1.316
Jaraguá	1966	West	1.740
Valeé	1966	West	227
General Osório II	1967	Central	56
São Pedro	1968	Central	177
Tabajaras (desm)	1969	Central	38
Saraiva	1969	South	30
Industrial	1970	North	391
Vila Oliveira	1970	North	208
Jardim Finotti II	1970	East	359
Vila H. Guerra II e III	1972	Central	153
Erlan	1973	Central	235
N Sra. das Graças	1973	North	2.348
Abílio Borges	1973	South	104
Jardim Altamira II	1973	South	736
Eduardo Rende	1974	East	102
Jaraguá	1975	West	31
Chácaras Uirapuru	1976	West	36
Chácaras Bela Vista	1976	West	51
Ch. Jardim Holanda	1976	West	47
Jacob	1976	North	217
Tietê	1976	North	48
Custódio Pereira	1977	East	2.667
J. Abrão e J. Maria	1977	West	52
Ch. N. Sra. Aparecida	1977	South	25
Ch. Ibiporã	1977	South	146

Vila Saraiva Corina Silva	1977	South	10
Cidade Jardim	1978	South	528
Vila Belo Horizonte	1978	South	275
Jardim Metrópole	1978	North	223
Ch. Panorama	1978	West	61
Tubalina	1978	West	957
Luizote I	1978	West	1.180
Ch. M. dos Pássaros	1978	East	55
Conjunto Alvorada	1979	East	110
Jd. Parque do Sabiá	1979	East	329
Segismundo Pereira	1979	East	1.060
M. da Colina I e II	1979	South	114
Santa Luzia	1979	South	703
Jardim das Palmeiras	1979	West	1.304
Residencial Carajás	1980	South	401
Jardim Inconfidência	1980	South	1.142
Jardim Karaíba	1980	South	329
Ch. Rancho Alegre	1980	West	80
Ch. Jardim Panorama	1980	West	277
Morada do Sol	1980	West	497
Jeovah de Oliveira	1980	West	24
Joaquim Peixoto	1980	West	05
Eurípedes Ângelo	1980	East	29
Mansões Aeroporto	1980	East	344
Res Alvorada 2	1980	East	336
Buritis	1981	South	292
C. Jardim Setores	1981	South	2.682
Jardim da Colina	1981	South	84
Jardim Indaiá	1981	South	239
Jd. Nosso Recanto	1981	South	130
Jardim Xangrilá	1981	South	142
Morada da Colina 2	1981	South	72
Res Alvorada 4	1981	North	64
Res Alvorada 3	1981	East	36
São José	1981	North	153
Residencial Gramado	1981	North	836
Cruzeiro do Sul	1981	North	456
Residencial Nosso Lar	1981	West	220
Maracanã	1982	Central	2h8
Jardim das Acácias	1982	South	328
Santa Monica (Rem)	1982	South	1.187

Pacaembu	1982	North	742
Res. Liberdade	1982	North	754
Santo Antônio II	1982	West	664
Taiaman	1982	West	860
Tancredo Neves	1982	West	500
Tocantins I e II	1982	West	2.652
Jaraguá	1982	West	120
Planalto	1982	West	2.068
Jardim Flórida	1982	West	83
Jardim Patrícia	1982	West	1.405
Luizote II	1982	West	2.143
Quinta do Bosque I	1982	East	143
Quintas do Bosque 2	1983	East	156
Jardim Ipanema I e II	1983	East	2.961
Conj. Universitário	1983	East	32
Chác. Panorama I e II	1983	West	183
Santo Inácio	1983	West	1.237
Jaraguá IV e prol	1983	West	129
João Batista Lúcio	1983	West	73
Jardim Ozanam	1983	South	168
Gávea	1983	South	207
Parque Granada	1983	South	653
Pq. São Jorge I e II	1983	South	2.810
Residencial Viviane	1983	South	484
Esperança	1984	North	159
Vila Maria Rem	1985	North	26
Planalto I	1986	West	1.679

Table 06: Allotments approved between 1964 and 1986, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019), Pereira (2010), organized and adapted by Guilherme A.S. Motta.

The evolution of the urban ax between 1964 and 1986, that is, over a period of 22 years, a period of enormous population growth in the city of Uberlândia-MG was exorbitant as shown in figure 45.



Figure 45 - Evolution of the urban fabric between 1964 and 1986, Uberlândia-MG
Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urban, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by
Guilherme A S Motta.

Also, in that period between 1964 and 1986, also due to the high population growth, as we have already seen, there was a great expansion of the city's periphery. We can already see from the analysis of the urban fabri of the 1980s that the city finds a tendency to spread out from its periphery and an extremely fragmented urban fabric, as shown in Figure 45.

The implementation of allotments on the outskirts of the city, intended mainly for the provision of social housing, such as Lotteries Luizote I and II (Figure 46, page 87 and Figure 42, page 79) and Tancredo Neves (Western Sector), Gramado, Liberdade, Pacaembu and Cruzeiro do Sul (Figure 41, page 78, Northern Sector), Alvorada, Segismundo Pereira (Figure 43, page 80), Santa Luzia and São Jorge (Southern Sector), consolidate a process of occupation of the periphery by the low income classes and housing estates. The city center continues to be occupied by the middle and upper income-classes, confirming the logic of occupation center x periphery.

Based on a process of increasing the middle income-classes in the country, mainly after the 1980s, we will see the consolidation of middle class neighborhoods surrounding the city center and the occupation of the most distant peripheries, being inhabited by the lower income classes.

This center-periphery process began at the end of the 19th century in the creation of the Heritage Quarter and the working-class neighborhoods in the city's first peripheries. As the city grows and the areas closer to the center become more valued, the implantation of low-income class neighborhoods becomes more and more peripheral and the central region of the city asserts itself as a prime area and where the classes live higher and middle income.

The construction of housing estates in the 1970s demonstrates the consolidation of a process of locating low-income classes in the periphery of cities:

“As in previous years, the construction of housing estates was carried out in areas far from the center and even from existing neighborhoods. The location was chosen with the intention of valuing the neighboring areas through the construction of infrastructure created by demand and with BNH financing. Given the close relationship between large urban landowners and local politicians, the location was defined according to the interests of this group, in order to direct and control the growth of the city.” (FONSECA, 2007, p.115)

Mayor Virgílio Galassi's tenure (1977/1982) was also marked by major infrastructure works such as the Sucupira water collection and treatment system, the construction of the Sabia Park Stadium (Figure 33, page 72) and also the construction of Governador Rondon Pacheco Avenue, channeling the São Pedro brook (Figure 47, page 88 and Figure 49, page 89).

Mayor Zaire Rezende (1983-1988) governed the municipality in the transition from the end of the military dictatorship and the beginning of the democratization process. The decrease in BNH's resources marks a setback in local housing policies. According to Pereira (2010), during this period there was no construction of any popular housing complex, with self-construction and donation of lots to residents and the collective effort system for popular residential construction having been stimulated.

In the 1980s, Fonseca (2007) observed an increase in the urban density of downtown and the verticalization of its surroundings, notably by buildings destined for the high income classes, now occupying the Fundinho region (Figure 48, page 89) and the Osvaldo neighborhood. For the author, “*the decision of the elites and the middle class to continue to live near downtown guaranteed the maintenance and vitality of their trade*”. (FONSECA, 2007, p.100)



Figure 46 - Luizote de Freitas neighborhood in 1988, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive.



Figure 47 - Canalization work on the São Pedro stream and construction of the Rondon Pacheco Avenue, late 1970s, Uberlândia- MG.

Source: Uberlândia Public Archive.

In this decade, with the growth of the urban area of the city, we were able to observe the tendency for new high-income neighborhoods to move towards the south of the city, which would consolidate, mainly in the 2000s, marking the region as the favorite of local elites.

The opening of Rondon Pacheco Avenue (Figure 47, page 88 and Figure 49, page 89), in the 1970s, facilitates accessibility, especially for residents of the Southern Sector to other parts of the city, contributing to the modernization of the road system and the consolidation and enhancement of the new rich peripheries that emerged in the region.



Figure 48 - Fundinho neighborhood (the city's original urban center) and its high-end buildings built between the decades 1980 and 1990.

Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1802250>, accessed on 2019, May 10.



Figure 49 - Opening of Rondon Pacheco Avenue in the 1970s, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

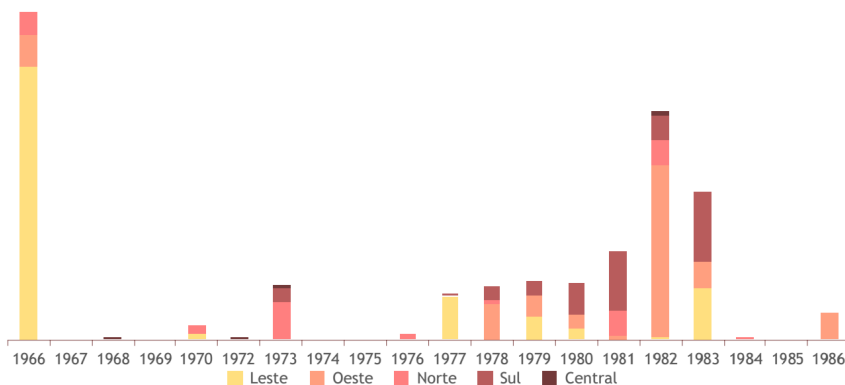
"Its construction was justified by the need for urbanization and occupation of the southern part of the city, with ample investment possibilities on the part of the real estate market". (FONSECA, 2007, p.112)

During this period, we began to notice the beginning of an occupation process by the highest income classes in the southern region of the city, mainly with the Cidade Jardim, Altamira and Jardim Karaiba allotments, in the early 1980s, which was consolidated later, from the 1990s.

Other important works directed the city's growth towards the southern sector of the city:

"If the northern part of the city was already consolidated, however, the southern area was still not very occupied. In 1971, improvements were made to the Avenue that, starting from the center, cut through the new upper-class neighborhoods of the city, towards the Clube Caça e Pesca. It would later become the current Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue. This work had as main objective to create an access road to this region of the city. Mayor Virgílio Galassi had particular interests in promoting the urbanization of the southern zone, since he owned land there and that the occupation of these areas would represent highly profitable businesses, since the city had few exclusive neighborhoods for the high-income population". (FONSECA, 2007, p.112)

After 1986, we will see the consolidation of the region, in which we will observe the construction of the first shopping center in the city. Major public works and investments are now concentrated in the region, such as Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue and Rondon Pacheco Avenue.



Graph 02: Number of approved lots per year in the period between 1966 and 1986, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Urban Planning Municipal Secretariat, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Fonseca (2007) demonstrates that despite the profound economic and social crisis experienced by Brazil in the 1980s, the city of Uberlândia achieved significant growth, driven by speculative practices and, among others, by the strong link between real estate entrepreneurs and the powerful local audience.

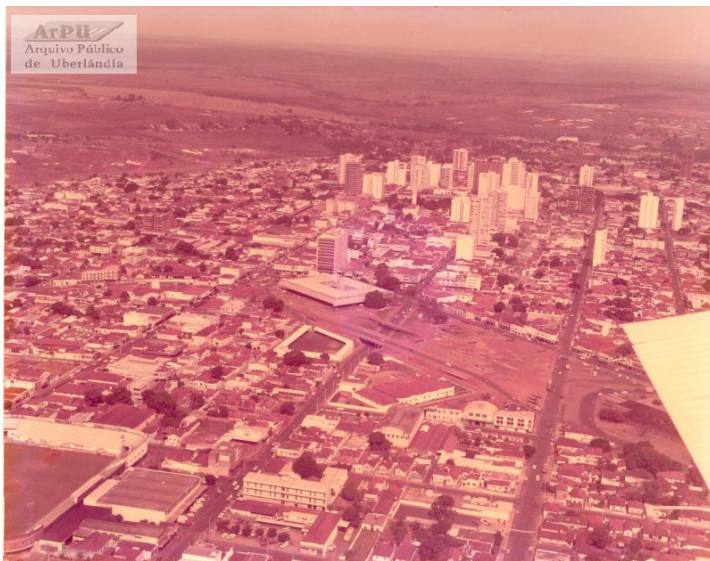
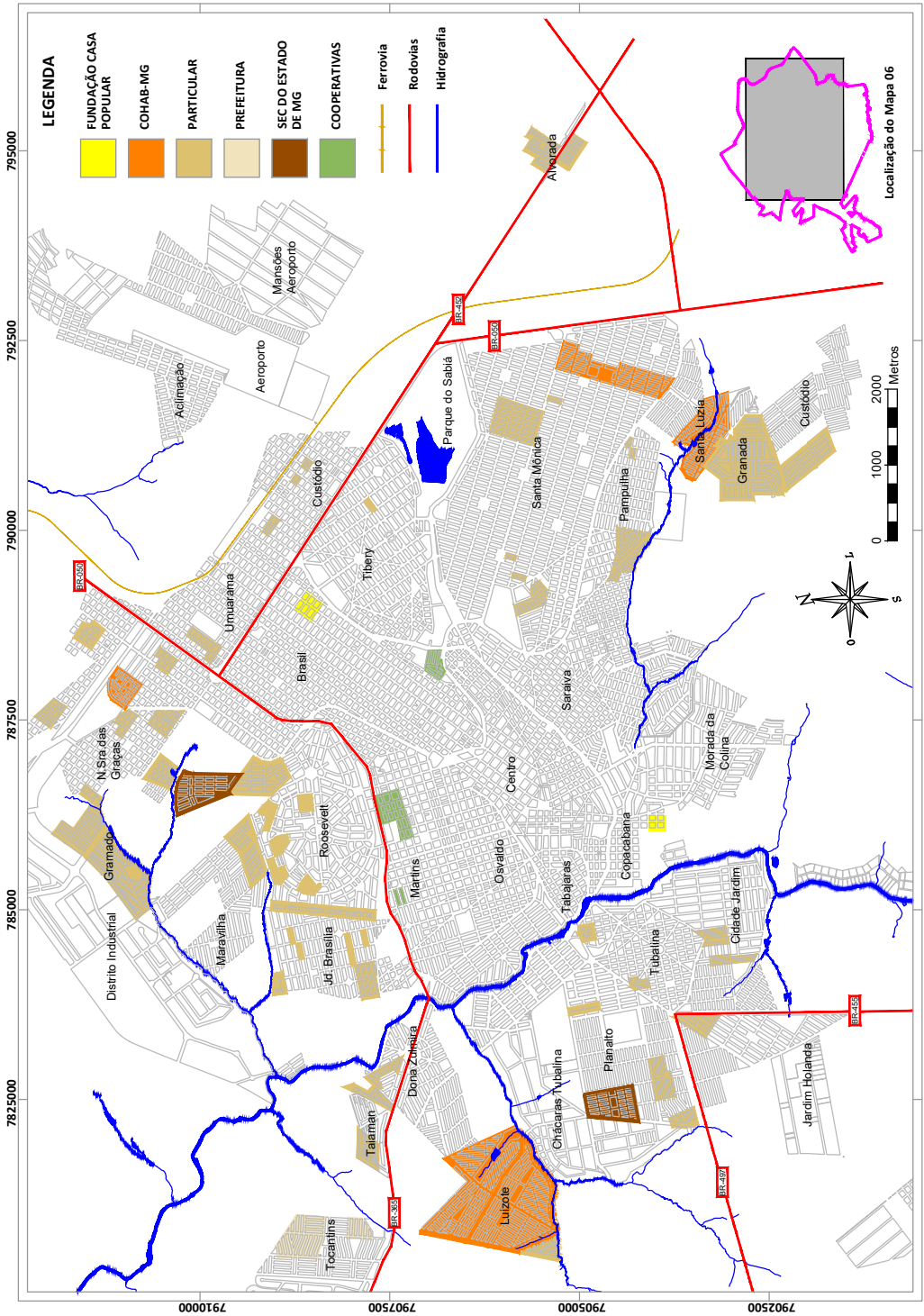


Figura 50 - City of Uberlândia-MG, 1980s.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).



Map 06 - Housing developments until 1986, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), adapted and modified by Guilherme A S Motta.

2.2.3. Decades lost or times of utopia and hope? - 1986 - 2002

According to Bonduki (2014), the period between 1986 and 2002 was one of the most interesting in Brazilian history, marking a strong economic and political crisis that interfered in SFH and BNH and at the end of that period the creation of the Ministry of Cities. For the author, the common sense of classifying this period between the 1980s and 1990s as lost decades is mistaken, since it considers only indicators such as GDP growth (Gross Domestic Product), the delay in the implementation of infrastructure, in order to generate economic development and political difficulties to deepen neoliberalism in the country.

Also, according to the author, this period is marked by social and political vitality, although conflicts and contradictions have also been constant. There, a participatory management model emerges, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution of 1988, which alters the dynamics of public policies in the country.

The 1988 Federal Constitution, known as the Citizen Constitution, contains a chapter on Urban Policy (Chapter II, Articles 182 and 183). Subsequently, in 2001, the City Statute (Law 10,257 of July 10, 2001) regulates articles 182 and 183 of the Federal Constitution, establishing general guidelines for urban policy.

Among others, the 1988 constitution establishes the obligation to prepare the Master Plan for a city with more than twenty thousand inhabitants. Thus, despite the social problems experienced in the 1980s, at the same time there was an increase in hope for building better cities.

The period is marked by the increase in poverty, slums and urban violence, however, the resumption of democracy contributed to the advancement of social rights, citizenship and the universalization of the right to health and education. The monetary crises of that period contributed to hinder the growth of the level of employment and widen the inequality, however, it reached economic stability, which for Bonduki (2014) is essential for better results in the fight against poverty.

“One of the facets of this process, (...) was the struggle for the construction of new paradigms in urban and housing policies, based on principles such as the social function of property, the right to decent housing, universal access to basic sanitation and quality public transit and democratic city management. These principles were articulated in a broad social movement, plural and multifaceted, which, bringing together numerous social organizations and mobilizations, was, over this period, accumulating victories and concrete experiences in the perspective of guaranteeing urban rights.” (BONDUKI, 2014, p. 80)

In Uberlândia-MG, this period was also marked by the end of Mayor Zaire Rezende's term of office (1983-1988). The Municipal Company of Urbanization and Popular Buildings (EMCOP), created in 1980, in order to promote a housing policy in the municipality, received land donated by individuals or owners in debt to the municipality.

However, only with Mayor Zaire Rezende, EMCOP acted “*with the purchase of land and construction materials sold in installments to low-income families, notably the favelas*”. (FONSECA, 2007, p.120). The municipal housing program served around 2000 families until 1987, practically eradicating the city's slums.

Virgílio Galassi (1989-1992) returns to the municipal government and resumes the construction of large housing estates through the return of investments by the Federal Government, with Caixa Econômica Federal replacing BNH, which was extinguished in 1986.

" (...) in 1989, in charge of private companies, but with financing from the state bank, 1,692 houses were built. That same year, 1,000 self-built houses were built by EMCOP in the Jardim das Palmeiras and Ipanema neighborhoods. In this entire decade, a total of 7,503 units were built, 140% of all popular houses built in Uberlândia in previous years". (FONSECA, 2007, p.120)



Figure 51 - City of Uberlândia-MG, 1980s.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

The logic of the growth of the periphery of the city in the 1990s, remains carried out according to the action of real estate speculation, aided by the State financing programs for housing policies.

In that same period, at the beginning of the 1990s, the occupation of the region of what is now called Integração began, in the East Sector of the city of Uberlândia-MG. The location of these occupations will be demonstrated later, when we analyze contemporary processes of urbanization in the Eastern Sector. However, it is important to note that during this period, in the 1990s, the main occupants of the area, according to Pacheco (2015), were transferred from an occupation in the Southern Sector, of particular interest, to those areas of land that had legal disputes. , not being areas of interest to the local real estate market.

Soares (1995) and Fonseca (2007) deconstruct the justification of the local government that investments in social housing and the growth of the city through new allotments would benefit the reduction of an alleged housing deficit. However, until the 1990s, half of the lots available in the city of Uberlândia were unoccupied and what was being done was a change in the speculative logic of opening new allotments and a policy for the occupation of these empty lots:

“However, throughout its history, urban land has been divided, divided according to the interests of these agents, mainly landowners and developers, with the consent of the representatives of the Municipal Administration, when they themselves were not landowners, with an interest in allotment their own lands.” (SOARES, 1995, p. 215)

In 1991, the Allotment Santa Mônica II was approved (Figure 52, below), currently called Morumbi, owned by Badue Morum, the Municipal Secretary of Administration under Mayor Virgílio Galassi. In this subdivision, the Immediate Action in Housing Program (PAIH) was created by the President Fernando Collor de Melo, financing several projects in the city in the 1990s.



Figura 52 - Conjunto Santa Mônica II, current Morumbi neighborhood, 1990s, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

The location of this enterprise follows the same logic of implantation of social housing estates in the city, far from the urban core, leaving large empty areas destined for real estate speculation. These areas, left empty, are owned by Imobiliária Tubal Vilela and are still being subdivided to this day, as we will see later.

The late 1990s began the expansion and consolidation of the upper-income class periphery through closed allotments, located mainly in the Southern Sector.

During the years of mayor Paulo Ferolla da Silva’s administration (1993 1996), who was a friend and had been secretary in the administration of Virgílio Galassi, there was a decrease in State investments in social housing:

“The policy of building large housing estates comes to an end.

The official policy gradually directed the financing to individuals and no longer to private or public companies. (...)

As of 1997, there was no approval of any housing development in Uberlândia”. (PEREIRA, 2010, p.553)

In the following years, during the new administration of Mayor Virgílio Galassi (1997-2000), considering national policies in order to contain external indebtedness, they led, according to Pereira (2010) to a containment of housing financing. In this context, the national bank Caixa Econômica Federal concentrates its financing directly to individuals.

In this period:

"(...) The City Hall sold 1,338 lots through the Municipal Housing Fund, under the land tenure system and 294 through EMAM (Municipal Maintenance Company).

The construction of dwellings in lots of the private initiative or of the City Hall in the model of popular plan (exempt from municipal taxes) reached the number of 8,841 in the period 1997-2000 (4th Virgílio Galassi term).

The last four residential units, taken over by the private sector, took place in 1999". (PEREIRA, 2010, p.554)

In the period between 1995-2002:

"(...) the argument put forward is that the macroeconomic engineering that allowed the relative control of inflation, led the Brazilian government to a process of increasing financial indebtedness". (MOREIRA, 2013, p.36)

In this sense, the author demonstrates that in this period there was an increase in the tax burden not linked to social spending, with cuts in real spending, mainly investments in housing and sanitation.

The housing complexes built in the city until the 1990s, "*due to their physical dimension, the significant number of residents, the existing urban infrastructure, guided and guides the expansion of the city*". (SOARES, 1995, p.243). Likewise, the author states that these spaces fragment the territory, according to one:

"(...) economic and social order, only salaried workers with incomes of up to five national minimum wages have access to their own homes, which excludes a significant portion of the population". (SOARES, 1995, p.243)

A new term by Mayor Zaire Rezende (2001-2004) begins and this period is marked by the consolidation of irregular occupations called Joana D'Arc and São Francisco, located in the East Sector, Morumbi region, which started in the 1990s, as it has already been demonstrated. During this period, we saw the consolidation in the city of Uberlândia of a process of irregular occupation of areas with a large concentration of population, and it is no longer possible, as was done previously, to remove these families to other legally habitable areas.

"At the beginning of 2001, the new mayor took over the administration of the city facing a serious problem: a large occupation of land by several homeless families. To solve the problem, the area located between the Prosperidade, Prosperidade I and Joana D'Arc neighborhoods was expropriated for the settlement of families". (FONSECA, 2007, p.125)

A change in urban policies will be seen in the next period, after the election of

President Lula (2003-2004), when we see the creation of the Ministry of Cities, which will be dealt with in the next item in this chapter.

In the period between 1986 and 2002, the allotments were approved, according to Table 07, below and graph 03, page 99:

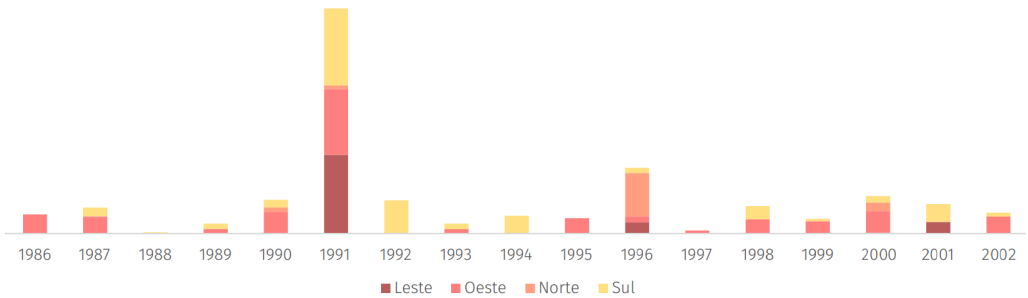
Allotment	Approval	Sector	Lots
Planalto I	1986	West	1.679
Itapema Sul	1987	South	749
Jardim Patrícia II	1987	West	1.463
Esperança II	1987	North	58
Rem. Do Quinhão 2	1988	South	109
Residencial Aruanan	1989	West	362
Residencial Ouro Verde	1989	West	41
Parque São Jorge IV	1989	South	456
Parque São Jorge III prol	1990	South	265
Copacabana Setor Ômega	1990	South	376
Mansour I	1990	West	1.906
Pacaembu II	1990	North	392
Pacaembu III	1991	North	325
Parque Guarani I, II, III and IV	1991	West	1.770
Jardim Canaã I and II	1991	West	3.985
Parque das Seringueiras	1991	South	1.801
Parque São Gabriel	1991	South	1.256
Jardim Aurora Setor A and B	1991	South	2.833
Parque das Laranjeiras	1991	South	426
Parque das Paineiras	1991	South	403
Santa Mônica II Sector A B and C	1991	East	6.877
Shopping Park I and II	1992	South	2.897
Francisco Meza	1992	West	08
Parque dos Eucaliptos	1993	West	392
Jardim da Colina B	1993	South	466
Jardim dos Gravatás	1994	South	802
Parque Res. Do Camaru	1994	South	740
Valter Borges	1994	West	07
Santos Dummont Prol.	1995	East	50
São Lucas	1995	West	1.244
Ovídio Vieira	1995	West	42
Parque das Hortências	1996	South	299
Primavera Parque	1996	South	147
Residencial Jd. Brasília	1996	North	480
Jardim América I and II	1996	North	2.436

Conj. Hab. Dona Maria Rezende	1996	North	865
Tocantins prolongamento	1996	West	45
Talismã	1996	West	432
Moinho de Vento	1996	West	58
Novo Umuarama	1996	East	252
Alto Umuarama	1996	East	726
Luizote de Freitas III	1997	West	276
Parque Santo Antônio	1998	West	1.088
Edma Lannes	1998	West	24
Mansour I prol	1998	West	74
Jardim Umuarama II GI D	1998	East	61
Nova Uberlândia	1998	South	1090
Villagio Da Colina*	1998	South	58
Taiamam prolongamento	1999	West	464
Parque dos Eucaliptos II	1999	West	605
Parque São Jorge V	1999	South	170
Jardim Indaiá Reloteamento	1999	South	53
Gávea Hill I e II*	2000	South	258
Vila do Sol*	2000	South	127
Gávea Sul	2000	South	182
Santa Rosa prolongamento	2000	North	758
Jardim Umuarama II GL E	2000	East	70
Jardim Europa	2000	West	1.857
Kimifuku Takei	2000	West	26
Jefferson Pascoal	2001	West	12
Marconi Paulo	2001	West	10
Alto Umuarama II	2001	East	1.003
Jardim Botânico	2001	South	1.561
Joab de Albuquerque	2002	West	12
Bárbara Andrade	2002	West	66
Jardim Célia	2002	West	1.368
Tolerância	2002	West	38
Jardim Barcelona*	2002	South	351

* Closed allotments / communities

Table 07: Urban social housing developments approved between 1986 and 2002, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.



Graph 03: Number of approved lots per year in the period between 1986 and 2002, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Of the 65 residential allotments approved in the period from 1986 to 2002, we can highlight that 28 allotments, that is, 43% were located in the South Sector of the city of Uberlândia-MG, which highlights this region as one of the fastest growing since then. Of these, five are closed communities for the high-income classes, approved as from 1998.

The consolidation process of the Southern Sector as an area of concentration of the high income- classes, mainly along the axis of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue (Figure 53, below), as we have already seen, begins in the 1970s. After investments as the construction of this Avenue, of Rondon Pacheco Avenue, allowing easy access to the plots located in the south sector, this process is intensified.



Figure 53 - Duplication of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, 1990s, Southern Sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

In 1986, the first shopping mall in the city of Uberlândia, Ubershopping, was inaugurated in the Southern Sector. Currently, the building and land where the mall was located is occupied by an important hospital center and a private college.

"Opened in 1986, Ubershopping was located in the middle of the high-income residential area and far from the main access roads. Unlike most shopping malls in the country, it did not belong to the large networks of developers that operated in this area and, therefore, did not obey the criteria and highly sophisticated techniques that involve the installation of a shopping mall. Even so, it managed to attract important department stores that were supposed to act as "anchors". In a short time, however, the enterprise proved to be a commercial failure and, gradually, the stores were closing. In later years, this building started to house several private colleges, which took turns - and continue to take turns today - in the occupation of their spaces, while their own campuses were not - or are - built." (FONSECA, 2007, p. 101)

Despite the failure of the aforementioned shopping mall, we highlight the region's tendency to house large equipment and its consolidation as the preferred one to house the city's high-income classes and the main closed allotments.

Even with the consolidation of the upper income class in the aforementioned Southern Sector, it should be noted that a large part of the region is occupied by popular neighborhoods, also located in the Southern Sector, in its eastern portion, where one of the main peripheries of the city is located.

In this place, several popular groups were created, with emphasis on the São Jorge, Seringueiras, Laranjeiras, Paineiras, São Gabriel and Aurora groups, currently being one of the most densely populated areas in the city. In the same Southern Sector, at the end of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, we will see in a later item, still in this chapter, the location of the first PMCMV (My house my life social housing program) projects, phase 1, in the city of Uberlândia-MG. However, the best located areas and where the main collective facilities in the region are located, are inhabited by the highest income classes, along the aforementioned Avenue.

In the same period, in other sectors of the city, several housing developments were also launched, following the same logic of location in peripheral regions and lacking infrastructure, increasing the cost of their implementation and creating large empty areas within the urban perimeter, in order to speculate real estate. The main groups are Mansour, Guarani, located in the Western Sector and the Santa Mônica II group (Figure 54, page 97), located in the Eastern Sector.



Figure 54 - Conjunto Santa Mônica II, current Morumbi neighborhood, Eastern Sector, 1993s, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Uberlândia Public Archive (2019).

The 1990s are marked by the urbanization process of the city with the consolidation of a process of socio-spatial segregation, which we have seen happen since the foundation of the city with the establishment of the Patrimônio neighborhood. Now, the large peripheries for the low-income classes and housing estates are quite remarkable and on a large scale. At the same time, we see the trend of the location of the highest income classes starting from the center of the city towards the South Sector, from the axis of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue.

Thus, we can say that this process of socio-spatial segregation is not new and was present throughout the city's growth period. However, what we see since the 1990s is the consolidation of this process through locations that consider income classes within the

urban perimeter. Especially the upper income classes self-regulate themselves in very well-defined urban spaces. In the next decade, we will see that, from the consolidation of this process and the reaffirmation of others already consolidated, such as the construction of large housing estates in the remote peripheries, we will highlight a new scale in this process, observed from the mid-2000s to the present.

2.2.4. The national housing policy of the 21st century: towards the right to decent housing? / 2003 - 2010

For Bonduki (2014), it is not yet possible to say whether, from the beginning of the 21st century, a new period began in questions related to public housing policy in the country. For the author:

"It is certain, however, that the inclusion of the right to housing in the Constitution, approval of the City Statute (2001), the creation of the Ministry of Cities (2003) and the formulation of a new National Housing Policy (2004) and the National Plan Housing (2008) are important milestones". (BONDUKI, 2014, p.107)

For him, the improvement in the economic situation in the country made it possible to return the investment in housing, both social and market, and the implementation of Federal Government programs such as the PAC for the Settlement of Precarious Settlements (2007) and My House My Life (2009).

After years of economic stagnation, and consequently, the fall in financing by the SBPE and FGTS system, in the late 1990s the country began to experience a period of economic stability. "*Since 2003, (...) SFH has undergone changes that have brought its results to levels equal to or higher than the years of the best quantitative performance of the BNH era*". (ROYER, 2014, p.76)

According to the author, when compared to 2003, the values of units financed by SBPE increased by 47.6% in the number of units, until 2008. If the values are compared in relation to 2002, the increase was 86, 1% in the number of units.

"In 2007 and 2008, the hiring of resources from SBPE reached a peak that became known as the real estate boom, prior to the launch of My House My Life (Minha Casa Minha Vida), but with very expressive numbers that, in fact, owe a good part of their results to performance of the Federal Government (...)". (ROYER, 2014, p.79)

Allotment	Approval	Sector	Lots
Vila Real*	2003	South	110
Residencial Campo Alegre	2003	South	562
Jardim das Palmeiras II	2003	Oeste	2.181
Parque Trianon	2003	Oeste	408
Mizael Oliveira	2003	Oeste	08
Girassol*	2003	Leste	59

Decisão*	2004	Oeste	81
Haroldo Rodrigues	2004	Oeste	10
João Borges	2004	Oeste	08
Jardins Roma*	2004	South	400
Jardim Veneza	2004	South	454
Royal Park Residence*	2004	South	271
Bosque Karaíba*	2004	South	183
Paradiso*	2004	Leste	316
Jardim Sucupira	2004	East	884
Res. Jardim Brasília II	2004	Norte	380
Jardim Botânico II	2007	South	385
Reserva do Vale	2007	South	186
Gávea Paradiso e Solares da Gávea*	2007	South	509
Village Karaíba*	2007	South	01
Vila dos Ipês*	2007	South	117
Jardim Letícia*	2007	West	121
Alegria*	2007	West	38
Manoel de Andrade	2007	West	33
Jardim Itália	2007	West	1.154
Bosque dos Buritis	2007	Leste	683
Boulevard Mineiro	2008	North	180
Novo Taiaman	2008	Oeste	119
Disciplina*	2008	Oeste	38
Ordem*	2008	Oeste	38
Residencial Carmel*	2008	South	47
Terra Nova Uberlândia**	2008	East	06
The Palms**	2009	South	01
Shopping Park III, IV, V, VI and VII	2009	South	2.770
Park dos Jacarandás I and II	2009	South	1.150
Novo Mundo	2009	East	861
Paulo Pedro Biasi	2009	West	09
Valter Borges	2009	West	14
Jardim Brasília III	2009	North	1.009
Park dos Ipês	2010	South	62
Spazio Único	2010	South	01
Jardins Gênova*	2010	South	343
Jardim Vica	2010	West	477
Cidade Verde I and II	2010	West	29
Jardim Europa II	2010	West	02
Jardim das Palmeiras III	2011	West	185
Res. Jardim Holanda	2011	West	28

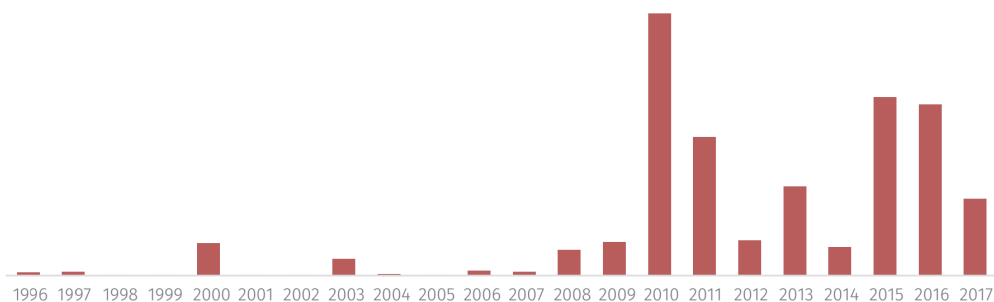
Felicidade	2011	West	38
Grand Ville	2011	East	63
Splêndido	2011	South	715
Vale dos Vinhedos	2011	South	74
Acácias Uberlândia	2011	South	11

* Closed Allotments (closed communities)

** closed horizontal condominiums

Table 08: Urban social housing developments approved between 2003 and 2011, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.



Graph 04: Housing units owned by Contrutora MRV company in the city of Uberlândia-MG, 1996-2017.

Source: Uberlândia City Hall (2019)

Mayor Odelmo Leão Carneiro was elected in 2004 and was in front of the city of Uberlândia for three terms, between 2005 and 2008, between 2009 and 2012 and currently, between 2017 and 2020. The mayor was president of the Rural Union of Uberlândia and political affiliate of Virgílio Galassi. Its deputy mayor for the first terms was the physician Aristides de Freitas, nephew of former mayor Renato de Freitas. The last term deputy mayor is Paulo Sergio, owner of the El Global construction company, one of the biggest in the city, responsible for building major of the current allotments. There is a maintenance of a political circle that has ruled the city for decades.

According to Pereira (2010), during the period of Mayor Odelmo Leão's first term (2005-2012), the city had an approximate number of 19,000 applications from candidates for the acquisition of social housing. According to the author, this question occurred, "*at the same moment that it reached the peak, in an almost unbearable way, terrible social pressure demanding a solution of needs, mainly regarding popular housing*". (PEREIRA, 2010)

In this context, the author demonstrated that during this period the federal financing lines were suspended pending new guidelines in which the municipality should adjust.

The housing program My House My Life (Minha Casa Minha Vida - PMCMV) was created in 2009, during the second administration of the Lula Government (2003 - 2010). This housing policy emerged within a proposal called PAC (Growth Acceleration Program) directing government policies seeking to resume economic and social infrastructure works,

framing the return on investment in housing policy.

The creation of the program marked a new growth phase for Brazilian civil construction. Moreira (2013) highlights the large number of small promoters or local and regional promoters who benefit from the resumption of housing financing. However, it was publicly traded companies that presented hegemonic conditions due to the volume of construction and concentration in the entire national territory.

Construtora MRV, whose capital was listed on the Stock Exchange in 2007, saw its investment capital grow across the country, and locally, according to Graph 05, page 216, with the implementation of the PMCMV in 2009 and the inflow of capital for investment. The company, which allocates housing to income classes between three and 10 minimum salaries, has seen an exponential growth in the number of housing available in the city of Uberlândia-MG, since then.

Maricato (2011) demonstrates that the formulation of criteria for the location of new housing developments follows market determinations, culminating, once again in the historic process of urbanization, the construction of buildings in a place of difficult access, with a lack of urban equipment such as schools, hospitals and public transit.

"The legitimacy and viability of the Program are questioned when companies, with their individual strategies, can define the location of most of the 1 million houses initially collimated by the PMCMV". (MOREIRA, 2013, p. 62)

The first phase of the PMCMV in the city of Uberlândia-MG, according to Moreira (2013) financed around 10,000 housing units, four thousand of which were destined for low-income families. In this sense, 3,700 houses were built in Shopping Park neighborhood (South Sector, Figure 55, page 100), 270 houses in Jardim Sucupira (Eastern Sector) and 400 in Jardim Vica (Western Sector).



Figure 55 - Street appearance in the Shopping Park neighborhood in Uberlândia-MG.

Source: <http://uipi.com.br/noticias/geral/2013/11/01/casa-relaciona-problemas-nas-casas-do-shopping-park-a-invasoes-e-da-dicas-de-seguranca/>, accessed on 2019, February 02.

Looking at the location of these developments, we can see once again their periphery and the lack of public facilities aimed at the resident population, in addition to urban mobility problems.

In the region of the so-called Shopping Park (Figure 55, page 100), according to data obtained from SEPLAN, a total of nine allotments were approved in 2009 for the implantation of 3,632 houses within the Federal Government's PMCMV, with investment of US\$ 37,11 million, destined to the income class from zero to three minimum wages. The houses are between 37.91 square meters (408 sq foot) and 38.15 square meters (410,5 sq foot) and were delivered to the population at the end of 2012. A criticism of this enterprise, reported in the local and even national media, is the fact that the The project was delivered without the construction and operation of essential public equipment, such as schools and health centers, and also at a distance of approximately 7,500 meters (4,66 miles) from the city center.

To exemplify some problems observed in the neighborhood, through the news site www.correiodeUberlândia.com.br, of September 18, 2013, the residents reported problems with the electrical network of the houses. Caixa Econômica Federal bank, through the electronic address <http://mcmv.caixa.gov.br/caixa-esclarece-informacoes-sobre-residencial-shopping-park-em-Uberlândia/>, clarifies information regarding the matter published in the newspaper Estado de Minas that, on the spot, some landowners flattened their plots, contrary to the guidelines of the Caixa Econômica Federal, removing the existing slopes, and did not build a retaining wall to contain the gap by this intervention. With this type of intervention, an unstable “ravine” was created, and by failing to build the retaining wall before the rainy season, these ravines could put the houses in the back at risk of collapse. To remove the danger, Caixa at the time engaged in the hiring and execution of 13 sections of retaining walls in order to guarantee the stability of houses that were at risk. According to information from Caixa, these walls were built.

Prior to the PMCMV, several social housing units were built in Uberlândia-MG. Between 2007 and 2008, the Residential Leasing Program (PAR) built 668 social housing units in Uberlândia, located in the Minas Gerais, Dona Zulmira, Canaã and Jardim das Palmeiras II neighborhoods.

Through the Tchou-Aluguel program, by 2011, 2,392 social housing units were completed through the program, according to table 09, beside.

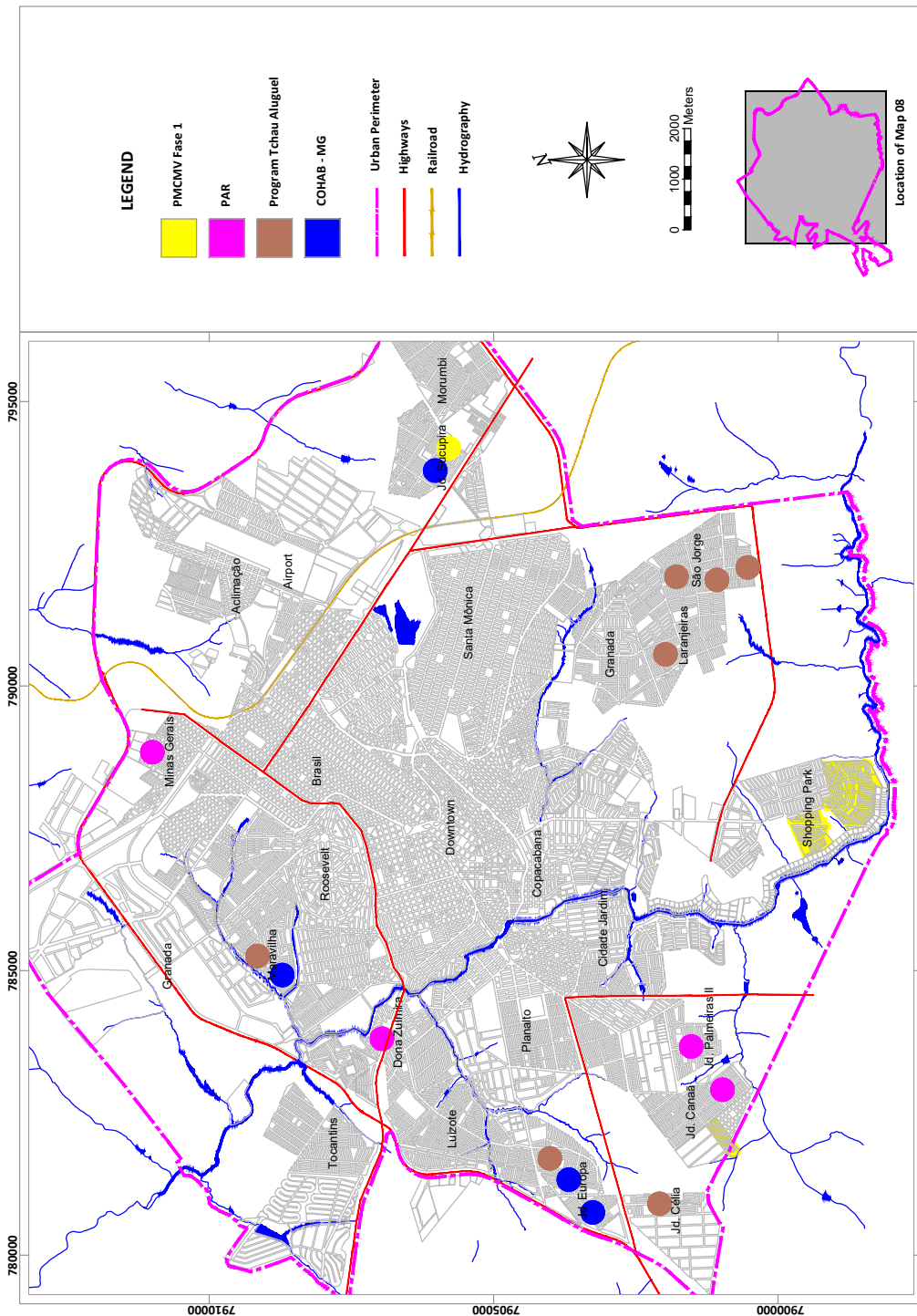
The Tchou-Aluguel Program built residences with funds from the Ministry of Cities, through the Pro-Housing Program and the Municipal Fund for Housing of Social Interest (FMHIS). According to an interview conducted by the then Municipal Mayor Odelmo Leão Carneiro (2005-2012, 2017-2024), the projects carried out by the program were carried out by occupying vacancies already existing within the urban perimeter, not allowing its expansion to implement social housing.

In December 2009, 365 social housing were completed through the Lares Geraes Program (COHAB-MG) in the Shopping Park, Jardim Europa, Parque Santo Antônio, Jardim das Palmeiras, Jardim Sucupira and Maria Resende neighborhoods. This program was developed by COHAB-MG, in partnership with the municipality of Uberlândia-MG. The regions where the houses were built can be seen on Map 08, page 102.

Location - Neibhborhood	Sector	Number of units	Year	Program
Minas Gerais, Dona Zulmira and Canaã	North and West	168	2007	PAR
Jardim das Palmeiras II	West	500	2008	PAR
Morumbi, Campo Alegre and Zaire Rezende	East	438 (lots)	2008	Tchau Aluguel
Seringueiras and São Gabriel	South	147	2009	Tchau Aluguel
Laranjeiras	South	144	2009	Tchau Aluguel
São Jorge I	South	176	2010	Tchau Aluguel
Jardim Célia	West	1.136	2010	Tchau Aluguel
Tapuirama District (Rural Area)	District	51	2011	Tchau Aluguel
Jardim Europa	Oeste	10	2011	Tchau Aluguel
Campo Alegre	South	253	2011	Tchau Aluguel
Maravilha	North	37	2011	Tchau Aluguel
Total		3.060		

Table 09: List of residencial developments by PAR and Program Tchou-Aluguel, Uberlândia, MG.

Source: <http://www.uberlandia.mg.gov.br/2014/secretaria-pagina/43/650/secretaria.html>, adapted by Guilherme A S Motta. Researched in 25/02/2019.



Map 08 - Urban social housing developments approved between 2003 and 2011, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Base Map PMU (2019), adapted and organized by Guilherme A S Motta.

From the first decade of the 2000s, we observed a change in the urbanization dynamics of the city of Uberlândia - MG. Although the city maintains an always positive growth in the number of inhabitants and in the availability of urbanized land, the first decade of the 2000s is marked by a change in this scale.

First, the PMCMV changes the local real estate dynamics, where large developments aimed at the lower income classes are once again being built on a large scale, as is the case with social housing in Shopping Park neighborhood. On the other hand, the program finances private companies, as in the case of Construtora MRV, which has its volume of built housing units destined for the middle income-classes, which increased considerably, marking the urbanization of the city in that period.

At the same time, the consolidation of part of the southern sector of the city as the preferred option for the upper income classes marks the construction of several closed lots, considerably increasing the number of lots in these developments. We see consolidating a periphery that not only houses the low income-classes, but now also the high income-classes.

In this period, therefore, the beginning of this process of changing the scale of urbanization of agents is felt in the southern sector, through closed enclaves and will be consolidated in the next decade. The growth of the company Construtora MRV and the number of units built in the city demonstrate the entry of globalized real estate capital in the local market, after the opening of the company's shares on the stock exchange. In the next decade, in this way, we will see the consolidation of this process when local companies from different areas start investing in the real estate market as developers and even associating with companies from other locations, such as Alphaville.

The urbanization process of the city, which was commanded by local agents and local politics, will now have the participation of agents from other locations and globalized capital. This is the new scale of urbanization felt in the city, especially since the end of the first decade of 2000.

2.2.5. Dark times, now what? /2011 - 2019

The second decade of the 2000s was born as a period of high prosperity for the local real estate market, motivated by Federal Government incentives in the economy that are reflected in the economy. The large investment in financing through, mainly, the PMCMV and also the consolidation of part of the Southern Sector of Uberlândia-MG, as a prosperous area where the main allotments for middle and upper income classes are located, are notable in the scale of local urbanization.

However, we will note that the financial and political crisis that begins in 2015 interferes in this process, and the foreseeable end of the PMCMV, or a decrease in the resources allocated to the program, after the extinction of the Ministry of Cities in 2019 may close the decade with questions regarding the growth of the real estate market in general.

From this period onwards, we will focus on the perception of contemporary urbanization processes observed in the various sectors of the city Uberlândia, in order to contribute to the perception of what the current situation of the city is, based on the historical

urbanization processes described above.

Going back to the beginning of the decade of 2010, through observations and trends in the real estate market in the previous decade, we will mark the period by four observed processes. The first is marked by the PMCMV, which in this period develops a second phase, which drastically interferes in the urbanization of the city's peripheries, highlighting the alteration of the municipal urban perimeter to allow new ventures.

A second process takes shape in the consolidation of part of the Southern Sector as a preferred region for the upper income classes and also the construction of a large part of the closed allotments for these classes. At the same time, we see the Granja Marileusa subdivision in the Eastern Sector, which, associated with Alphaville, polarizes the rich periphery of the city of Uberlândia, deconstructing the historical process center x periphery. At that moment, the periphery also houses the high-income classes and new poor peripheries appear, located even further away and reaffirming a historical process of peripheralization of the low-income classes.

In a third process, through the availability of credit and the growth of the national real estate market, with local effects, we see the maintenance of local agents in the construction of the contemporary city. However, we see, mainly, the arrival of new real estate companies, in search of high profits and availability of urban land. Construtora MRV has an important role in attracting these new external agents, and even large companies in the city, such as ARCOM and ALGAR, start investing in the real estate market, even associating with companies with know-how in the area, contributing to the change in the scale of urbanization in the city.

Finally, we must emphasize that, in the midst of this amazing real estate growth, we are simultaneously observing the growth of the city's slum process. It is in this period that the favelas are consolidated, which also have a new scale and proportion, where those excluded from the process participate in the construction of the local urban structure in contemporary times.

Since in the next chapter of this work we will detail the urban interference of Construtora MRV, Granja Marileusa Allotment, Residencial Pequis Allotment and Glória Irregular Settlement, the objective of this chapter is to understand how the city is configured from the urbanization process contemporary. We will now see the projects not in isolation, but as part of a process that will be represented individually in the next chapter.

Table 10 below shows that between 2011 and 2019 74 housing developments were approved in the city, totaling 27,524 new lots. Of these, only one subdivision was approved in the Northern Sector (we will understand the reason throughout this chapter, that is, 1.80% of the number of lots), 27 allotments in the South Sector (22.90% of the number of lots), 30 lots in the West Sector (driven by the PMCMV, 54.00% of the number of lots) and 16 allotments in the East Sector (21.20% of the number of lots). Considering the total number of approved lots and IBGE's estimate of occupancy per household (2010), these new allotments may house a population of approximately 85,000 inhabitants. According to a survey carried out by the author, considering the Base Map of the City Hall allotments (2016), which we have updated to date (April 2019), the city has approximately 230,000 lots, which means that 37.5% of the lots urban areas were made available after 2010, demonstrating the great

impact of the city's physical growth in that period.

Allotment	Approval	Sector	Lots
Flamboyant Residencial	2016	North	503
TOTAL		North	503
Splêndido	2011	South	715
Solares da Gávea	2011	South	160
Vale dos Vinhedos	2011	South	74
Acácias Uberlândia	2011	South	11
GSP Life Uberlândia	2012	South	832
New Towers	2012	South	47
Residencial dos Ipês - Cyrella	2012	South	220
Residencial dos Ipês - Cyrella	2012	South	357
Jardim Sul	2012	South	234
Tropical Sul	2012	South	01
Gávea Shopping	2012	South	09
Park dos Ipês II	2012	South	135
Residencial Jardins	2012	South	364
Varanda Sul	2012	South	387
Gávea Paradiso	2012	South	108
GSP Arts Uberlândia	2012	South	283
Colorado	2014	South	152
GSP Life Uberlândia II	2014	South	992
Jardim Espanha	2014	South	363
Shopping Sul	2015	South	18
Terras Altas	2015	South	246
Golden Village	2015	South	151
Park Sul	2015	South	91
Jardins Versailles	2015	South	243
Central Park e Manhattan	2015	South	46
Parque Bela Vista	2016	South	42
Brisa 1	2018	South	24
TOTAL		South	6.305
Jardim das Palmeiras III	2011	West	185
Res. Jardim Holanda	2011	West	28
Felicidade	2011	West	38
Victoria	2012	West	28
Pinheiros	2012	West	30
Res. Jardim Manaim	2012	West	243
Parque dos Eucaliptos III	2012	West	62
Novo Taiaman II	2012	West	51

Cidade Verde III	2013	West	06
Monte Hebron I to VII	2014	West	3.095
Res. Pequis I to VIII	2014	West	3.942
Rem. Parque Santo Antônio II	2014	West	330
São Bento	2015	West	408
Mansour II	2015	West	1.605
Res. Lago Azul I and II	2016	West	897
Luizote IV	2018	West	2.092
Mansour III	2018	West	1.832
TOTAL		West	14.872
Grand Ville Uberlândia	2011	East	63
Vida Nova	2012	East	750
Portal do Vale II	2012	East	280
Granja Marileusa	2012	East	31
Bem Viver	2014	East	636
Alphaville Uberlândia	2014	East	390
Alphaville Uberlândia 2	2015	East	403
Reserva dos Ipês	2015	East	462
Portal do Vale I	2015	East	249
Praça Alto Umarama	2016	East	480
Nascente do Vale	2018	East	637
Ébano	2018	East	41
Quinta Alto Umarama	2018	East	390
Terras Alpha	2018	East	370
Raros Alto Umarama	2019	East	138
Reserva do Bosque	2019	East	524
TOTAL		East	5.844
GENERAL TOTAL			27.524

Table 10: Urban Housing Developments approved between 2011 e 2019 per city sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: SEPLAN (2019), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Next, we will highlight how the city has developed spatially since the decade of 2010. First, we will emphasize the urbanization process of the Western Sector, in contemporary times. We recall that important social housing estates such as Luizote I and II, Tocantins, Planalto, Tancredo Neves, among others, already mentioned in previous historical periods are located in the western sector.

2.2.5.1. Contemporary urbanization in the western sector of Uberlândia-MG

The West Sector, together with the South, are the two regions of the city that have

developed the most in recent years, due to the availability of new allotments and also by the implementation of the PMCMV, driven by investments in the real estate market. If, on the one hand, the Southern Sector develops, mainly, not exclusively, due to the availability of allotments for the high income classes, the Western sector, on the contrary, stands out for the availability of allotments and developments for the low and middle classes income.

Important developments launched in the first phase of the PMCMV were the allotments Cidade Verde I and II (2010). These allotments were intended, according to Araújo (2016), to implement social housing to meet the deficit indicated in PLHIS - Local Housing Plan of Municipal Social Interest 2009. According to the author, although the most evident deficit was represented by the population inserted in Range 1, the housing estates were destined to Range 2, for families with income up to R\$3,275.00². The projects were carried out in partnership with construction companies, where the design of seven vertical condominiums (type of ground floor plus three floors) was developed, which were built in stages, with the keys being handed over to residents between 2013 and 2014.

Altogether, seven condominiums were implemented, with two and three-bedroom types, for a total of 2,464 social housing units. Positive point is the use of an empty area within the urban perimeter, surrounded by consolidated neighborhoods, such as Jardim Europa, Mansour and Chácaras Tubalina, contributing to the improvement of local density levels. The negative point is the architectural typology implemented, contributing to a monotonous landscape, with no diversity of uses and use of extensive walls that degrade the urban landscape.

In the same region as the Cidade Verde vertical condominiums, later, the Córrego do Óleo residential units (Figure 56 and 57, page 116; Map 09, page 115) were built, with a total of 1,600 social housing units, destined to the PMCMV's Band 1.

2 Corresponds to US\$ 832.93, dollar value in 2019, April 23,





Figure 56 - Córrego do Óleo Residential Condominium, Western Sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: <http://g1.globo.com/minas-gerais/triangulo-mineiro/noticia/2016/11/obra-do-minha-casa-minha-vida-sao-reprogramadas-em-uberlandia.html>, accessed on 2019, February 26.



Figure 57 - Aerial image of the Cidade Verde and Córrego do Óleo Residentials, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2019, February 26.



Figure 58 - Aerial image of Tocantins I and II Residentiais, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2019, February 26.



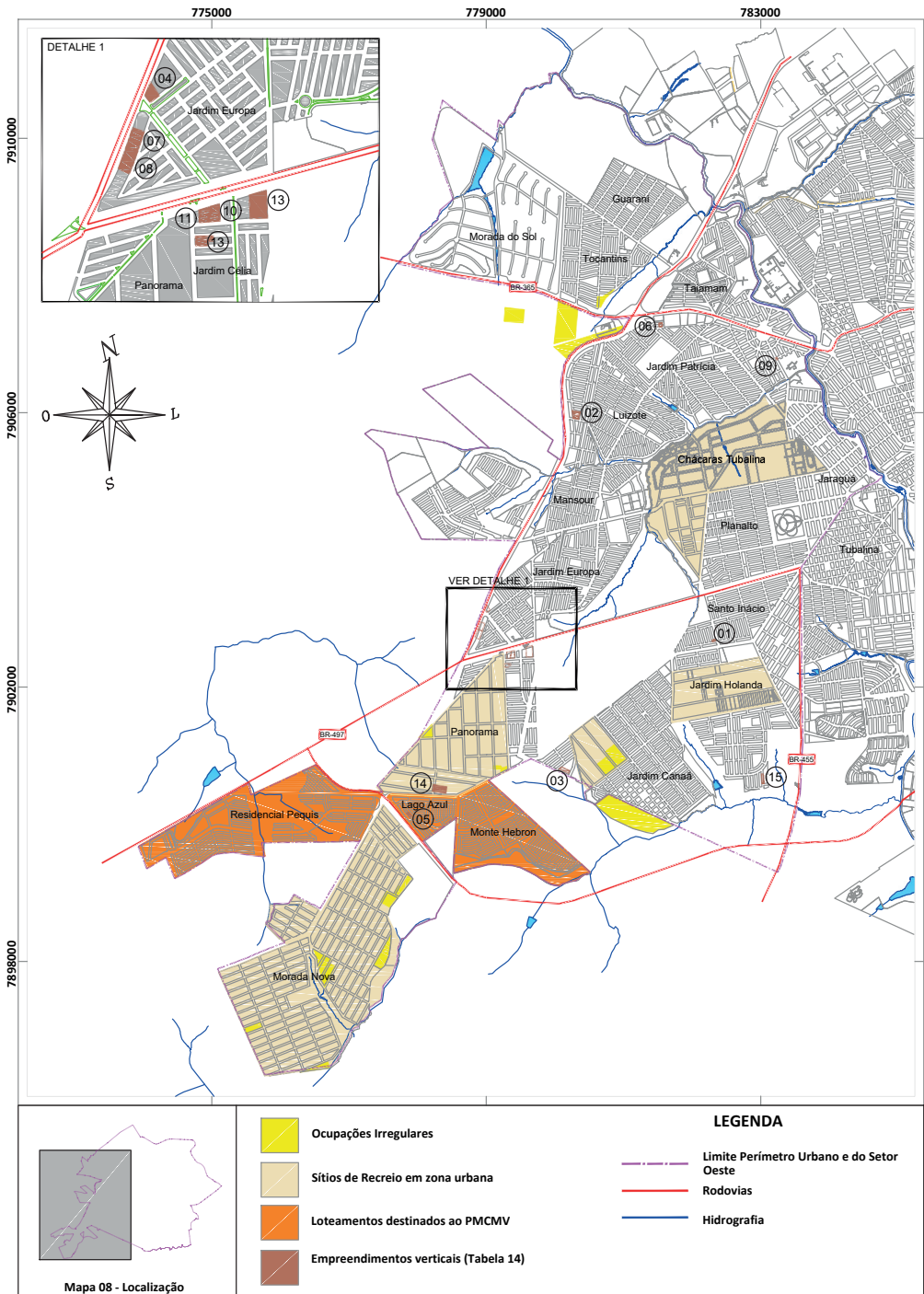
Figure 59 - Photo of Residencial Tocantins I and II, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
Source: www.hltsincorporadora.com.br, accessed on 2019, February 26.

Using this same typology, multi-family housing units with four-story buildings, thousands of units were built by the company Construtora MRV. Still in the western sector, the local company HLTS built 576 units in Tocantins neighborhood, residential Tocantins I and II in 2015 (Figure 58, above and Figure 59, above), among other projects aimed at the same income classes and with the same architectural typology.

The Western Sector also composes several allotments, originally intended for the implantation of farms, some currently well centralized such as Chácaras Tubalina and Jardim Holanda and others more peripheral such as Jardim Panorama, Chácaras Bela

Vista, Chácaras Uirapuru and Morada Nova.

The Morada Nova neighborhood, originally a farm sector (recreational sites) became part of the city's urban perimeter in 2013, through Law 11.412 of June 19, 2013. This change meant the permission for uses in the subdivision that are not country houses (recreational sites), highlighting mainly commercial and service uses, as well as multifamily residential uses, which allows verticalization. The Morada Nova neighborhood does not have complete urban infrastructure. It has a public lighting network, however only the roads where public transit circulates are paved. There is no sewage network or rain drain. The city government started these infrastructure works in 2018.



Map 10 - Location of country house neighborhoods, PMCMV neighborhoods, vertical developments and irregular settlements in the Western Sector, Uberlândia-MG
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

In the recreational sites, Chácaras Tubalina and Jardim Holanda, we observed a change in use in the farms for the implementation of several projects, mainly the multifamily housing, as highlighted in Tables 11 and 12. Due to the deficient infrastructure of these two allotments, since they were approved as sector of farms (recreational sites), for the implementation of different uses, the municipal law requires that these undertakings go through a process of parceling the soil called Relotamento (Article 18 of Complementary Law 523/2011). Through this process, new developments located in these allotments must approve and execute rainwater drainage, sanitary sewage and adaptation of the drinking water distribution network, as well as public lighting and paving, if applicable. These projects must also donate a total of 17% of the area for the purposes of Public Green Areas (9%) and Institutional Areas (8%), according to Complementary Law 523/2011 (Land Installment in the Municipality of Uberlândia-MG).

According to Table 11 below, about Neighborhood Tubalina Setor Chácaras, 42 vertical multifamily developments (H2v) were built, or are under construction and approval, totaling 9,158 housing units, which generates a population of approximately 28,100 inhabitants, IBGE (2010).

	Development	Housing units
01	Res. Aguapés	32
02	Atlanta Residence	208
03	Res. Marco Tulio Marquez	64
04	Residencial Jaraguá I	96
05	Residencial Jaraguá II	96
06	Residencial Baltimore	64
07	Parque Uchôa MRV	768
08	Parque Uruguaiana MRV	224
09	Res. Aguapés II	64
10	Parque Hungria MRV	224
11	Jardim Imbaúba	192
12	Res. Primavera	48
13	Res. Bilbao II	160
14	Parque Union MRV	256
15	Res. Primavera II	88
16	Residencial Tubalina (Neocasa)	256
17	Parque Uniplaza MRV	192
18	Res. Recanto do Cerrado	96
19	Res. Solaris (C&A)	192
20	Parque Unistela MRV	244
21	Fazendinha (Arlindo)**	256
22	Ponto Cristal	256
23	Ponto Turquesa	256

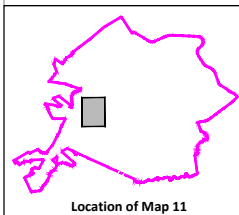
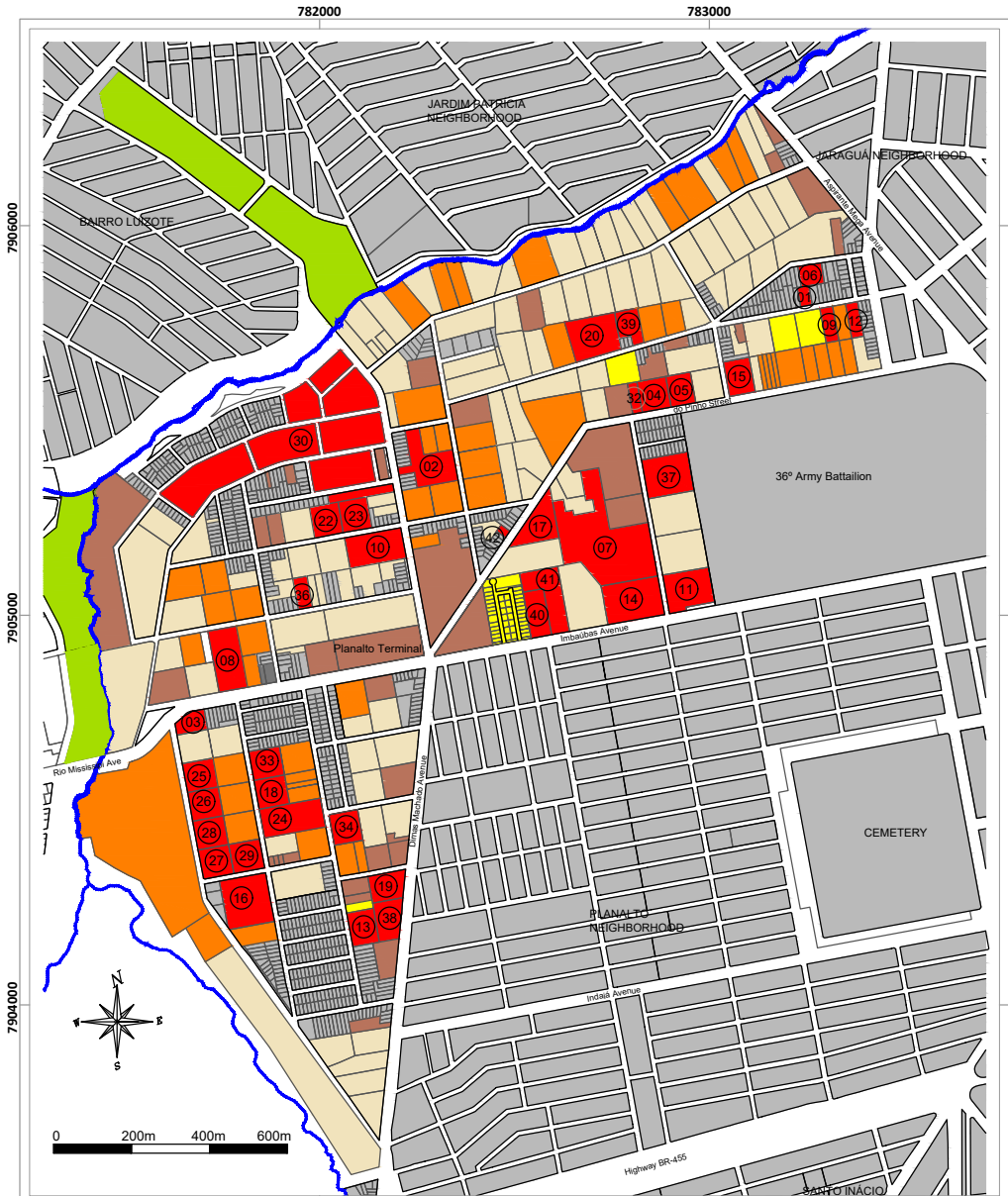
24	Ponto Lotus	512
25	Ponto Verona*	256
26	Ponto Milão*	256
27	Ponto Veneza*	256
28	Ponto Roma*	256
29	Ponto Turim*	256
30	Residencial América do Sul and América do Norte Embra	1.170
31	Res Pallace Planalto (Opção)**	528
32	Beluno 1 and 2 (Lucir)*	72
33	Res. Luar do Cerrado C & A*	264
34	Res. Vale do Sul C & A*	264
35	LT Construtora (Gleba 318-C)**	32
36	Serra Dourada	48
37	Neo Casa*	224
38	Condomínio Bela Vista	98
39	Amarylis	80
40	Condomínio Bahamas	78
41	Residencial Europa	160
42	Residencial Sem Nome	16
TOTAL		9.158

* Development in approval fase by PMU.









** Location of the development was not included in the Map 11 (page 122).

Table 11: *Reloteamentos* in Tubalina Setor Chácaras neighborhood – Uberlândia (MG).

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019), adapted by the author.



LEGEND

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
|  Municipal Parks |  Vertical multifamily plots H2v (See Table 11) |  Urban Perimeter Limit |
|  Urban Farm use |  Closed allotments or condominium H2h |  Hydrography |
|  Urban Farm with Comercial or services use |  Void Urban Farms | |

Map 11 - Location of developments in Chácaras Tubalina neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.



Figure 60 - Aerial image of the Chácaras Tubalina neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2019, February 26.



Figure 61 - Aerial image of the Jardim Holanda neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2019, February 26.

Despite considering positively the implementation of these vertical projects in centralized and empty areas within the urban perimeter, mainly for improving the levels of urban density, there is a lack of planning to allow all these vertical projects to be implemented in the same neighborhood, without impact studies that they carry out in the surroundings, and mainly in the local urban infrastructure. The configuration of these neighborhoods, originally, recreational sites, with narrow roads and deficient urban infrastructure has caused traffic problems, such as the circulation of vehicles and public transit, and even space for the passage of new drinking water distribution networks and sewage, as each project is

responsible for running a different network. The aerial images of these neighborhoods allow us to perceive the number of areas not yet occupied where, certainly, new projects of the vertical multifamily housing typology will be implemented.

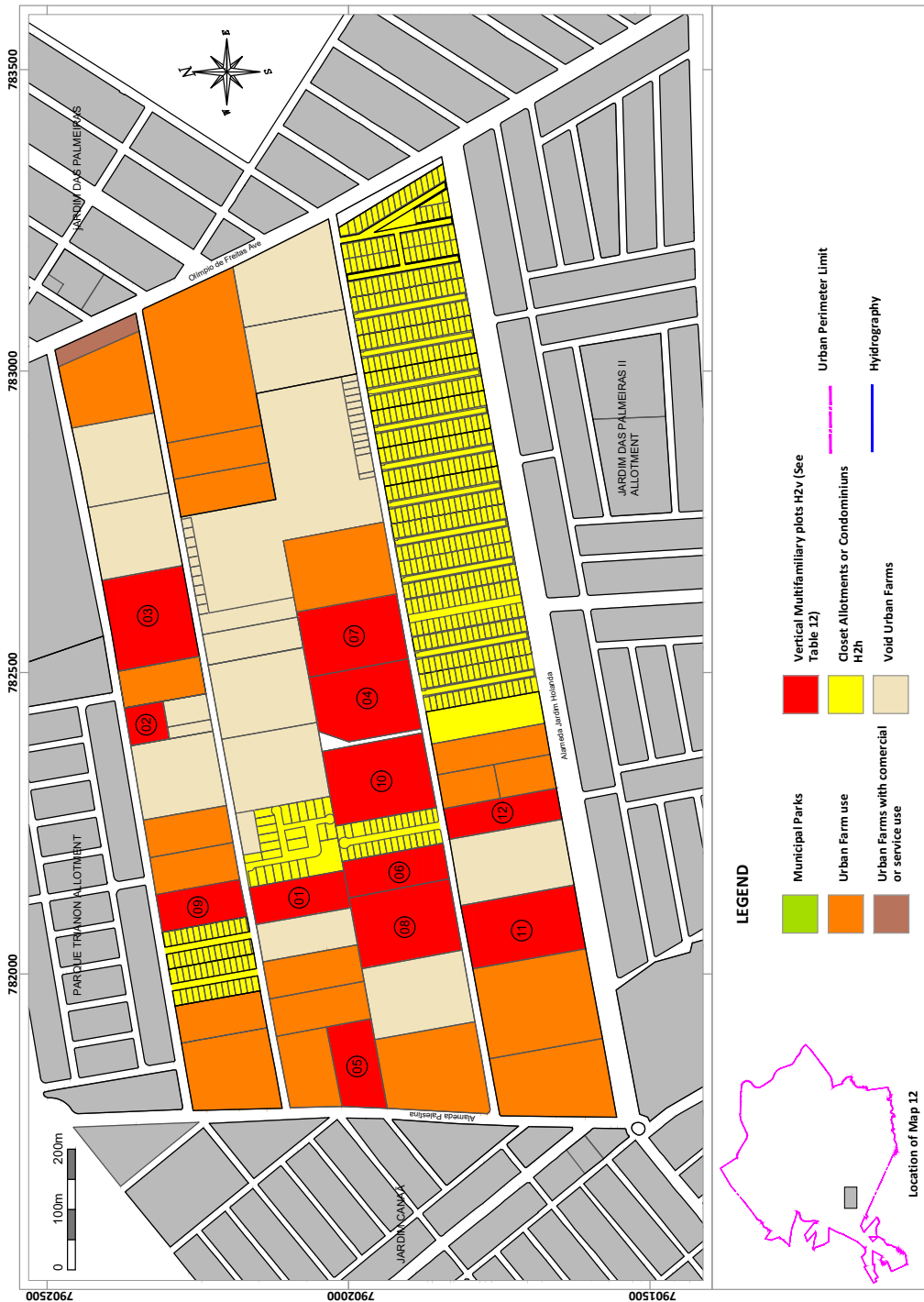
	Development	Housing units	Approval
01	Cond. Vila Verde	240	**
02	Res. Uberlândia	64	2013
03	Parque Ubatã MRV	384	2013
04	Parque United Kingdon MRV	352	2013
05	Parque Unidoro MRV	192	2014
06	Smart Tower I	160	2014
07	Parque Univita MRV	384	2015
08	Smart Tower II	468	2016
09	Ponto Siena	192	2016
10	Res. Jd. Holanda III	304	2016
11	Start Tower	264	*
12	Cima	264	*
	TOTAL	3.268	

* Developments in approval fase by PMU

** Dadas not collected.

Table 12: Developments implemented in Jardim Holanda neighborhood - Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.



Map 12 - Location of developments in Jardim Holanda neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

In this same region, several PMCMV projects are in which stand out Residencial Pequís (2014), Residencial Monte Hebron (2014) and Residencial Lago Azul (2016). Also in the western sector, we also highlight the Residencial Luizote IV (2018) and Mansour II (2015) and III (2018), which entered the urban perimeter, in order to compose allotments to house PMCMV projects.

The new developments, mainly those related to the PMCMV in the West sector, together with the relocation of recreational sites, in addition to isolated developments, occupying empty lots throughout the West Sector, demonstrate an active real estate dynamic in the region.

Glebe Total Area (m ²)	Amount of Lots	Amount of housing	Public Areas (m ²)	Approval Year	Faixa de Renda MCMV
Residencial Pequís					
1.998.424,37	3942	3200	889.239,19	2014	Faixa 1
Residencial Monte Hebron					
1.243.902,93	3095	2140	510.519,83	2014	Faixa 1
Residencial Lago Azul					
431.631,47	897	489	175.298,34	2016	Faixa 2
Residencial Fruta do Conde (1)					
1.138.416,98	2003		514.774,91	2015	Faixa 1
Residencial Fruta do Conde (2)					
920.357,00	1832	775	361.377,40	2016	Faixa 1
Residencial Fruta do Conde (3) **					
1.007.529,01	2249	1005	447.162,86	2016	Faixa 1
TOTAL					
6.740.261,76	14018	7609	2.898.372,53		

*Allotments are not yet in PMU for approval.

**Finalizing the allotment approval by PMU.

Table 13: Allotments (Western Sector) from the expansion of the urban perimeter (2013), Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019)

Local companies, such as Construtora C & A, Construtora Opção and Construtora AZM, which also have projects in different neighborhoods of the city, as we will see below, invest in the West Sector. A new phenomenon in the city is the process of verticalization of the peripheries, by means of buildings with more than five floors (usually between seven and 11 floors), with elevators, destined to the low and middle income-classes. Usually, these projects occupy areas in new allotments, due to the price of the land, or empty areas in allotments already consolidated, but always on the periphery. It should be noted that this

verticalization process is already observed in the neighborhoods Chácaras Tubalina and Chácaras Jardim Holanda as shown. However, in predominantly single-family residential neighborhoods located on the periphery, this is a new phenomenon that has changed the urban landscape of these places. The Jardim Europa and Jardim Célia neighborhoods are the main neighborhoods in the region that are receiving these new vertical developments.

Bellow is a list of projects already completed, under construction or launched by companies on the periphery of the West Sector, with a vertical housing typology with more than 05 floors. For the location of the projects, observe the numbering on Map 11, (page 122).

Development	Company	Location	Number of housing units
01 Vida Boa **	AZM	Santo Inácio	61
02 Veredas de Cristal **	AZM	Luizote de Freitas	384
03 Flores do Cerrado **	AZM	São Bento	208
04 Res. Tavares **	AZM	Jardim Europa	
05 Lago Azul **	Opção	Lago Azul (2016)	240
06 Res. Jardim Patrícia *	Opção	Jardim Patrícia (2012)	88
07 Royale I **	Opção	Jardim Europa	192
08 Royale II **	Opção	Jardim Europa	192
09 Platina	Opção	Jardim Patrícia	144
10 Bela Vista *	C&A	Jardim Célia (2002)	168
11 Res. Saint Clair *	C&A	Jardim Célia (2002)	168
12 Jardins Residence **	C&A	Jardim Célia (2002)	400
13 Res. Novo Horizonte *	Opção	Jardim Célia (2002)	132
14 Uriah ***	C&A	Chác. Panorama	704
15 Palermo Residencial *	HMJ	Jardim das Palmeiras III	108
TOTAL			3.021

* Development concluded.

** Development under construction.

*** Development under approval.

Table 14: H2v projects located on the peripheries of the Western Sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Field research and companies websites, 2019.

The West Sector, despite having been contemplated by the increase in the urban perimeter (Law 11,412 of June 19, 2013) to house PMCMV projects, is one of the regions where we observe large urban voids. The most significant void, as shown in the following satellite image, is owned by Imobiliária Tubal Vilela, as we have already described, the first real estate agency in the city and which it currently undertakes in the city. This area has already been subject to irregular occupations and despite its privileged location, it is walled, as shown in the photo below. At the Municipality of Uberlândia-MG, two subdivision

processes are being processed to be contemplated in the area.

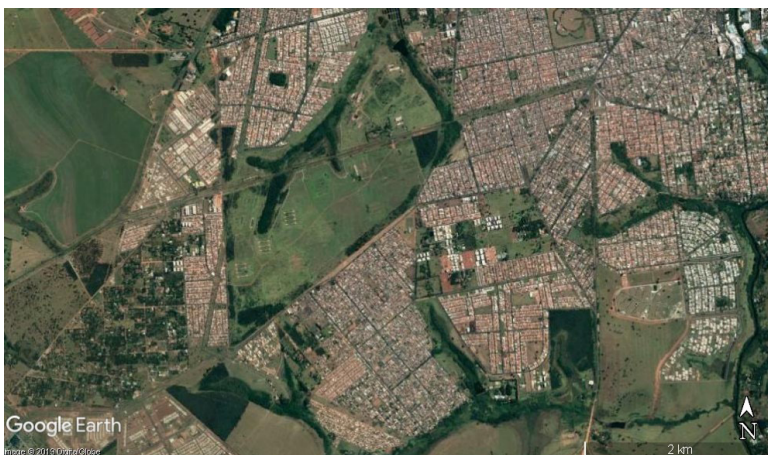


Figura 62 - Image of the Western Sector area and highlighted area owned by ITV, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2019, February 28.



Figura 63 - Wall built by ITV, next to Aldo Borges Leão Avenue, in order to protect its property in Western Sector, Uberlândia -MG, 2019.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2019).

On the other hand, at the same time as this real estate dynamic in the region occurs, the process of slumming and irregular occupations in the West Sector is accentuated. Several outbreaks with small irregular occupations can be observed in the region, according to Map 10, page 119 and even a larger occupation in the Neighborhood Jardim Canaã region. The largest occupations we observed are in the neighborhood of Jardim Canaã

and Chácaras Bela Vista allotment, see Map 10, page 119. We cannot ignore the fact that outside the urban perimeter there are several irregular occupations and land parcels. However, according to our spatial delimitation, we concentrated our observations in the areas inserted in the legal urban perimeter of the city of Uberlândia.

2.2.5.2. Contemporary urbanization of the northern sector of Uberlândia-MG

The Northern Sector of the city of Uberlândia-MG does not stand out in the decade of 2010, when we observe urbanization issues in the city. In the period from 2011 to the present, only one subdivision was approved in the region, the Residential Flamboyant Allotment (2016).

Its period of greatest real estate development, through the construction of new urban allotments, occurred between the 1970s and 1990s. This is justified due to its location, between the Central Sector and the Industrial District, which limited its expansion in the north, check Map 13, page 131.

In this sense, a large part of the land was subdivided and few urban voids remained, consolidating the urbanization of the region since the 1990s. In the 2000s, we saw only the emergence of the Jardim Brasília III subdivision, in which we currently observe several buildings with a typology of residences single-family and buildings with up to four floors. In the decade of 2010, the approval of the Residencial Flamboyant Allotment (2016) made new lots available in the region, and as also observed in the Western Sector, this new lot is already in the verticalization process, as shown in Figure 64, below.



Figure 64 - Verticalization in the Flamboyant Allotment, Northern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2019).

The project above belongs to Construtora Opção (distributed in three towers totaling 240 housing units), the same one that has several projects of the same type in the West Sector and in other neighborhoods of the city as we will see in this chapter.

In the Northern Sector, as in the Western Sector, we highlight a process of

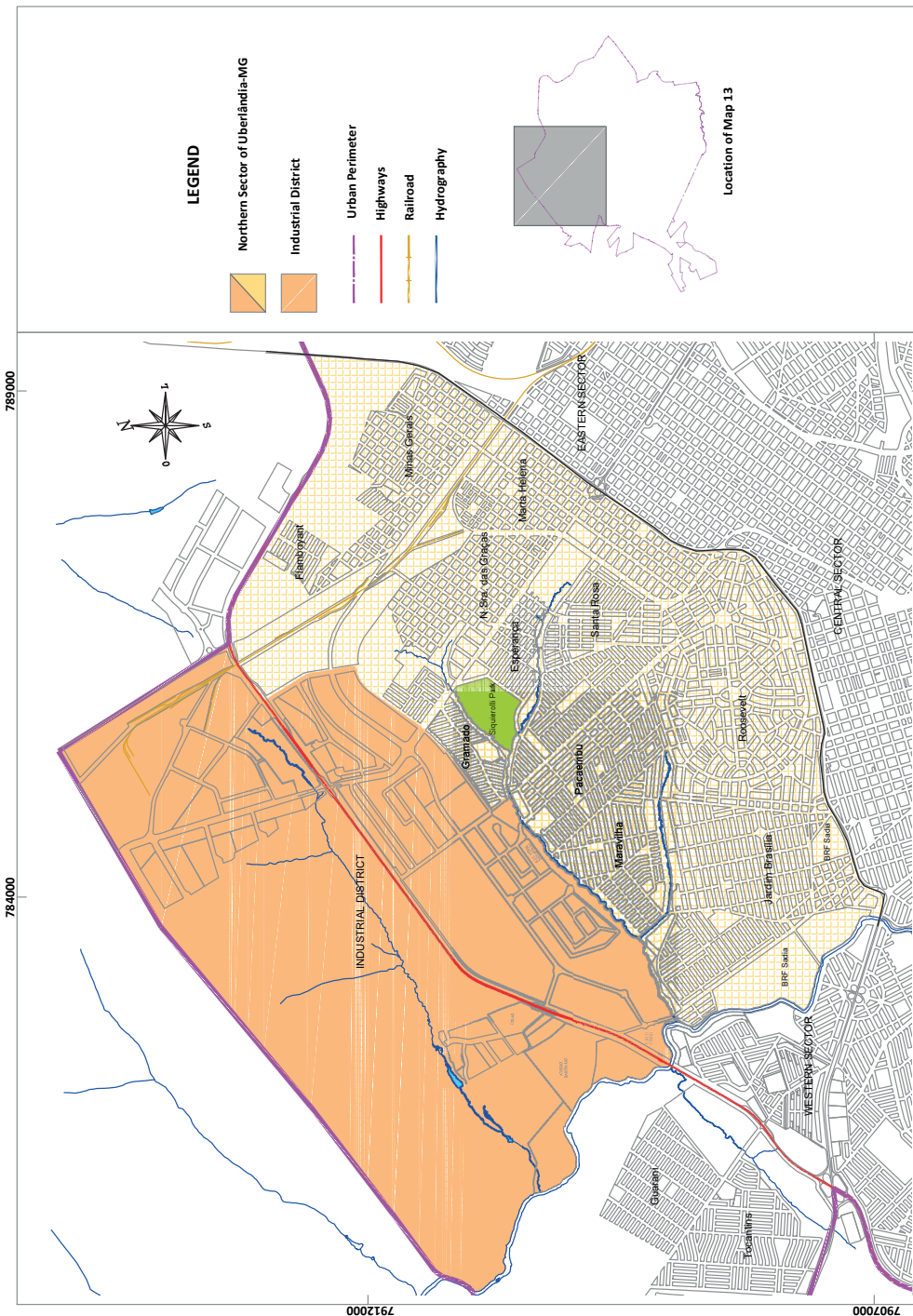
verticalization of the periphery. Although only one subdivision was approved in the decade in question, vertical developments were observed in areas of Neighborhood Maravilha, Jardim Brasília and Santa Rosa, such as the Construtora C & A projects listed below. The verticalization process of the Roosevelt Neighborhood is older, considering that the neighborhood is the most centralized in the region and, therefore, this process cannot be considered a novelty.

Development	Location - Neighborhood	Number of units
01 Constelação II *	Jardim Brasília	160
02 Zenith *	Jardim Brasília	80
03 Astória	Jardim Brasília	80
04 Colibri	Jardim Brasília	80
05 Green Ville	Jardim Brasília	144
06 Maravilha	Maravilha	224
07 Monsenhor	Marta Helena	120
08 Nossa Sra. das Graças	Nossa Sra. das Graças	144
Total		1.032

* Buildings under construction

Table 15: H2v projects located in the Northern Sector owned by Construtora C & A, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Dadas were collected through field research, observation and the company website, 2019.

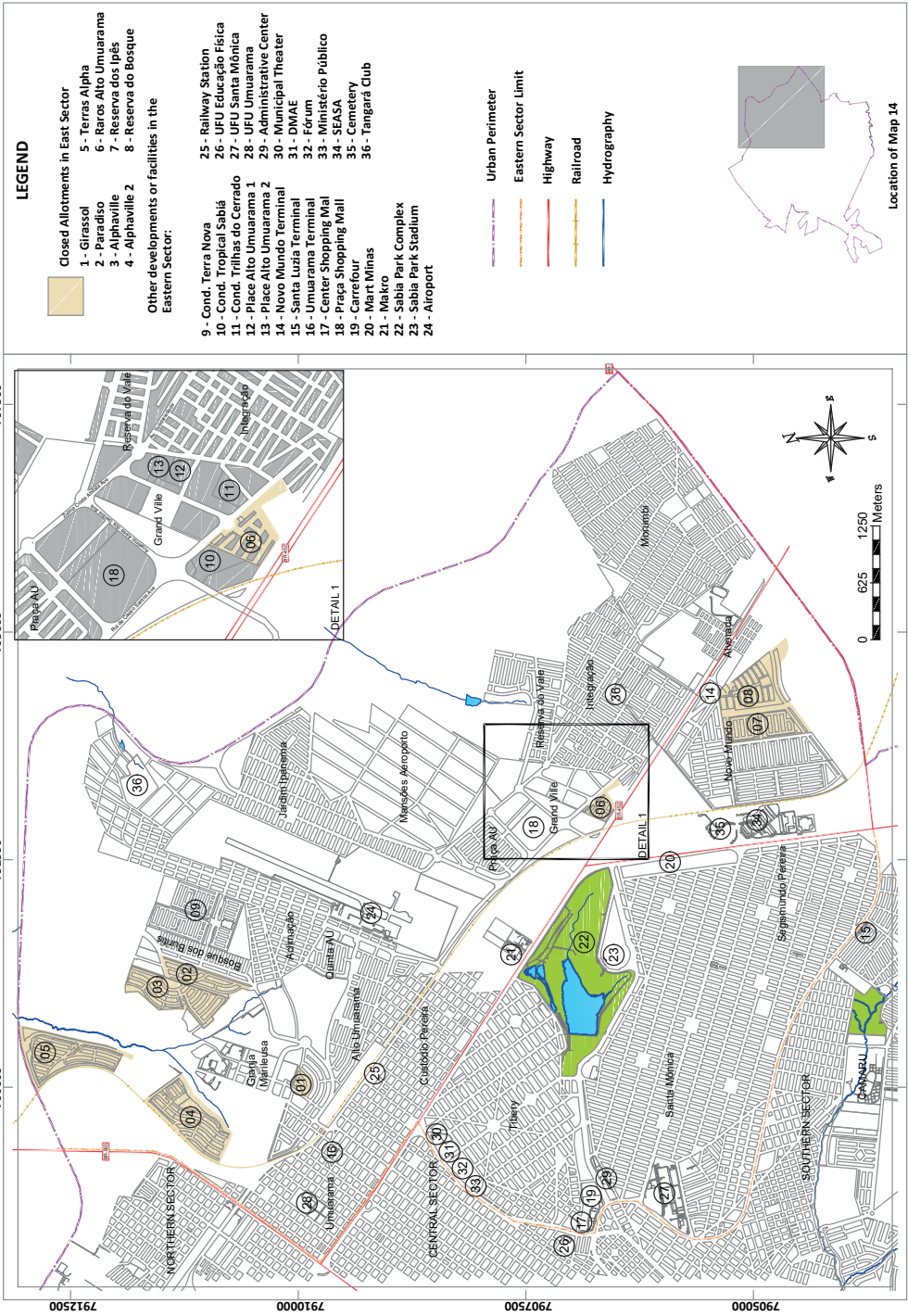


Map 13 - Location of the northern sector and the Industrial District, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

As for irregular settlements and slums, the region also does not present new occupations in the decade of 2010. Existing occupations, such as Esperança III Irregular settlement and the subdivision of Minas Gerais neighborhood, date from previous decades. We believe that the Northern Sector already has a consolidated urban network with few urban voids, this makes it difficult to irregularly occupy areas in the region, contrary to what happens in other sectors of the city, where we highlight large empty areas and well located within the urban perimeter.

2.2.5.3. Contemporary urbanization of the eastern sector of Uberlândia-MG

Emblematically, the Eastern Sector of the city of Uberlândia-MG is made up of important neighborhoods and facilities, see Map 14, page 133. In this sector is located Santa Mônica neighborhood (Figure 65, page 134), one of the largest and most populous neighborhoods of the city, which mainly houses a middle and upper income-class and, many students, seen its location close the university, Campus Santa Mônica. This neighborhood is one of the most verticalized in the city, having been subdivided in the 1960s, as already demonstrated, and the verticalization process was consolidated from the 1980s onwards. The verticalization of the neighborhood is mainly marked by buildings of up to four floors (type of ground floor plus three floors, without elevators). More recently, in view of the real estate appreciation of the neighborhood, we have observed the development of higher building types, mostly concentrated in the Jardim Finotti subdivision region and separately in the Santa Mônica allotments.



Map 14 - Location of the main facilities in the Eastern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Also located in the East Sector is the largest shopping mall in the city (the Center Shopping Uberlândia, Tibery neighborhood, Figure 66, below), as well as the Administrative Center (City Hall, Santa Mônica). The two public transit corridors of the Integrated Transit System, located on João Naves de Ávila Avenue and Segismundo Pereira Avenue also serve neighborhoods in this sector, as well as the Novo Mundo Transit Integration Terminal and Umuarama neighborhood.



Figura 65 -Verticalization in Santa Mônica neighborhood, Eastern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2017.
Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2017)



Figura 66 - Center Shopping Complex, Uberlândia-MG, 2016.
Source: <http://shoppingcenternews.blogspot.com/2016/10/complexo-center-shopping-e-reconhecido.html>, accessed on 2019, May 10.

In the Umuarama neighborhood there is another Federal University campus (Campus Umuarama), and the Clinics Hospital, this area was donated by Rui de Castro Santos, son of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos. The city's airport is also located in this region. Likewise, the Municipal Theater and the largest urban park in the city, Sabia Park (Figure 67, above),

are important facilities located in the Eastern Sector.

In addition to this important equipment, several dynamics of recent urbanization can be highlighted, considering the decade from 2010 and the transformations of the Sector's periphery, as we will see in this item.



Figure 67 - Sabiá Park Complex, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: <http://www.netsabe.com.br/parque-do-sabia>, accessed on 2019, May 05.

In terms of the contemporary process of urbanization in the Eastern Sector, we note a process very similar to what we will deal with when analyzing the Southern Sector. Several conventional allotments that have been occupying the voids existing in the region and also irregular occupations. In the Eastern sector, large irregular occupations are located, which were consolidated since the 1990s and are still being observed in the region today.

In the Eastern Sector, as well as in the Southern Sector, during the 1970s until the 1990s, several housing developments were implemented. These developments, as already described, were located on the outskirts of the city, contributing to the worsening of the real estate speculation process that left large urban voids in this region.

Most of these urban voids started their occupation process, recently, from the 2000s and, mainly after 2010, where we observed a new scale in the urbanization process of the city, with reflexes in the region, starting the occupation process of these empty areas with new real estate developments.

We highlight in the region, mainly, four landowners who are currently responsible for the urbanization of the periphery of the Eastern Sector, through new urban allotments. Alto Umarama, the ALGAR group, WV Empreendimentos and Imobiliária Tubal Vilela (ITV) are the largest landholders in the region and responsible for the main recent land allotments. On map 15, page 136, we can find the areas that still belong to these owners.



Map 15 - Location of urban voids and landowners in the Eastern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The ALGAR group is responsible for the parceling of the land in the subdivision called Granja Marileusa. This process and its influences and consequences in your area of influence will be dealt with in Chapter 3, so we will not go into more detail so as not to become repetitive.

The location of the Allotment Granja Marileusa has influenced the entire region. We observed the appreciation of the properties in its surroundings and also the attraction of other investments, such as new closed lots (closed communities) for the middle and upper income-classes, polarizing with the South Sector, as the preferred location for these income classes and types of projects. We emphasize that this process of locating the high income-classes is already consolidated in the Southern Sector, and the location of Granja Marileusa has attracted investments to the region, however, this process has not yet been consolidated. We can say that this has happened, given the partnership between Granja Marileus allotment and Alphaville, attracting residents and the attention of the highest income classes also to the East Sector.

The areas owned by the company Alto Umuarama also suffered from the appreciation that occurred with the implementation of the Granja Marileusa allotment. The company had already implemented allotments for middle-income classes, such as Alto Umuarama I and II allotments and recently launched two new allotments in the region, Quinta Alto Umuarama (2018, Figure 68, page 138) and Praça Alto Umuarama. (2016, Figure 69, page 138). The areas of the current Alto Umuarama company are owned by the heirs of Rui de Castro Santos, son of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos, who was the father-in-law of former mayor Virgílio Galassi.

Both are considered conventional allotments, but with characteristics of planned accesses to create an ambience of closed areas, as we can see in the project of the two allotments (Figures 68 and 69), attracting a middle-income population that is not interested in the closed allotments and looking for good locations, as is the case with these developments. Praça Alto Umuarama allotment is located in an urban void close to the new Praça Shopping mall and within easy reach of Sabiá Park. Quinta Alto Umuarama allotment is located close to the airport's passenger terminal and with easy access to the equipment provided by the Granja Marileusa allotment, suffering direct influence from its location.

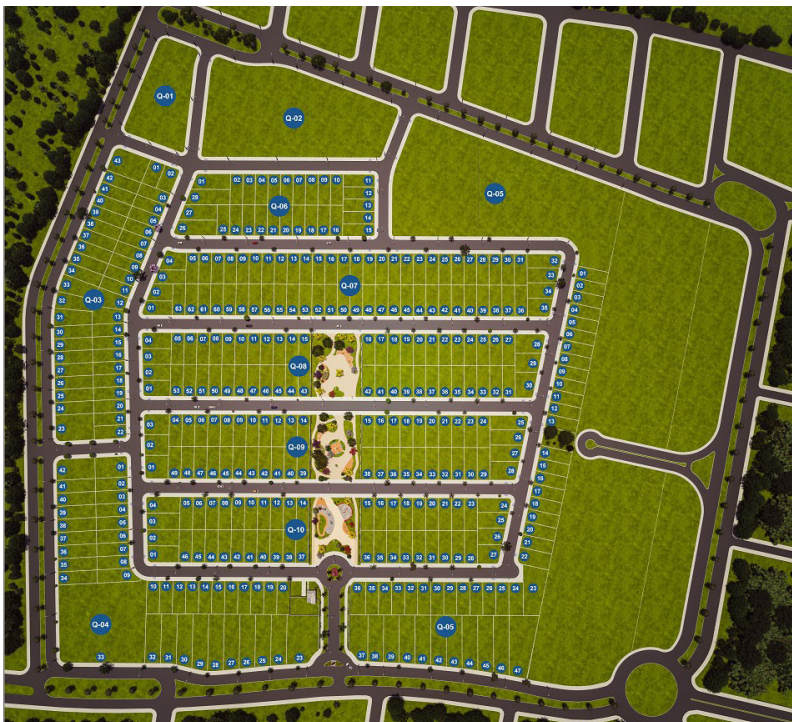


Figure 68 - Illustrative plan of the Quinta Alto Umuarama allotment, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: www.quintaaltoumuarama.com.br accessed on 2019, February 28.



Figure 69 - Plan illustrating the location of Praça Alto Umuarama allotment, next to Praça Shopping, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: www.pracaaltoumuarama.com.br accessed on 2019, February 28.

The Grand Ville Uberlândia allotment (2011), also owned by the company Alto Umuarama, has a different design from the Quinta and Praça Alto Umuarama allotments, with large lots for the implementation of vertical multifamily housing. The purpose of this

project and its location is to create an intersection between the areas of the company located to the west of the subdivision and the areas already consolidated to the east, where low-income neighborhoods are located. In this way, the company is able to segregate the population to which it intends to allocate housing lots in its areas located west of the Grand Ville Allotment. Table 16 shows the vertical projects located in the Grand Ville allotment owned by Construtora MRV, HLTS and Realiza Construtora.

Development	Units	Company
Trilhas do Cerrado	368	MRV
Tropical Sabiá	448	Realiza
Place Alto Umuarama I	288	HLTS
Place Alto Umuarama II	368	HLTS
Total	1.472	

Table 16: H2v developments in the Grand Ville Uberlândia Allotment region, Eastern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: SEPLAN, 2019.

The region owned by the company WV Empreendimentos has an area within the urban perimeter of approximately 3,322,100m² (332,2ha) available for urbanization. The company recently launched three allotments in the region, the Portal do Vale 2 (2012), Portal do Vale 1 (2015) and Nascente do Vale (2018), Figure 70, below. All three allotments are classified as conventional allotments, according to Complementary Law 523/2011.

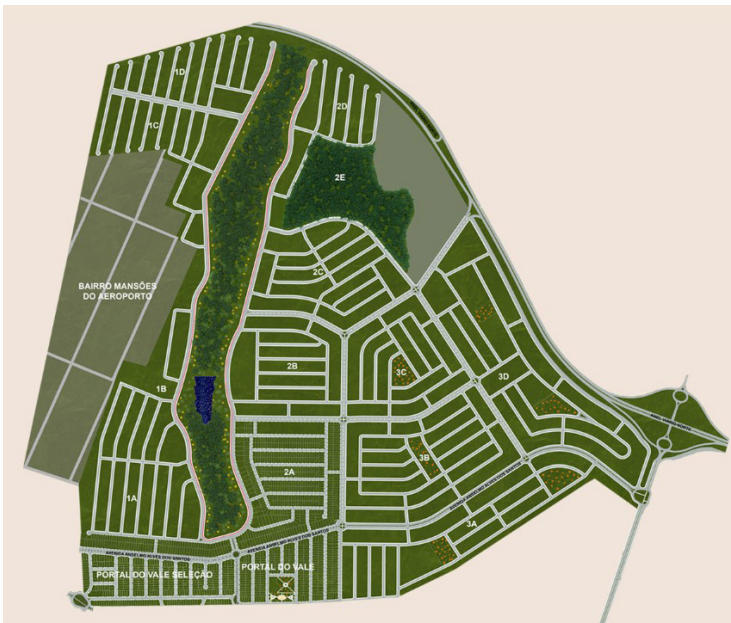


Figure 70 - Master Plan of the Portal do Vale neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: www.bairroportaldovale.com.br accessed on 2019, February 02.

We should also highlight the Loteamento Bosque dos Buritis, approved by the Municipality of Uberlândia in 2007. Since the works of an allotment can last up to four years, according to Federal Law 6766/1979, we consider that its occupation process starts from the decade of 2010. In this subdivision, and already showing changes in the area of influence, as in the Aclimação and Alto Umuarama neighborhoods, the verticalization trend of the city's periphery repeats, as has been happening in the Western Sector, with emphasis on the new allotments. In this location, the company HPR Empreendimentos has developed several vertical housing real estate projects, totaling 395 units, as shown in Table 17.

Development	Units	Location
Belvedere Paradiso	24	Bosque dos Buritis
Quinta dos Ferreiras	66	Bosque dos Buritis
Residencial Paineiras	27	Aclimação
Jardim Ipês	22	Aclimação
Palmeira Imperial	44	Bosque dos Buritis
Residencial Acácias	64	Bosque dos Buritis
Hortências Residence	44	Aclimação
Jardim Marista I, II, III, IV and V	60	Bosque dos Buritis
Garden Residence	44	Alto Umuarama
Total	395	

Tabela 17: Vertical developments owned by company HPR in the Eastern Sector, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Companies web sites and field research, 2019.

Located near the Bosque dos Buritis allotment, the company Rodobens Negócios Imobiliários approved and carried out a conventional subdivision in 2008, in which three horizontal residential condominiums were implemented, delivered after 2010. The three launches of Rodobens Negócios Imobiliários total 1,886 housing units, aimed at families with income above five minimum salaries, with the acquisition of real estate that can be carried out by the PMCMV.

Real Estate Tubal Vilela (ITV), as already exposed, founded in the 1930s in Uberlândia, and responsible for several allotments in the city of Uberlândia remains active. We saw that the company owns a large area in the West Sector, totaling around 3.96 million m².(1,53 sq miles) In the East Sector, the company has carried out some projects in the so-called Neighborhood Novo Mundo. This region has consolidated itself as a large urban void for 30 years, located between the housing developments Segismundo Pereira and Alvorada, built in the late 1970s, by COHAB-MG. The company still has about 1,360,000 m² (0,53 sq miles) of area available to subdivide in the East Sector.

Since then, the area was empty and only in 2009 was the Novo Mundo allotment approved, framed as a conventional subdivision, which had its occupation from the

beginning of the decade of 2010.

Two other conventional allotments were approved in sequence, according to Map 15, page 136. They are called Vida Nova allotment (2012) and Bem Vive allotment (2014). In 2015, the company launched the mixed, conventional and closed subdivision (closed community) Reserva dos Ipês (2015). This latest venture redirects company policies, where they start investing in closed ventures with proposed 250m² (2691 square feet) plots, in order to reduce the price of plots indoors and reach not only the highest income classes, but also income classes average.

This trend of the company is also observed in an allotment still in the approval process, called Reserva de Bosque, scheduled for 2019/2020, next to the Allotment Reserva dos Ipês, with the same concept of mixed allotment with external lots and a closed allotment, with lots starting at 250m² (2691 square feet).

Following the same trend, the company Alphaville launched in 2019 the project called Terras Alpha Uberlândia, differentiating itself from the Alphaville Uberlândia and Alphaville 2 projects, mainly in the size of the lots. The company Imobiliária Tubal Vilela (ITV) started a partnership with Alphaville in the Terras Alpha project, setting up an association of local companies with companies operating in the national real estate industry.

The company Imobiliária Tubal Vilela, as we can see in Map 15, page 136, still has several empty areas within the urban perimeter, available for future developments in the East Sector.

On the opposite side of this real estate dynamics observed in the East Sector, where several allotments and important developments are regularly approved, we highlight the presence of irregular occupations, consolidating an urban slum process in the city of Uberlândia-MG.

As we have seen, in the East Sector, even in the 1990s, a slum process started, through irregular occupations in the region of the currently called Integração (Dom Almir). Later, in the 2000s, other occupations expanded in the same region, such as those known as Celebridade, Zaire Rezende Prosperidade, Joana D'Arc and São Francisco.

After 2013, three major irregular occupations occurred in the neighborhood of Neighborhood Morumbi and Prosperidade. The irregular settlement Maná (2013), Santa Clara (2013) and Fidel Castro (2016, Figure 71, page 142), check the location on Map 15, page 136.



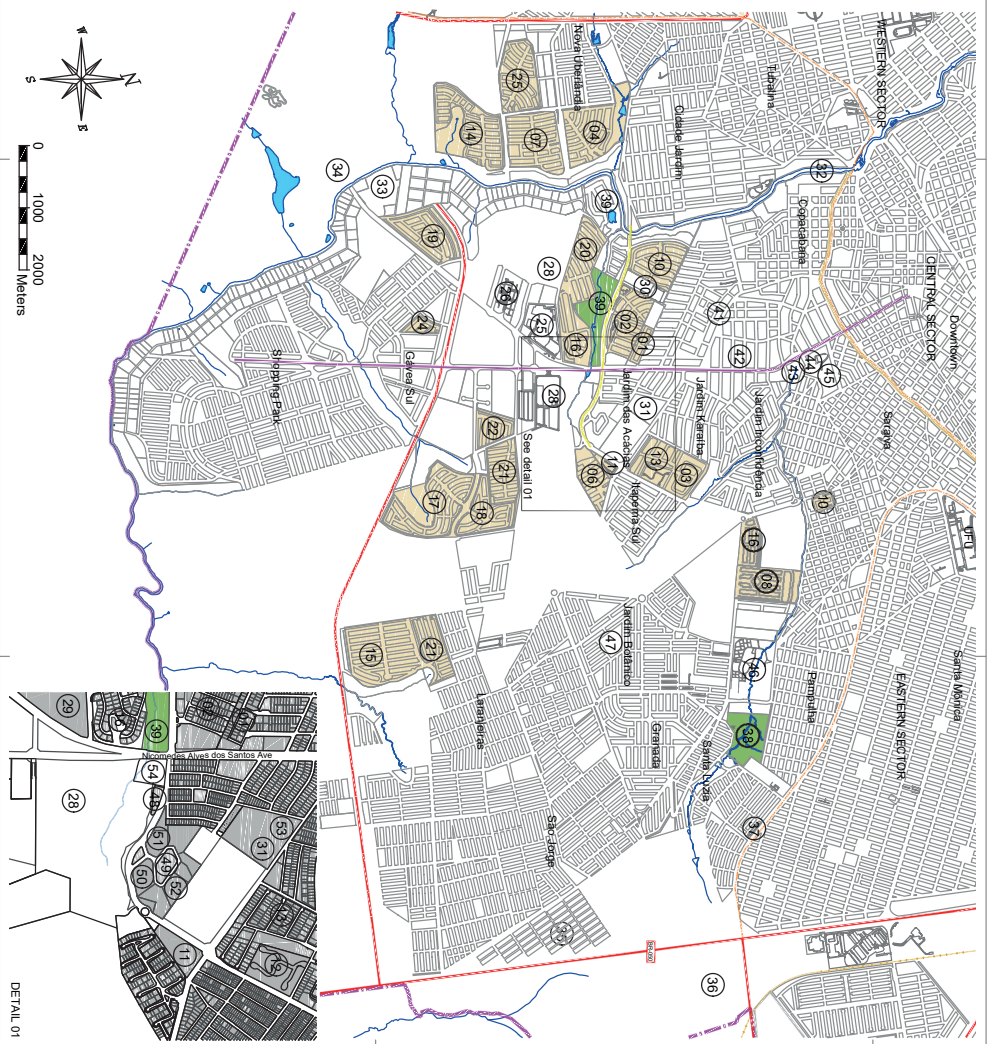
Figure 71 - Fidel Castro Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2017.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2017)

We will now proceed to verify the contemporary urban transformations observed in the Southern Sector of Uberlândia-MG.

2.2.5.4. Contemporary urbanization of the southern sector of Uberlândia-MG

As already demonstrated when we deal with the urbanization process in previous historical periods, the Southern Sector of Uberlândia-MG participated in an intense development, through the implementation of housing programs, mainly those developed in the neighborhood of Neighborhood São Jorge and Santa Luzia, from the end of 1970s until the 1990s, with the construction of several housing estates. After this period, in the first decade of 2000, through the first phase of the PMCMV, we highlighted the implementation of social housing in the Shopping Park neighborhood.



LEGEND



- Closed Allotments in the southern Sector**
- 1 - Vilação da Colina
 - 2 - Galeria Hill e II
 - 3 - Vila do Sul
 - 4 - Jardins Barcelona
 - 5 - Vila Real
 - 6 - Bosque Karaba
 - 7 - Jardim Roma
 - 8 - Royal Park
 - 9 - Reserva do Vale
 - 10 - Res. Carnal
 - 11 - Village Karaba
 - 12 - Quaramoti
 - 13 - Vila dos Ipês
 - 14 - Jardins Ganova
 - 15 - Solfanido
 - 16 - Solares da Gávea
 - 17 - Residencial dos Ipês
 - 18 - Residencial dos burris
 - 19 - Vento Sul
 - 20 - Green Paradise
 - 21 - GSA Art
 - 22 - Terra Altas
 - 23 - Golden Village
 - 24 - Park Sul
 - 25 - Jardins Versailles

Others developments or facilities in the Southern Sector:

- 25 - Uberlândia Shopping Mall
- 27 - Cond. Spazio Único
- 28 - College UNITRI
- 29 - College UNIUBE
- 30 - College Pitagoras
- 31 - UMC Medical Center
- 32 - Praia Club
- 33 - AABR Club
- 34 - Caixa e Pesca Club
- 35 - Glória settlement
- 36 - UFU - Campus Glória
- 37 - Santa Luzia Terminal
- 38 - Santa Luzia Park
- 39 - Gávea Park
- 40 - Polo Tecnológico
- 41 - Pátio da Colina
- 42 - Pão de Açúcar
- 43 - World Business Center
- 44 - Altamira Village
- 45 - Cajubá Club
- 46 - Parque de Exposições
- 47 - Municipal Hospital
- 48 - Torre Empresarial Sul
- 49 - Cond. Triade
- 50 - Cond. Torres do Sul
- 51 - Pátio Vinhedos
- 52 - Cond. Triade Sense
- 53 - Denville Supermarket
- 54 - ICASU

- Rondon Pacheco Avenue
- Nicomedez Alves dos Santos Avenue
- Vinhedos Avenue
- Urban Perimeter
- Southern Sector Limit
- Highways
- Hydrography



Map 16 - Location of the main projects in the Southern Sector, Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The Shopping Park neighborhood, as already demonstrated, started as a process of irregular parceling of the soil, far from the existing urban network in the Southern Sector. Its location consolidated a great urban void that has been, over the last decade, mainly from the 2000s, the object of several new allotments and equipment mainly intended to serve high-income classes. In this region, between the Shopping Park neighborhood and the consolidated urban network during the implementation of the referred subdivision, there are important developments such as Uberlândia Shopping, UNITRI and Pitágoras Universities, several closed housing developments and eight Construtora MRV condominiums, as shown in Table 18, page 144.

Thus, the structural axis of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue and also of Vinhedos Avenue, is configured as the region where a large part of the allotments and condominiums of the city are located, a shopping mall, private universities and colleges, shops and services for to serve these residents, in addition to concentrating most of the real estate launches aimed at the middle and upper income classes of the city.

The social segregation of the higher income groups facilitates the location of these developments in the city. Therefore, shopping malls proliferate in the South sector, such as Uberlândia Shopping (2012, Figure 72, below), located at the intersection of Paulo Gracindo and Lidormira Borges do Nascimento Avenues, which is an extension of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, and where it finds the Altamira Village shopping mall, the Gávea Business Center and the WBC - World Business Center, the Eurobike car dealership, the Gávea Office Business Center, the Patio Vinhedos, at Vinhedos Avenue, etc.



Figure 72 - Uberlândia Shopping Mall, Uberlândia - MG.

Source: <http://uberlandiashopping.com.br/o-shopping/> accessed on 2019, April 23.

We see the multiplication of trade and services in the region, and this trend is for growth, given the increase, every day, of the presence of middle and high income layers in the place, confirmed by real estate launches such as closed lots and vertical condominiums. high standard.

The myth of living in the “south zone” of the city contributes to the real estate valuation

of that region, together with public and private investments. The construction of the bridge that connects the Cidade Jardim, Jardins Barcelona and Roma neighborhoods to Vinhedos Avenue took place with private investments, in the process of anticipating the public area, connecting a region of four closed allotments (closed communities) to this region of the Southern Sector.

The duplication of Lidormira Borges do Nascimento Avenue, which allows improved access to Shopping Park neighborhood and other regions of the Southern Sector, the Technological Pole, the various colleges, such as UNITRI, UNIUBE, UNA College and Faculdade Pitágoras, the forecast of construction of the BRT corridor and an integration terminal for the Integrated Transit System, on Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue; all of these large-scale investments characterize the region as attractive for these financial resources and contribute to the real estate appreciation of the Southern Sector.

Among several projects planned for the South region, as shown in Table 07 (page 97), they show that of the R\$ 140.2 million³ in road investments concentrated in 22 works, eight are destined to investments in the South Sector.

Uberlândia Shopping mall was opened in the Southern Sector of Uberlândia on March 28, 2012, at Paulo Gracindo Avenue, close to the confluence of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos and Vinhedos Avenue. The venture obtained investments from the Portuguese company Sonae, which also built other shopping centers malls in Brazil, in the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Goiás, Amazonas and the Federal District. The mall has approximately 45 thousand square meters (484376 square foot) of gross leasable area, comprising in more than 200 stores, and 2,400 parking spaces, in addition to a bicycle rack. The investment for the construction of the mall was approximately R\$ 163.1 million⁴ and generated around 700 job vacancies during the construction phase, with a forecast of employing around 2,000 people. In 2015, the enterprise made its first expansion, through the construction of new anchor stores, Riachuelo and C&A. A hotel is undergoing approval in an area adjacent to the mall.

An important hospital complex is in operation at Rafael Marino Neto Avenue. The complex, which is in expansion phase, called Uberlândia Medical Center (UMC) has as main objective to unite teaching, research and clinic, using the latest technology available to contribute effectively to health. The building occupies an area of 70 thousand square meters (753,473 square foot). Also under construction is a new hospital unit with 350 beds and a tower of 308 rooms for doctors' offices in the most varied specialties. Two floors of the building will be destined to a Diagnostic Imaging Center and another dedicated specifically to female patients. The complex is expected to generate about 800 direct jobs.

Grupo Pão de Açúcar, the largest retailer in Brazil, opened its first store in the State of Minas Gerais in Uberlândia, in the South Sector, at Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, close to the confluence with Francisco Galassi Avenue, in December 2014. The investment was of the order of R\$ 11 million⁵ and a sales area of 1,080 square meters (11,625 square foot), providing for the generation of 200 direct and indirect jobs.

In the southern sector of the city, we also see investments in the construction of the

3 Corresponds to US\$ 35.55 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

4 Corresponds to US\$ 41.46 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23,

5 Corresponds to US\$ 2.80 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

so-called Street Malls. According to Silva (2012), these ventures are similar to commercial galleries, bringing together a few dozen commercial or service stores, located in residential neighborhoods, as their main focus is on potential consumers in these locations. The proximity to the home of its users is the main attraction of the project, due to the easy access and parking. They differ from shopping malls due to the reduced physical space, the small mix of products offered, usually in the convenience, fashion, services and food segment, the latter acting, as an anchor, of these small shopping centers.

We can highlight in this region six developments that fit the concept of Street Mall. They are: Village Altamira Shopping, Pátio da Colina, Gávea Sul Pátio, Gávea Business Center, World Business Center and Patio Vinhedos.

Village Altamira Shopping, located on Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, had an investment of R\$ 12 million⁶ and occupies a total area of 3,600 square meters, distributed in 16 stores and 60 parking spaces, being responsible for generating approximately 500 job openings. Also located on the same Avenue, Gávea Sul Pátio Shopping has 18 stores from 25 to 200 square meters (269 to 2153 square foot), opened in 2012. Still on Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, Gávea Business has 12 stores, 117 commercial rooms and 300 parking spaces, with 7,900 square meters (85035 square foot) of built area, spread over a 15,500 square meter (166841 sq foot) plot, totaling an investment of R\$ 30 million⁷. On the same Avenue, the World Business Center has 28 commercial rooms, 200 parking spaces, with a built area of 4,800 square meters on a 10,500 square meter (113021 sq foot) plot, totaling an investment of R\$ 20 million⁸.

The Pátio da Colina mall project is located on Francisco Galassi Avenue, also in the Southern Sector of Uberlândia, in an area of 750 m² (8,073 sq foot), with seven stores in the food and clothing segment.

On Vinhedos Avenue, there is the Gávea Office, built on a plot of 4,900 square meters (52,743 sq feet), with 3,000 m² (323,929 sq feet) of built area and 100 parking spaces, totaling an investment of R\$ 9.0 million⁹. Also on Vinhedos Avenue, the Tower Empresarial is a commercial building with an investment of R\$ 36 million¹⁰. The commercial building was recently completed and has 16 floors and include high standard offices, built in an area of 5,400 m² (58,125 sq feet), and each floor has 522 square meters (5,619 sq feet) of built area.

In addition to private investments in the area of commerce and services, the region stands out for concentrating a large part of private investments destined to housing, such as several closed and conventional allotments, vertical buildings for multifamily housing and, also, the undertakings destined to the implantation of the PMCMV.

The Vinhedos Avenue region also observes a verticalization process through multifamily residential buildings for the upper income classes. In 2017, the residential development called Torres do Sul (Figure 73, page 147) located in the Acácias Uberlândia Allotment was delivered by Rodobens Negócios Imobiliários, a publicly traded company at

6 Corresponds to US\$ 3.05 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

7 Corresponds to US\$ 7.63 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

8 Corresponds to US\$ 5.09 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

9 Corresponds to US\$ 2.29 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

10 Corresponds to US\$ 9.16 millions, dollar value in 2019, April 23.

IBOVESPA, with 272 housing units distributed in four 17-floors towers.



Figure 73 - Torres do Sul Condominium, Rodobens Negócios Imobiliários, Uberlândia - MG.

Source: www.rodobens.com.br accessed on 2019, April 17.

In the same subdivision, three apartment towers are being built by the company Brasal Incorporações, in the city of Brasília-DF, with a proposal for high-end apartments, in an unprecedented condominium on the outskirts of the city of Uberlândia-MG. The project called Triade has three towers and apartments between 220 and 290m² (2,368 sq feet and 3,122 sq feet). Three other towers, called Sense Vertical Living, were launched by the same company in the referred subdivision, configuring the third vertical condominium located in the same location, totaling 10 towers (Figures 74 and 75, page 148).



Figure 74 - Triade Condominium under construction, Brasal Incorporações, Uberlândia - MG.
Source: www.brasal.com.br, accessed on 2019, April 17.



Figure 75 - Sense Vertical Living, launched in 2018, Brasal Incorporações, Uberlândia - MG.
Source: www.brasal.com.br, accessed on 2019, April 17.

Still in the Acácias Uberlândia allotment, next to the Triáde Sense and Torres do Sul developments, there is the Street Mall called Pátio dos Vinhedos, managed by the Map Mall company, the company has two developments in Rio de Janeiro, two in the city of Uberlândia, one is the Pátio dos Vinhedos and the other is the Map Green, located in the Granja Marileusa allotment, and still a development in the city of Araguari.

About 1500m (0,93 miles) from these developments for the high income-classes, the company Construtora MRV built in a radius of approximately 800m (0,5 miles), in the period from 2009 until the moment of completion of this survey (2019), about 5,000 housing units. All of the company's units are standardized on four-story apartment blocks, with four housing units per floor and units of approximately 44 square meters (473 sq feet). The units have one parking space per housing unit. The construction system is also standardized throughout the country, using structural masonry in concrete bricks and exploiting the marketing of club-condominiums to win over buyers. The income range in which these units are allocated is three to 10 minimum salaries, and most buyers use financing from public banks to purchase these properties and subsidies from the PMCMV.

The city of Uberlândia-MG presents one of the largest MRV projects in the country. Condomínio Spazio Único has all the standard construction techniques applied to other company buildings. It is located on a plot of approximately 60,600 square meters (652293 sq feet) and 1,232 housing units.

The company Construtora MRV is one of the largest construction companies in the country and is highlighted in the implementation, mainly of apartments that fit the Federal Government's PMCMV, for income groups between three and 10 minimum wages. Only in the region between Uberlândia Shopping and Neighborhood Shopping Park, that is, in the neighborhoods of Gávea and Loteamento Gávea Sul, the company has eight projects, as shown in Table 18, below, totaling 5,384 housing units.

Development	Neighborhood or allotment	Housing units
Residencial Urupês	Copacabana	46
Village Unique	Tubalina	36
Spazio Umbria	Tubalina	28
Spazio Udine	Copacabana	48
The Palms	Jardim Sul	262
Spazio Unigardem	Copacabana	384
Central Park	São Jorge	500
Hyde Park	São Jorge	340
Spazio Único	Gávea	1440
Parque Udinese	Gávea Sul	320
Parque Universitá	Gávea Sul	720
Parque United Coast	Gávea Sul	848
Parque Univerdi	Gávea Sul	448
Parque Ubá	Gávea Sul	416
Parque Unicielo	Gávea Sul	208

Parque United States	Gávea Sul	984
TOTAL		7,028

Table 18: List of MRV condominiums between Uberlândia Shopping and Gávea Sul neighborhood, Uberlândia, 2019.

Source: SEPLAN, PMU (2019).

According to data provided by Construtora MRV, the company has 11 thousand housing units throughout the city. In other words, almost half (48.95%) of all the units built by the company are concentrated in this geographical section of the Southern Sector of Uberlândia-MG, within a maximum radius of 800 meters (0,5 miles), comprising by the Gávea and Loteamento Gávea Sul neighborhoods. Considering 3.5 people living per housing unit, according to the IBGE, we can estimate a population of almost 19 thousand inhabitants living only in the apartments built by the company in the region.

According to Table 19, page 135, it can be seen that in the East Sector of the city, 08 closed communities housing developments are located, totaling 2,662 internal lots. In the western sector of the city, there are 13 closed communities housing developments, divided into 503 lots. In the Southern Sector of Uberlândia, there are 27 closed communities housing developments, totaling 5,798 internal lots. We concluded, therefore, that 65% of lots inserted in closed communities in the city are in the Southern Sector, proving the high concentration of these projects in the region and the segregation of the high income classes, in that sector. Only after the year 2010, 12 closed communities were approved, totaling 3,304 internal lots, that is, 37% of the lots available in closed lots in the city were approved after the year 2010.

Allotment	Approval	Sector	Lots
Villagio da Colina	1998	South	58
Gávea Hill I and II	2000	South	181
Vila do Sol	2000	South	88
Jardins Barcelona	2002	South	351
Vila Real	2003	South	110
Bosque Karaíba	2004	South	183
Jardins Roma	2004	South	400
Royal Park Residence	2004	South	271
Reserva do Vale	2007	South	186
Residencial Carmel	2007	South	39
Gávea Paradiso and Solares da Gávea	2007	South	509
Village Karaíba	2007	South	01
Vila dos Ipês	2007	South	117
Jardins Gênova	2010	South	343
Splêndido	2011	South	715
Solares da Gávea	2011	South	160
Residencial dos Ipês - Cyrella	2012	South	220

Residencial dos Ipês - Cyrella	2012	South	357
Varanda Sul	2012	South	387
Gávea Paradiso	2012	South	108
GSP Arts Uberlândia	2012	South	283
Terras Altas	2015	South	246
Golden Village	2015	South	151
Park Sul	2015	South	91
Jardins Versailles	2015	South	243
TOTAL		South	5.798
Paradiso	2004	East	316
Girassol	2003	East	59
Alphaville Uberlândia	2014	East	390
Alphaville Uberlândia 2	2015	East	403
Reserva dos Ipês	2015	East	462
Terras Alpha	2018	East	370
Raros Alto Umarama	2019	East	138
Reserva do Bosque (previsto)	2019	East	524
TOTAL		East	2.662
Tolerância	2002	West	38
Decisão	2004	West	81
Alegria	2007	West	38
Disciplina	2008	West	38
Ordem	2008	West	38
Sinceridade	1997	West	38
Saber	1997	West	38
Bondade	1997	West	38
Felicidade	2011	West	38
Paz	2011	West	38
Lindamar	2011	West	22
Victoria	2012	West	28
Pinheiros	2012	West	30
TOTAL		West	503
GENERAL TOTAL			8.963

Table 19: CLOsed Allotments / Communities by city sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: SEPLAN (2019), adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Considering the city has approximately 230,000 urban lots and that according to the table above 8,963 lots are in closed lots, this means that 4% of urban lots are of this type. However, its urban impacts are very considerable.

We observe that in this region are concentrated several private and public enterprises, demonstrating a differentiated real estate dynamics. Despite the fact that

the largest irregular occupation of the city is found in the South Sector, Glória Irregular Settlement, several housing developments built since the 1950s, including the first phase of the PMCMV, was chosen to house most residential, commercial and residential developments. services to serve the high income- classes. This dynamic has been altered by the East Sector, where the Granja Marileusa allotment has sought to attract a new centrality, willing to house developments destined also for the high income-classes. This bipolarization process is at the beginning, however, we believe that it will gain strength due to the data collected, where we see an increase in the availability of these projects in the East Sector.

In the next chapter, we will specifically analyze four developments, or what we call phenomena, since the Glória Irregular Settlement is not a real estate development, but part of an urbanization process. In accordance with a specific methodology, which will be detailed in the respective chapter, we will address the Residential Pequis Allotment, the developments of Construtora MRV located in the region of the Gávea Sul allotment, the Granja Marileusa allotment and the Glória Irregular Settlement.

To tell you about Penthesilea, I should begin by describing the entrance to the city. You, no doubt, imagine seeing a girdle of walls rising from the dusty plain as you slowly approach the gate, guarded by customs men who are already casting oblique glances at your bundles. Until you have reached it you are outside it; you pass beneath an archway and you find yourself within the city (...). (CALVINO, 1972, p.156)

3.1 Methods and scale of analysis

In this work, we adopted a descriptive research procedure, whose objective is to describe the characteristics, properties or existing relationships of the investigated phenomenon in order to favor the clear formulation of the problem.

In this sense, the phenomenon or situation is studied to obtain an expanded understanding of the contemporary urban process. Descriptive ventures seek only to present a detailed picture of a phenomenon to facilitate its understanding.

We will deal with four urban processes in order to describe and analyze the research problem, considering its possible variables to be investigated. Based on this information, it will be possible to compile the results obtained for the formulation of conclusions about the studied contemporary urbanization process.

According to the city building models, based on the housing we established in the first chapter, we selected four processes in order to cover the three models of city construction, creating a panorama of contemporary urbanization in Uberlândia-MG.

1. Residential Pequis allotment (Figure 76, page 155): Allotment located in a Special Zone of Social Interest (ZEIS), in the Western Sector, aimed at the implementation of social housing within the PMCMV, for the low income class (incomes from zero to three minimum salaries). Private model with state participation in promoting financial support.



Figure 76 - Aerial photo of the Pequis Residential Allotment, Uberlândia MG.

2. Performance of the company MRV Construtora through its developments in the city of Uberlândia, focusing on its performance in the local real estate market and as a private model of urbanization, with financing by the PMCMV for middle-income classes (from three to 10 minimum salaries).

3. Granja Marileusa allotment (Figure 77): mixed-use allotment, located in the Eastern Sector, owned by a large local company in the Telecommunications area, in the region where the Alphaville Uberlândia, Alphaville 2 and Terras Alpha allotments are located. Private model of urbanization.



Figure 77 -Granja Marileusa Allotment Project, Uberlândia-MG.

4. Glória Irregular Settlement (Figure 78): irregular occupation, located in the Southern Sector, in an area belonging to the Union (Federal Government) and which currently comprises the largest slum in the city.



Figure 78 - Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2017.

The task presented here follows a methodology established by the Rede de Pesquisa Cidade e Moradia (City and Housing Research Network) in which they analyzed PMCMV projects, published by the Observatório das Metrôpoles and organized by Santo Amore, Shimbo & Rufino (2015). Through this methodology, the task would be to describe,

understand and analyze the urban fabric where the projects are located and their relationship with the city and also the relationship of the population that lives in these places with urban equipment and services. Although the methodology was used in the specific analysis of PMCMV projects, we observed that this methodology applies well to carry out analyzes of urban developments of other types as their scales, categories of analysis and the evaluated indicators are not exclusive to one type of enterprise, thus being able to contribute to the analysis of all the cases chosen for study in this chapter.

The PMCMV is a program of the Federal Government in partnership with the States and Municipalities, whose management was carried out by the Ministry of Cities and instituted in the form of Law Number 11,977, July 7, 2009. Its objective is the production of housing units, where the Residential Lease Fund (FAR), through the subprogram National Urban Housing Program (PNHU), sold these units to low-income families with subsidies of up to 90% of the property's value.

For the purpose of analyzing the projects, this methodology defined scales that comprise:

1. The regional or metropolitan scale
2. The municipal scale
3. The scale of the enterprise
4. The scale of the housing unit.

Considering these scales, the typologies of the selected phenomena and, mainly, the objective of this research that permeates understanding the contemporary urbanization processes of the city, from the point of view of socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation, and also the intended results, we are using for the purpose of our researches the scale of the enterprise. We consider that, in this way, the regional or metropolitan scale goes beyond our objectives, and the municipal scale considered would not fit us since specific projects have already been selected, defining a territorial cut, and will not relate to other projects on the municipality scale. The scale of the housing unit does not respond specifically to our objectives. Obviously, nothing prevents even so, that data related to all scales can be obtained, analyzed and crossed and interpolated between the different scales of analysis.

Within the scale of the enterprise, according to this methodology, we will detail the urban insertion of the enterprises and irregular occupation in the city and its immediate surroundings. Analyzing the following aspects: patterns of land use and occupation; provision of services, commerce, public facilities and leisure areas; access to public transit, physical barriers (topographic or constructive); equipment and common areas in allotments and occupancy. Documentary and mapping analysis and field researches were used. The analyzes also cover the urban design and implementation of enterprises and irregular occupation. We also tried to detail the analysis categories adopted in relation to the data sources and the resulting products, thus relating analysis categories and evaluated indicators common to all the projects selected for analysis.

In Chart 01, page 158, we summarize the categories, indicators, data, products and sources used, according to this methodology, used on the scale of the project.

Analyse Categories		Evaluated Indicators	Products	Sources
Infrastruture	Systems	% sewage service in the enterprise	Table and Text	Field research and technic projects
		% drinking water supply network		
		% public lighting network in the enterprise		
		% asphalt paving in the enterprise		
		% garbage collection in the enterprise		
	Transit	Location of the bus stop and attendance frequency of public transit lines (bus)	Table, Maps and Text	Field research and city hall data base
Existence of bikeways or bikepaths or alternative transit				
Distance from the closest bus terminal and to the Central Bus Station				
Social, community and cultural facilities	Education: location of daycare centers, elementary, middle and higher education in the area of influence of the enterprise	Maps	Field research and city hall dada base	
	Health: location of Basic Health Units and others related to the area of influence of the enterprise			
	Leisure: parks, free public spaces in the area of influence of the development			
	Social Assistance: Location of CRAS in the area of influence of the enterprise			
	Security: Location of police stations or equipment in the area of influence of the project			
Monthly family income and per capita income of residents of the area of influence	Monthly family income and per capita income of residents of the area of influence	Text and Maps	IBGE, city hall data base, Google Earth, Field research	
	Population densities			
	Use of land			
Spatial relationships and project characteristics	Municipal legislation applied to the enterprise	Text	City hall dada base	
	Agents: construction company, developers and subcontractors		CEF and Field research	
	Evolution of urban occupation in the area of influence of the enterprise	Map	City hall data base	

Chart 01: Analysis categories, indicators, products and source of data in the enterprise scale

Source: Rede Cidade e Moradia, adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Still with respect to the indicators evaluated in Chart 1, density maps were produced or information was provided on the density observed mainly in the areas of influence. The densities were defined considering inhabitants per square kilometer (inhab./km²) and this indicator is expressed in this research in the form of gross density. The gross density expresses the total number of residents in a given urban area divided by the total area in hectares, which includes social and community facilities, voids, public places, shops, industries, roads and other urban services, considering the entire region included within a perimeter determined by a polygonal created to define the area.

For the purpose of defining parameters of demographic density, these can be considered between low and medium density, considering parameters defined by Acioly and Davidson (1998), which indicate that urban projects that characterize very high residential density with 60,000 inhabitants / km², high with 40,000 inhabitants / km², low density with 10,000 inhabitants / km², and average residential density with 20,000 inhabitants / km², considering the calculation of gross density.

Maps of land use and occupation were also prepared for the areas of influence of the projects. For this, we used the base maps of the Municipality of Uberlândia associated with the resources of Google Earth to observe the occupied lots and their use. However, as many of the images on Google Earth are not up to date, field surveys were carried out in order to update the data contained in the maps. We are faced, likewise, with the lack of data availability for the projects, since all of them deal with recently urbanized areas, after the IBGE census (2010) and they often do not even contain their forecasts for years after 2010.

In the next items, we will deal with each of the cases proposed above, considering their urban insertion and the proposed methodology, in order to understand the processes of socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation of the territory observed in the city under study. In addition to the methodology described above, for the analysis of the category spatial relationships and project characteristics, referring to Construtora MRV's projects, we used the methodology of Wall and Waterman (2012), which will be detailed below.

3.2. Residential Pequis allotment

The allotment called Residencial Pequis started by inserting areas in the urban perimeter of the city of Uberlândia-MG, through the Law number 11.412 from 2013, June 19th. At that moment, the areas where they would be implemented were added to the urban perimeter of the city. The allotment in question and also the Residencial Monte Hebron, Residencial Fruta do Conde and Residencial Mansour III and Luizote IV allotments, as shown in Figure 79, page 160, were inserted in the urban perimeter by the same law. At the same time, an area owned by the Union was also inserted in the urban perimeter, where a Federal University of Uberlândia campus is being implemented (in yellow in figure 79, page 160).

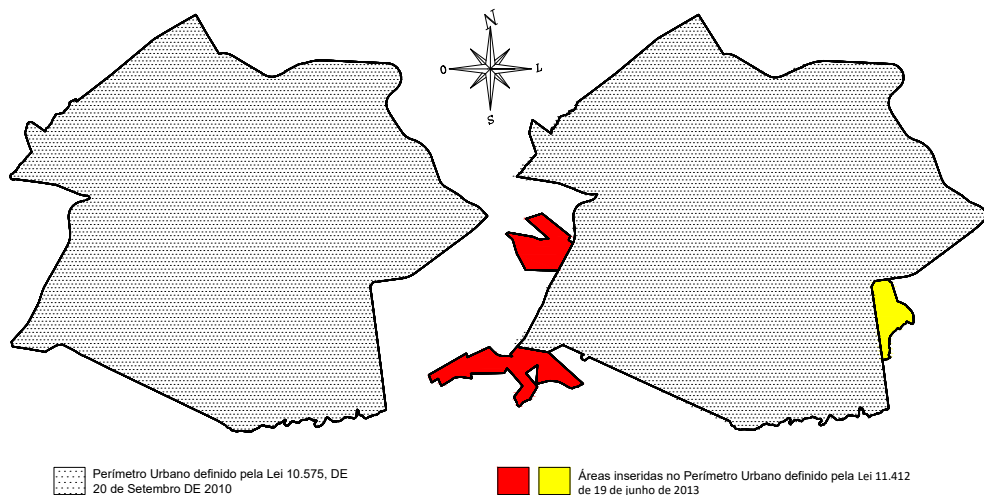


Figure 79 - Urban perimeter according to Law 10.575/2010 and Law 11.412/2013 with the insertion of areas in the PMCMV.

The expansion of the urban perimeter had the objective of enabling the implementation of Social Housing (H3). The process started with the Notice of Call for Interested Owners, published in the Official Gazette of the Municipality No. 4,109 of March 11, 2013, on page 06. This announcement invited the owners of areas in the urban perimeter and in the urban expansion zone in case interest, register their areas for implementation of approximately 11,000 (eleven thousand) social housing units - range 1 - income up to R\$ 1,600.00 (one thousand and six hundred reais).

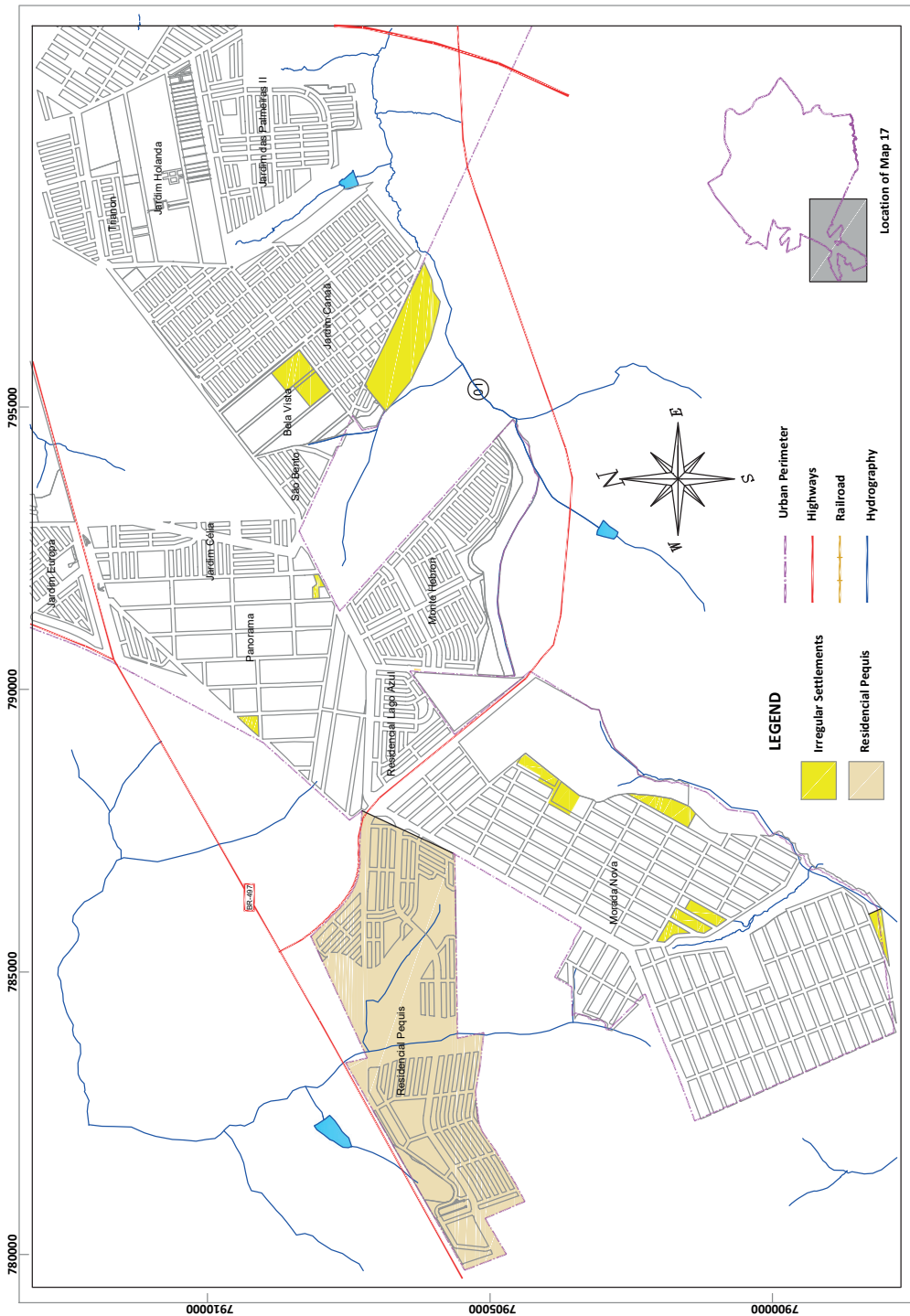
After the presentation of the referred areas by the interested owners and according to the call notice, the possibility of expanding the urban perimeter for this purpose was brought to the consideration and deliberation by the Conselho Municipal do Plano Diretor (Municipal Council of Master Plan), at the meeting on March 22, 2013 at 4 pm in the Meeting Room of the Mayor's Office, where a study for the expansion was presented, having been approved as stated in the Meeting Minutes consulted at the Municipal Secretariat of Urban Planning, in April 2018.

Subsequently, in order to meet the requirements of the Master Plan of the Municipality of Uberlândia - Complementary Law 432 of October 18, 2006, a Public Hearing was held at the Municipality of Uberlândia on April 15, 2013 at 7:30 pm, with the community discussing the expansion the urban perimeter. The call notice for said hearing was published in the Official Gazette of the Municipality No. 4,121-A on March 27, 2013.

This process, therefore, culminated in the bill that changed the urban perimeter of the Municipality of Uberlândia, approved and subsequently sanctioned by the Municipal Mayor Gilmar Machado (2013-2016), in the edition of Law 11.412 of 19 June 2013, as previously illustrated.

Although there is a huge contingent of empty areas within the urban perimeter, it was decided to expand it. According to Motta (2017), data for the year 2015 showed that about 40% of the urban perimeter area of the city of Uberlândia was occupied by plots not

yet parceled out, not counting the empty lots in areas already subdivided. This was justified by the fact that landowners within the urban perimeter were not interested in providing land for the promotion of social housing, not even with government funding for this purpose. Likewise, the public authorities also did not use the instruments available in the City Statute, in order to promote social housing and curb the expansion of the urban perimeter, in order to inhibit real estate speculation. The excuse falls on the price of land.



Map 17 - Location of the Residencial Pequis Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

As part of the PMCMV, the Residencial Pequis was approved in May 2014, divided into nine processes referring to the Glebes 2A1, 2A2, 2A4, 2A5, 2A6, 2B1, 2B2, 2B3 and 2B5. The land parceling laws considered for land subdivision approval were Federal Law 6.766 of December 19, 1979, Complementary Law 523 of April 7, 2011 and Complementary Law 496 of July 2, 2009. The developments are located 15, 20 km (12,42 miles) from Tubal Vilela square, considered the main landmark at downtown Uberlândia. Check location on Map 17, page 161 and Map 01, page 14.

Figure 80, below, illustrates the Residencial Pequis in Uberlândia-MG, at the time of completion of its infrastructure works.



Figure 80 - Aerial photo of the Residencial Pequis Allotment in Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Sky to Fly (2016)

A total of 3,220 residences within the PMCMV destined for Band 01 were made available in the Residencial Pequis, destined for Band 01. The selection of the bidders was carried out by the Municipality of Uberlândia, in compliance with legal provisions of the Ministry of Cities (Ordinance 412 of August 6, 2015), observing the following priority criteria:

- 1) Families residing in risky or unhealthy areas or who have been homeless;
- 2) Families with women responsible for the family unit;
- 3) Families that include people with disabilities.
- 4) Families residing in the city of Uberlândia for at least 10 years;

- 5) Families benefited by Bolsa Família;
- 6) Families with children under the age of 18.

A total of 3% of the housing units were also reserved for the care of the elderly, and another 3% for the care of people with disabilities or whose families include people with disabilities. A draw was made to contemplate the qualified residents, which occurred on March 19, 2016.

The 3,220 lots destined to the implementation of social housing by the PMCMV were financed by the Federal Government with funds from the Residential Lease Fund (FAR). This fund received resources from the General Budget of the Union (OGU) to enable the construction of housing units in order to meet the deficit of lower income families (up to R\$ 1,600.00). The municipality was responsible for the indication of families, under the conditions described above.

The execution of the infrastructure works of the Residencial Pequis project was carried out by the construction companies supported by Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), which was responsible for delivering the completed and legalized properties, which occurred at the end of 2016. The properties contracted are owned and integrated FAR assets until they are disposed of. The following urban infrastructure works were carried out in 100% of the subdivision, having been 100% executed and delivered: sewage collection network, drinking water distribution network, asphalt paving and gutters, public lighting network, sidewalks in concrete with the homes classified in the PMCMV.

A total number of 3,220 social housing units were contracted for the project, which had to present the minimum typology for single storey house with two bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bathroom and service area, with a floor area of at least 32m² (344 sq feet), not including the area. The public equipment to serve the project (social assistance, security, health, education and others) was contracted by CEF, in public areas of the allotments. After construction, this equipment was passed on to the government, which is responsible for equipping and putting them into operation to serve the residents. The FAR paid a limit of up to 6% of the value of the buildings of public equipment and infrastructure of the enterprise to which it is linked.

Next, we will deal with the Evaluation of the indicators used in the scale of the project, according to the methodology adopted, for the Residencial Pequis.



Figure 81 - Typology of residences in the Residencial Pequis - Uberlândia-MG, 2016.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2016).

3.2.1. Evaluation of the indicators used in the enterprise scale

Analysis Category - Infrastructure/Systems

The project has 100% coverage in the service of the sewage network. The networks were executed by the entrepreneur, considering the incident and non-incident works of the lots classified in the PMCMV. A sewage pumping station was built that pumps the sewage to the Uberabinha Sewage Treatment Station. The work was built by the Municipal Department of Water and Sewage (DMAE) and the function of the pumping station is to pump, through electric motors, the sewage generated to an outfall, and from there to the Uberabinha Sewage Treatment Station, where it is treated.

The project has 100% coverage in the supply of drinking water. The networks were executed by the entrepreneur, considering the incident and non-incident works of the lots classified in the PMCMV. The service is provided through the Jardim Europa Potable Water Reservation Center run by the City of Uberlândia and the Municipal Department of Water and Sewage (DMAE). The reservoir has a capacity of six million liters of water and was planned to serve around 20 thousand consumers who live in the Residencial Pequis and Residencial Monte Hebron, with 5,200 properties, and part of the Morada Nova neighborhood, all located in the western sector.

The project has 100% coverage in the public lighting network. The networks were executed by the entrepreneur, considering the incident and non-incident works of the lots classified in the PMCMV. The project has a public lighting network in all lives and on two-lane Avenues on both sides and accesses to the project. Public green areas are also lit.

The project has 100% coverage of asphalt pavement and of half wires and gutters.

The works were carried out by the developer, considering the incident and non-incident works of the lots included in the PMCMV. The project has garbage collection carried out in the neighborhood twice a week.

Analysis Category - Infrastructure/Transit

Information on public transit was acquired through the Municipal Traffic and Transit Secretariat, published on the website of the Municipality of Uberlândia. The Residential Pequis is served by a public transit system, which is part of the SIT, Integrated Transit System of Uberlândia-MG. The project is served by Line A436 (Planalto Terminal - Residencial Pequis), according to the itinerary shown in Figure 82.

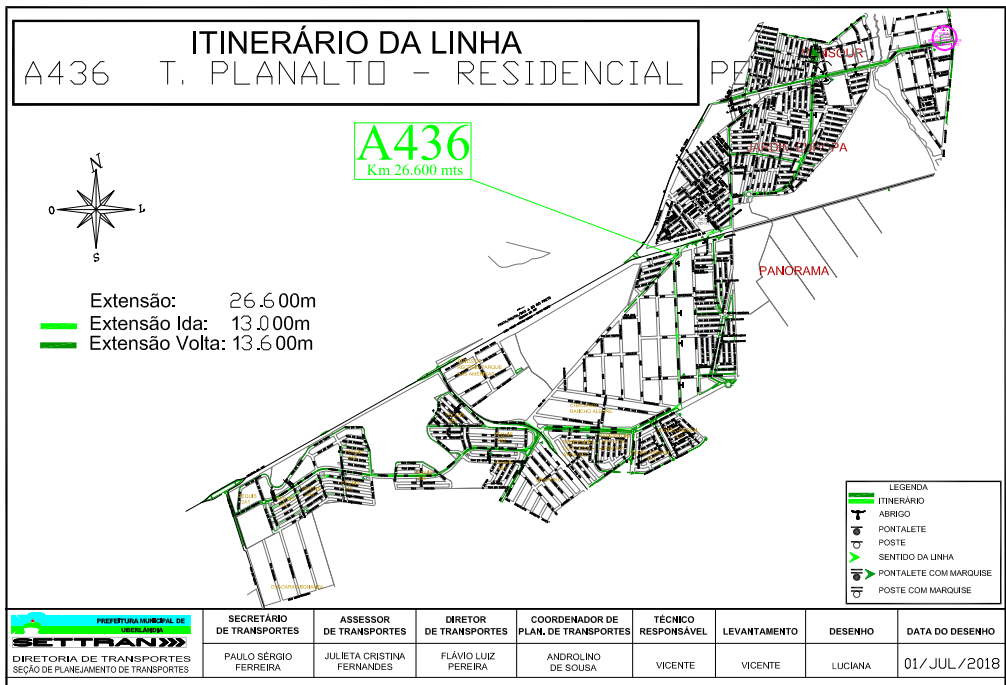


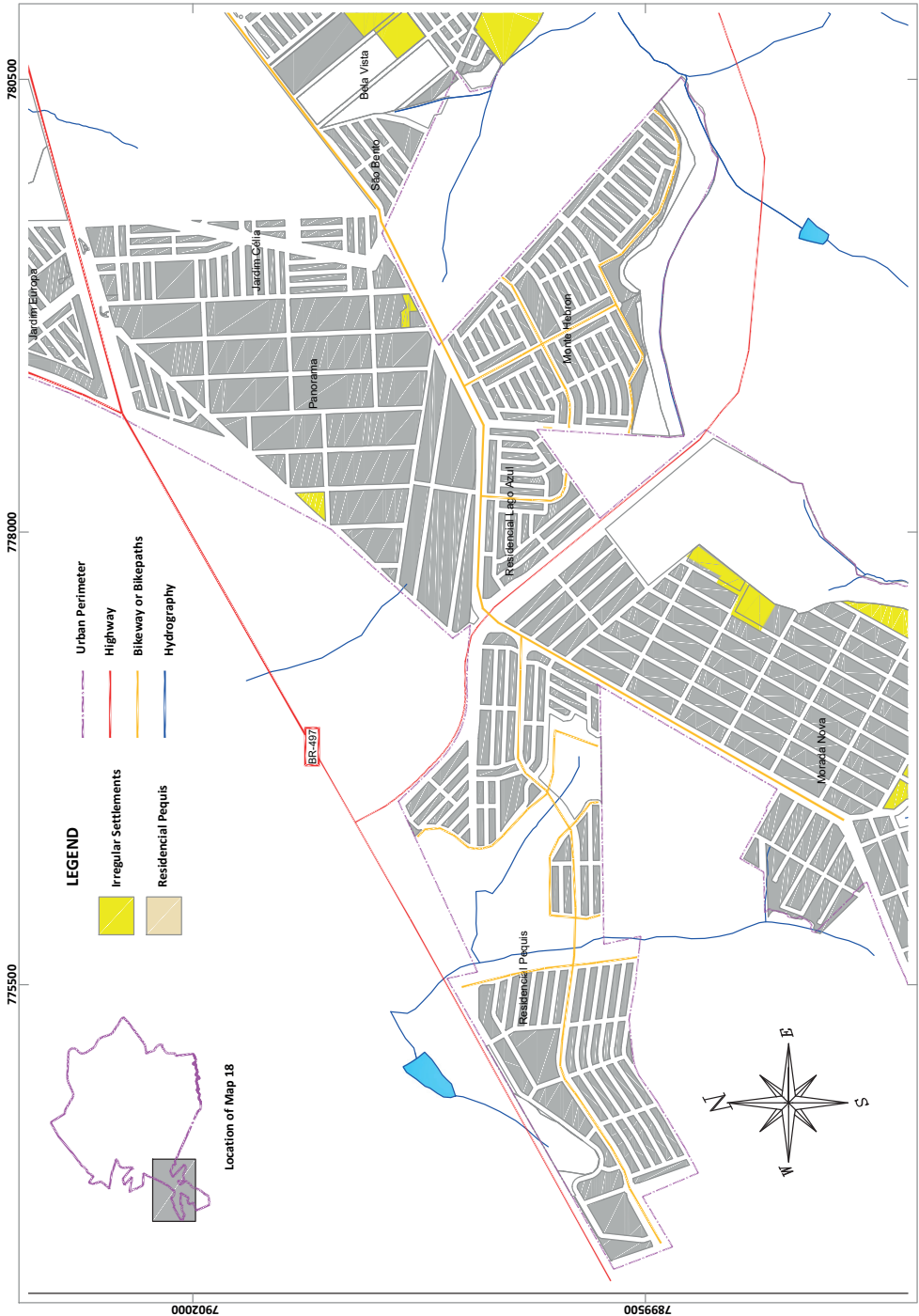
Figure 82 - Line A436 itinerary (Planalto Terminal - Residencial Pequis).

Source: PMU (2018).

The A436 line has a length of 12.6 km (7,83 miles) and an estimated travel time of 50 minutes to the Planalto Bus Terminal. The frequency of service of public transportation lines on working days varies from 12 to 30 minutes. From the Planalto Bus Terminal, residents can access the transportation lines that connect this terminal to the Central Bus Terminal, a trip that lasts an average of 1.05 hours. In other words, the journey from the resident to the central terminal can take around two hours. And, depending on the fate of the resident, considering, for example, his work in the region of the Algar Group's headquarters (Eastern Sector), which is an important pole that generates jobs, it lasts another 58 minutes. In this way, a resident from Residencial Pequis can spend three hours just to get to work, having

6 hours a day in public transportation, without considering waiting times, commuting from home to bus stop and transfer.

Municipal Law 10,686/2010, which establishes road planning for the city of Uberlândia-MG, provides for new urban allotments to plan cycleways on all roads classified as collectors, arterial, structural and marginal. For this reason, since the development region has some allotments approved after the aforementioned law, it has a generous cycle system, as can be seen in Map 18, page 149. However, these cycle paths are not connected with others located in the city of Uberlândia, for lack of a macro cycling project on the city scale.



Map 18 - Bike paths and cycle tracks in the Residencial Pequis Allotment region, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Analysis Category - Social and community facilities

In Chart 02, page 148, there is a list of social and community facilities, associations and fairs located in the area of influence of the Residencial Pequis that support the residents of the region.

Field	Facility	Address	Allotment
Education	EMEI José de Souza Prado	91 Marlos Urquiza Cavalcanti St.	Monte Hebron
Education	EMEI Professora Margareth Guitarrara Crozara	300 Cachorro do Mato St	Residencial Pequis
Education	EMEI Jornalista Luiz Fernando Quirino	215 sininhos, St.	Chácaras Panorama
Education	Professor Amenai Matos Neto Educacional Center	105 Batuira St.	Residencial Pequis
Education	EMEF Freitas Azevedo	15. Aldo Borges Leão Ave	Morada Nova
Education	Cláudio José Bizinoto Educacional Center / Daycare community association - CCAU - (ONG)	442, Marcelino Bertoldo St	Morada Nova
Health	UBSF Morada Nova I e II	2329 Aldo Borges Leão Ave	Morada Nova
Health	UBSF Jardim Célia I e II	1280 Paineiras St.	Chácaras Panorama
Social Assistance	NAICA Jardim Célia (Center for Comprehensive Support for Children and Adolescents / Community Center)	3 Sininhos St.	Chácaras Panorama
Social Assistance	Community Garden (Jesus Christ the Nazarene Rehabilitation House)	619 Josina Luiza Tupinambá St.	Morada Nova
Social Assistance	CRAS – Reference Center in Social Assistance	35 Sininhos St.	Chácaras Panorama
Sports and Leisure	Outdoor gym	Lírios Amarelos Ave (Green Area “V”)	Chácaras Panorama
Sports and Leisure	Outdoor gym	Sininhos St	Panorama
Green Areas	Sebastião José da Silva Square	-	Monte Hebron
Green Areas	José Geraldo Alves Square	-	Monte Hebron
Green Areas	Altamiro Alves Ferreira Square	-	Chácaras Panorama
Green Areas	Inonimada Square	-	Chácaras Panorama
Green Areas	Padre Henrique Jorge de Mesquita Square	-	Morada Nova
Association	Pequis Neighborhood association - AMBREP	691 Onça Pintada St	Residencial Pequis
Association	Associação de Moradores do Jardim Célia	155 Amor Agarradinho, St	Chácaras Panorama

Market	Free Market	Orquídeas St	Panorama
Market	Free Market	Rio das Pedras Ave	Residencial Pequis
Market	Free Marke	Inhambu Xororó St	Residencial Pequis

Chart 02: Social and community facilities in the influence área of Residencial Pequis allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: Caderno Informativo da Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano / Diretoria de Pesquisas Integradas, Prefeitura Municipal de Uberlândia (2017-2018)

Analysis Category - Socioeconomic

For the purpose of mapping a socioeconomic profile of the Residencial Pequis area, since the project was approved in 2015 and the occupation started after 2016, we used as a base an area of influence that covers the surrounding neighborhoods. This, in order to provide us with an income profile, income density and demographic density that helped us in the analysis of the urban insertion of the enterprise and, even, its relationship with the other analyzed enterprises.

The neighborhoods we add as an area of influence are the Morada Nova, Panorama, Jardim Célia and Monte Hebron allotments, located according to Map 18, page 168.

Figure 83, page 171, illustrates the demographic density by census sector, using the IBGE database (2016). We observed that the region has low demographic density. This is mainly due to the fact that the Morada Nova and Panorama lots are considered farm sectors, despite being already inserted in the urban perimeter.

We also highlight that the low density observed in the region can also be considered due to the typology of households, which, as the table below shows, 99.67% of households are made up of houses. This, added to the fact that a large part of the surrounding area consists of recreational sites, is reflected in the extremely low demographic density of the region.

	Casa	1483	99,7%
	Casa em Vila ou Condomínio	3	0,2%
	Apartamento	2	0,1%
	Outro Tipo	0	0,0%

Table 20: Households by type, area of influence of the Residencial Pequis Allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2010.

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE (2010) base datas

We can observe that according to data from IBGE (2010), the average income of the population was R\$ 1,993.01¹ and according to IBGE, projection for 2016, the average income of the population was R\$ 1,768.65, with a decrease of 11.26%. Figure 84, page 152 also shows that the income density of the surroundings is one of the lowest observed in the

1 Corresponds to US\$ 1,052.76, dollar value in 2010, December 28

area of influence and in the city of Uberlândia-MG.

The number of residents per household in the area of influence is also higher than that observed in the city average. In Uberlândia, according to IBGE (2010) the average number of residents per household is 3.07 while in the area of influence, this average is 3.19. According to the table below, more than 63% of households in the area of influence have three residents or more.

1 Morador	166	10,54%
2 Moradores	401	25,46%
3 Moradores	396	25,14%
4 Moradores	320	20,32%
5 ou mais Moradores	292	18,54%

Table 21: Number of residents per household in the area of influence of Residencial Pequís allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2012.

Source: Geosystem – Onmaps, base de dados IBGE (2012)

In general, we can see that the area of influence of the project is characterized by being a region of very low demographic density, where we found several recreational sites and there was no verticalization. It is also clear that the local population concentrates the lowest incomes in the region and that the number of inhabitants per household is higher than the average for the city of Uberlândia-MG.

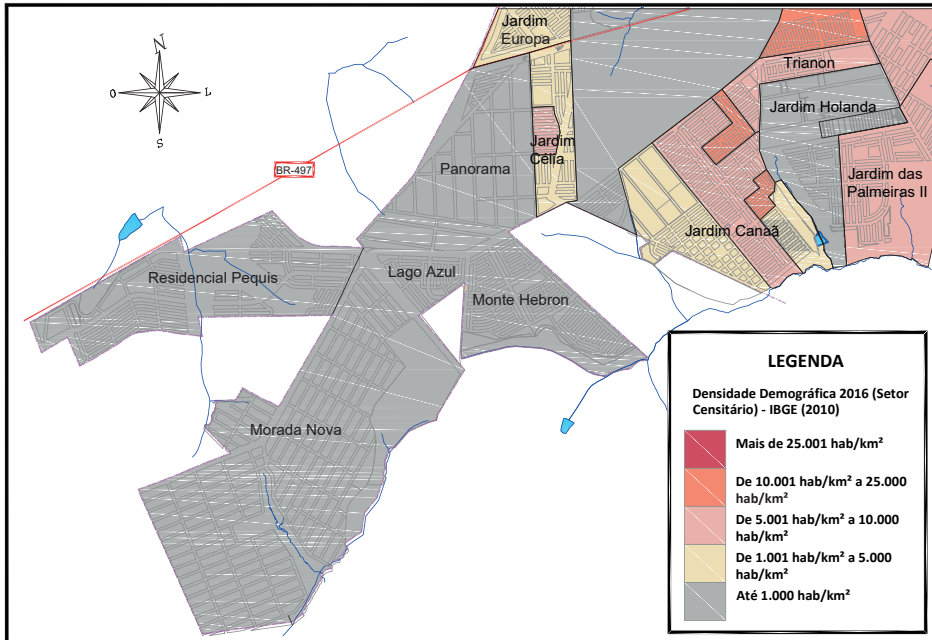


Figura 83 - Demographic Density of the Residencial Pequís Allotment area of influence, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Geosystem – Onmaps, data base IBGE (2016).

As for land uses, we can confirm through Map 19, page 173, the little diversity of uses in the region, a large concentration of single-family housing, which generates low levels of density and does not contribute to the supply of businesses and services for the population of the subdivision. This situation is aggravated momentarily by the fact that housing is delivered to the population without the availability of shops and services to serve residents. This equipment is implemented according to the sale of lots made available to the company's capital, which are generally used for real estate speculation. Thus, the population must also travel long distances in order to have access to basic services, such as hypermarkets and other day-to-day services, or be subject to little availability of shops, which generates low competition and, consequently, compromises the quality of the services provided.

From the land use and occupation map, we can also see that the region has large urban voids, many vacant lots and, mainly, is located in a region of recreational sites, which provides allotments without basic infrastructure, large lots, low population and, consequently, the surrounding neighborhoods also lack basic services related to trade and services, forcing the population to travel great distances to access this equipment. The recreational sites therefore accentuate the already observed very low housing density in the region.

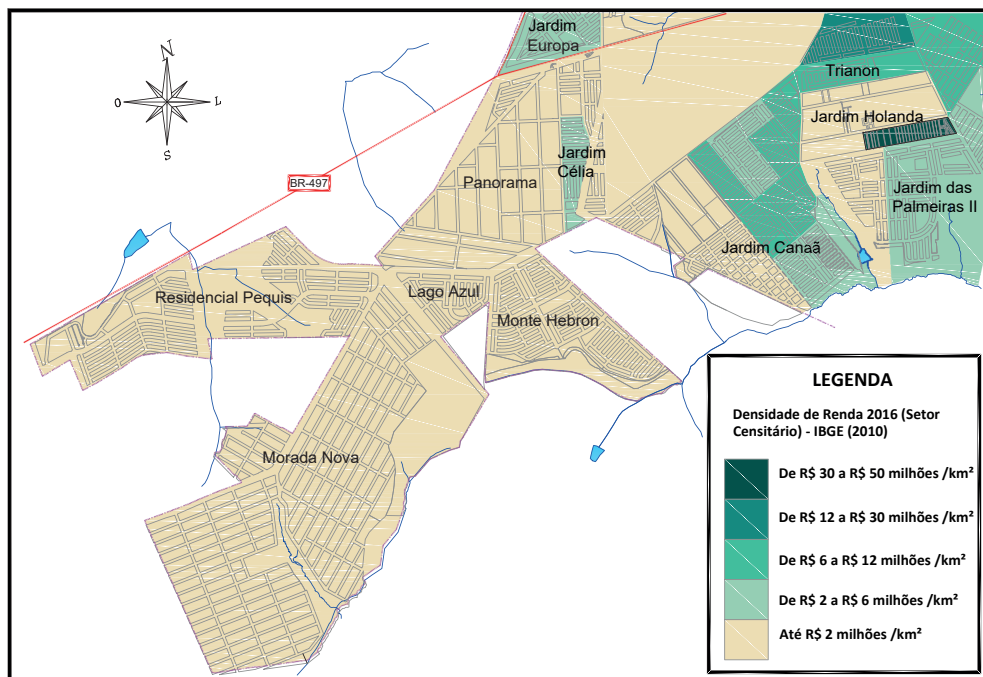


Figure 84 - Income density by census tract in the area of influence of the Residencial Pequis Allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2016.

Source: Geosystem – Onmaps, data base IBGE (2016).

Analysis Category - Spatial relationships and project characteristics

The Residencial Pequis, as already exposed, was approved in May 2014 and is comprised of 09 processes, referring to the allotments of Glebe's 2A1, 2A2, 2A4, 2A5, 2A6, 2B1, 2B2, 2B3 and 2B5. The land parceling laws considered for land subdivision approval were Federal Law 6.766 of December 19, 1979, Complementary Law 523 of April 7, 2011, Complementary Law 525/2011 (Land Zoning, Use and Occupation), Complementary Law 496 of July 2, 2009, Complementary Law 519/2010 (Regulates Urban Policy Instruments), Law 10.686 / 2010 (Road System), among others.

Complementary Law 523 of April 7, 2011, referring to the Land Division in the city of Uberlândia-MG, established that conventional allotments should donate 17% of public areas, 5% of which are Public Recreation Area, 5% of Institutional Area and 7% of Dominial

Area. In addition to this percentage, the Road System was guaranteed a minimum of 20%.

The institutional area is for the implantation of community facilities, the public recreation area is for the implantation of leisure facilities and green areas, established by Complementary Law 525/2011. The dominant area was a figure of a public area with no specific affect.

The roads of the project were designed in accordance with Law 10,686 / 2010, which establishes that the local roads must have 14m (46ft) of transversal profile, with 3m (9,85ft) of sidewalk on each side. The arterial road that connects the entire project is 40m (131ft) wide, with 3.5m (11,5ft) of sidewalk on each side and a 3m (9,85ft) bike path located on the Avenue's central construction site. The marginal roads of water courses and highways and ring roads have 20m (65,6ft) of transversal profile, with 3m (9,85ft) cycle paths and 3m (9,85ft) sidewalks, and in the case of marginal water courses the sidewalk next to the Permanent Preservation Area is 4m (13ft).

Public recreation areas were leased next to the permanent preservation areas in order to compose a linear park next to the streams and springs located in the region. In these areas, leisure equipment for the population, such as sidewalks and bicycle paths, and open-air gyms were implemented.

The blocks have a maximum length of 320m (1050 ft). The public areas were distributed through the allotments in order to be provided with social and community facilities. This equipment was built on site and delivered to the homes. However, the Municipality of Uberlândia-MG, until June 2018, had not delivered all the equipment in operation to the population. Only in 2018, schools started their activities, causing hitherto displacement problems for the resident population. It is worth remembering the time already demonstrated for the displacement of this population, via public transit.

The subdivision was approved, as also demonstrated previously, in an area not previously included in the urban perimeter of the city. This happened precisely in order to proceed with the approval of the allotments. At that time, a zoning was created in the area of the enterprise in order to enable its approval, with the objective of serving a portion of the low-income population, inserting the area in a Special Social Interest Zone (ZEIS).

The creation of ZEIS allowed the constitution of lots of 200m² (2153 square ft), 8m (26,2ft) in front by 25m (82ft) of funds. In the other zonings in the city, the minimum lot is 250m² (2691 square ft), 10m in front. In these 200m² (2153 square ft) lots, a total number of 3,220 social housing units were built which had to present the minimum typology for a single store house with two bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bathroom and service area, with a floor area of at least 32m² (344,5 square ft), not counted at service area.

Along Wilson Rodrigues da Silva Avenue, lots have been made available that may tend to implement shops and services to serve the population, which we have already seen happening.

We also observed that the alloters are already launching new projects in the same allotment, in the lots that were not destined to the PMCMV range 1.

The Closed Condominium Jardim do Cerrado III, scheduled for delivery in December 2018 and are products financed by Caixa Econômica Federal up to 100%, with subsidies

of up to R\$ 37,000.00² from the Federal Government, through the PMCMV. There are 37 residences in a condominium system, with an area of 44.20 m² (476sq ft) per dwelling, two bedrooms and a leisure area with playground and gourmet space, as shown in the following project.



Figure 85 - Horizontal multifamily residential condominium Jardim do Cerrado III undertaken by PDCA Engenharia, Uberlândia- MG, 2018.

Source: <http://www.pdcaemg.com.br/obrasdetalhes/jardim-do-cerrado-iii/4>, accessed on 2018 June 10.

The Closed Condominium Jardim do Cerrado IV, has the same typology as the previous development, however with 91 housing units, as shown below.

2 Corresponds to US\$ 9,560.72, dollar value in 2018, December.



Figure 86 - Implementation of the Jardim do Cerrado IV Condominium, undertaken by PDCA Engenharia, Uberlândia-MG, 2018

Source: <http://www.pdcaemg.com.br/obrasdetalhes/jardim-do-cerrado-iii/4>, accessed on 2018 June 10.

The major criticism, in the case of our study, when it comes to the urban insertion of the enterprise, refers to its location in the urban fabric of the city. We found that it was executed with all the necessary urban infrastructure, with drinking water distribution networks and sanitary sewage, including the treatment of domestic effluents, rainwater drainage, public lighting, asphalt pavement, curbs and gutters.

We adopted the implementation of a low-density residential development, with single-family homes isolated on individual lots. We do not know the reason for choosing this type of enterprise that requires larger areas for implementation, which often creates problems in areas that are very far from the consolidated urban network.

We can speculate that when deciding the typology of these developments, that decision was made by the then municipal mayor Gilmar Machado (PT), alleging cultural issues in the design of single-family residential developments, rather than multifamily condominiums.

In figure 87, page 178, we can observe the evolution of the urban spot in Uberlândia-MG since 1979. The allotments represented by the spot in the region of the current Residencial Pequis are recreational sites located in the region since the 1970s and 1980s. Since then, with the growth of the city, we have observed a trend towards urban expansion of the lower income classes to the western region, where other developments within the PMCMV are located.

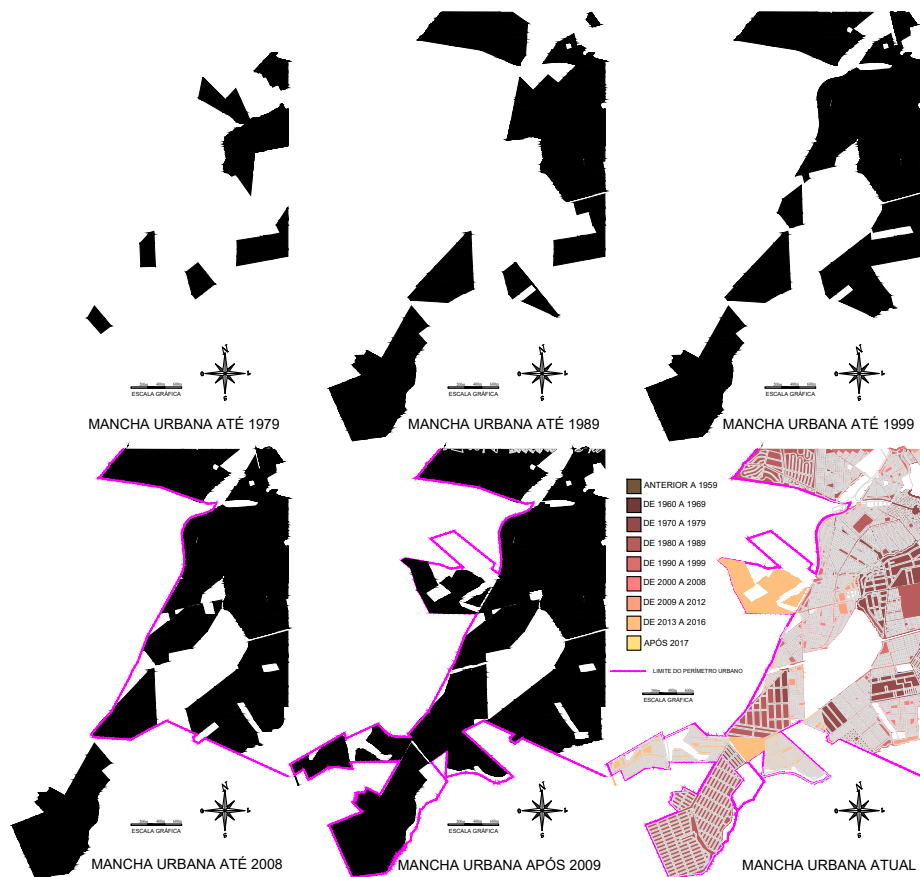


Figure 87 - Evolution of the urban fabric in the area of influence of the Residencial Pequis Allotment between 1979 and 2018, Uberlân dia- MG.

Source: PMU map base (2018) modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The figure shows that the urban expansion for the region consolidates the fragmented forms of expansion of the territory, ignoring the voids left for now in the urban fabric and still consolidating forms of socio-spatial segregation in the periphery of the city, which despite having a basic urban infrastructure serious problems, mainly with public transit, since the residents get to stay up to 5h in the transit to access home-work.

Another striking feature of the urban insertion of the enterprise is the monofunctional of the region. The allotments are predominantly residential, with little or no availability of shops and services, which is made worse by crossing the fact with the problems observed in public transit.

This process of socio-spatial segregation only reaffirms questions and problems presented in the history of public policies on social housing and which, therefore, continue to be observed. Another problem is the increase in urban violence in this region, news demonstrated in the media such as radio, internet and television, since the State Secretariat of Public Security has not yet released official data on this issue, as the project has been delivered. just three years ago.

3.3. Construtora MRV Enterprises

The MRV Engenharia Company has been operating in the Brazilian real estate market since 1979. It is the largest construction company in the country in the segment of properties for the middle and lower middle classes, in addition to being the only company operating in more than 150 cities in Brazil. The company was founded by the partners Mário Lúcio Menin, Rubens Menin Teixeira de Souza and Vega Engenharia LTDA, with the objective of building and incorporating projects in the city of Belo Horizonte-MG.

The company is the largest in the construction industry in the country according to the ITC ranking, leader in the civil construction market in the residential property segment and has more than 320 thousand houses and apartments sold in 20 Brazilian states and the Federal District, according to information from the company itself.

The company's first properties were delivered in Belo Horizonte-MG in 1981. In 1996, it expanded its activities to the interior of Minas Gerais, São Paulo and to the south of Brazil. Residencial Elaine was approved that year in the city of Uberlândia, in the Central Sector, being the first enterprise of Construtora MRV in the city with 42 housing units.

In 2007, the company signed a contract with Caixa Econômica Federal, being the bank's first correspondent in the real estate sector. That same year marked the company's IPO on the São Paulo Stock Exchange, BM&F Bovespa.

The company's IPO marks a new scale of investment in all its cities in which it operates. The size of the company and its economic success, according to Shimbo (2012), is due to four factors such as financing to customers through banks, the raising of financial capital to promote production and to acquire land, production standardized housing and a system to control costs and deadlines in the works.

On the other hand, the author also justifies that the geographical diversification of its production also contributes to its economic growth, being that in 2009 the cities with population between 100 and 500 thousand inhabitants corresponded to 60% of the company's performance. For Shimbo (2012), this means:

"(...) look for markets in which they are present, (...), local companies that have no structure to compete with the ECP. On the other hand, to escape the possibility of an excess of residential supply in markets that are already very competitive with large companies (...) in the metropolitan regions". (SHIMBO, 2012, p.83)

The author also states that after the company's IPO on the Stock Exchange, in two years the company multiplied its share capital by approximately 17 times. The company raised approximately R\$ 1.3 billion and used these funds to acquire land and to incorporate new launches and, still, in the construction of projects already launched. In this context, between 2006 and 2010, the number of units launched was multiplied by 15, reaching a total of 45 thousand units in 2010, with the company's profit increasing by 3,600%. Table 22 details the data related to the number of units launched and sold, the General Sales Value (VGV) and contracted sales and net profit, according to the elaboration of Shimbo (2012).

Year	Number of units launched	Number of units per site	VGv (R\$ M)	Sales (R\$ M)	Number of units sold	Lucro líquido (R\$ M)
2004	1.618	58	133.078	101.846	1.506	14.000
2005	1.769	39	189.458	112.127	1.361	23.600
2006	2.987	47	346.675	212.951	2.079	17.000
2007	12.334	89	1.199.948	717.030	6.602	42.800
2008	25.968	128	2.532.985	1.544.224	14.500	231.030
2009	25.500	183	2.586.100	2.821.900	28.000	347.300
2010	47.000	219	4.604.000	3.753.000	36.000	634.500

Table 22: VGv Value, contracted sales and net profit of the company (2004-2010)
Source: Shimbo (2012, p.87)

We found on the BM&F Bovespa website, that in the Cyclical Consumption Sector, Civil Construction and Miscellaneous Subsector and building segment, there are 19 companies (consultation carried out on 03/15/2018) with publicly traded on that stock exchange. Of these, we found that out of the 19 publicly traded companies on the BM&F Bovespa, five operate in the real estate market in the city of Uberlândia-MG. These companies are: ROSSI Residencial S / A, RNI Empresários IMOBILIÁRIOS S.A. (Rodobens), MRV ENGENHARIA E PARTICIPAÇÕES S.A., INTER CONSTRUTORA E INCORPORADORA S.A., CYRELA BRAZIL REALTY S.A.EMPREENDE E PART.

According to Shimbo (2012), Construtora MRV's operational indicators grew and are related to the issue of financing to customers, which was initially guaranteed by the State in the Associative Letter of Credit Program and, later, in the PMCMV. In 2009, therefore, financing from Caixa Econômica Federal corresponded to 78% of total contracted sales, from the PMCMV.

"The use of "real estate policy", instead of a "housing policy" is intentional - just as the confusion between real estate financing and housing finance is intentional, as pointed out by Royer (2009). This semantic scrambling between housing and the real estate sector highlights the process of approximation between the real estate market and housing policy. The MCMV, therefore, only corroborated the constitution of social housing on the market, in progress since 2004". (SHIMBO, 2012, p. 104)

As we have already shown, the company arrived in Uberlândia in 1996, with Residencial Eliane, which has 42 housing units. Since then, 12,755 housing units have been produced in the city. According to the IBGE census (2010), each household houses approximately 3.07 inhabitants, which would generate around 39,195 thousand inhabitants living in an MRV property in the city of Uberlândia. This means, considering the population estimate of the IBGE (2017) for Uberlândia, that approximately 5.8% of the city's population lives in an MRV property.

Table 23, page 161, shows Construtora MRV's developments in the city of Uberlândia, its location in the city and neighborhood sectors, number of units per project and year of

project approval. (check location of developments on Map 20, page 183)

According to the data in Table 23, page 181 and Graph 05, page 216, we observe the change and intensification of the company's housing units mainly after the year 2008. This is due to the company's IPO, and even more as of 2010, when in addition to the capital contributed, there is the implementation of the PMCMV (2009) that substantially changed the scale of the company's performance, reflecting on its undertakings in the city of Uberlândia-MG, as already demonstrated in Chapter 2.

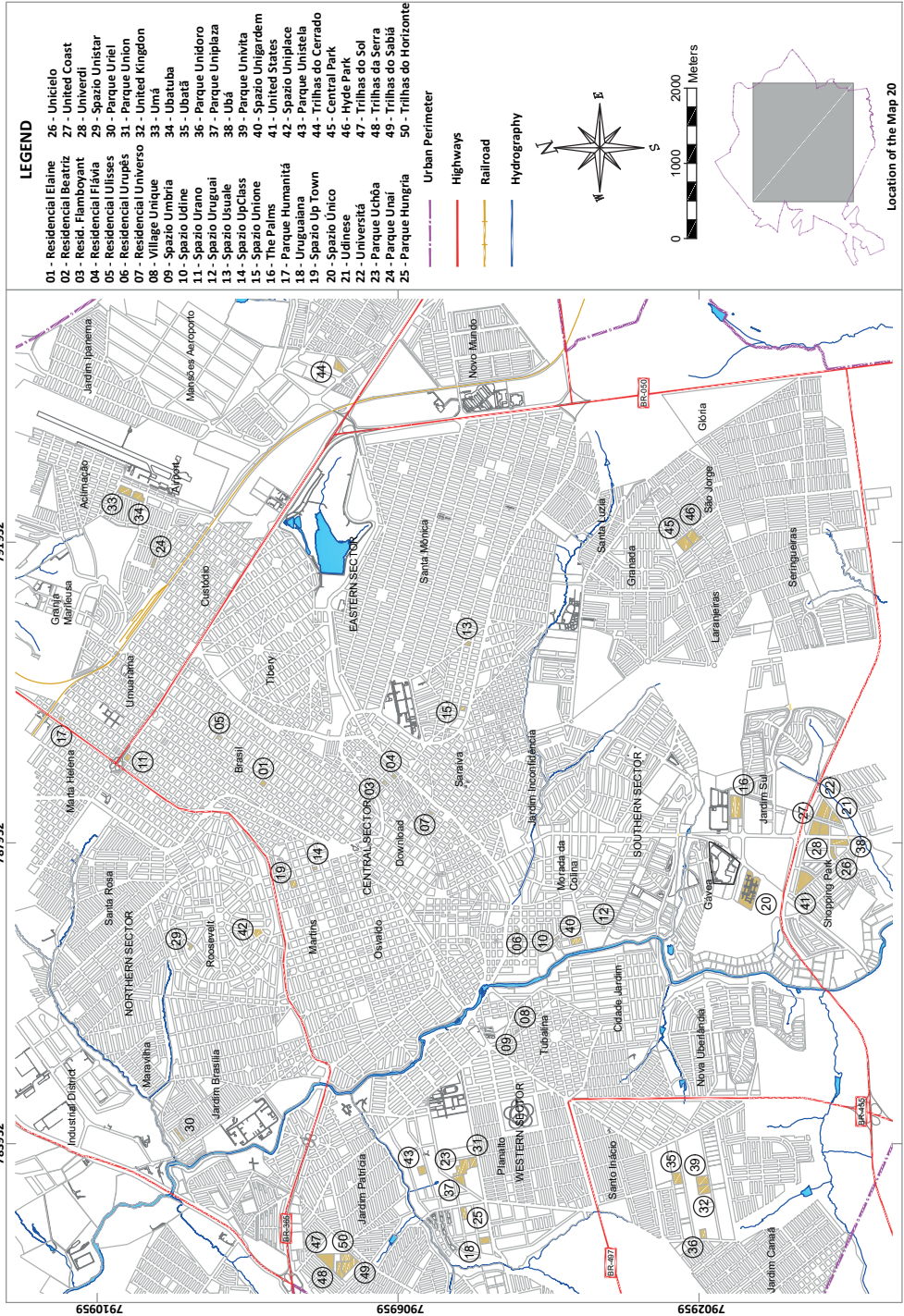
	Development	Sector	Number of Units	Approval	Neighborhood
01	Res Elaine	Central	42	1996	Brasil
02	Res Beatriz	East	46	1997	Jd. Finotti
03	Res Flamboyant	Central	368	2000	Centro
04	Res Flávia	Central	69	2000	Cazeca
05	Res Ulisses	Central	177	2003	Brasil
06	Res Urupês	South	46	2003	Copacabana
07	Res Universo	Central	21	2004	Lídice
08	Village Unique	South	36	2006	Tubalina
09	Spazio Umbria	South	28	2006	Tubalina
10	Spazio Udine	South	48	2007	Copacabana
11	Spazio Urano	Central	176	2008	Brasil
12	Spazio Uruguai	South	48	2008	Copacabana
13	Spazio Usuale	East	128	2008	Finotti
14	Spazio UpClass	Central	96	2009	Martins
15	Spazio Unione	East	96	2009	Finotti
16	The Palms	South	262	2009	Jd Sul
17	Parque Humanitá	East	96	2010	Umarama
18	Uruguaiana	West	224	2010	Ch. Tubalina
19	Spazio Up Town	Central	80	2010	Martins
20	Spazio Único	South	1.232	2010	Gávea
21	Udinese	South	320	2010	Gávea
22	Universitá	South	720	2010	Gávea
23	Parque Uchôa	West	768	2010	Ch. Tubalina
24	Parque Unai	East	128	2010	Alto Umarama
25	Parque Hungria	West	224	2011	Ch. Tubalina
26	Unicielo	South	208	2011	Gávea

27	United Coast	South	848	2011	Gávea
28	Univerdi	South	448	2011	Gávea
29	Spazio Unistar	Norte	160	2011	Roosevelt
30	Parque Uriel	Norte	224	2012	Jd Brasília
31	Parque Union	West	256	2012	Ch. Tubalina
32	United Kingdon	West	352	2013	Jd Holanda
33	Umá	East	256	2013	Aeroporto
34	Ubatuba	East	224	2013	Aeroporto
35	Ubatã	West	384	2013	Jd Holanda
36	Parque Unid'oro	West	192	2014	Jd Holanda
37	Parque Uniplaza	West	192	2014	Ch. Tubalina
38	Ubá	South	416	2015	Gávea
39	Parque Univita	West	384	2015	Jd Holanda
40	Spazio Unigarden	South	384	2015	Copacabana
41	United States	South	984	2015	Gávea
42	Spazio Uniplace	North	264	2015	Roosevelt
43	Parque Unistela	West	244	2016	Ch. Tubalina
44	Trilhas do Cerrado	East	372	2016	Grand Ville
45	Central Park	South	500	2016	São Jorge
46	Hyde Park	South	340	2016	São Jorge
47	Trilhas do Sol	West	388	2016	Jd Patrícia
48	Trilhas da Serra	West	468	2016	Jd Patrícia
49	Trilhas do Sabiá	West	500	2017	Jd Patrícia
50	Trilhas do Horizonte	West	548	2017	Jd Patrícia
TOTAL			12.755		

Verify Map 20, page XX for localiton of the developments above according to the numers on the left

Table 23: Construtora MRV company developments in Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano – PMU (2017)



Map 20 - Location of MRV projects in the city of Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The success of the company's profits occurs, according to the research by Shimbo (2012), to a group that encompasses a whole productive process that goes from the purchase of the land, to the project and the construction site. The design of the construction pattern of the housing typology and its large-scale reproduction throughout the country, combined with technological innovation and design and management techniques, guarantee the company greater production at a lower financial cost, ensuring high profits.

As already mentioned, the company's economic success is due to factors such as financing customers through banks, raising financial capital to promote production and to acquire land, constructive standardization and a system for controlling costs and terms in construction. The company has the State as an ally, feeding the company's working capital, mainly by raising capital through financing its units for production:

"(...) what I would like to emphasize is the fact that this profit is obtained from the sales of the housing units produced, which, in turn, were greatly facilitated by the expansion and flexibility of housing financing from SFH. This means (...) that demand for consumption (...) is largely guaranteed by the State - which also feeds the company's working capital, thanks to financing for its production, also obtained via SFH. The discourse that justifies this channeling of public and semi-public resources is that this type of private production is absolutely effective in relation to the Brazilian housing deficit". (SHIMBO, 2012, p. 204-5)

In the real estate cycle, this dynamic in which the company has consolidated itself as a leader, combining what we call social housing with market housing, guaranteeing high profitability for companies and the State's financing for the promotion of low-cost housing, started to meet establishes Shimbo (2012), a population of income range that was not remembered by the real estate market and also the geographical dispersion of its performance, entering markets in the interior, as in the case of Uberlândia-MG.

The company's success in the city and the size of this market destined for a middle income class between three and 10 minimum salaries, attracts several companies, both local and from other locations that arrive in the city in order to embrace this market that was profitable by MRV and guaranteed by the PMCMV that institutionalized the process.

At this point, we find what concerns us most in relation to the construction of the city, in this case large-scale social housing by the private agent. The State and the open market finance large-scale enterprises, however:

"(...) construction and development companies have great autonomy in relation to the State with regard to the design and execution of housing units. (...) companies decide what (...) how much (...) how (...), where (...) and for whom they will produce. (...)" (SHIMBO, 2012, p. 210)

The author considers this autonomy of private agents as a risk of this type of policy, in which the government does not control the impacts of this configuration on cities. In this sense, the qualitative dimensions are not considered, creating the so-called enclaves of private and closed spaces, now destined not only to the high income-classes, but also to the middle income classes, disregarding the urban insertion of these enterprises.

Shimbo (2012) ends his research precisely by addressing issues regarding urban

insertion, which is the objective of studying the company's enterprises in this book:

"The insertion of these large-scale, standardized closed ventures poses fundamental questions for architecture and urban planning in Brazil: what will be the urban impacts of this type of production? Which cities are being produced by this type of real estate agent, who plays the role of landowner, developer, builder and seller at the same time?" (SHIMBO, 2012, p.212)

This is the city that is currently being produced and that consolidates old processes of socio-spatial segregation and fragments the urban space. However, on a scale motivated by the insertion of a huge contingent of private capital and public funding, which should guarantee the interest of the community and of more cohesive cities in social and territorial terms.

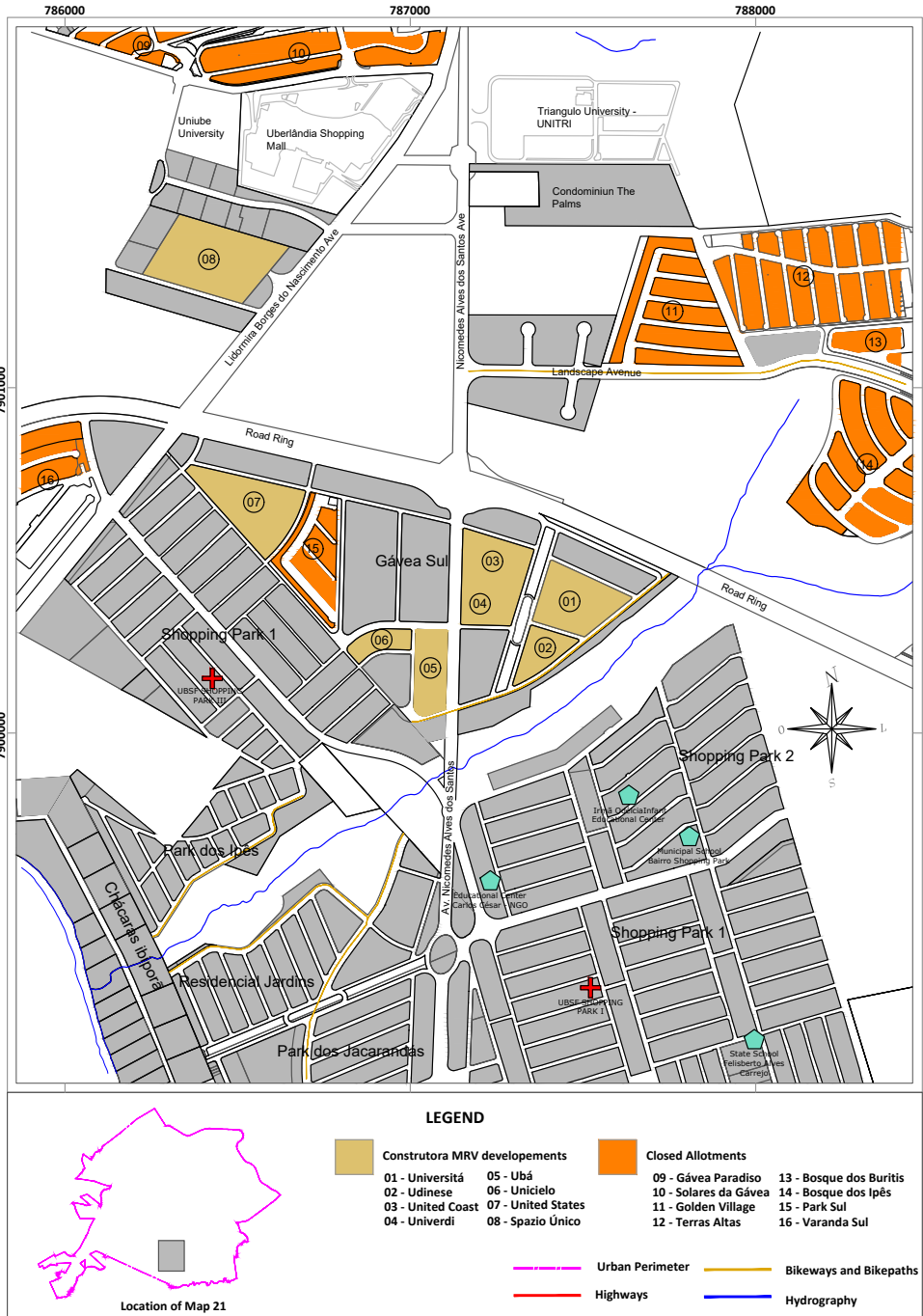
3.3.1. Evaluation of the indicators used in the enterprise scale

Since we chose in this case to analyze the undertakings of a company, Construtora MRV, and which has housing units located in all sectors of the city, as shown in Table 23, and, seeking to represent the urban insertion of its enterprises, and that its typologies both architectural when it comes to implantation they are standardized, we carry out a territorial cut. Thus, observing the implantations of the enterprises in the city, we realized that the Loteamento Gávea in the Southern Sector, encompasses seven projects that total 3,904 housing units, and also a project in the area of influence with 1,232 units, that is, 5,136 housing units, which corresponds to 40% of the company's housing units in the city of Uberlândia-MG. Table 24 shows the projects analyzed, located according to Map 21, page 186.

	Development	Housing units	Approval
01	Universitá	720	2010
02	Udinese	320	2010
03	United Coast	848	2011
04	Univerdi	448	2011
05	Ubá	416	2015
06	Unicielo	208	2011
07	United States	984	2015
08	Spazio Único	1.232	2010

Table 24: List of the developments owned by construtora MRV, located in the region of Gavea Sul Allotment, Shouthen Sector, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano dada base (2018), organized by Guilherme A S Motta.



Map 21 - Location of MRV undertakings under study at Gávea Sul Allotment, Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The developments from one to seven are located in the Gávea Sul Allotment. This

allotment was approved by the Municipality of Uberlândia by process 009914/1997 of December 28, 2000. These projects are located on average six kilometers from the city center, considering the access road of the Ring Road through Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue.

Project 08, called Spazio Único, was built on a parcel of land with lots, whose subdivision has the same name, approved by the Municipality of Uberlândia by process 001987/2010 of November 25, 2010. These projects are located an average of five kilometers from the city center, considering the access to the project through Lidormira Borges do Nascimento Avenue.

Analysis Category - Infrastructure / Systems

According to the municipal legislation that approved the aforementioned allotments, Complementary Law 245/2000, all of them are equipped with sewage network infrastructure, drinking water distribution network, rain drainage network, public lighting network and even asphalt paving, curbs and gutters, which is in line with what was found by consulting the approval and inspection processes for the infrastructure works for the allotments. The enterprises also have garbage collection carried out at least twice a week.

Analysis Category - Infrastructure / Transit

Information on public transit was obtained from the Municipal Trafego and Transit Secretariat, which was posted on the Uberlândia Municipal Government website.

The undertakings are served by a public transit system, which is part of the SIT, Integrated Transit System of Uberlândia-MG. They are served by Lines A147 and A148 (Shopping Park - Central Terminal), A161 (Hunting and Fishing - Univercittá - Central Terminal), A162 (Udinese - Univercittá - Central Terminal), A331 (Terminal Santa Luzia - Shopping Park - Hospital Municipal)

The A147 and A148 lines are approximately 15 km (9,32 miles) long and have an estimated travel time of 40 minutes to the Central Bus Terminal. The frequency of service of public transportation lines on working days varies from five to 30 minutes. From the Central Bus Terminal, residents can access the transportation lines that connect this terminal to all other terminals in the city. Since the trips to the Central Bus Terminal last an average of 40 minutes, a trip from the Bus Terminal to your workplace from that terminal another 40 minutes, adds up to a trip from home to work of about 1h30min, that is 3h of the day can be spent by residents in public transit vehicles.

Municipal Law 10,686 / 2010 (establishes road planning for the city of Uberlândia-MG) provides for new urban allotments to plan bicycle paths on all roads classified as collecting, arterial, structural and marginal. For this reason, since the development region has some allotments approved after the law, it has a cycle system disconnected from its surroundings, as can be seen in Map 21, page 186.

Analysis Category - Social and community equipment

For the purpose of locating social and community facilities to support the residents of the project, it was decided to adopt a radius of approximately 1,800m (1,1 miles from the Gávea Sul Allotment, since greater distances than this do not allow the access of residents by pedestrian or bicycle, leaving the neighborhood of the developments.

Thus, we do not observe any educational institution within this radius, and public education facilities are generally the most requested by the population. A Policing Post, three basic health units and a City Sports Center were found. The availability of this equipment can be seen in Chart 03, page 188.

Fiel	Facility	Address	Neighborhood
Leisure and Green Areas	Gáves Municipal Park	555 Vinhedos Ave	Gávea
Education	EMEI do Bairro Shopping Park	91 Jurandir Macedo St	Shopping Park
Education	Municipal School Bairro Shopping Park	450 Ivete Cordeiro da Silva Ave	Shopping Park
Education	Municipal School Presidente Itamar Franco	185 Jurandir Macedo St	Shopping Park
Education	Centro Educacional Infantil Irmã Odélcia Leão Carneiro (ONG)	160 Claudino José Carvalho St	Shopping Park
Education	Educational Center Carlos César da Silveira Nunes / Comunity Babycare Associated Uberlândia - CCAU - (ONG)	300 Horácio Ribeiro de Almeida St	Shopping Park
Health	UBSF Shopping Park I	202 Stela Aparecida de Faria St	Shopping Park
Health	UBSF Shopping Park II	954 José Abdulmassih St	Shopping Park
Health	UBSF Shopping Park III	539 José Abdulmassih St	Shopping Park
Social Assistance	Comunitary Formation Center São Francisco de Assis NGO	230 Horácio Ribeiro de Almeida St	Shopping Park
Social Assistance	CRAS – Social Assistance Reference Center	700 Juvenília Mota Leite St	Shopping Park
Culture	Library CEU Shopping Park	700 Juvenília Mota Leite St	Shopping Park
Culture	People Library – NGO Estação Vida	230 Horácio Ribeiro Almeida St	Shopping Park
Sportas and leisure	Sports Complex Vila Olímpica	2201 Lidormira Borges do Nascimento St	Shopping Park
Sports and leisure	Núcleo Esportivo CEU Shopping Park	700 Juvenília Mota Leite St	Shopping Park
Sports and leisure	Outdoors gym	700 Juvenília Mota Leite St	Shopping Park
Green Areas	Alex Sandro Garcia Lopes Square	Not urbanized	Shopping Park
Green Areas	Dr. Hamilton Marques Magalhães Square	Not urbanized	Shopping Park
Green Areas	Frei Antonino Puglisi Square	Not urbanized	Shopping Park

Market	Free Market	Agnelo Fagundes da Costa St	Shopping Park
Market	Free Market	Ana Valentino Nogueira St	Shopping Park

Chart 03: Social e community facilities in the influence área of Construtora MRV company, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: Caderno Informativo da Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano / Diretoria de Pesquisas Integradas, Prefeitura Municipal de Uberlândia (2017-2018)

Analysis Category - Socioeconomic

For the purpose of mapping a socioeconomic profile, we defined the region comprised by the Uberabinha River, Vinhedos Avenue, and east of Carlito Cordeiro Avenue, encompassing the Integrated Neighborhoods of Gávea, Jardim Sul and Shopping Park. This region should provide the social and community facilities that will support the developments, also include the main accesses of residents and other facilities such as a university and a shopping center. We will use this territorial cut in order to enable the urban insertion of MRV projects in relation to the income profile, income density and demographic density.

Figure 88 illustrates the demographic density by census sector, using the IBGE database (2016). We observed that the region has low demographic density. This is due to the fact that this region has a recent occupation, mainly after the 2010 IBGE census. We believe that the IBGE database does not yet fully reflect the reality observed at the site, however this is the official data source that we have access to. Therefore we will consider for our analysis, in addition to the official data, observation in order to get closer to the current reality.

In this context, the location between the Ring Road and Vinhedos Avenue has a very low demographic density, since in this region there are facilities such as a university, a shopping center and mainly urban voids characterized by land not yet parceled out.

South of the Ring Road, already in the Shopping Park region, we observed an increase in population density. In the Shopping Park subdivision, PMCMV projects are implemented, with characteristics of residences in individual lots, with low density characteristics and we observed in the region the beginning of the verticalization process, which should contribute to the improvement of density indices.

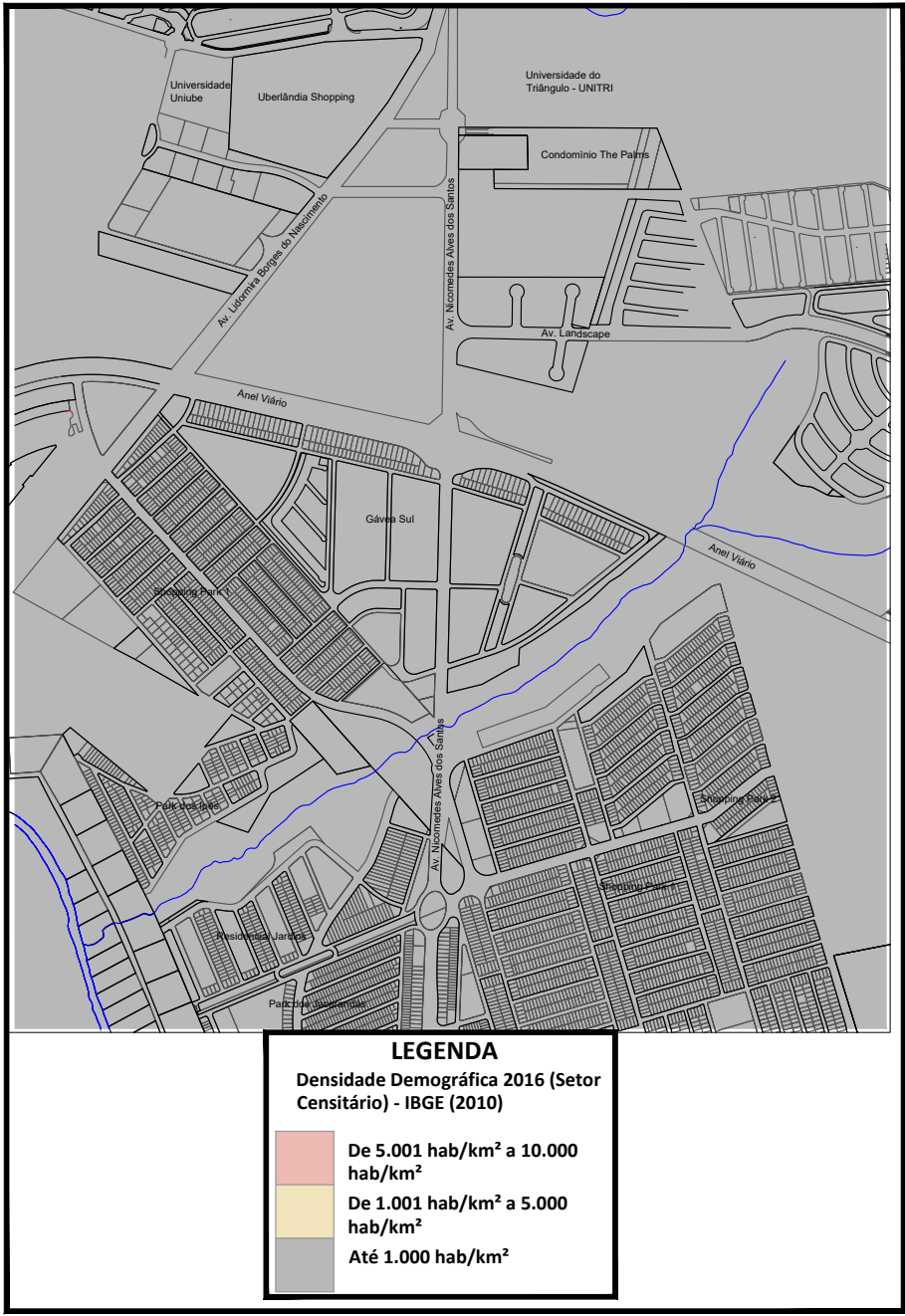


Figure 88 - Demographic density of the area of influence of MRV projects, Uberlândia-MG.
 Source: Geosystem – Onmaps, data base IBGE (2016), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

The undertakings themselves, from Construtora MRV, are located in Gávea Sul Allotment, and their vertical characteristics with four-store multifamily buildings also

contribute to the improvement of population density levels in the region.

The data in Table 25 also no longer reflect the current reality, since they are official data from the IBGE census (2010) and the projects under analysis were approved after 2010, having probably been inhabited since 2012 or later. Thus, we have an addition of more than 1,200 apartment units, not to mention the isolated units, which through observation we contact that are being occupied in the region, improving density levels, as already mentioned, and also diversifying housing types, changing substantially according to Table 25.

Casa	909	98,7%
Casa em Vila ou Condomínio	1	0,1%
Apartamento	10	1,1%
Outro Tipo	1	0,1%
	921	

Table 25: Households by type, area of influence of the Shopping Park neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2010.)

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2010)

We can observe that, according to data from the IBGE 2010 census, the average income of the population was R\$ 4,850.15 and still according to IBGE, projection for 2016, the average income of the population was R\$ 6,063.75, with a 25.02% decrease. This value shows us that the region has a much higher income than the one found in the Residencial Pequis region. We can consider this due to the fact that this region also houses a population of high income and middle income-classes, unlike the region of the Residencial Pequis where we observe the prevalence of low income-classes.

The number of residents per household in the area of influence is also higher than that observed in the city average. In Uberlândia, according to IBGE (2010) the average number of residents per household is 3.07 while in the area of influence, this average is 3.39. According to Table 26, more than 65% of households in the area of influence have three or more residents.

1 Morador	123	12,64%
2 Moradores	212	21,79%
3 Moradores	225	23,12%
4 Moradores	242	24,87%
5 ou mais Moradores	171	17,57%
	973	

Table 26: Number of residents per household in the area of influence of Shopping Park neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2012.

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2012)

In general, we realized that the area of influence of the project is characterized by being a region of low demographic density, having been altered by the implementation of MRV's projects that contribute to the improvement of these rates. It is also notable that the local population concentrates higher incomes in comparison to the Residencial Pequis allotment region, being even higher than the average income of the city of Uberlândia-MG.

Analysis Category - Spatial relationships and project characteristics

Wall & Waterman (2012) starts its urban analysis using different parameters. It starts through context, its dimensions, movement, analysis of its community and culture and defines urban projects and processes. The context, according to the authors, involves relationships, and the reading of these relationships, often complex, allows us to understand a city.

Also according to the authors, contexts are evident from the scale of the territory to the scale of details of construction materials and the landscape responds to contexts in multiple scales and under different perspectives, the neighborhoods must be integrated at the same time and distinct from the city ; while planned open spaces must recognize the context within multiple urban scales.

In terms of the city and the territory, Wall & Waterman (2012) define two contexts: the geographical and economic context. In the geographical context, the territory of the city from the ubiquity of global networks in contemporary cities becomes more complex and transcends the physical landscape.

The development of the city of Uberlândia in the regional context and its importance, why not, national, define a territory that encompasses the city, thus referring to the whole country. The inclusion of the city as an avant-garde in terms, for example, of logistics and cargo transportation, and its location insert it into a more comprehensive territory than the physical neighborhood itself. Thus, all the ventures analyzed fall within this geographical territorial scope that influences investments and the very location of the developments in the city.

In economic terms, the authors define that economic policy can transform the context of a city. One of the economic policies that most influence Brazilian cities in recent years is housing policies, especially in the case of the PMCMV, which has already been described previously and the reduction in the IPI for motor vehicles, which confirmed the privilege of public and economic policies to the private vehicle, in contrast with public transit and the privilege in the road system to support this demand for automobiles, contributing to the form acquired by cities. New project contexts arise, in this case, closed ventures, such as the condominiums of the company Construtora MRV.

Another scale of analysis defined by Wall & Waterman (2012), in addition to the perception of the city and the territory, is the city scale. It highlights the political context that, despite being difficult to dissociate from the economic context, deserves its position in the analysis of urban form.

Public policies should guide the development of cities, as occurred in Bogotá, Curitiba and London and, however, we see that the construction of cities has had less and less public

policies and an increase in the importance of real estate capital. This is clearly reflected in the area under study, from all the analyzes proposed in this work, through investments in real estate capital in the construction of allotments and even in the construction of enterprises linked to the PMCMV, which despite public funding, are built by real estate capital.

Also according to Wall & Waterman (2012), cities are formed by interdependent systems of the urban scale, such as transit networks and public services, at the microelectronic scale, supporting urban forms, creating specific contexts for urban design projects.

A good example of this dynamic in the city is the implementation of the Polo Tecnológico allotment, located in the Southern Sector, to attract companies in the technology sector. The city still needs to relate the physical spaces and their networks with the microelectronic scale. The different scales in the city do not connect. The enterprises under analysis on this topic are surrounded by walls, as a form of self-regulation in relation to other spaces in the city. Therefore, this form of segregation of the enterprise is reflected in the design of the city.

Another scale of analysis, defined by Wall & Waterman (2012), is the neighborhood and the block. According to Lamas (2011), the morphological elements of a city do not change, they are defined in street and square, buildings, facades and marginal plans, isolated monuments. It is the change of context that changes the forms due to the need to respond to different situations.

Therefore, the scale of the neighborhood and block of Wall & Waterman (2012) already begins the scope of the scale of analysis of the morphological elements defined by Lamas (2011). Construtora MRV's projects are located in the Shopping Park and Gávea neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods, in addition to the developments under analysis, there are several closed allotments, a lot of farms, along the Uberabinha River, the Ibiporã Recreation Sites, and the PMCMV developments in the Shopping Park Neighborhood.

All of these developments on the neighborhood scale are formally disconnected. Closed lots and closed condominiums are disconnected from the city through their walls. The Ibiporã sites have an urban configuration different from the city context, as they contain larger lots, and together with the Permanent Preservation area of the Uberabinha River, generate a bucolic urban landscape. Uberlândia Shopping, located in the region, is configured as a large building, isolated from the housing context, surrounded by railings and isolated by a large parking lot.

All connections between these undertakings are made practically by private vehicles and public transit, they do not have connection by bicycle lanes or paving sidewalks, nor great availability of public transit, making the priority to private transit as opposed to public transit, or the pedestrian scale. The characterization of the neighborhood in a particular cultural context is lacking, taking into account its people, traditions and histories, transforming the neighborhoods into a place and differentiating it from the context of other neighborhoods, failing, according to Wall & Waterman (2012), through its ability to respond adequately to the unique context of a people and its culture.

This failure is mainly due to the lack of diversity of uses in the place, predominantly residential, with the exception of Uberlândia Shopping mall, and the disconnection of the forms of its enterprises among themselves and among the other contexts of the city. The

neighborhood is not designed on the pedestrian scale. The undertakings of the company MRV are monofunctional, housing and do not provide places of commerce, services or public leisure.

Regarding the scale of the court, Wall & Waterman (2012, p. 51) defines that “the city blocks can give both neighborhoods and cities a unique characteristic for everyone who lives in or passes through them”. The large blocks of Gávea Sul Allotment, where MRV and also Spazio Único Allotment are located, form urban spaces with mobility difficulties and demarcation over large extensions, not allowing what the author defines as the passage of citizens through these blocks, as they are closed only to residents, making it a non-democratic space or accessible to the entire city.

This isolation characteristic of the blocks in relation to the city, defines private spaces for the residents of the condominiums and, according to Aguiar (2012), they can no longer be endowed with urbanity, as they are not essentially public spaces.

The fourth scale observed in the urban context by Wall & Waterman (2012, p. 54) is the street. It:

“(…) is the immediate life of a city. It can be the context for our understanding of many cities - the context of connections, structures and, most important of all, the context of everyday urban experience.” (WALL & WATERMAN 2012, p. 54)

Lamas (2011) defines the layout as one of the most clearly identifiable elements both in the shape of a city and in the gesture of drawing it, regulating the layout of buildings and blocks and connecting the various spaces and parts of the city. It is the route that establishes the most direct settlement relationship between the city and the territory.

Once again, the road configuration surrounding the project is connected to the road system of the surrounding developments, however, they are not spaces that are attractive to pedestrians and become roads that favor travel by car, being evidenced by the permanent absence of people on the streets.

Construtora MRV 's projects are configured as a vertical condominium for income groups between three and 10 minimum salaries. The configuration in terms of territory and its insertion in the city is the same for all enterprises in the region, according to the analysis of the previous paragraphs.

The neighborhood where MRV's developments are located is the Gávea Sul subdivision and the Spazio Único subdivision. The Gávea Sul allotment consists of 15 blocks; of these, four are divided into smaller lots ranging from 300 to 1,000m² (3,229 to 10,764 sq ft) square meters and 11 blocks that in themselves constitute a single lot, intended for the implementation of condominiums. In seven blocks, out of a total of 15 MRV condominiums are implanted or are being implemented.

The lots of these developments coincide with the shape of the block, usually large blocks ranging from 12,000 to 45,000m² (129,000 to 484,000 sq ft) and surrounded by public roads. The boundaries of the courts are defined by concrete brick walls, creating corridors surrounded by walls on both sides on public roads. The surrounding streets are practically inhospitable and there is no pedestrian circulation, except for the route between the bus

stop and the condominium entrance. The use of the region is only residential. Therefore, the lack of diversity of uses means that the population must travel long distances to access basic commerce. Generally, they use public transit or private cars.



Figure 89 - Aerial image of the United Coast Condominium owned by MRV - Uberlândia –MG, 2015.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2015).

The typology of the buildings is also the same in the 336 four-storey apartment blocks found in the region, standardizing their shape, template and implantation in the blocks. They are surrounded by parking pockets paved in asphalt, contributing to the increase in temperature in the area, mainly due to the lack of green areas and permeable soil.

Although the high density promoted by verticalization is positive, considering a total population of almost 20,000 inhabitants in these company ventures, the region is not endowed with a diversity of uses, as demonstrated, mainly lacking leisure areas for the population, equipment such as schools and health posts. The 44 square meters (473,6 square foot) housing units available in the company's apartments, should reflect an appreciation of the external space to include leisure areas for local inhabitants and greater connectivity between the elements of these developments and the surrounding neighborhood. Not even the Permanent Preservation Area of Lagoinha brook, intended for the implementation of linear parks in the city of Uberlândia, was adapted to be configured as a free space for the contemplation and leisure of the surrounding population.

The presence of the walls, once again, stands out in the urban form of the place, configuring itself as a means of self-regulation and disconnection with the surrounding city. The lack of attractiveness for the abandoned sidewalks and public areas in the surrounding area confirms a region with a complete lack of urbanity, mainly due to the urban form characterized by the development, which denies the street, discourages the circulation of pedestrians and bicycles and does not value diversity of uses.

This homogenization of the urban form shows what Ascher (2001) suggests, that individuals are increasingly different and autonomous, in a more fragmented social differentiation, since they do not share, unless very momentarily, the same urban values and experiences. According to a survey carried out by Sposito & Goés (2013), the number of residents who have little relationship with their neighborhood is significant, although in their speech, the option of living in closed residential spaces was valued, associating this choice with the idea of a more homogeneous space, meaning “be among yours”, even reflecting on the shape of the city.

The analysis of this enterprise allows us to conclude that the construction of a new form of cities begins. Sposito & Goés (2013) highlights the implantation of these projects with a tendency towards a more peripheral location that contributes to urban dispersion and the control of the real estate capital over the land parceling. Morphologically, these new models of living accentuate social segmentation, expressed through walls and guardhouses and if we expand the analysis of morphology, not only to its elements, but to the distribution of social groups and functions of the city. Closed spaces redistribute social groups in the space of the city, reorganize their uses and especially the urban form, generally disconnected from the urban fabric itself and from the traditional city.

Through Figure 90, page 197, which highlights the urban area of the area of influence of the projects under study, we can see how the urbanization of the region occurred in a way disconnected from the existing urban fabric, contributing to a process of fragmentation of the territory. Many empty areas were left mainly between the oldest urbanization area and the location of Shopping Park Neighborhood, intended for low-income classes. This is also observed in the implementation of the Residencial Pequis Allotment, confirming that old forms of urbanization can still be confirmed in contemporary processes, even though it has been concluded that these premises contribute to accentuate the processes of socio-spatial segregation of our cities.

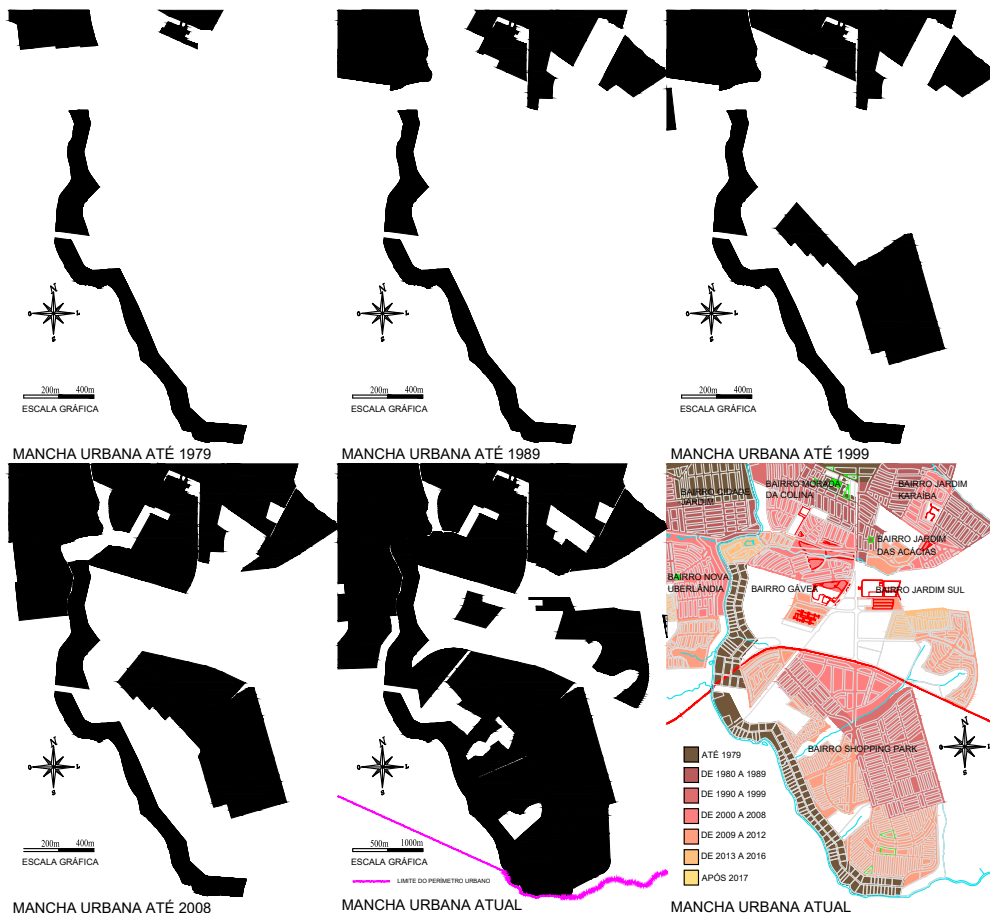


Figure 90 - Evolution of the urban area in the Gávea Sul neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG from 1979 to 2018.

Source: PMU data base map (2018), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

3.4. Granja Marileusa Neighborhood

The Granja Marileusa Fase 01A Allotment is owned by Árvore SA Empreendimentos e Participações (CNPJ 66.444.548 / 0001-39 NIRE: 313.000.094-32), headquartered at 800, Lapa do Lobo Street. It is a corporation, privately held with headquarters and venue in the city of Uberlândia-MG. The object of the company is the participation of the capital of other companies as a shareholder or quotaholder, limited to those companies belonging to the Grupo Econômico Algar, as well as the controlling interest in the capital of the company Algar S / A undertakings and participations “ALGAR”, registered in CNPJ 17.835.026 / 0001-52.

Considering that the company Algar Telecom S / A belongs to Grupo Econômico Algar, we understand that it is also part of the capital of the company Árvore S / A and is publicly traded on the São Paulo Stock Exchange, BM&F Bovespa. This participation indicates that

there are shares of Grupo Algar as securities issued by corporations representing a portion of its share capital. In this way, they are property titles that give their holders (investors) a stake in the company. These shares are issued serving their financial flow in a globalized capital network.

The Algar group was created in 1930 by Alexandrino Garcia, in the city of Uberlândia-MG through a rice processing machine. Currently, in addition to operating throughout the country, the group is also present in Colombia, Argentina and Chile, through its four sectors of activity which are Information and Communication Technology (ICT), agribusiness, services and tourism. We highlight that the group owns companies in the ICT area, as well as, for example, Rio Quente Resorts in Goiás and also the company that owns the Loteamento Granja Marileusa. According to information from the company itself, the Group has 25,000 employees and more than two million customers.

Between the 1940s and 1950s, the group started in the city on business in the auto trade and industrial sectors and acquired the *Jornal Correio de Uberlândia*, which was the main local printed newspaper until its closure in 2017. In the 1950s, CTBC (Companhia Telefônica do Brasil Central) was established and in the following decade it incorporated other telephone companies established in different cities.

At the end of the 1960s, the company founded *Gráfica Sabe*, currently called Algar Mídia, for the publication of telephone directories. In the 1970s, the company formed ABC Táxi Aéreo (now Algar Aviation) and also created the company ABC, with agricultural and livestock businesses and started to produce ABC and Colorado soy oils. At the end of the decade, Rio Quente Resorts was acquired by the group, in the region of Caldas Novas, Goiás.

In the 1980s the Algar Group Holding was created, and the group became professional with the hiring of the Italian executive Mário Grossi as executive vice president (CEO) of the holding company, with the challenge of promoting the necessary restructuring for the new businesses. The group was a pioneer in the operation of an experimental optical and fiber optic set in Campinas-SP.

The 1990s marked major changes in the company, leaving the group of vehicles and industrial sectors that had stood out in the 1980s. In that decade, the company acquired the local cable TV operator in the city of Uberlândia and Araguari-MG. At the end of the decade, the activities of the Algar University began, and the company was a pioneer in the prepaid cell phone system.

In the early 2000s, the company created Algar Segurança, focused on asset security and document control, and in 2002, the Algar Institute was created, which currently coordinates all corporate actions in the social, cultural and environmental spheres.

In 2013, the company began its internationalization process with the opening of its office in Colombia. Currently, two Group companies are among the largest ICMS collectors (2016) in the city of Uberlândia, as shown in Table 27, page 199.

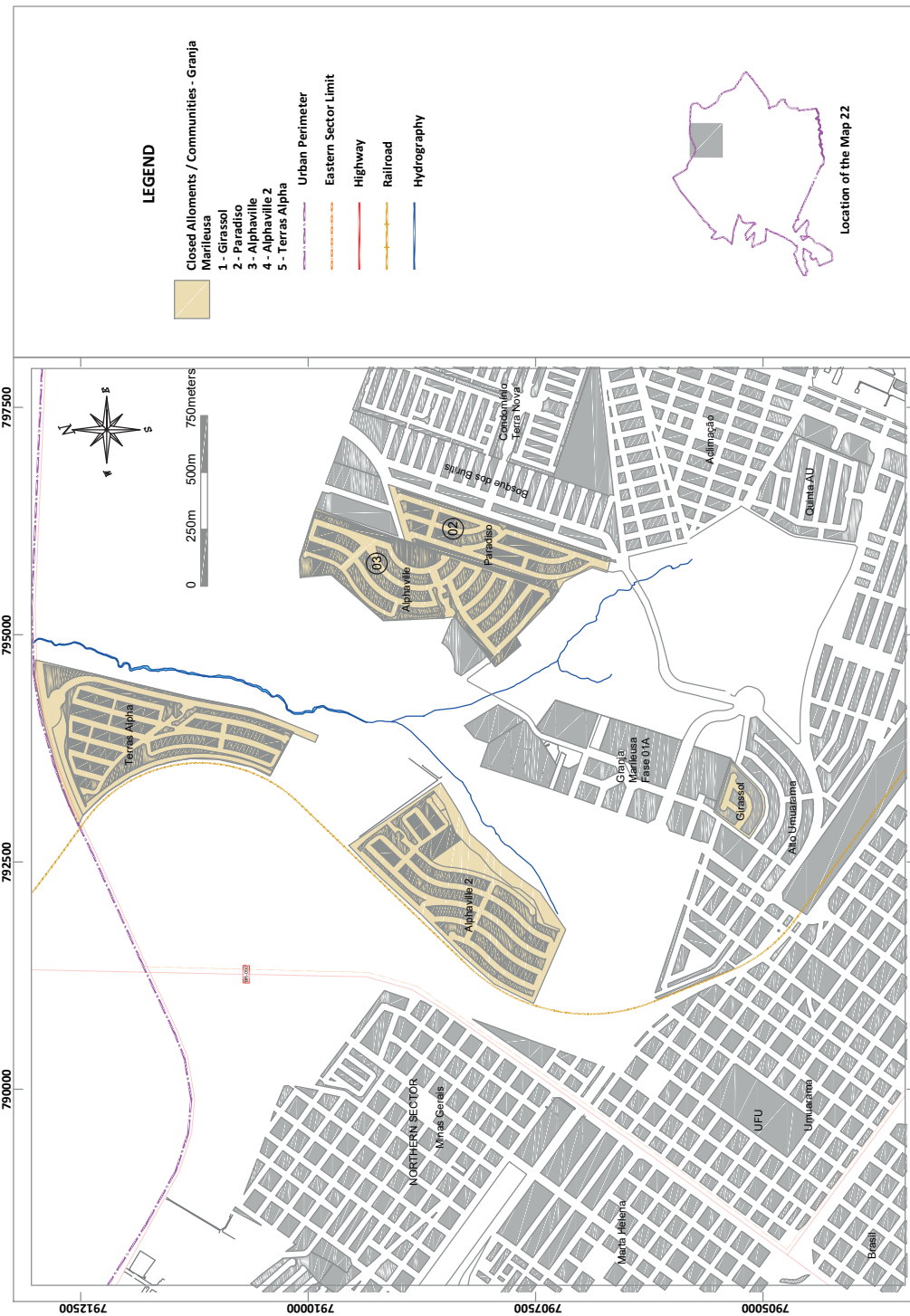
Colocação	Company
01	Algar Celular S/A
02	Algar Telecom S/A
03	Martins Comércio e Serviços S/A
04	Arcom S/A
05	CRBS S/A (Ambev)
06	Natura Cosméticos S/A
07	Petróleo Brasileiro S/A Petrobras
08	AMBEV
09	Souza Cruz S/A
10	Uberlândia Refrescos (Coca-cola)

Table 27: List of the 10 biggest companies in ICMS collectors in 2017, Município de Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Banco de Dados Integrado do Município de Uberlândia – BDI (2018).

Returning to the Granja Marileusa Phase 01A Allotment, it was approved by the process 010449/2012 approved on December 27, 2012 in a total area of 253,946.35m² (25.39ha), with the area of lots of 190,301.32m² (19.30ha) and the road system of 50,820.06m² (5.82ha). The subdivision donated, according to Complementary Law 523/2011, a total of 8,729.49m² of Recreation Area. The donation of public areas referring to 7% of the dominated area, 0.75% of the public recreation area and 5% of the institutional area, totaling 32,393.64m² “were compensated using the public area credit for the beltway north Law 10,181 of July 19, 2009”. The infrastructure works for the subdivision were budgeted at R\$ 10,349,171.57.

The Granja Marileusa Phase 01A allotment is located, according to Map 22, page 200, in the integrated neighborhood Granja Marileusa, created by Law 11.786 of May 9, 2014, about 6.050m (3.78 miles) from Tubal Vilela Square, located in the city center of Uberlândia-MG. According to the Municipality of Uberlândia, the Integrated Neighborhoods project was created in the 1980s, implemented by SETRANS, and passed its first approval in 1990 with the creation of Neighborhood Segismundo Pereira. This project, in the 2000s, started to be coordinated by the Municipal Secretariat for Urban Planning, in the preparation of proposals for future neighborhoods. The municipality now has 74 approved neighborhoods, and the forecast is to reach approximately 85 neighborhoods within the current urban perimeter.



Map 22 - Location of the Granja Marileusa Integrated Neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

In order to rationalize the number of existing neighborhoods in the city, the Integrated Neighborhoods Project is based on some criteria, such as: the diversity of each sector, the physical limits, the geographical and land use and occupation characteristics, as well as the road system.

This project aims to create conditions for a detailed study of the current urban network, that is, it proposes a rationalized system of spatial division in order to facilitate the work of public agencies and private entities, as well as to guide the population regarding their location within the city.

Thus, the Integrated Neighborhood Granja Marileusa is composed of the Conventional Allotment Granja Marileusa Phase 01A (2012), Allotment Closed Paradiso (2004), Allotment Closed Alphaville (2014), Allotment Closed Alphaville 2 (2015) and Allotment Closed Terras Alpha (2018). The boundary area of the Integrated Quarter Granja Marileusa, corresponds to a large extent to an old Algar Group farm. This entire area is part of a company project called Granja Marileusa and Phase 01A allotment was approved in 2012 and the company has partners such as Alphaville that acquired farmland to build three allotments in the neighborhood.

According to the allotment company, the concept of Granja Marileusa is an urban project aimed at living together, with cutting edge technology and a privileged location. For them “if this street were ours, it would be a place where the neighbors are friends, where we would work on foot and always meet people along the way. A neighborhood that looks like a neighborhood and we would have the privilege of living together and the joy of living life. And we would be happier”. (www.granjamarileusa.com.br). The central concept of the project is a vision rich in public spaces and with architecture focused on the daily encounter, resulting in the reconciliation between the spaces of living and working, in which the street becomes people again.

The municipality of Uberlândia has a program called Technological Micropole - instituted by Law No. 588 of June 25, 2014, in which companies that operate within the micropole will receive tax incentives, such as reducing the Tax on Services (ISS) rate of 5% to 2% and exemption from the Tax on the Transfer of Real Estate (ITBI) in the purchase of space.

In the region of the Granja Marileusa Phase 01A allotment, the Algar Group headquarters is located where thousands of workers are employed, in addition to the University of Uberaba. The third technological micropole from Uberlândia was launched on June 30, 2016, by Algar Tech, an Algar Group company that operates in digital services and businesses, in partnership with the Municipal Administration. The enterprise, which is part of the Uberlândia Inovadora program of the Municipal Economic Development Secretariat, provides infrastructure in a space of 15,000 m²- already existing within the company's facilities in the Granja Marileusa neighborhood, so that there is the capture of startups that operate in the areas of innovations and cutting-edge technology.

Still included in the Granja Marileusa Phase 01A Allotment, the following projects are located or are being implemented:

1. Casa Garcia (Figure 91): Events house, opened in May 2017 with a built area of 4,000 m² and a capacity for 20 to 1000 people seated and an investment of approximately R\$

11 million. The venue holds corporate, social events, cultural, technical and scientific with consultative assistance in the design and excellence of the execution of activities.



Figure 91 - Casa Garcia, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: <http://congressomineirodeodonto.com.br/sobre/>

2. Residencial Solar do Cerrado (Figure 92): Residential Condominium, under construction, with 4 towers and a total of 208 apartments from 60 to 73m². Partnership with Construtora C & A.

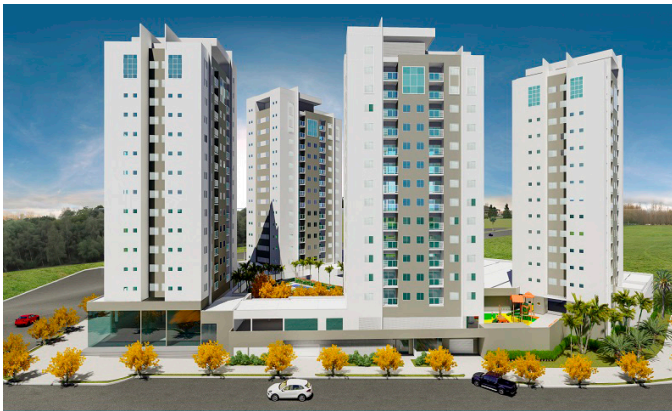


Figure 92 - Solar do Cerrado Residential, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia MG, 2018.

Source: <http://www.granjamarileusa.com.br/>

3. CSC Algar: Algar Corporate Solutions Center, with 800 positions in a built area of 10,000 m².

4. Catita Garcia Building: Residential building with 21 floors, two apartments per floor and a built area of 2,200m² and three parking spaces per apartment.

5. CSC Cargill: Cargill Corporate Solutions Center, with 700 positions in a built area of 3,700 m², opened in July 2014. This is where Cargill's billing, human resources and accounting are carried out in Brazil.



Figure 93 - CSC Cargill, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: <http://www.proenergia.net.br/project/cbs-cargill/>

6. Map Green (Figure 94): Shopping and service center with gross leasable area of 7,000m² in 81 stores with the aim of serving residents and users of the local and surrounding areas. It already has some brands installed such as Excellent Global, CVC Turismo, O Boticário, King Rocks Hamburgueria, Nella Casa, Hippo Pizza, among others.



Figure 94 - Map Green, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: <http://www.grnjamarileusa.com.br/>

7. Santa Fé Corporate: Corporate building with five slabs of 6,000m² of built area.

8. Landix: Company that provides software for corporate mobility with modern methodologies, with more than 800m² of built area, the building has a capacity for 180

employees.

9. Closed Condominium Paradiso: Residential condominium with 95 townhouses of three suites with an average area of 120m² and leisure area complete with swimming pool and court. Built by Realiza Construtora.



Figure 95 - Village Paradiso Condominium, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia MG, 2018.

Source: <http://www.granjamarileusa.com.br/>

10. Village Paradiso Closed Condominium (Figure 96, below): Residential condominium with 105 townhouses with three suites with an average area of 142m² or four suites with an average area of 176m² and a complete leisure area with swimming pool and court. Built by Realiza Construtora.



Figura 96 - Residence at Village Paradiso 2 Condominium, Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

<http://www.realizaconstrutora.com.br/>

The Granja Marileusa allotment launches a new concept of neighborhood in the city with several developments aimed at businesses and services, the headquarters of your company and even residential developments, within Phase 01A, such as the Alphaville partners' developments and their closed allotments. Several events are held to promote the neighborhood, such as the Organic Fair, Food Trucks meetings, the Cerrado Race, among others, aimed at the general public.

Because of this dissemination and of the differentiated proposal of the neighborhood, the surroundings have changed, mainly in the neighborhood of Neighborhood Aclimação. The neighborhood, which has low-income housing and class characteristics, has attracted new residents and developments justified by its location next to Granja Marileusa.



Figure 97 - Launch of a project located in the vicinity of the Integrated Neighborhood Granja Marileusa, Uberlândia-MG, 2017.

Source: <http://www.hprconstrutora.com.br/>

3.4.1. Evaluation of the indicators used in the enterprise scale

Analysis Category - Infrastructure/Systems

As for urban infrastructure, the enterprise is equipped with a drinking water supply system, sewage network and effluent treatment, rain drainage, electricity, asphalt pavement, curbs and gutters and garbage collection. All of this infrastructure is mandatory by Complementary Law 523/2011 and all projects that are approved by the PMU Municipal Secretariat for Urban Planning are equipped with these basic infrastructures.

The differential of Neighborhood Granja Marileusa is that in addition to the infrastructure required by law, it has cycle paths with a shared bicycle system, which will be addressed in the next item, security system with cameras on every corner of the neighborhood, ultra broadband and Wi-Fi system free in specific locations.

Analysis Category - Infrastructure / Transit

As for public transit, the presence of two public bus lines was observed in the area of the subdivision under study. They are lines T126 (Algar Tech / Umuarama Bus Terminal) and T123 (Algar Tecnologia / Central Bus Terminal). We understand that these lines are

unable to serve the entire specific area of the project, since many areas are not divided into installments. The project is close to the Umuarama Bus Terminal, which facilitates transportation by public transit in the city, being located in the Umuarama neighborhood, about 1,600m (1 mile). There are bus stops in the area of the project, located at Floriano Peixoto Avenue, Maria Silva Garcia Avenue and Lapa do Lobo Street, line T126 extends to the Alphaville Uberlândia Allotment.

The Municipal Law 10.686 / 2010 that establishes the road planning of the city of Uberlândia-MG provides, for the new urban allotments, planning of cycle paths on all roads classified as collectors, arterial, structural and marginal. For this reason, since the development region has some allotments approved after the aforementioned law, the cycle system is disconnected with its surroundings. The existing bike path is on Maria Silva Garcia Avenue and in the future it should be connected to Vicente Salles Guimarães Avenue.

Despite few bike lanes and bike lanes, the subdivision has its own shared bicycle system, the first in the city. UdiBike is the name of the bicycle sharing system. This project was made possible by the Sports Incentive Law (Ministry of Sports / Government of Brazil), sponsored by ALGAR and ITV Urbanismo, in partnership with the Instituto Saúde e Equilíbrio. The Project also offers free basic cycling workshops to teach school students how to ride a bicycle. There are four points to pick up bicycles in the city: João Naves viaduct with Rondon, Tecelagem, Fire Department and entrance to the Granja Marileusa Allotment.

Figure 98 illustrates the location of UdiBike stations in the city.

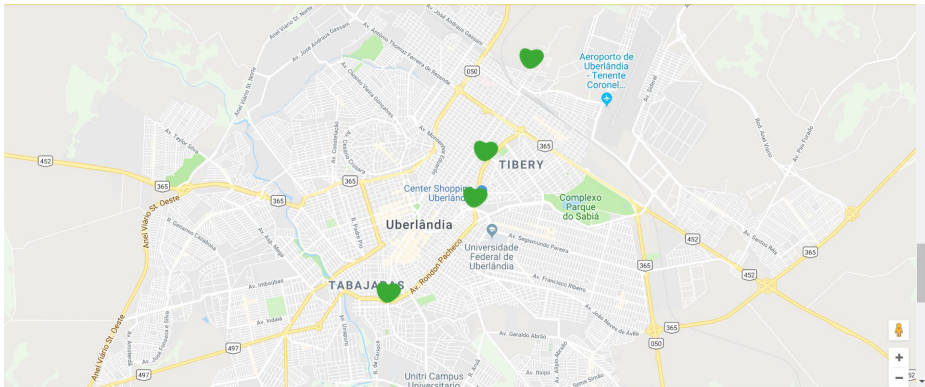


Figure 98 - Location of UdiBike stations in Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

There is a study for the implementation of the Light Vehicle on Rails system in the city of Uberlândia-MG, with two lines, the green line and the pink line, as shown in Figure 99. They would be connected by a station that would be located in the Granja Marileusa Allotment and would be connected to important regions of the city such as the Airport, downtown and Governador Rondon Pacheco Avenue.

The proposed system, in addition to the two VLT lines mentioned above, proposes another 06 BRT axes, with 09 integration terminals. Of these 09 terminals proposed, six terminals are in operation and two BRT lines are in operation, located in the eastern sector of the city.

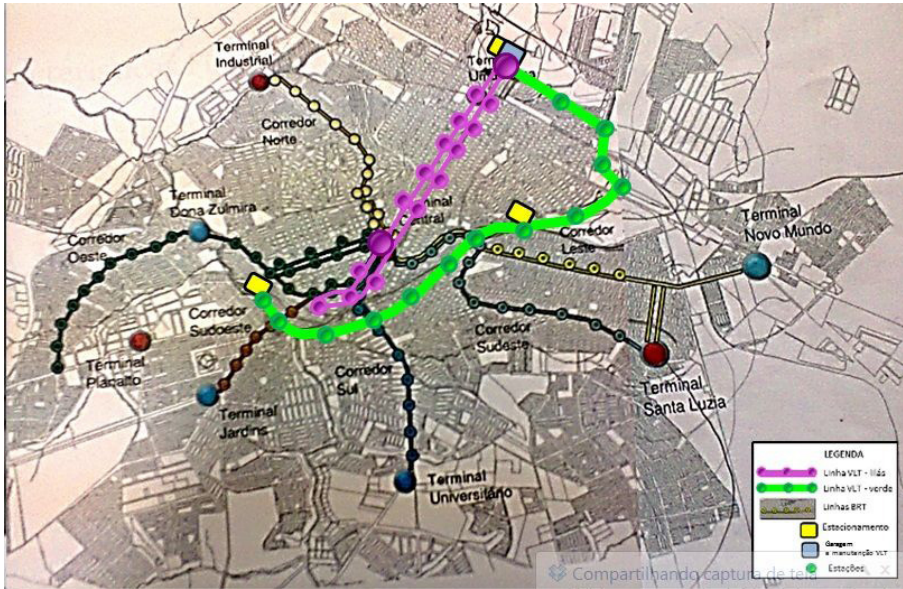


Figure 99 - Planning of the public transit system of Uberlândia-MG, VLT and BRT system.

Analysis Category - Social and community facilities

For the purpose of locating social and community facilities to support the residents of the project, it was decided to adopt an area of influence delimited by the existing urban barriers and which demarcate the territory as the Highway BR-050 and Highway BR-365, the North Ring Road and Uberlândia Airport.

In this context, we observe the social and community equipment listed according to Chart 04, page 207.

Field	Facility	Address	Neighborhood
Education	EMEI Monteiro Lobato	480 Euclides da Cunha St	Custódio Pereira
Education	EMEI Custódio Pereira	645 Visconde de Ouro Preto St	Custódio Pereira
Education	EMEF Osvaldo Vieira Gonçalves	Independência Square	Custódio Pereira
Education	Custódio da Costa Pereira State School	420 José Agostinho St	Custódio Pereira
Education	João Rezende State School	283 Terezinha Segadães St	Custódio Pereira
Education	Maria de Nazaré (NGO) Educational Center	583 Rua Ângelo Zocolli St	Custódio Pereira
Education	EMEI Carmelita da Cunha	64 José Flores St	Aclimação
Education	State School Pres. Juscelino Kubitschek	Durval Gomes Xavier Square	Aclimação
Education	Health Technical School	Prof. José Inácio de Souza Ave	Umuarama

Education	Uberlândia Federal Univeristy	1720 Pará Ave	Umuarama
Health	UBS Doutor Arnaldo Godoy de Souza	1236 Tito Teixeira Ave	Custódio Pereira
Health	UBSF Aclimação	644 Irmãos Marista St	Aclimação
Health	UFU Hospital	1720 Pará Ave	Umuarama
Social Assistance	Associação Filantrópica de Assistência aos Deficientes Auditivos	3201 José Inácio de Souza Ave	Umuarama
Social Assistance	CRAS Custódio Pereira	1199 Luiz Vieira Tavares St	Custódio Pereira
Culture	Municipal Public Archive	3105 Ceará St	Custódio Pereira
Culture	Sectorial Library Umuarama	Amazonas Ave	Umuarama
Sports and leisure	Poliesportivo Custódio Pereira	2413 Feliciano de Moraes St	Custódio Pereira
Sports and leisure	Outdoor gym	Webert Pereira Fonseca Square	Custódio Pereira
Sports and leisure	Outdoor gym	Durval Gomes Xavier Square	Aclimação
Green Areas	Tenente Horácio Rodrigues de Freitas Square	Acre St and Terezinha de Sagadães St	Custódio Pereira
Green Areas	República Square	Luiz Vieira Tavares St, Conrado de Brito St, Tito Teixeira St	Custódio Pereira
Green Areas	Webert Pereira Fonseca Square	Tito Teixeira St, Ângelo Zoccolli St	Custódio Pereira
Green Areas	Urias Batista Santos Square	Maria Quitéria St, Pará Ave	Umuaraa
Green Areas	Durval Gomes Xavier Square	Artur de Barros St, Luiz Ferreira da Fonseca St	Aclimação
Green Areas	José Alves dos Santos Square	Salgado Filho St	Aclimação
Green Areas	Pedro Mendes da Silva Square	Visconde de Ouro Preto St, Conrado de Brito St	Alto Umuarama
Green Areas	Nicolau de Brito Square	Luiz Gonzaga Filho St, Paulo de Frontin St	Alto Umuarama
Green Areas	Sebastião de Brito Square	Alice de Freitas St, Francisco Cândido Xavier St.	Alto Umuarama
Green Areas	Marcene Motta Curcino Square	Ismael da Silva St, 6A St, Creusa Arli Alves St	Alto Umuarama
Association	Custódio Pereira Association	264 João Hortêncio St	Custódio Pereira
Social Defense	Legal Medical institute – Police	1720 Pará Ave	Umuarama

Chart 04: Social e comunity facilities in the influence área of Granja Marileusa neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: Caderno Informativo da Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano / Diretoria de Pesquisas Integradas, Uberlândia City Hall (2017-2018)

Analysis Category - Socioeconomic

For the purpose of mapping a socioeconomic profile of the area, we continue with the

delimitation established for the coverage of social and community facilities in the previous item. Therefore, this territorial cut will have the purpose of enabling the urban insertion of Granja Marileusa in relation to the income profile, income density and demographic density.

Figure 100, page 209, illustrates the demographic density by census sector, using the IBGE database (2016). We observed that the region has low demographic density. This is due to the fact that this region has a recent occupation, mainly after the 2010 IBGE census. We believe that the IBGE database does not yet fully reflect the reality observed at the site, however this is the official data source that we have access to. Therefore we will consider for our analysis, in addition to the official data, an observation in order to get closer to the current reality.

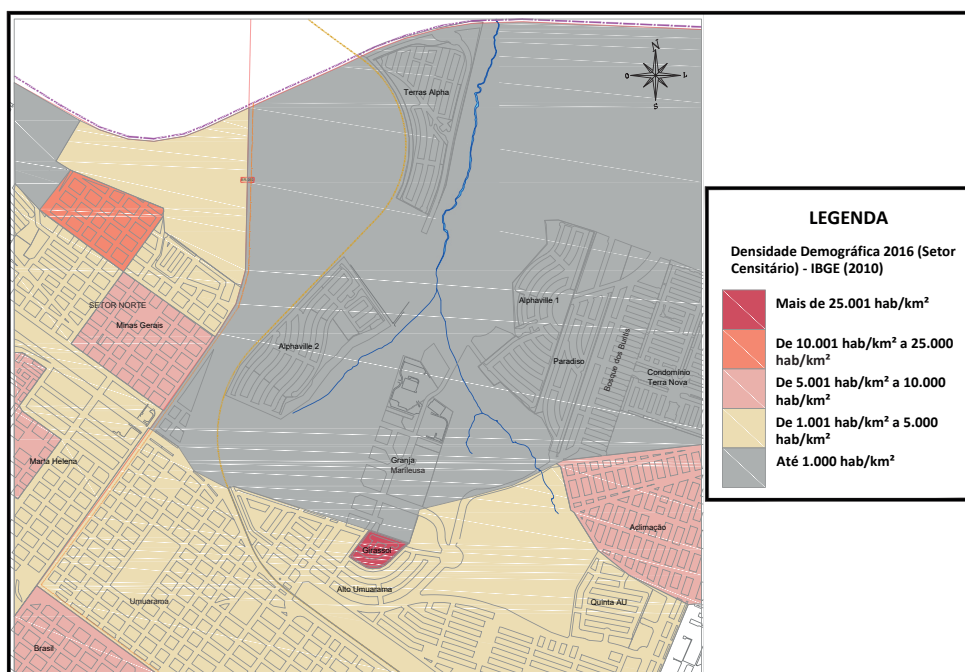


Figure 100 - Demographic density of the area of influence of MRV projects, Uberlândia-MG, 2016.

The population in the area of influence is approximately 24,065 inhabitants (IBGE, 2016 estimate).

In this context, the region defined as the area of influence of the project has varying density. Many areas are empty and the newer allotments have not yet been included in the IBGE database. However, through the observation and verification of other projects of the same type, the Alphaville Uberlândia, Alphaville 2 and Terras Alpha Closed allotments will have exclusively residential use and low density, due to the typology of single-family construction in individual lots.

The Custódio Pereira and Aclimação neighborhoods have the best densities in the

region (Figure 100, page 209), although they are still in the low density category, due to the typology of the neighborhoods, with low verticalization.

Table 28 shows that 83% of households are houses and that a verticalization process begins, in which 10.62% of households are apartments and 6.06% of houses in condominiums. This latter index must have changed since the approval of the Alphaville allotments that are in the occupation and infrastructure implementation phase.

	Casa	5878	83,08%
	Casa em Vila ou Condomínio	429	6,06%
	Apartamento	751	10,61%
	Outro Tipo	17	0,24%

Tabela 28: Households by type, area of influence of Granja Marileusa Allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2010.

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2010)

We can see that, according to data from the IBGE 2010 census, the average income of the population was R\$ 4,998.43 and according to IBGE, projection for 2016, the average income of the population was R\$ 4,409.86, with a decrease of 11.78%. This value shows us that the region has a much higher income than that observed in the Residencial Pequis region and below the region of the Construtora MRV projects. We can consider this due to the fact that this region also houses a population of high income and middle income-classes, unlike the region of the Residencial Pequis where we observe the prevalence of low income-classes.

The number of residents per household in the area of influence is also higher than that observed in the city average. In Uberlândia, according to IBGE (2010) the average number of residents per household is 3.07 while in the area of influence, this average is 3.24. According to Table 29, more than 60% of households in the area of influence have three or more residents.

	1 Morador	1030	13,76%
	2 Moradores	1938	25,89%
	3 Moradores	2035	27,19%
	4 Moradores	1606	21,46%
	5 ou mais Moradores	876	11,70%

Table 29: Number of residents per household in the area of influence of Granja Marileusa Allotment, Uberlândia-MG (2012)

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2012)

In general, we realized that the area of influence of the project is characterized by being a region of low demographic density and that the projects proposed for the Granja

Marileusa Allotment should not change this situation, due to its predominant typologies in closed allotments with individual lots. The verticalization proposed in Phase 01A will not be enough to improve these rates, only contributing to the occupation of the large urban voids existing in the region.

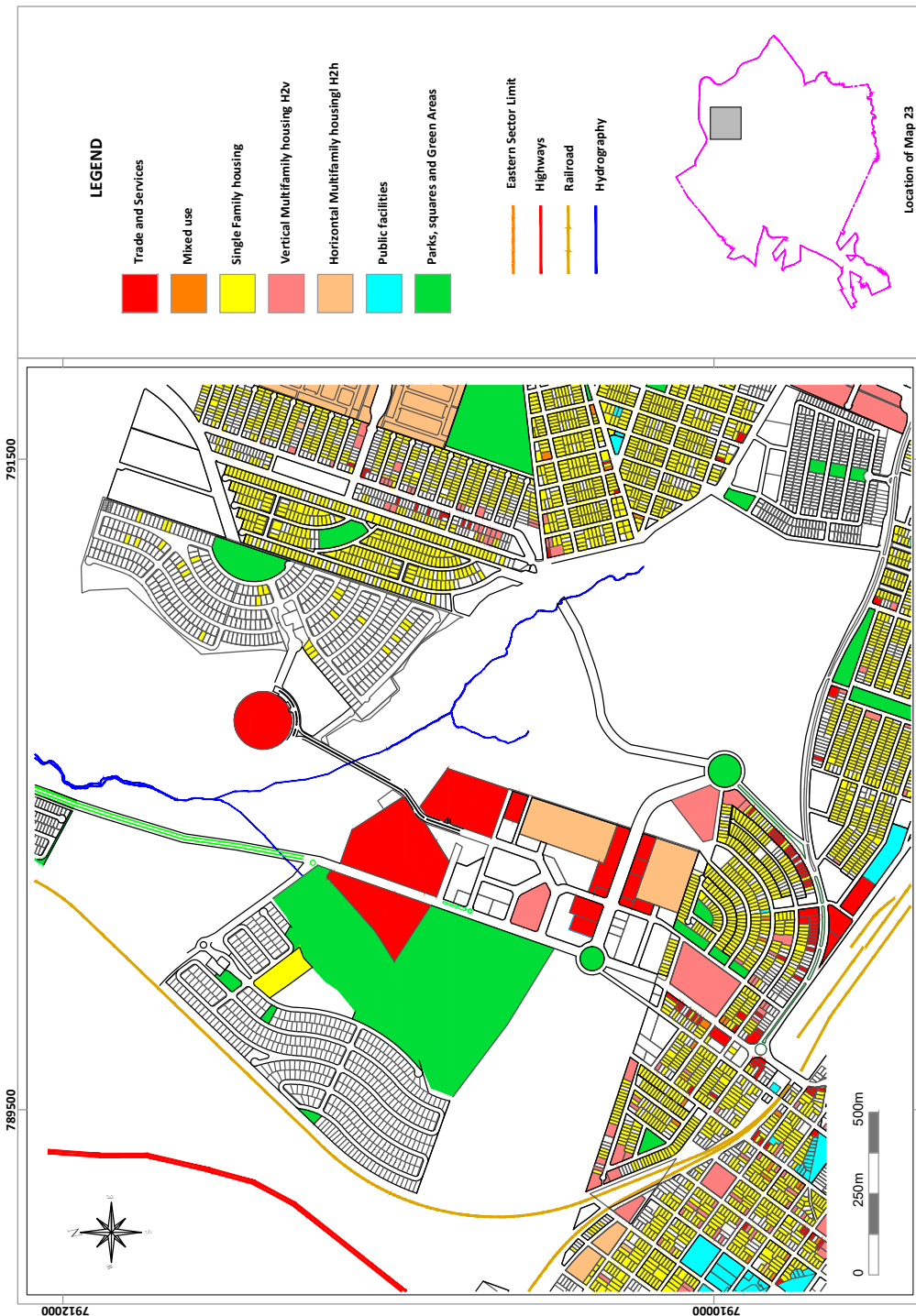
Through the use and occupation map of the area of influence of Granja Marileusa Neighborhood, Map 23, page 212, we can see that, unlike the other projects studied, there is a greater concentration of businesses and services in the region, including within the neighborhood itself. This is primarily due to the fact that even prior to the proposed implementation of a planned neighborhood, Grupo Algar was already implanted in a local land. The company, as previously noted, is one of the largest ICMS collectors in the city and one of the largest local employers.

The availability of jobs is a positive point for the neighborhood, since the attraction of residents, as proposed, aims to bring people closer to their workplaces and provide leisure. However, most workers are salaried workers who must move from other parts of the city to the place. Thus, the appreciation of the neighborhood's properties should not allow the majority of workers to live in the neighborhood, which is aimed at a middle-upper to upper-income class.

This can be seen mainly by the presence of four closed allotments in the neighborhood and two closed condominiums. The houses of Village Paradiso 1 and 2 (closed condominiums) are currently being sold for R\$ 700,000.00. Within the perimeter of the neighborhood, there is no project planned for lower income classes, reaffirming the observed proposal for self-registration of the high income-classes. Therefore, the concept of the neighborhood that tries to live, live and leisure in the same place is only for the highest income classes, which would not fit the employees with lower salaries of the local companies, who will continue to have to travel by public transit, and if they live in the Residencial Pequis, they can spend hours to get to work.

Still considering the segregation of social classes caused by the neighborhood, the change in use in the surroundings is notable with the implementation of Granja Marileusa Neighborhood, especially considering the income classes. The Aclimação neighborhood has predominantly residential characteristics, with a predominance of low and medium-low income classes, with small local businesses. The neighborhood was segregated from the city of Uberlândia for many years, seeing large voids observed in its surroundings, fragmenting it from the existing urban fabric and still characterized by the proximity to the local airport.

Looking at Figure 101, page 213, we can also see that a large part of Neighborhood Aclimação is composed of housing lots that have more than one residence per lot, generating a differentiated density in the region and informality regarding this type of occupation. The observation of these images, also allows us to perceive that the finishing pattern of most of the roofs of the houses are fiber cement tiles or similar, demonstrating that the construction pattern of Aclimação Neighborhood is low.



Map 23 - Map of land use and occupation of the area of influence of Granja Marileusa neighborhood, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Localização

R. João P Ferreira, 219 - Aclimação, Uberlândia - MG,
Uberlândia - MG

Localização privilegiada no setor que mais cresce e valoriza em Uberlândia, localizado ao lado dos bairros Granja Marileusa e Alto Umarama.

- ▶ Ao lado do Granja Marileusa
- ▶ Próximo ao Alhpavile e Condomínio Paradiso Ecológico
- ▶ A 1 minutos do Map Green
- ▶ A 2 minutos do Aeroporto
- ▶ A 3 minutos de Hipermercados
- ▶ A 5 minutos da Havan

Figure 102 - Information from the HPR company website about the location of Residencial Paineiras Condominium, Aclimação neighborhood, Uberlândia- MG, 2018.

Source: <http://hprconstrutora.com.br/empreendimentos/paineiras/> accessed on 2018, June 10.

Certainly, the properties of the region should be valued mainly with the consolidation of the centrality generated by Granja Marileusa Neighborhood. We should observe the displacement of the low-income population from this neighborhood to other regions of the city, reaffirming urban issues that happen in Brazilian cities through the alteration of land use and the interest of the real estate market in certain regions, thus changing urban typologies, land uses and, consequently, the value of urban land.

Still observing the land use of the Granja Marileusa region, we can affirm that among the studied enterprises, this is the region with the greatest diversity of uses and potential. The region has great social facilities, such as the presence of the Federal University of Uberlândia, comprising the Hospital de Clínicas and other important facilities.

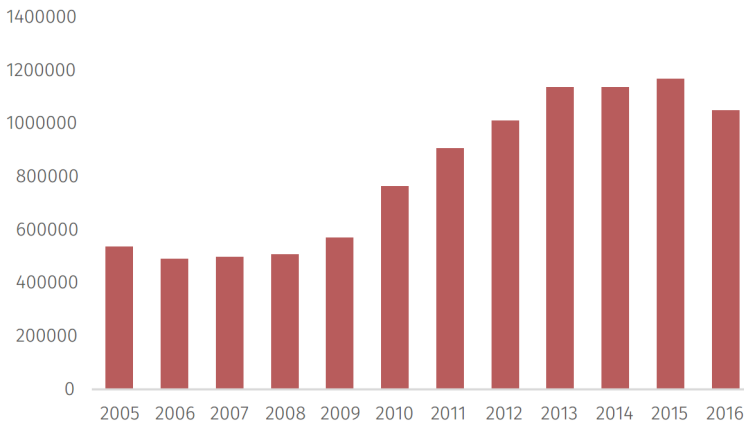


Figure 103 - Aspect of verticalization observed in the Bosque dos Buritis Allotment, Uberlândia-MG, 2019.

Source: Guilherme A S Motta (2019).

The city's airport is also an important piece of equipment that has changed the local urban configuration and privileged the location of the Granja Marileusa neighborhood. The number of passengers traveling through the airport has increased considerably, showing a new dynamic for the region, bringing residents closer to this important means of transport and, even, the attractiveness of event spaces such as Casa Garcia is due to the proximity of the airport. Other developments, such as the provision of a hotel belonging to a large hotel chain in the neighborhood, are also due to the proximity and ease of access to the airport.

Graph 05 illustrates the growth in the number of passengers traveling at the airport in Uberlândia-MG.



Graph 05: growth in the number of passengers traveling at the airport, Uberlândia-MG de 2005 a 2016.

Source: Bando de Dados Integrados (BDI) da Prefeitura Municipal de Uberlândia (2017).

Analysis Category - Spatial relationships and project characteristics

The analyzes in this category are the same as those related to MRV Construtora's developments. Although the Granja Marileusa Fase 01A allotment is a conventional allotment, which guarantees the absence of the project walls, the other projects in the region, which are part of the neighborhood configuration, are closed by walls, such as the Alphaville lots, among others and the condominiums located in the neighborhood.

The main difference with respect to the MRV projects region is that, as we have seen earlier, here there is a diversity of land uses, which contributes to the population traveling for shorter distances to access businesses and services.

However, Figure 104, page 217, shows that the region also has large urban voids and its enterprises are fragmented in the urban space. The diversity of uses of the proposed enterprises is not reflected in the diversity of income classes of the enterprises, thus contributing, once again, to the socio-spatial segregation observed in the city.

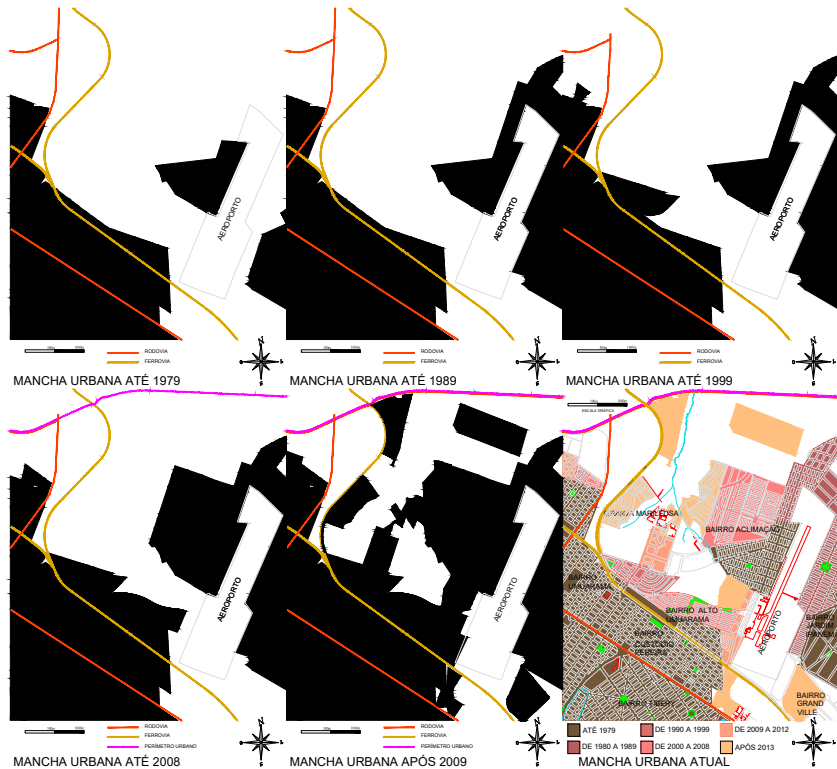


Figure 104 - Evolution of the urban fabric of the influence area of Granja Marileusa neighborhood (1979-2018), Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

3.5. Glória irregular settlement

The Federal University of Uberlândia was founded in 1969 and owns the area that we call the Glória Irregular Settlement. This area, according to Prieto and Colesanti (2012), became the university's heritage in the early 1970s when the rector sought to obtain an area for the campus through a donation from the City Hall.

Thus, the donation of the Glória area to the Fundação Universidade de Uberlândia was obtained with the approval and sanction of Municipal Law 1,966 on October 4, 1971.

The Glória area is located in the southeastern part of the city of Uberlândia on the margins of Highway BR-050, at Km 78, between coordinates 18°57'30"S and 48°12'0" W, see Map 24, page 220. According to zoning of the city, the Glória area is located in the Southern Sector of Uberlândia. This area was inserted in the urban perimeter in 2013, as we have already described. Figure 105, page 218, illustrates the project of the new campus, located in the region.

In Figure 106, page 218, we see the areas belonging to Glória Farm, with emphasis on Area 1 (A), to the left of Highway BR-050, where the Glória Irregular Settlement is located, Uberlândia-MG.



Figure 105 - Project of Campus Glória, Uberlândia-MG.

Figure 106 Location of the divisions of the Glória Farm and location of the Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia- MG.



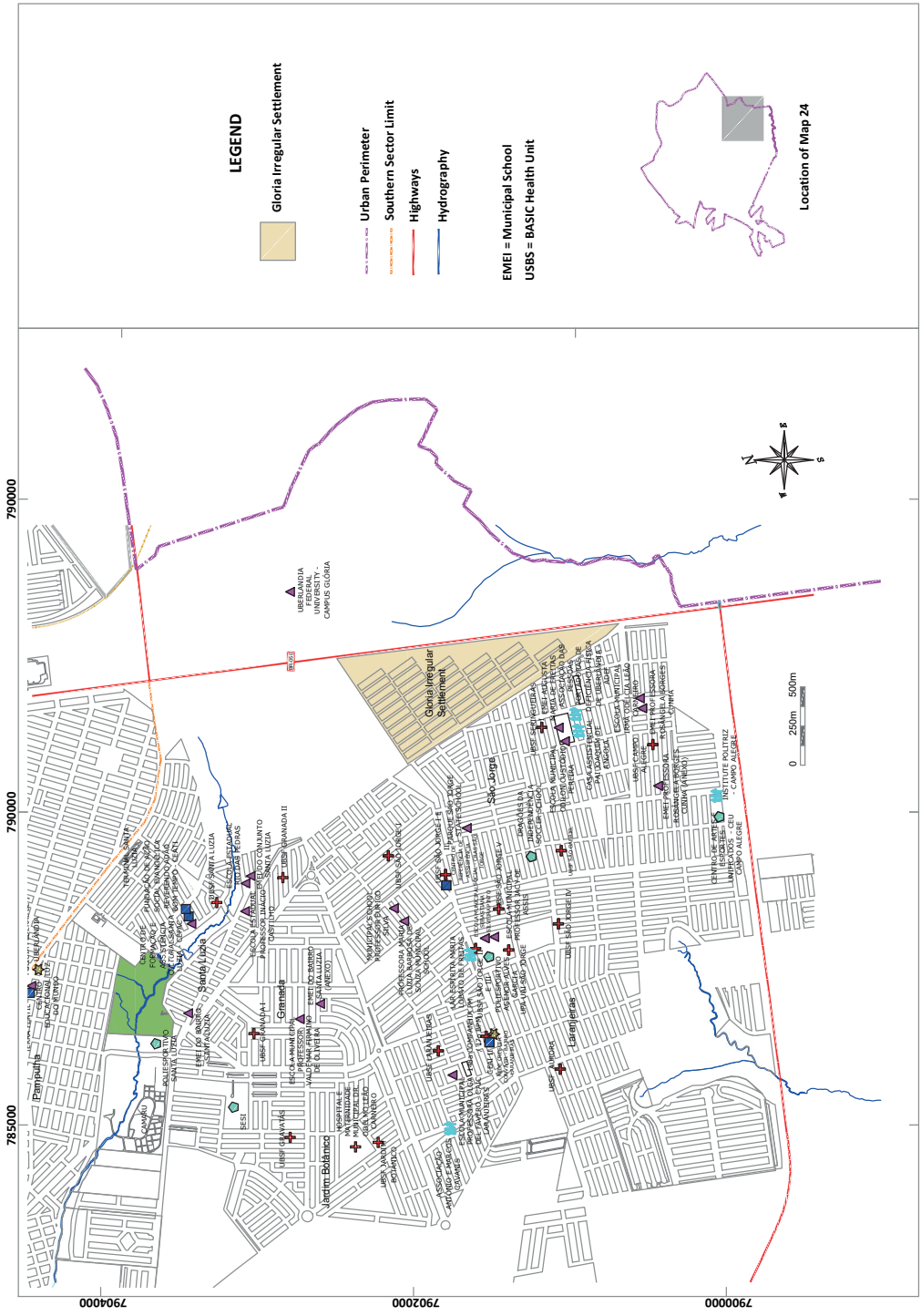
Figure 106 - Location of the divisions of the Glória Farm and location of the Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia- MG.

Source: Prieto e Colesanti (2012)

The area covers 63 hectares and was occupied in January 2012 by militants from the Movimento Sem Teto do Brasil. It is estimated, according to unofficial data, that the area has three thousand occupied families in 47 blocks and 19 streets and an estimated population of more than 15,000 inhabitants. The location of the occupied area in the city of Uberlândia-MG can be found on Map 24, page 220.

In March 2017, Judge José Humberto Ferreira determined that the Municipality of Uberlândia and the State of Minas Gerais expressed their willingness to take the field.

In August 2017, Cohab decided to take over the regularization process and resolve the situation of the families that occupy the place. In December 2017, representatives of the Federal and State Prosecutors' Office, Public Defender's Office, Residents' Association, the Executive, Cohab and UFU signed the document that authorized the transfer of responsibility for the area. Cohab is expected to regularize the area within five years.



Map 24 - Location of Glória's Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2019
 Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.



Figure 107 - Aerial view of the Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG.
Source: MGTV/Divulgação.

According to Marques (2007), no precarious settlements were found in the city of Uberlândia. However, using data from the Municipality of Uberlândia-MG, in the city there are irregular allotments in accordance with Chart 05, page 221, which could be classified as precarious settlements.

Currently, the Glória Irregular Settlement is the largest slum in the city of Uberlândia-MG and we consider it a symbol of the new scale of urbanization in the city in recent years, where the strong performance of the real estate market in this process is consolidated, with the performance in private initiative and the State, as observed in the projects analyzed above. The irregular occupation shows the ineptitude of this association in building a cohesive environment and in aggravating issues of urbanization and constitution of decent housing for the local population.

Neighborhood	Irregular Settlement	City sector
Jardim Europa	Bela Vista	West
Jardim Canaã	Chácaras Bela Vista	West
Santa Rosa	Esperança III	North
Residencial Integração	Integração	East
Residencial Integração	Prosperidade	East
Residencial Integração	Prosperidade Parte	East

Residencial Integração	Prosperidade Prolongamento	East
Residencial Integração	Dom Almir	East
Residencial Integração	Dom Almir Prolongamento	East
Residencial Integração	Joana D'arc II	East
Portal do Vale	Santa Clara	East
Morumbi	Maná	East
Novo Mundo	Vila Jardim	East
Minas Gerais	Minas Brasil	North
São Jorge	Glória (2012)	South
Alvorada	Alvorada 5	East

Chart 05: Uberlândia – MG, List of Irregular Settlements, 2015.

Source: SEPLAN / Uberlândia City Hall / 2015.

3.5.1. Evaluation of the indicators used in the enterprise scale

Analysis Category – Infrastructure/Systems

The area of influence of the occupation is endowed with all infrastructure for the distribution of drinking water, sewage network and effluent treatment, asphalt pavement, public lighting and garbage collection.

However, the occupation area itself does not have any of the above infrastructure. Cohab is responsible for regularizing the occupation and implantation of infrastructure within five years, starting in 2017, as previously mentioned.

Analysis Category - Infrastructure / Transit

As for public transit, a collective bus line was observed in the occupation region. The line is A327 (Santa Luzia Bus Terminal / Seringueiras - via occupation, Figure 108, page 192). This line does not enter the occupation, and there is a bus stop located on Chapada dos Guimarães Avenue. The population, therefore, must walk distances that can reach 1.3km (0,8 mile) to access public transit. The project is close to the Santa Luzia Bus Terminal, which facilitates transportation by public transit in the city, being located in the Santa Luzia neighborhood, about 3,000m (1,86 miles). The estimated time between the bus stop located in the vicinity of the occupation and the Santa Luzia Terminal is 20 minutes and from there to the Central Terminal, by express bus, about 35 minutes. Considering another 30 minutes from the Central Terminal to the workplace of a resident, they must spend only on public transit, daily, three hours a day to get around. The occupation distance to the Tubal Vilela Square, in the city center is approximately 8.5 km (5.28 miles).

In this region there are no bikeways or bikepaths.

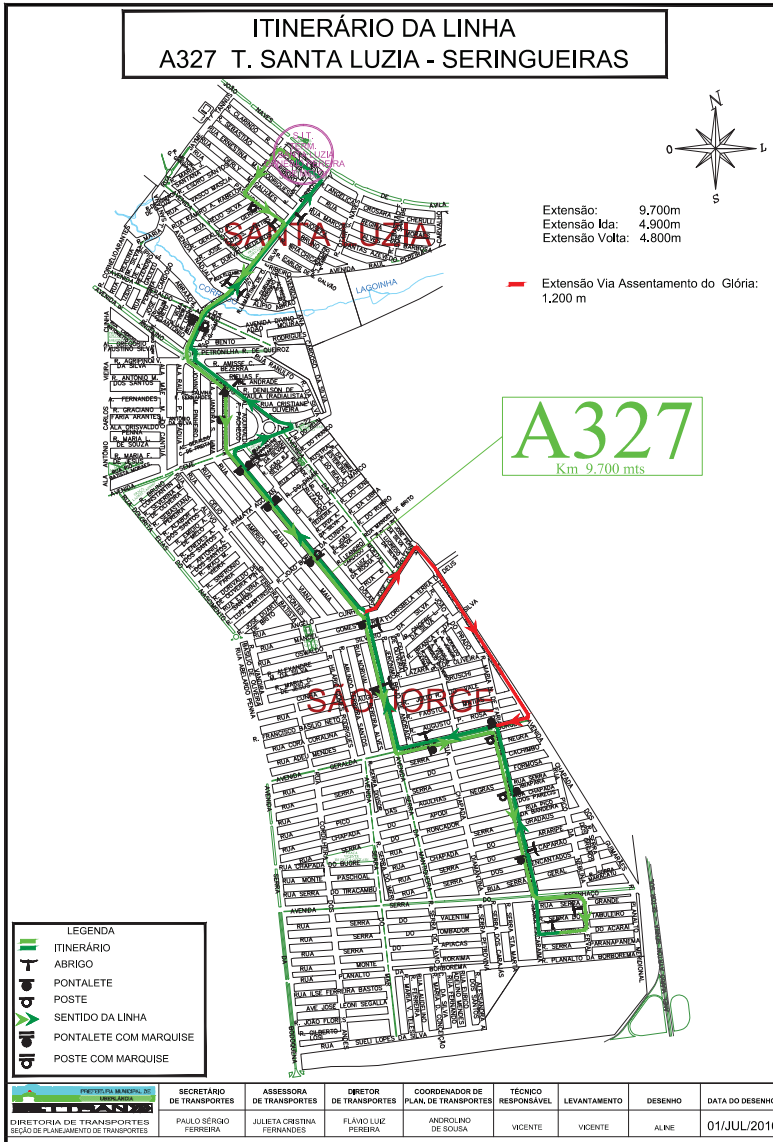


Figure 108 - Line A327 Itinerary (Santa Luzia Terminal / Seringueiras - via occupation)
Source: PMU (2018)

Analysis Category - Social and community facilities

In Chart 06, page 224, there is a list of social and community facilities, associations and fairs located in the area of influence of the Glória Irregular Settlement and delimited by Neighborhood Santa Luzia, Granada, São Jorge and Laranjeiras. To delimit this equipment, therefore, an even greater territorial cut was made, since this equipment must be located at distances, preferably smaller, in order to facilitate access to residents and users.

Field	Facility	Address	Neighborhood
Education	EMEI do Bairro Santa Luzia	171 Wilibaldo Alves Ferreira, St	Santa Luzia
Education	EMEI Professora Maria Luiza Barbosa	170 Iraci Marcelino Vieira, St	São Jorge
Education	EMEI Professora Rosângela Borges Cunha	105 Serra Santa Marta, St	São Jorge
Education	EMEI do Conjunto Santa Luzia	22 Manoel Fernandes Silva, St	Santa Luzia
Education	EMEI Augusta Maria de Freitas	152 Serra do Ibiapaba St	São Jorge
Education	EMEF Professor Valdemar Firmino de Oliveira	249 Afonso Lourenço St	Granada
Education	EMEF Professora Olga del Fávero	157 Jordânia, St	Laranjeiras
Education	EMEF Sebastiana Silveira Pinto	161 Antônio Bernardes da Costa, St	Laranjeiras
Education	EMEF Professor Jacy de Assis	111 Antônio Bernardes da Costa, St	Laranjeiras
Education	EMEF Irmã Odélcia Leão Carneiro	800 Serra Pacaraíma, St	São Jorge
Education	EMEF Odilon Custódio Pereira	Serra da Diamantina, St	São Jorge
Education	EMEF Professor Eurico Silva	39 Antônio Alves Santos St	São Jorge
Education	Parque São Jorge State School	346 Ra Oswaldo Silvério da Silva St	São Jorge
Education	Dona Alexandra Pedreiro State School	365 Nájla Alípio Abrão St	Santa Luzia
Education	Rio das Pedras State School	167 Divino Adão Moura Ave	Santa Luzia
Education	Professor Inácio Castilho State School	65 Prof. Juci do Carmo Garcia St	Santa Luzia
Education	Centro Educacional Parque São Jorge (NGO)	725 Antônio Paiva Catalão St	Laranjeiras
Education	Centro Evangélico de Aprendizado e Integração	340 Continental St	Laranjeiras
Education	Daycare Espaço da Criança (NGO)	1356 Serra do Espinhaço ave	São Jorge
Health	UBSF Santa Luzia	547 Najla Alípio Abrão St	Santa Luzia
Health	UBSF Granada I e II	Rua J. M. Coutinho, 21 Rua E. F. Andrade, 200	Granada
Health	UBSF Jardim Botânico	Rua Herbário, 159	Granada
Health	UBSF Gravatás	435 Angra dos Reis, St	Granada
Health	UBSF São Jorge I, II, III, IV e V	464 G. G. Almeida, 464 269 Ângelo Cunho St 23 Sampaio St 51 A. J. de Souza St	São Jorge
Health	UBSF São Gabriel	1052 Serra do Cachimbo, 1052	São Jorge
Health	UBSF Seringueiras I e II	296 Serra Formosa St 440 Serra Geral St	São Jorge
Health	UBSF Campo Alegre	95 Serra do Tombador St	São Jorge
Health	UBSF Aurora	743vCongresso, 743	Laranjeiras

Health	UBSF Laranjeiras	102 Nigéria, 102	Laranjeiras
Health	Unidade de Atendimento Integrado - UAI	Toledo Ave	São Jorge
Social Assistance	Associação de Portadores de Deficiência Física	560 Serra da Canastra St	São Jorge
Social Assistance	Instituto Politriz Campo Alegre	411 Serra do Mar St	São Jorge
Social Assistance	Instituto SOS Família	281 Geraldo Roberto Gerken St	Santa Luzia
Social Assistance	Centro de Assistência Integrada ao Idoso	30 Senegal St	Laranjeiras
Social Assistance	CRAS Centro de Referência da Assistência Social	387 Ângelo Cunha St	São Jorge
Social Assistance	CRAS Centro de Referência da Assistência Social	1015Cordilheira dos Andes St	São Jorge
Culture	Granada Library	114 Edson Mauro Strack St	Granada
Culture	Mozambique Culture Spot	290 Lar St	Granada
Sports and leisure	Poliesportivo Santa Luzia	Rua Geraldo Abrão	Santa Luzia
Sports and leisure	Poliesportivo São Jorge	25 Toledo Ave	Laranjeiras
Sports and leisure	Sports center CEU Campo Alegre	1015 Cordilheira dos Andes Ave	São Jorge
Sports and leisure	Outdoor gym	Dólar St Serra do Mar Ave Cordilheira dos Andes Ave Toledo Ave	São Jorge Laranjeiras
Green Areas	Ernesto Ceccon Square	Ângelo Cunha St	São Jorge
Green Areas	Inonimada Square	Dolar St	São Jorge
Green Areas	Edris M. Channoum Square	Artur Dias da Silva St	Granada
Green Areas	Leonel Inácio de Oliveira Square	Seme Simão Ave	Granada
Green Areas	Santa Luzia Natural Municipal Park	600 Alípio Abrão St	Santa Luzia

Chart 06: Social e comunity facilities in the influence área of Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: Caderno Informativo da Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento Urbano / Diretoria de Pesquisas Integradas, Prefeitura Municipal de Uberlândia (2017-2018).

Analysis Category - Socioeconomic

For the purpose of mapping a socioeconomic profile of the area in the region, we established an area of influence defined by the Southern Sector of the city of Uberlândia-MG, where the occupation is located and in which the residents must seek social and community equipment as well as shops and services to tend to this population. Therefore, this territorial cut will have the purpose of enabling the urban insertion of the Glória Irregular Settlement in relation to the income profile, income density and demographic density.

Figure 109, page 226, illustrates the demographic density by census sector, using

the IBGE database (2016). We observed that the region has one of the highest rates of city density in Uberlândia-MG. This is due to the fact that this region had occupation since the late 1970s through the implementation of several horizontal housing estates, which contributed to the fact that this place has few empty areas. However, we observed that when these projects were implemented in the city, they were located disconnected from the urban fabric, and large urban voids were left between the central area and this region, demonstrating a process of socio-spatial segregation in the city since that time.

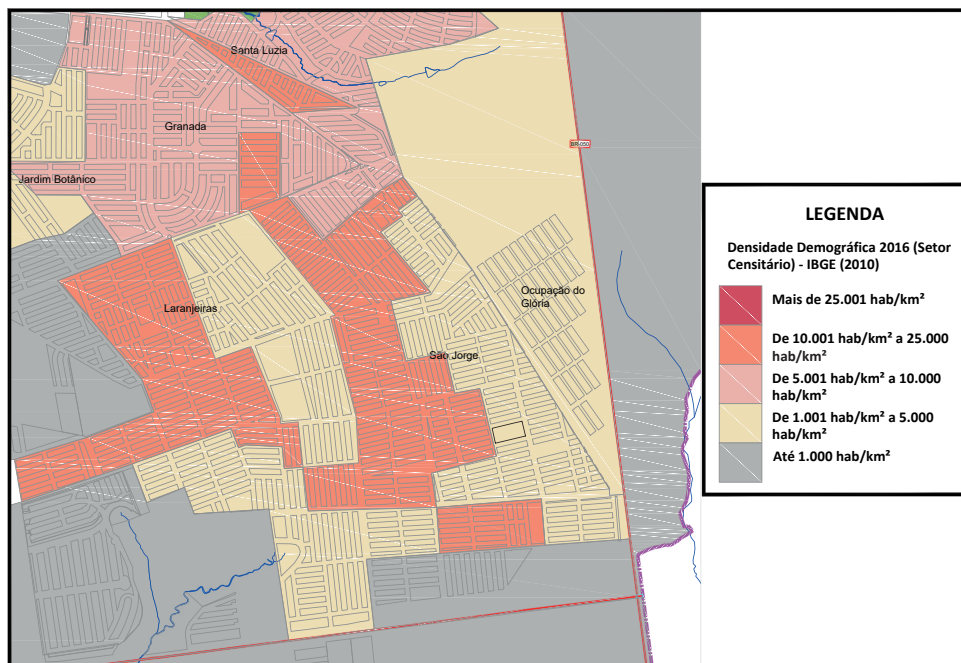


Figure 109 - Demographic density of the area of influence of the Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Geosystem – Onmaps, Data Base IBGE (2016).

The population in the area of influence is approximately 83,738 inhabitants (IBGE, estimate 2016), distributed in 28,030 households.

Table 30 shows that 93.40% of households are houses and that a verticalization process begins, in which 5.72% of households are apartments and only 82 housing units in horizontal villas or condominiums. The high rate of single-family residences (houses) is due to the predominant presence of existing housing developments in the region. We also observed that a verticalization process has occurred in several neighborhoods in the area of influence, mainly in the neighborhood of Granada.

Casa	21682	93,40%
Casa em Vila ou Condomínio	82	0,35%
Apartamento	1327	5,72%
Outro Tipo	124	0,53%

Table 30: Households by type, area of influence Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2010.

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2010)

As for the degrees of education, according to IBGE (2010), almost half of the population in the area of influence has only incomplete elementary education (48.17%) and only 8.93% of the population has completed higher education.

We can observe that according to data from the IBGE 2010 census, the average income of the population was R\$ 3,344.81 and according to IBGE, projection for 2016, the average income of the population was R\$ 3,467.56, with an increase of 3.67%. This figure shows us that the region has an income higher than that observed in the region of the Residencial Pequis and below in relation to the income of the region of the MRV and Granja Marileusa developments.

The number of residents per household in the area of influence is also higher than that observed in the city average. In Uberlândia, according to IBGE (2010) the average number of residents per household is 3.07 while in the area of influence, this average is 3.60. According to the table below, more than 65% of households in the area of influence have three residents or more.

1 Morador	2563	10,43%
2 Moradores	5807	23,64%
3 Moradores	6783	27,61%
4 Moradores	5867	23,89%
5 ou mais Moradores	3543	14,42%

Table 31: Number of residents per household in the area of influence of Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2012.

Source: Geosystem – Onmapas, IBGE data base (2012)

In general, we realized that the area of influence of the enterprise is characterized by being a region of high demographic density in relation to the other studied areas and that the Glória irregular settlement also presents a high demographic density since it is predicted, by unofficial means that in the occupation area there are more than 15,000 inhabitants, considering this population, the area of influence would reach almost 100,000 inhabitants.

Analysis Category - Spatial relationships and project characteristics

Since the settlement under analysis is an irregular occupation, there is no formal data, so far, regarding the regularization project, the project and the urban survey of the place.

However, according to Motta (2017), despite the apparent disorder in the space, we can clearly distinguish that the region was occupied according to the minimum land parcel that is defined by municipal law, of 250m² (820 ft) plots, with a ten-meter frontal test. . Therefore, the occupation obeys the installment provided for by municipal law and guarantees the minimum portion of the lot. Despite this, we observed more than one construction per “lot”. The buildings are inserted within this minimum portion, without obeying urban or constructive parameters according to the other municipal laws.

The lots define perfectly regular blocks of 50 by 250m (164 to 820 ft), that is, rectangular blocks that are still bounded by public roads of 14m (46 ft), with eight meters of rolling road and a forecast of three meters of sidewalk on each side. The dimension of the streets is also apparently, as defined by law for a regular subdivision for local roads. Figure 110 allows us to get a sense of the layout of the blocks, streets and lots in the occupation under study.

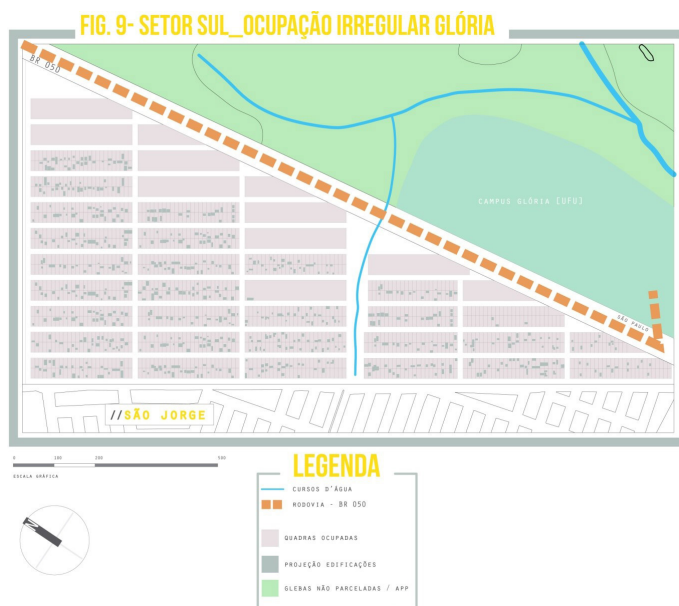


Figura 110 - Glória Irregular Settlement, 2015.

Source: Motta, Guilherme A S (2015)

This arrangement of rectangular blocks confirms a trend observed, especially since the creation of Federal Law 6766/1979, which regulates the division of urban land in the country, contributing to the dissolution of the traditional block, generally measuring around 100 to 120m (328 to 394 ft) in length on each side, creating the traditional urban grid, very defined by architects of the new urbanism as a propitious measure for urban mobility. In

contrast, the rectangular blocks, which try to use the portion of the soil to create a larger amount of lots, make the distances covered by pedestrians greater, even more than the legislation itself allows blocks up to 320m (1050 ft) in length. This same typology is clearly observed in the new projects defined for the Residencial Pequis, in which the concern is with the maximum occupation of the land and not with the urban mobility of its residents.

A serious situation is observed, which is the occupation of a Permanent Preservation Area so as not to preserve one of the springs of the Glória Stream and its margins, contributing to the environmental degradation of the area.

This installment, although it was elaborated in an irregular way, without approval from responsible entities, nor implementation of minimum infrastructure, obeys in a certain way, formal parameters in relation to the minimum morphological elements, such as the building, the lot, the street, the court and the neighborhood. Despite this, there is a disconnect with its surroundings, there is no continuity of the road system of the neighborhoods with the occupation area, the blocks are very long, which is not attractive for people's mobility and the lack of minimal infrastructure, such as paving of streets and sidewalks, public lighting and drinking water networks and sanitary sewage and garbage collection, segregates the region in relation to the other neighborhoods in the surrounding area, and the population survives in a precarious way, for not having access to the necessary minimum urban infrastructure.

The aerial picture below also shows that in the center of the occupation there is an unoccupied court, which will probably serve for the implantation of social and community facilities to serve the local population.



Figure 111 - Aerial image of Glória Irregular Settlement, Uberlândia-MG, 2018.

Source: Google Earth, accessed on 2018, June 16.

Even with the structural problems of this occupation, we observed that the natural tendency to diversify activities can already be seen. Despite the predominantly residential use, small businesses, services and churches are already installed in the place. This demonstrates the natural need for the diversity of uses in a neighborhood, contradicting

concepts with usage restrictions, such as closed developments and condominiums. These are usually strictly residential, and require their residents to move, often by private cars, to access services and businesses that could be provided in the neighborhood.

It is also important to highlight the vitality of the streets. Contrary to what is perceived in the region where MRV projects are located, where people are not seen walking on the streets, we noticed children playing, families walking or talking at the doors of their homes and moving around in search of local commerce and services. This is also observed in the Residential Pequi region. Despite the precarious infrastructure of public spaces in the region, this diversity and vitality proves the existence of higher degrees of urbanity than in walled neighborhoods, such as closed allotments and condominiums, where people do not circulate through the streets or public spaces, only cars.

We conclude the description and analysis of the urban processes proposed for Chapter 3 of this book. Here we were able to perceive different nuances in the urbanization processes of the city today. If, on the one hand, the segregation of the low-income classes in the more distant peripheries of the city creates problems mainly related to urban mobility, the capacity of the population and neighborhoods to adapt is impressive. We saw the Residencial Pequis during the development of this research, transform, even with all the adversities faced by the population. Likewise, the Glória Irregular Settlement has been shown to be quite resilient. The place adapts daily to the needs of the population, even with a total absence of urban infrastructure.

On the other hand, in contrast to the vitality despite the adversities, the middle and upper income neighborhoods hide behind walls, as is the case with the closed allotments of the Granja Marileusa neighborhood and the neighborhood's proposal to privilege pedestrians, we don't see any vitality in the place. The use of private vehicles and the urban design of the surrounding neighborhoods surrounded by walls do not invite people to walk around the neighborhood. Similarly, Construtora MRV and its developments in the Gávea Sul allotment region. In this case, the urban design is not concerned with the diversity of uses or with a deployment that allows the population to interact in an urban manner.

When this occurs, we do not see the interference of the public authorities in seeking the adequacy of real estate developments in favor of the community and in order to reduce the negative impacts of the socio-spatial segregation proposed by the real estate market. On the contrary, the public authorities, in addition to not intervening in this process, aggravate it, when they yield to the needs of private capital and the negative consequences in the urban order occur in the same proportion as those caused by the new scales of urbanization, which we observe happen from the second decade onwards. of the 21st century.

In the next chapter, we will demonstrate more clearly what the consequences are, that is, the results observed in the urban structure (not only physical, but also social and political) of this new scale of urbanization and the way in which the agents that produce the city operate contemporary.

Since their society is ordered without great distinctions of wealth or authority, the passage from one function to another takes place almost without jolts; variety is guaranteed by the multiple assignments, so that in the span of a lifetime a man rarely returns to a job that has already been his. (CALVINO, 1972, p.64)

THE CITY IN FRAGMENTS: RETROURBANISM

We started this fourth and final chapter by proposing to analyze the results of the urbanization processes that we exposed throughout the first three chapters of this book, in Uberlândia-MG.

We saw that the city went through a process of socio-spatial segregation that dates back to the 19th century, through the establishment of Patrimônio Neighborhood, on the banks opposite São Pedro Brook, where they mainly housed blacks and the poor, considering the end of the slavery period recently. Throughout the 20th century, the city's growth was constant and uninterrupted. The opening of new peripheral allotments and the construction of social housing has always been linked to the location of the land, generally with political interests involved in these processes. The 21st century marks a continuation of the city's rapid growth process, however, we saw a change in the scale of urbanization, through the introduction of real estate capital that was no longer just of local origin, involving local investors and even their association with investors from outside, which alters the scale of urbanization, but not the logic of socio-spatial segregation in effect in this process.

Consensually, we know that the urbanization processes are characterized as a system and, therefore, it is represented by a set of elements and agents at different scales and that establish relations with each other in relative autonomy. These relationships make up the whole of the system and this dynamic influences the structure of the system, not establishing hegemony between these elements.

In this sense, in order to facilitate and, methodologically, we can establish agent elements in this system, which we observe to be structuring within it, which is the contemporary urbanization process of the city, we will analyze the results according to four elements.

The first element is social. This item was called City and people. In this sense, after observing the movement of the income classes within the intra-urban space, what is the social result of this urbanization process? In this regard, we will cross the resulting information with the physical element, resulting in a process that is not only social, but also socio-spatial.

The second element is the physical, in which we must observe the physical results of this urbanization process of the contemporary city in the territory. We call this item City and urban form.

In City and politics we demonstrate the importance at the center of this process of urbanization of political issues, establishing the role of public power in the result of this process, throughout history as we saw in Chapter 2, and its consequences in the constitution of the contemporary city.

Finally, in City and capital, the role of the financial element, that is, what is the role of capital in the process of constituting the contemporary city and how it determines socio-spatial and political relations in this urban system.

4.1. City and people

In order to understand the reflexes of society in the urbanization process of the contemporary city, it is necessary to understand who are the people who live in the city and what are their role and profile of life.

For Bauman (2001), we live in a phase metaphorically called fluid, liquid. Within this phase, according to the author, our society is going through a millennial reversal in which the great and power holders avoid the durable and the transitory and, on the other hand, the classes considered at the base of the pyramid “*struggle desperately to make their fragile, petty and transient possessions last longer*”(BAUMAN, 2001, p.23).

We feel this effect in Brazilian society, when we observe the maintenance and necessity of the middle and low income classes when renting out, that is, the path towards the solid and non-fluid acquisition of home ownership, which has heated up the real estate market, directed mainly for the lower income classes, mainly through financing and public housing programs, such as the PMCMV.

On the other hand, the same real estate market, the object of this social confluence, is fluid and its capital comes from financial market risks. The largest companies in the country go public on the stock exchange, raise funds for a global financial fluidity and invest in the search for the base society of the pyramid, which seeks the solidity of home ownership. Even local elites seek alliances with companies with external know-how, adapting to the global conditions of financial investments, such as the case of Imobiliária Tubal Vilela and Grupo Algar, which allied with companies such as Alphaville or Construtora MRV, from open capital.

The speed of information, made possible by this liquid modernity, exacerbates individualism and reduces the need for locomotion in space-time. Time becomes a weapon in conquering space. The importance of speed and rapid displacement for Bauman (2001) is a weapon of power and domination. This suggests a form of segregation that arises from the time spent on getting around cities.

Permeating this thought, Ascher (2001) demonstrates that the new social possibilities of interaction considering a temporal and spatial distance, in which individuals can have the feeling of being in simultaneous spaces and times, alters the spatial dynamics of cities.

The author defines that the social profiles, considering mainly the consumption profile are very variable, mainly due to the individualization of society. We see the need for consumer markets to be “*obliged to consider the increasing singularity of actual or potential consumer demands*” (ASCHER, 2001).

And, it is in this sense, that the real estate market itself, despite its constructive standardization, which mainly reduces its implementation costs, tends to seduce its consumers by their individual needs. This is reflected in the marketing campaigns of real estate companies that sell privileged locations, gourmet spaces, pet spaces, among other actions to attract the diversity of consumers in the real estate market, regardless of the

income classes to which they belong.

For Ascher, we must also highlight the issue of social differentiation as a result of people's physical mobility. For him, "*individuals start to have a social multi-belonging, they start to be socially plural. (...) their individual choices result from diverse socializations and circumstances*" (ASCHER, 2010, p.42)

For this reason, for the author, the bonds are fragile and numerous, formed in a network, in which individuals move, whether in the real or virtual world, in differently articulated social universes. Cities change scale and shape.

At the same time, it is very difficult to associate social and city transformations in developed countries with the processes observed in the global south. We feel, from the point of view of the South, that we have skipped a phase and we are forced to adapt to a global context in which our cities and our society are not prepared. We have access to all information and the same space-time relationships in the developed world. We are imposed on all the adaptability of the financial market in which we are subject to its fluidity.

We see the expansion of limits in our cities, in which the physical differences between the countryside and the cities are attenuated. We also see the internal growth of our cities through increasingly distant neighborhoods and agglomerations, just as we see the fragmentation of social realities, the consolidation of closed communities, generally distant and dependent on means of transport and communication.

But the development of means of transport in order to connect these fragments and improve social relations does not happen at the pace of developed countries. On the contrary, when they develop in large cities, they serve social segments already privileged both for their location in the territory and for their social conditions.

The information is accessible almost independently of your financial income. However, its location in the territory and its access to urban infrastructure is uneven. Investments continue to be made considering the location of the income classes, where the best and largest investments benefit the locations of the highest income classes.

The discrepancy in investments in the city is so great that in October 2018, the Municipality of Uberlândia announced 30 urban mobility projects in the city, estimated at approximately R\$ 140.2 million, distributed unevenly, mainly serving the classes of middle and upper income.

4.2. City and urban form

We believe that Figure 112, in a way, represents the urbanization processes of the city of Uberlândia, throughout history, through its result in the form of the urban fabric.

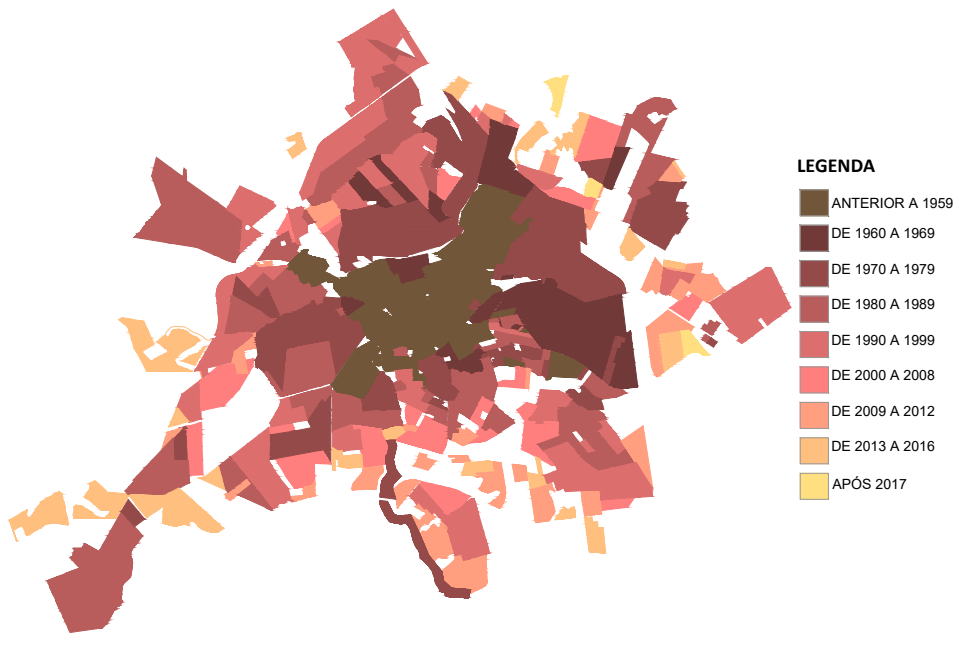


Figure 112 - Urban fabric in the City of Uberlândia-MG, 2019 196

Source: Base Map PMU (2018), organized and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

We return here to the center of the discussion of this work, fragmentation and segregation. According to Lefebvre (1980), fragmentation is related to the broken space, separated and occupied by the functions that are exercised in it, such as work, housing, leisure, transit, production and consumption. *“Space - like work - becomes parceled: juxtaposition of parcels fixed to a partial activity, in which the whole, the process of inhabiting escapes the participants”* (LEFEBVRE, 1980, p. 154).

The fragmentation of the territory has direct consequences on the connectivity between the parts that compose it. Be it social connections, in which Lefebvre (1980) refers in the previous paragraph, in which we deal specifically in item 4.1, whether the connections are established by the urban network, which directly establishes urban mobility difficulties.

In this sense, the fragmentation of the territory defines what we call spatial segregation. These fragments are not connected as much in the urban network, as socially. The shape of the city will reflect processes that are not only spatial, but that are part of a system of social, political and financial investment fragmentation, that is, of capital.

“The space produced and consumed in the capitalist mode of production is full of contradictions. But these contradictions are not determined in the space itself. These are contradictions in society that materialize in space (...).” (BOTELHO, 2007, p.28)

In the same way, we see the contradictions of the capitalist production system reproduced in the urban form, in which social relations, the State and Capital are engendered.

We must emphasize that throughout the historical urbanization process of the city of Uberlândia, this territorial fragmentation is nothing new. The discontinuities of the city's urban fabric have been observed since the 19th century. The city begins its urban growth process dissociated from the original urban fabric, when the territorial space of Patrimônio Neighborhood is created, still in the 19th century, as shown in Figure 23, page 57.

Throughout the 20th century, mainly from the implementation of housing policies, we see the consolidation of the center x periphery process in the city, in which the upper income classes are concentrated in the center of the city, in its original core and the income classes lower ones are always moved to the urban fringes, the so-called peripheries, and locally called villages. We confirm that the process of urbanization and urban segregation, as stated by Villaça (2001), is very clear when defining the location of the high income and low income classes in the territory

According to the author, and as we could confirm by analyzing the city's growth process, good locations are defined mainly by accessibility. The lands divided from the old urban core of the city by watercourses, which are more difficult to access, begin to locate the so-called local villages, destined for the lower income classes. And the area of expansion of the city, through the plan of the Avenues, connecting the old urban nucleus to the train station, an area of flat relief and without difficulties of accessibility, started to become privileged locations and chosen by the upper income classes. In the same way, the railway station and the railroad tracks also divide the territory and hinder accessibility beyond the region of the railroad, sheltering in these places the first working quarters of the city.

The urbanization process throughout history shows that:

“(...) the city's spatial unit (...), is in the process of dissolution, due to the spread of the urban fabric and the relative decrease in the rates of demographic density and urban or peri-urban spaces”. (SPOSITO, 2009, p. 40).

For the author, the boundaries between the end of the city and the beginning of the countryside are increasingly dissolved, through urban sprawl and land use.

This is very clear when we look at the rural land uses that were recently added to the urban perimeter, such as the neighborhood of recreational sites called Morada Nova, in the West Sector of the city of Uberlândia, close to the place where the Residencial Pequis was implemented. The characteristics of Morada Nova are lots starting at 1,000m² (10764 square ft), with original functions of farms (recreational sites) located outside the urban perimeter.

Currently, this place is in transformation, where we observe the implementation of new allotments in the region, with low housing density, which mix with the urban network of allotments originally with rural characteristics, forming a dispersed city built from land interests and associated with local urban processes.

Empty areas continue to be maintained within the urban perimeter and new areas outside that perimeter are inserted in the city in order to maintain a speculative logic, with profound consequences on the urban layout and on the quality of life of the population, consolidating processes observed in the 20th century, of spatial segregation of the low-income classes in urban fringes.

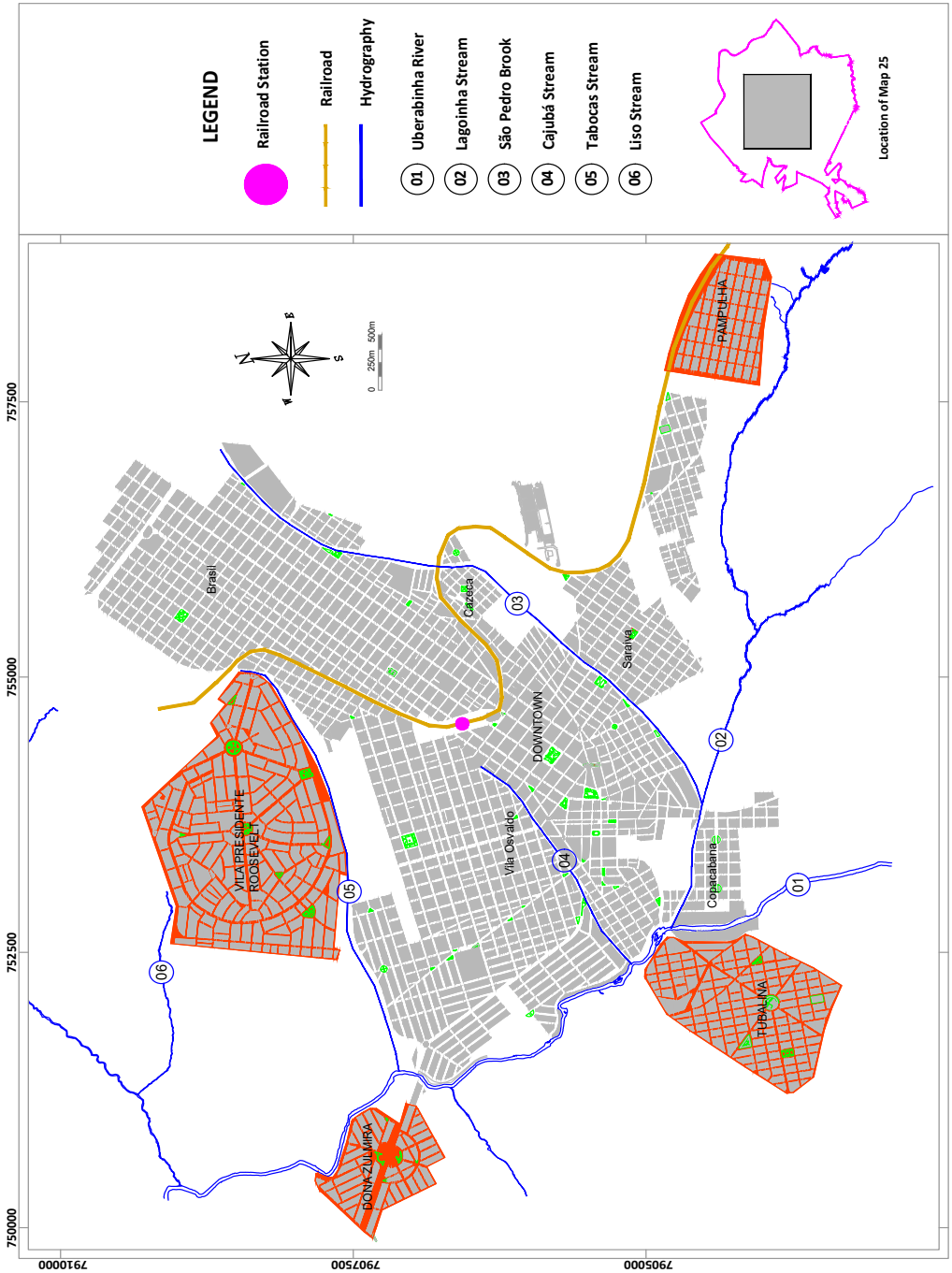
However, contrary to what Sposito (2009) says, the spread of the urban fabric and the issue of peri-urban spaces are also not new features brought about by the urbanization of the contemporary city. In every urbanization process in the city of Uberlândia, we observed the constitution of allotments completely disconnected from the urban fabric and away from the city center. Combining this historical process with the precariousness or even lack of public transit at certain moments in the city's history, we observed that the lower-income class population has always been accommodated on the fringes of the city, in allotments normally disconnected from the central urban fabric and with low accessibility indexes. In addition, we must not forget that these places, without the minimum of urban infrastructure, were more like farms than urban plots.

Sposito (2010), at another time already demonstrates that the extent and intensity of urban expansion processes now happen differently.

"In past decades, a large part of the urban space resulted from the sum of small individual initiatives: small contractors, small construction companies or owners of lots, taking care to build their properties. This production is now carried out on broader scales, both from an economic point of view, because there was a concentration of capital in the sector, and from a spatial point of view, because private initiative and public power act by accentuating socio-spatial differences and developing megaprojects that aim to produce or rehabilitate more significant portions of urban space". (SPOSITO, 2010, p.135)

This process is notorious in the city of Uberlândia. We observe the old local real estate agents that grow and even associate themselves with agents from other places, adding the expertise of the non-local real estate market. At the same time, the increase in financial support, as recently as the PMCMV and the ease of acquiring private resources for real estate investment, change the scale of urbanization. And the new non-local real estate agents, who start to act strongly in the city.

Map 25, page 208, clearly shows us four allotments implanted in the city, and the local urban network in the late 1950s. The Vila Presidente Roosevelt subdivision (1945) was implanted after two natural barriers, Córrego Cajubá and Córrego Tabocas, disconnected from the existing urban fabric. Likewise, the Dona Zulmira subdivision (1954) depended on the transposition of the Uberabinha River, as well as the Tubalina subdivision (1954). The Pampulha subdivision (1953) was located in an area to the east of the city, disconnected from the urban fabric, in a region spread along the railroad.



Map 25 - Location of Tubalina, Pampulha, Roosevelt and Dona Zulmira Neighborhoods in the 1950s, Uberlândia-MG.

Source: Map Base PMU (2019), modified and adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

What is new about the location of low-income neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city is that, unlike what happened, the allotments are currently delivered with all basic infrastructure, guaranteed by Complementary Law 523/2011 and previous laws, such as rainwater drainage network, sewage network, drinking water distribution network and paving. In addition, public transit must be guaranteed to the population of the new allotments.

Therefore, there are no new facts in the periphery of the low-income classes, nor in the spread of the urban fabric. The difference is that the new allotments are equipped with urban infrastructure. The novelty in this process is found in the fact that, especially after the end of the 1990s, consolidating at the end of the 2000s, the high income classes also started to occupy the urban fringes and contribute to the spread of the urban fabric and fragmentation of the territory.

This is seen mainly with the implementation of closed allotments in the Southern Sector and the Eastern Sector, located on the peripheries, equipped with walls and disconnected from its exterior and its neighborhood. This process alters what we call the urbanization scale of the city, in view of the urban peripheries, where we observe a large number of new developments aimed at both the lower income classes and the higher income classes, allied to changes in the financial contribution and social changes in society.

The first closed allotments implemented in the city of Uberlândia-MG, date from the end of the 1990s, having started with the Villaggio da Colina Closed Allotment in 1998. Later, in the year 2000, the Gávea Hill Closed Allotments 1 and 2 was approved. and Vila do Sol. All in the southern sector of the city. The 2000s consolidated this process of implantation of closed allotments in the city. Thus, in the 1990s, a closed subdivision was implemented, totaling 58 lots. In the 2000s, 13 closed lots were implemented in the Southern Sector, totaling 2,966 approved lots. In the 2000s, the first two closed lots were approved in the East Sector (375 lots), in the region close to the Loteamento Granja Marileusa, which was to be approved in 2012.

After the approval of the Allotment Granja Marileusa in 2012, the ALGAR Group, an entrepreneur and owner of the area, entered into a partnership with the Alphaville Group and in the decade of 2010 three closed Alphaville allotments were approved, totaling 1,133 lots. Still in the East Sector, Imobiliária Tubal Vilela (ITV) approved in the same decade the Reserva dos Ipês Closed Allotment (2015) and is in the final approval phase in 2019, the Reserva do Bosque Closed Allotment, totaling over 986 lots, that is, a total in the decade of 2010 of 2,119 lots. The Southern Sector is no longer the exclusive place for implementing this type of subdivision, sharing this potential with the Eastern Sector, mainly due to the initiatives of the Granja Marileusa Allotment and Imobiliária Tubal Vilela. In the neighborhood of Granja Marileusa, we observed that other closed allotments are pending at the Municipality of Uberlândia.

A change observed in recent years has been in the typology of the lots implanted in these projects. Until 2015, closed lots were approved with lots with an average minimum area greater than 400m², making the accessibility of these lots exclusive to the higher income classes. However, Imobiliária Tubal Vilela (ITV), through the Reserva dos Ipês allotment (2015) approved a project with lots with an average area of 330m² (3552sq ft), having been a sales success, unlike Alphaville 2 (2015), with bigger lots and that until

today, there are lots available. In this sense, the Alphaville Group launched the Terras Alpha Closed Allotment (2018), with lots with an average area of 250m² (2691sq ft), having been a sales success and the Reserva do Bosque Closed Allotment (ITV) is also being designed with lots areas averages from 250 (2691sq ft) to 300m² (3229sq ft).

This demonstrates a redirection of the typology of closed allotments that are no longer focused only on the upper income classes, but also on the liquidity made available by the middle income classes that seek investments in the supposed quality of life and security proposed by closed allotments, implanted in the peripheries. city, in addition to status issues.

Another interesting form of allotments that we have implemented in the city, especially in the East Sector, is the Praça Alto Umarama (2016) and Quinta Alto Umarama (2018) allotments, both from the company Alto Umarama. The design of the two projects is similar, forming a conventional subdivision, with little access to its interior, in order to establish a neighborhood unit that provides security and urban quality of public spaces, such as the squares proposed within the subdivision and areas of lots of 250m² (2691sq ft). The allotments are delivered with the constitution of a residents' association, surveillance cameras, walls around the subdivision, in a different concept from closed allotments, since there are external lots that do not allow the walls to negatively impact public roads, without necessarily controlling access through guardhouses. The sale of both allotments was considered a success disclosed by the media, through the proprietary companies. We emphasize the importance of these allotments, due to their urban design that proposes a lesser impact caused by walls and for access control, differently from what is proposed by closed allotments.

Sposito (2010) demonstrates that the qualification of real estate products observed in the market not only has new physical characteristics, which we did not observe in previous projects, but associate the value of the product with new values associated with the ideals of safety, environmental and life quality, in addition to status. This highlights what the author defines as an overvaluation of the price of urban land that is reflected in the economic, political and social plan, through a market economy that makes the city a commodity.

This is very prominent outside the metropolitan areas, as is the case in the city of Uberlândia, due to the ease of extension of the urban fabric, and locomotion. In these places *“the costs of living farther from the central areas or the “continuous city are lower”*. (SPOSITO, 2010, p.137)

The author differs the spatial processes that occur in cities of different sizes, that is, the spatial forms, considering the extent and territorial dispersion or discontinuity, in two planes. We highlight the first plan, related to land use observed in areas of urban expansion. For the author, the larger the city, in the case of metropolises and large cities, and in this case we include the process observed in Uberlândia in the case of large cities, we observe the presence of closed residential areas, event and business centers, shopping centers among others; on the contrary, in smaller cities these diversities of land use are not observed in the peripheries.

A second plan, according to Sposito (2010), is the scales of dispersion of the urban fabric, that is, the size of the city directly interferes in the distances resulting from this

extension, promoting a smaller or greater articulation with the centrality. In this case, in Uberlândia-MG, since the dispersion relations are low when we relate the long-distance issue, our peripheries are directly interconnected by the original centrality, maintaining a local scale in this formal process.

We have also seen the beginning of a verticalization process, already consolidated in the city center and other less peripheral neighborhoods, in the surroundings of the center. This is a process of contemporary urbanization, since the lower or middle income-classes occupied low-rise buildings, with ground floor typology plus three floors, located on the peripheries. Currently, the new peripheries house taller buildings, usually with an average of 10 floors and house both the lower income classes, as the buildings observed in the Jardim Célia region (Western Sector), and the middle income classes, such as the buildings located in the neighborhood of Bosque dos Buritis, next to Granja Marileusa.

Another urban phenomenon that directly interferes with the shape of the city in contemporary times is the consolidation of the local slum processes. We have seen that throughout the history of urbanization in the city, several irregular occupations have emerged and been circumvented, either through the construction of housing units to remove families, or by court order. Until the end of the 1990s these processes took place in the city, however, they were quickly removed by the government.

Although it was not the focus of this research, we cannot ignore a process that we have observed happening mainly in the last seven years, starting in 2012 in the city. According to the State Prosecutor's Office of Minas Gerais (MP-MG) there are about 110 irregular allotments, located in the Rural Zone of the municipality of Uberlândia. We concentrated our research on the processes that took place within the city's legal urban perimeter, and its expansions. However, a phenomenon, which should be the object of future research and which is closely linked to the city's dispersion and diffusion processes, is the formation of irregular allotments on rural land. The existence of this process demonstrates that the scale of urban dispersion is even greater than that proven in this work, going beyond the legal limits of the urban, and confirming a metabolic and global south process where the legal, the illegal and the paralegal are confused in the constitution of urban relations.

The number of 110 allotments demonstrates the extent of this problem. The MP (Prosecutors) and the City Hall, with support from the Military Police, are focusing efforts on regularizing these allotments and on inspection to curb new irregular developments in the rural area.

Currently, the municipal land parceling law allows in Rural Areas only the constitution of Recreational Sites with lots of at least 5000m² (53,819 sq ft), however, the developments have lots of up to 250m² (2,691 sq ft). We understand that this process, due to its extent and severity in the urban results generated, is caused mainly by the increase in the price of land within the urban perimeter. This leads entrepreneurs who are unable to subdivide their plots because they are not located within the urban perimeter to undertake in an irregular manner and, yet, without implementing any infrastructure, allowing more accessible land prices. And this process consolidates the dispersed and diffuse conformation of the city and confirms the diffuse relations between the urban and the rural. The alteration of the legal status of the land, allowing the implantation of irregular allotments, in our case in the amount of

110 allotments, in rural areas consolidates the process of construction far from the already fragmented city existing in the urban perimeter. This emphasizes a staggered extension process that generates territorial discontinuities, selecting mobility, since in rural allotments there is no access to public transit or the basic infrastructure such as an electricity network, drinking water distribution or sewage. The study of this process should demonstrate that the scale at which we study this research on the fragmentation processes of the territory are even greater.

4. 3. City and politics

The housing market alone would not be able to carry out urban interventions in cities without local political support. The relationships between the real estate market, especially the owners of urban land (and even in areas of urban expansion) with the local political elite are the major players in the urban space.

Article 30 of the Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988), defines as a prerogative of the municipality to legislate on matters of local interest, to supplement federal and state legislation as appropriate and to promote adequate territorial ordering, through planning and control of use, parceling and occupation of urban land, among others. Article 182 of the Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988) defines that the urban development policy must be implemented by the municipality according to general guidelines established by law, and with the objective of ordering the full development of the city's social functions and guaranteeing the well-being of its inhabitants. The article establishes the Master Plan as a basic instrument of the policy of urban development and expansion, and further defines the concept that urban property must fulfill its social function when it meets the fundamental requirements of ordering the city expressed in the master plan.

If, on the one hand, the Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988) brings urban policies closer to the local level, considering the dimensions and cultural differences of the Brazilian territory, on the other hand, urban policies are concentrated in municipal power, generally commanded by a political oligarchy that governs the cities. We have seen this happen in the city of Uberlândia-MG throughout the history of the city, where the city's political elite is commanded by the elite who own the local urban lands.

The power of capital, exercised by the real estate market in particular, manages, with the support of the public power, represented by the State, to build and urbanize our cities without great difficulties and even with the support of the law. The role of the State, represented by its legislative and judicial powers, mainly at the municipal level, is increasingly linked to the interests of the market, and not directly to the interests of the community.

In Chapters 2 and 3, it has been demonstrated that throughout history, local political power has been closely linked to the real estate market. The first real estate company in the city, in operation until today, called Imobiliária Tubal Vilela, elected its owner as councilor, municipal mayor and even state deputy, between the 1930s and 1950s.

The Tubal Vilela real estate company was responsible for the sale of 75,000 lots until today, data reported by the company itself. The businessman was also responsible for the start of the verticalization process of the city, with the construction of the Tubal Vilela Building, the Hotel Presidente and Rosa Maria Building, in the city center.

Like Tubal Vilela, Mayor Renato de Freitas was also land owner in the city, and it originated from R. Freitas Real Estate, which still operates in the local real estate market. Renato de Freitas' family was responsible for the irregular construction of the Roosevelt neighborhood in the 1940s, in the northern sector of the city, which was only regularized in the 1970s.

Virgílio Galassi, mayor in the city for four terms, was the son-in-law of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos, landowner in the Southern Sector of the city and brother-in-law of Rui de Castro Santos, owner of the land of the current real estate company Alto Umarama, which he undertakes in the Eastern Sector until nowadays.

The current mayor, a political sponsor of Virgílio Galassi, was president of the Rural Union of Uberlândia, State Secretary of Agriculture, four consecutive Federal Deputies and holds the position of municipal mayor for the third term. The current deputy mayor, Paulo Sérgio Ferreira is the Director of DMAE (Municipal Department of Water and Sewage) and owns the construction company El Global, one of the largest construction companies in the city, responsible for several real estate projects, including allotments.

Not only is the executive closely linked to urban land properties and the real estate market, several councilors were also important builders and property owners. Construtora Nascimento, owned by councilman Dorivaldo Alves do Nascimento, in the 1970s, was responsible for building housing developments such as Alvorada, Nosso Lar and Viviane.

What we see clearly throughout history, therefore, is the close connection of the economic and landowning elite with the city's political elite, commanding city planning according to the interests of each real estate company. The location of developments and real estate speculation have always been dictated by the interests of these local oligarchies. In the same sense, we confirm what Villaça (2001) demonstrated that investments in infrastructure are also commanded by those who determine the best locations in the intra-urban space.

The southern sector of the city, as shown in Chapter 2, is the sector that has received the most investments in history, both public and private. The opening of Rondon Pacheco Avenue, duplication of Nicomedes Alves dos Santos Avenue, several viaducts that connect the center to the Southern sector, Malls, Private Hospitals and new commercial enterprises, demonstrate the investment in the area where the upper income classes are located in the city.

This policy has not changed throughout history. On the contrary, investments in the Southern Sector have consolidated in recent years. In October 2018, municipal mayor Odelmo Leão Carneiro announced a set of road works in the city budgeted at R\$ 140.2 million¹, with resources from the Ministry of Cities. In the same month, the city launched a schedule of the works, as shown in Chart 07, page 244.

Chart 07, page 244, confirms the selection of investments proposed by the public sector, including public capital investments to offer works that benefit parts of the city. First, it should be noted that all are works on the road system that benefit individual vehicles. The exception is the construction of the Dona Zulmira Bus Terminal, which is part of the planning of the Integrated Transit System, benefiting the Jardim Patrícia and Luizote de

¹ Corresponds to US\$ 34.38 millions, dollar value in 2018, October 10.

Freitas neighborhoods.

Work	Location	Beginning of the work	Completion of the work	Sector
Dona Zulmira Bus Terminal	Aspirante Mega Ave with José Fonseca e Silva Ave	2018 October	2020 August (completed)	West
Viaduct	João Pessoa Ave over Highway BR-365 (México St)	2019 January	Julho 2020 (not started)	Central and North
Viaduct	Municípios Ave over Rondon Pacheco Ave	Not started in 2020 november	Julho 2020 (not started)	Central and South
Bridge	Pica-Paus St over Uberabinha River	Disclosed only the project study period - October 2018 to January 2019		South
Bridge	Oscarina Chaves Ave	2019 February	Julho 2020 (completed)	South
Tunnel	Nicomedes Alves dos Santos with Vinhedos Ave	2019 February	Julho 2020 (not started)	South
Viaduct	Conrado de Brito St over railroad	2019 February	Setembro 2020 (work started)	East
Viaduct	Afonso Pena Ave over railway	2019 February	Agosto 2020 (not started)	East
Viaduct	Sacadura Cabral Ave	2019 February	Agosto 2020 (not started)	East
Bridge	Vinhedo Stream	2019 February	Julho 2020 (completed)	South
Track extention	Papoulas St	2019 February	Julho 2020 (completed)	South
Duplication of bridge track	Cícero Naves de Ávila Bridge	2019 March	Setembro 2020 (completed)	South
Trincheira	Alvorada over BR-452	2019 March	Julho 2020 (not started)	East
Track widening	Dimas Machado Ave	2019 March	Agosto 2020	West
Track widening	Lineu Anterino Mariano St	2019 March	Abril 2020 (not started)	Industrial District
Duplication of track	Trevo Ivo ao Anel Viário	2019 April	Sem previsão (not started)	West
Bridge	Afrânio Rodrigues Ave over Uberabinha River	2019 May	Novembro 2019 (not completed but started)	South
Track extention	Balaiadas Ave	2019 July	Janeiro 2020	North
Crossroad	Getúlio Vargas Ave with Highway MG-497	2019 July	Sem previsão (completed)	West
Duplication of Viaduct track	Monsenhor Eduardo Ave	2019 July	Janeiro 2020 (not finished but started)	Central and North
Crossroad	Highway BR-497 with Mussaendras St	2019 July	Dezembro 2020 (not started)	West

Road resurfacing	Urban ways – 260km	2018 October	Dezembro 2020	Many
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Chart 07: Road works announced by the municipality of Uberlândia in October 2018.

Source: Diário de Uberlândia, www.diariodeuberlandia.com.br, acessado em 25/10/2018

Another observation is that of the 22 works shown in the Chart 07, eight works are located in the Southern Sector, a region where most of the city's high-income neighborhoods are located. Three other works in the Eastern Sector, all passages on the railroad, directly benefiting access to the Granja Marileusa neighborhood and to the closed allotments of the region, such as Alphaville and Paradiso. In this sense, we started to see a polarization between public investments in the Southern Sector, in the area where the highest income classes are located and in the Eastern Sector, in the Granja Marileusa region. This confirms the tendency of Granja Marileusa allotment to create a new centrality in the city, aimed at the higher income classes, attracting investments not only private, but also public.

Going back a little bit on legal issues, we have not seen over the years of mandatory elaboration of a Master Plan, of an Urban Mobility plan, the implementation of any guideline established by these plans. The latest version of the municipal Master Plan was approved by Complementary Law 432 of October 19, 2006. After 10 years this plan was to be revised and a draft law was presented in 2016, at the end of Mayor Gilmar Machado's term of office. With the change in management, the new mayor changed the draft plan and until today, in 2019, a new plan has not been approved.

However, as we have already said, the approval of a master plan in the city does not alter or contribute to the local urban development. The projects are only approved in compliance with the laws on land parceling, use and occupation and the road system.

The privilege of the road system for the circulation of individual transit is so evident that the law establishes streets 40m (131 ft) wide in the case of arterial roads and 28m (92 ft) for collecting roads. The only novelty is the mandatory inclusion of bike lanes in the new allotments, however, these bike lanes are completely disconnected from the city's mobility system.

An urban mobility plan exists in the city, just like a master plan, however, Chart 07, page 243, shows us the complete ineffectiveness of these instruments in city planning and in the contribution of an orderly growth. As a consequence of this, we observed the change in the urban perimeter to implement housing programs, such as the Residencial Pequis. In this sense, too, the densification of the Loteamento Granja Marileusa region without transit planning for the region, now leading to an investment of public order, which should have been carried out by entrepreneurial companies. We also added the location of housing for the middle income classes, as in the case of the Construtora MRV company in places that are difficult for the population to access to community facilities, shops and services, and the contribution to the city's growth taking place unevenly and against any preamble of urban sustainability.

According to what we have observed throughout the urban history of the city of Uberlândia, there have always been political and economic relations in the implementation of urban and housing policies in the city. The targeting of public investments in infrastructure

has also always been aimed at contemplating the regions of the city with the best locations.

The laws work to adapt the interests of the real estate market and allow it to expand. The novelties brought with the Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988), which on the one hand brings the possibility of urban planning to the local level, on the other hand, puts decision-making and the existing instruments of planning and participation in the hands of the political oligarchy. Thus, the Master Plan, City Statute, Urban Mobility Plan, among others, are ignored and only serve to meet legal requirements and are shelved.

4.4. City and capital

First, we must understand that the financialization process of our economy means an increase in financial complexity, in which we are currently involved. Financialization is present in our day-to-day lives, in all financial relationships, since floating capital is one, permeated in a complex web of relations, between nations and financial entities, making financialization inevitable.

The financing and loans that involve the real estate market are part of the financialization of this process. In this context, from the financial contribution to the promotion of social housing, in this case the PMCMV, to real estate financing for large complexes destined to the upper income classes, there are complex levels of financialization.

Since the 1980s, with the deepening of neoliberal policies in the country, real estate investments are no longer merely those made by local agents such as real estate developers, landowners, the State, among others. With financialization, the power of finance over the territory is greater, the capital invested in the real estate market is now strongly dominated by banks and floating capital arising from investment in stock exchanges, expanding its scale both in terms of quantity and performance in the territory.

Klink and Souza (2017) establish that the financialization of the Brazilian economy occurs in a particular way, since it occurs on the basis of interest income and on the axis of internal indebtedness. The authors believe that financialization must be related to financing and public expenditure operations in spatial dimensions (scales, places, networks and territories).

Also according to the authors, the social policies of the Lula and Dilma governments, already in the 21st century, consisted of:

“(…) search for new subsidy and financing mechanisms that could, at the same time, focus on low-income population segments with less capacity for debt and payment - thus relieving the public fund of responsibility for the provision of housing for women. wealthier classes - and foster the leading role of the real estate and financial markets in the creation of a modern system of financial intermediation with scale, liquidity and lower risk rates for the private sector”. (KLINK and SOUZA, 2017, p.383)

In this context, Klink and Souza (2017) state that several surveys lead us to understand that the direct and indirect subsidies observed in the PMCMV “*triggered a dynamic of capitalization of land rents by landowners and developers with effects on real estate prices*” (KLINK and SOUZA, 2017, p. 384). This had as a consequence not only the poor quality in the urban insertion of these projects in the peripheries, but it was also below

the expected in the promotion of “social market housing” for all the contemplated income groups.

The PMCMV was a national landmark of change in the scale of urbanization in Brazilian cities, felt strongly in Uberlândia-MG. At the same time, the opening of capital of civil construction companies on the Stock Exchange generates a financial flow, increasing the performance of companies in the real estate market, plus the investments of PMCMV.

In Brazil, until February 2019, the companies listed in Chart 08, below, had publicly traded on the IBOVESPA. Of the 19 companies listed below, six companies have investments in the city of Uberlândia-MG, namely Cyrela, Inter, MRV, Rodobens, Rossi and Brookfield. This demonstrates the influx of financial capital on a large scale, resulting from investments in IBOVESPA, placing the real estate market in a globalized context of capital.

Nome da empresa	Nome popular
Construtora Adolpho Lindenberg S.A.	Grupo LDI
Construtora Tenda S.A.	Tenda
CR2 Empreendimentos Imobiliários S.A.	CR2
Cyrela Brasil Realty S.A. Empreend. Part.	Cyrela
Even Construtora e Incorporadora S.A.	Even
EZ Tec empreendimento e part. S.A.	EZETEC
Gafisa S.A.	Gafisa
Helbor Empreendimentos S.A.	Helbor
Inter Construtora e Inc. S.A.	Inter
JHSF Participações S.A.	JHSF
João Fortes Engenharia S.A.	João Fortes Engenharia
MRV Engenharia e Part S.A.	MRV
PDG Realty S.A. Empreend. e Part.	PDG
RNI Negócios Imobiliários	Rodobens
Rossi Residencial S.A.	Rossi
Tecnisa S.A.	Tecnisa
Tegra Incorporadora S.A.	Brookfield
Trisul S.A.	Trisul
Viver Incorporadora e Construtora S.A.	Viver

Chart 08: List of companies with investments in IBOVESPA, 2019.

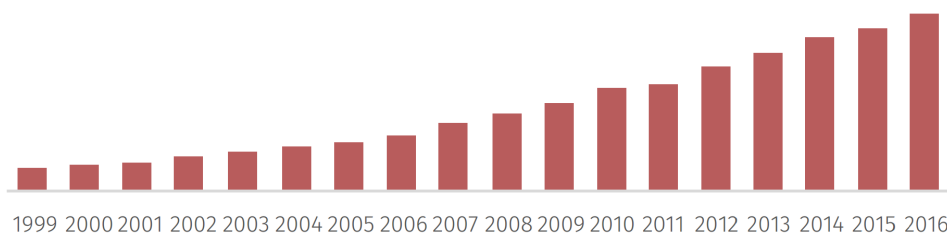
Source: www.bmfbovespa.com.br, accessed in 2019 February, adapted by Guilherme A S Motta.

Of these companies, we also saw that Construtora MRV was the company that grew

most in this process locally, since in addition to the IPO and the financial contribution it acquired from the end of the decade of 2010, the financing through the PMCMV leverages your sales. Graph 05, page 216, shows that as of 2008, with the company's IPO at IBOVESPA in 2007, the number of approved housing units in the city of Uberlândia-MG grew enormously, together with the launch of the PMCMV in 2009.

Another important observation to highlight in the real estate processes observed in the city, currently, refers to the performance of companies from other segments, in the local real estate market. Of the 10 largest companies in ICMS collection in 2017, according to Table 27 (page 199), two companies are operating in the local real estate market. The ALGAR Group, which includes the two largest ICMS collection companies in the city and the ARCOM S / A Group, are operating in the real estate market. The first is the owner of the company Granja Marileusa, responsible for the subdivision of the same name and for the partnership with the Alphaville Group. The second group owns a wholesale company and Center Shopping Uberlândia. The construction company Vivamus, operating in the real estate market with the construction of vertical condominiums in Jardim Holanda Neighborhood (see table 12, page 124) is part of the ARCOM group.

It is important to note that Grupo Algar is publicly traded on IBOVESPA, however, referring to other companies, which are not those directly involved in the real estate market. It is important to note that in the same context of growth, we brought information on the evolution of GDP, in order to demonstrate the trend of economic growth in the city. GDP is defined as the total value of the production of goods and services at a location, over a period of one year. It is considered as a key variable for understanding the economic dynamics of the municipality. The GDP evolution line, as observed in Graph 06, below, shows that the city's economic growth has never stopped occurring, increasing every year. As of 2007, we see that the slope of this growth changes, that is, the city starts to grow at a greater pace than the previous one, this curve is changed only between the years 2010 and 2011, and then it grows again in proportions higher than in previous years.



Graph 06: The GDP evolution in Uberlândia-MG, between 1999 and 2015.
Source: IBGE (2019)

As we have already seen, the local company, Construtora C&A has several vertical projects in the city, in all sectors. In Table 32, page 249, we check the list of the construction company's projects and the sector of its location in the city of Uberlândia MG. The company currently has 27 vertical projects, of which only one in the Southern Sector, six in the Eastern Sector, 09 in the Northern Sector and 11 in the Western Sector. This shows that not

only large companies, such as MRV, which is publicly traded on IBOVESPA, had growth in the city, but other local companies, in which we highlight Construtora C&A (see Table 32, below), Construtora Vivamus, Construtora HPR, Construtora Opção and Construtora AZM also grew in the city, mainly driven by the financing made possible by the PMCMV.

Development	Housing Units	Location
Astória	80	Northern Sector
Bela Vista	168	Western Sector
Brilho do Sol	16	Western Sector
Cássio Cordeiro	64	Western Sector
Colibri	80	Northern Sector
Estoril	288	Southern Sector
Lucas Cordeiro	128	Northern Sector
Maravilha	224	Northern Sector
Monsenhor	120	Northern Sector
Morumbi	72	Eastern Sector
N. Sra. das Graças	144	Northern Sector
Queens	160	Eastern Sector
Saint Clair	168	Western Sector
Solar do Mirante	88	Western Sector
Solaris	192	Western Sector
Vila Verde	32	Western Sector
Constelação II	160	Northern Sector
Jardins	400	Western Sector
José Neuton	264	Western Sector
Plaza Norte	216	Northern Sector
Proemba	264	Western Sector
Segismundo Pereira	120	Eastern Sector
Solar do Cerrado	208	Eastern Sector
Standart	840	Eastern Sector
Uriah	704	Western Sector
Terraço Gaia	168	Eastern Sector
Zenith	80	Northern Sector
Total	5.448	

Table 32: Verticals developments owned by Construtora C & A, Uberlândia-MG (2019)
Source: Company Website Field research

The success of the civil construction market, designed to meet income classes between three and 10 minimum salaries, headed by the MRV company and which drives the growth of local companies, is also an attraction for companies from other locations that started to invest in the city in the last years. We highlight the company Inter, from the city

of Juiz de Fora, the company AP Ponto, from Belo Horizonte and the company NEOCASA, also from Belo Horizonte city. Among other companies, these three started their activities in the city in recent years and their activities have continued to grow, still driven by public financing through the PMCMV, directly to the buyers of the units.

Among the allotment companies, we point out that from the decade of 2010, we started to observe that local companies and landowners continue to operate in the city's real estate market. However, the new scale of investments and the arrival of non-local investments lead to the association of companies from outside the city with local companies, implying the exchange between the know-how of large national entrepreneurs with those who know the domestic market. The Cyrela Group undertakes two closed allotments in the city and Alphaville builds three allotments and establishes partnerships with Grupo ALGAR and Imobiliária Tubal Vilela.

We must not forget that the dynamics of the real estate market, driven by the economic growth observed in the late 2000s and by the PMCMV, also affected the market for what we call individual builders. Many investors, driven by the increase in credit for home financing, started to build small buildings according to the standards of construction companies such as MRV and AP Ponto, however, on a small scale. New allotments in the city see the multiplication of small buildings, usually with the typology of the ground floor plus three floors, which enable its acquisition by PMCMV. Below is an image of the allotments Vida Nova and Bem Viver (Eastern Sector, Figure 113, page 250), where we can see the construction pattern of these buildings.

Another consequence of this movement of small builders is that they generally reinvest their capital in the purchase of lots in the new allotments of the city, in order to speculate or even for the future construction of new buildings. This maintains a circle of investments, which despite the crises observed since 2015, does not drastically reduce the launches of new urban allotments in the city.



Figura 113 - Bem Viver allotment (approved in 2014), Uberlândia-MG
Source: www.itvurbanismo.com.br/bem-viver, accessed on 2019, April 11

4.5. Results in a global south context

When we focused on observing the urbanization phenomena that occurred, especially in contemporary times, in the city of Uberlândia-MG, we were able to reaffirm issues raised in the first chapter, when we highlight the characteristics of urbanization in the global south context.

Schindler (2017), as we have already shown, highlighted three trends for urbanism in the global south. These trends are clearly observed in the urbanization process of the city under study, each with its specificities, to a greater or lesser degree.

We highlight the first tendency shown by Schindler (2017): Urbanism in the global south is characterized by a persistent disconnect between capital and labor, which gives rise to urban governance regimes geared toward the transformation of the territory rather than the “improvement” of populations.

We will repeat at this point what the author wanted to emphasize with this tendency, and after the analysis that we have brought to this research, we will be able to clearly perceive its applicability in the city under study. The author states that we have undergone changes in the post-colonial regime that culminated in the juxtaposition between labor and capital in a context of scarcity. The labor that migrated from the countryside to the city was absorbed by urban work and governance models should manage the relationship between capital and labor in cities. Cities in the global south have accumulated more capital and labor than in any historical perspective and this relationship has remained disconnected. The formal economy does not have the capacity to absorb this number of people. Hence many governments implement basic income subsidy systems, as done in Brazil. Public and private capital is inclined to be invested in infrastructure and in the real estate market instead of investing in production, profoundly altering the urban landscape. This is very clear when we observe the relationship between politics and private initiative and the way of managing financial resources in the city under study. This means that the productions of the populations are not the primary objective of governance regimes. The municipal governments of the cities of the South, therefore, emphasize their investments in the transformation of the territory. The disconnections between the collective benefits of urbanization and the interests of the real estate market clearly demonstrate the contextualization that this process is not only local or national, but global south.

The second tendency of global south urbanism, according to Schindler (2017), refers to the fact that the metabolic configurations Southern cities are discontinuous, dynamic and contested.

For the author, these configurations, in the cities of the South, are connected with this metabolism/functioning and with the changes of cities in an extremely unequal way. The formal urban infrastructure is accessed by a minority, while the majority is connected through informality, thus not establishing universal access. The flows of these cities are so complex that part of this dynamic is forgotten, as is the informality that exists in these cities. The governance of cities in the global south does not assume the existence of much of the existing social and economic flows in this context. In the city of Uberlândia-MG, for example, the existence of subnormal territories is ignored, thus leaving aside their influence on the local urban context. Likewise, the aspects of the informal economy and even the legalization

of the informal are neglected, since there is no capacity in these cases to consider all the complex relationships that exist in the urban contexts of cities in the global south.

The third tendency, still according to Schindler (2017), defines that political economy and materiality are always already co-constituted Southern cities, so neither can be reduced to structure or context.

Thus, for the author, the social relations of production, circulation and distribution of materials that aim to meet human needs, production relations, especially between the three main classes of capitalist or bourgeois society, whether they are capitalists, proletarians and landowners, condition the materiality of the Southern cities. This process and this relationship, established by the political economy, are interrelated with the materiality of southern cities. Therefore, it is the relationships between these actors, and their metabolic flows, which are complex that determine the materiality of our cities. This is very evident in the city under study, when class relations, from the point of view of social segregation, the circulation of consumer goods and investments in the territory establish urban materiality.

When still in the first chapter, Datta (2006) establishes basic aspects and patterns of Indian urbanization, we can observe that these are the same aspects observed in the processes of Brazilian urbanization.

The uneven urbanization induces the growth of the population of lower income classes: the rapid growth of the urban population, which has been observed recently in several African countries and in India, and which in Brazil had its period of greatest intensification in the middle of the 20th century, was felt in all Brazilian cities. This process occurred unevenly and intensely. Regional differences lead to the accelerated growth of some cities and the stagnation or emptying of others. And, as we have already said, the relationship between labor and capital is not balanced, generating the excluded and increasing poverty. We saw an increase in the processes of segregation and slumming in the city of Uberlândia-MG, emphasized by the uneven urbanization process.

Urbanization occurs without industrialization and without a strong economic base: contrary to what happens in the countries of the North, which have undergone a slower urbanization process, urbanization in Brazil and Latin America and in process in other countries of the global south it does not occur on an economic basis capable of balancing the relationship between capital and labor, making society unequal, where the concentration of wealth is consolidated, accompanied by the increase in urban poverty.

Urbanization is mainly a product of the demographic explosion and poverty induced by rural-city migration: the growth figures of Brazilian cities make clear the product resulting from the demographic explosion and the increase in urban poverty, felt in cities in the global south. In this way, rapid urbanization leads to the growth of slums followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities and degradation in the quality of urban life.

In this sense, despite the current differences in urbanization processes between India and Brazil, since we are already an essentially urban country, it does not distinguish us when we realize the consequences of the uneven urbanization observed in both countries, which generates an increase in poverty and social inequalities.

Also according to Datta (2006), globalization, economic liberalism and privatizations

address a negative urbanization process in India, as in the Brazilian urbanization process.

In the same line of thought, Hoelscher and Aijaz (2016) emphasize the complex relationship between politics and exclusion, demonstrating that vulnerable groups are excluded by the elite's political and economic interests, under the perspective of traditional neoliberalism, and even by civil society organizations. middle class trying to reconfigure the nature of urban citizenship in modern urban India. In the same way, in Brazil and in other countries of the global south, we perceive the so-called invisibility of the low-income social strata, excluded from the processes of urban insertion and democratic governance, in which there is no equal participation of society in the improvements aggregated by the processes of urbanization.

According to Roy (2009), informality is the substantial axis of inequality in contemporary urban India, considering informality from management, through the economy, to land occupation. In many instances, the informality exposed by Roy (2009) is subtle in Brazil and not so obvious when it comes to land use and the economy. At the management level, in Brazil informality appears in order to alter legal processes in order to benefit certain social elites. This happens when a municipal government, in the case under study, changes the urban perimeter in order to allow the parceling of the land for urban purposes, justifying the public interest in the implementation of social housing. Even with all the urban problems that this change generates for the city and local residents, the biggest beneficiaries of this paralegal change are the owners of the land. Likewise, the adaptations of the law to specifically benefit the real estate market, such as the change in zoning, land use and occupation, are tireless. In this sense, the informal is not only in the visibility of irregular occupations, favelas and street traders, but also in the paralegal invisibility of local governance.

Venkatesham (2015) lists issues and problems of urbanization in contemporary India, namely, urban sprawl, urban overcrowding, housing provision, irregular occupations, basic sanitation, urban mobility, environmental concerns, poverty, unemployment, disposition waste and urban violence. Are these not the same issues to be discussed regarding urbanization problems in Brazil, or in other countries in the South?

South African researchers like Harrison and Todes (2015), demonstrated that the loosening of the State in the space processes begins before the end of apartheid. And that, currently, state policies aim at reducing inequalities and balanced access to opportunities. However, urban policies are left to be exercised by the market, that is, as in Brazil, there are public policies to guarantee collective interests, however who is really exercising the structuring role of cities is the real estate market, consequently, the economic elite that establishes your criteria of interest.

What we saw in South Africa is that despite the end of apartheid, blacks have entered the territorial space dominated by middle and upper-income whites, these places continue to be predominantly white. And, on the other hand, the old South African townships remain essentially black. The South African urbanization pattern continues to be based on a process of socio-spatial segregation that divides cities. The middle and upper income-class, through the offer of attractive properties by the real estate market, directs the growth of cities in order to intensify a pattern of low density and urban sprawl. This is justified by the high rates

of urban violence, creating large closed communities and new centralities disconnected from existing traditional urban forms.

In Raissa, life is not happy. People wring their hands as they walk in the streets, curse the crying children, lean on the railings over the river and press their fists to their temples. In the morning you wake from one bad dream and another begins. At the workbenches where, every moment, you hit your finger with a hammer or prick it with a needle, or over the columns of figures all awry in the ledgers of merchants and bankers, or at the rows of empty glasses on the zinc counters of the wineshops, the bent heads at least conceal the general grim gaze. Inside the houses it is worse, and you do not have to enter to learn this: in the summer the windows resound with quarrels and broken dishes. (CALVINO, 1972, p.148)

CONCLUSION

Throughout the four chapters of this book, we demonstrated that the city of Uberlândia-MG has undergone profound urban transformations throughout the 20th century and has been accentuated in the 21st century. Following a trend of urbanization in the country in the last century, the population of the city went from 42,179 inhabitants in the 1940s to 683,247 inhabitants in 2018, that is, a growth of 1,620%. Graph 01 (page 68) showed us that the period of greatest population growth occurred between the 1970s and 2000s, but that the local population continues at a high rate of growth.

Understanding the development of the city made us realize that despite the constant population increase, which is reflected in its physical growth, as we demonstrated with the evolution of the urban spot in Figure 02 (page 06), the 21st century sees a change in the real estate and economic dynamics which reflects in the physical growth of the city of Uberlândia-MG.

Until then, we saw that this growth in Uberlândia-MG was due to the interference of local real estate agents, to be noticed even in the 1930s when the first local real estate company was constituted, as exposed in Chapter 02. The relations between the city's real estate market and the Local politics have always been intrinsic, as the local landowners and promoters of the city's physical growth coincide with its political elite. We were able to verify that several important political figures such as mayors Tubal Vilela (1951-1954), Raul Pereira de Rezende (1963-1966), Renato de Freitas (1967-1970, 1974-1977) and Virgílio Galassi (1971-1972, 1977- 1982, 1989-1992, 1997-2000) had real estate relationships and interests in the city, being directly linked to the approval and construction of important allotments.

This political group remains in power to this day. We also know that the Federal Constitution of 1988, according to the federalist model, establishes great powers to legislate to the municipality, which comes to benefit the economic elite linked to the local real estate sector, since the political power is in their hands. In this sense, legislative changes, in order to benefit the enhancement of specific areas in the city, have always been a constant.

However, the world is undergoing profound changes, caused by a technological evolution that allowed the emergence of a global financial market, whose reflexes were exorbitantly felt since the 2000s, when the national economic scenario stabilizes and we start to feel the reflexes consumption of globalized capital in our economy, in a volume hitherto unprecedented.

Cultural changes in this period were also marked. Still in the 1990s, the city adopted lifestyles present in large urban centers such as the shopping center and a process of housing availability for high-income classes outside the city center began, in the so-called closed allotments. This change marks, already in the decade of 2000, the consolidation of the new peripheries destined to shelter high income classes, mainly in the South Sector of the city, changing the place of their dwellings from the center of the city to a rich periphery.

This flow, marked mainly in the Southern Sector, directs investments in the city's infrastructure, creating new roads, colleges, shops and services that are designed to serve this population. This novelty, consolidated from the 2000s, still undergoes a great growth from 2010. The amount of investments observed in the Southern Sector is exorbitant, when

we observe other sectors of the city. A new shopping center is built in the Southern Sector and the number of closed allotments in the region is growing. According to Tables 07 and 08 (page 97 and 103, respectively), since 1998, the date of the first closed subdivision in the city until 2006, there were 2,212 lots distributed in 09 closed allotments. As of 2003, in the Southern Sector alone, another 17 closed allotments (closed communities) were carried out, providing 5,149 lots.

Since the end of the 2000s, we have also seen the large investment of non-local companies, with emphasis on the growth of the company Construtora MRV, which from the opening of its capital in 2007 and the launch of the PMCMV in 2009 saw its number of housing units built to grow on a new scale (Graph 05, page 216), changing the local real estate dynamics in the segment destined for the middle income classes.

The attractiveness of the local real estate market, combined with changes and investments through the PMCMV and the financial flow observed in the country since the end of the 2000s, sees the growth of other companies, in the same way. Local companies like C&A, HPR, Opção, among others, also start to invest in the medium segment, driven by the financing of the PMCMV. Other construction companies from other locations also invest in the local real estate market, such as AP Ponto, Neocasa and Inter. At that moment, we saw an extraordinary growth, accentuated by the architectural typology offered by these companies, investing in several sectors of the city, with emphasis on the neighborhoods of country houses, such as Chácara Tubalina and Chácara Jardim Holanda (see Map 11, page 122, Map 15, page 125 and Tables 11, page 121 and Table 12, page 124). In the last field visits, we highlighted a process of verticalization of the peripheries, accentuated precisely by these companies.

As for the location of the lower income classes, we have not seen any novelty regarding its formal aspect. The poorest, as we have demonstrated throughout the historical process of urbanization in the city, have always been disposed of in the peripheries. The location of housing estates, from the 1950s to the PMCMV, sought to establish these developments on the edge of the city, with social housing being used as a major driver of growth and development of the peripheries, with alarming consequences in urban real estate speculation.

There is no news regarding the form of political and economic availability of housing programs. Since the Fundação Casa Popular, the BNH, the housing cooperatives, among others, have a system very similar to the PMCMV, including in the choice of the places where the projects will be implemented and in the financing systems. The difference is that in recent years globalized financial capital has been found in the provision of social housing. This is explained when private companies, through financing offered by public banks, which in turn have capital inserted in the financial market, are inserted in a dynamics of social provision, characterizing the so-called social market housing.

As we crossed the launch of the PMCMV with the increase in financial flows in the country, we felt an explosion in the urbanization processes of Brazilian cities, which is not only a local characteristic.

If, on the one hand, real estate companies invest in certain areas of the city, such as the Southern Sector and the Granja Marileusa region, creating an environment conducive

to high-income classes housing, on the other hand, real estate companies also benefit from the resources and profit from the availability of housing for the middle classes. The lowest income classes are always the most affected in the process. The resources made available for PMCMV's Band 1 are infinitely smaller than those made available for other income brackets and its enterprises are those with the worst urban locations, such as the Residencial Pequis Allotment.

In the midst of all this real estate bustle, where companies invest resources never seen before in terms of urban scale, we also demonstrate that the largest favelas in the city appear after the decade of 2010. Although irregular occupations have always been observed throughout history, the first to consolidate are from the 1990s, in the Eastern Sector (Map 15, page 136). However, the proportion of these irregular settlements and their frequency reached a new scale from the decade of 2010, as we observed with the Glória Irregular Settlement (Southern Sector), Maná, Santa Clara and Fidel Castro (Eastern Sector).

Changes in scale in the urbanization processes are observed from all sides, considering the real estate market and the destination of the city for all income classes.

And in this process, the State's participation is increasingly ambiguous. The legal resources used in order to maintain social cohesion, urban sustainability and growth order, such as the city's Master Plan are completely ignored and the decisions regarding land use are based on market logic and not on urban planning.

This has always happened in the city. However, with the urban agenda proposed by the 1988 Constitution and the approval of the Statute of Cities in 2001, a change of direction was believed for a process that sought to correct the urban problems faced with the disorderly growth of Brazilian cities and look at the city from a sustainable planning perspective. But that did not happen and the strength of the market and capital, due to the greater financial flow observed in recent years, supplants this prerogative, confining the plans to the drawers of the municipal public service. Planning is conditioned to market trends.

We observed this when the urban perimeter of the city of Uberlândia-MG was expanded to include the PMCMV, and currently, the government restricts its action to the creation and adaptation of laws related to urban development, but always dictated by the interest of private capital and not by very collective.

We confirmed the hypothesis throughout the thesis in which we verified that the socio-spatial segregation in the periphery of the city, in the decade of 2010 was accentuated with the active participation of the State. Active in the sense that it becomes associated with private power in promoting city planning, since without the State, the market becomes infeasible to invest. This association created spaces in the city that segregate the income classes, and are not concerned with a spatial planning that favors sustainability, creating a city that is increasingly dispersed and fragmented. There is no news, as we have already said about the organization of the lower income classes in the peripheries, but the change in the real estate market directing the higher income classes to the periphery is a novelty and one of the main causes of the fragmentation of the territory where rich and poor occupy the peripheries. However, there is a huge social chasm, separated by walls and social differences that accompany the increase in the scale of urbanization and the increase in the

scale of social differences.

We reached our general objective by analyzing the urban configuration of the city in contemporary times, and understand that the location of income classes in the urban space is given by a location factor, and today the issue of status is still aggregated. Real estate interests dictated throughout the history of the city where they would be the best locations for the higher income classes. These locations are currently being gradually polarized between part of the Southern Sector and part of the Eastern Sector (Granja Marileusa). Although Granja Marileusa is still starting its implementation process, it has already created a privileged location, attracting the attention of this portion of the population to its sector. Thus, closed allotments are being undertaken in the region and new public investments are also seen in order to privilege the implantation of allotments of the higher income classes.

The PMCMV, mainly Band 1, defined by the Residencial Pequis, and other projects in the program were implemented in the Western Sector, changing the urban configuration of the region, composed of several neighborhoods of farms, recently inserted in the urban perimeter. This region also presents a new dynamic of urban development. Public shops, services and equipment are installed in the region in order to serve the population of the neighborhoods. However, large investments by both public and private authorities are found outside the Western Sector, in which we confirm a selective performance of the real estate market.

We also saw, in order to perceive the change in the scale of urbanization, that local companies, which also grew with the injection of financial capital in the city, create alliances with large national real estate companies, where the knowledge of the local market by The city is combined with the expertise of large national companies, changing a dynamic that has not existed before, in which it was dictated only by local companies.

We were concerned to understand that the processes observed in the city, in addition to being processes that occur in large and medium-sized Brazilian cities, except for their particularities, are also processes of contemporary urbanization trends in what we call urbanization trends in the global south. The dynamics and problems are felt in Brazil, as well as in countries like South Africa and India, considering the particularity of the historical process of each location. We consider this work a great contribution to the understanding of Brazilian urbanization processes today.

We understand that the real estate market and the financial market are the current producers of the contemporary city, and we identified the role of public, private and social movements in the production of the city, where we observed the change in the scale of urbanization and concluded that the city is seen as a business, in which the interests of capital are above any collective interest.

We have drawn, as we have already said, a timeline where we could understand the city of Uberlândia-MG, through the historical process of urbanization of its territory and its political, economic and population evolution. We understand the process of socio-spatial segregation of income classes, through the location of housing estates in the city's intra-urban space, in order to realize that traditional forms of segregation are combined with new forms of socio-spatial segregation in urban space.

We consider exhausted the objectives in which this book was proposed. However,

they are not yet sufficient and do not cover the entire problem observed in contemporary urbanization processes. The experience in the elaboration of this research made us realize yet other processes in progress and that in all the complexity of the urbanization in which the city establishes, there are still many variables to be allocated to expand the spectrum of the contemporary city.

Among the book to be developed by other researchers, we feel aroused the curiosity and the desire to further understand the process underway in the city's Rural Zone in which, as we have already explained, according to information from the State Public Ministry, 110 irregular allotments are implanted outside the perimeter urban. When we cut out our space and look at the processes occurring within the urban perimeter, we do not allow ourselves to look at this spectacular process that is taking place outside the urban limits of the city. This demonstrates that the scale of dispersion and fragmentation of the territory is even greater than we imagine and should be covered by new research, which will possibly demonstrate the thesis that urban and rural relations are increasingly fluid, reflecting on the process of dispersion of the territory beyond the city.

We fear for the future of our cities. We still leave open what the new Federal Government, represented by President Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022) will propose to solve and minimize urban problems that have been consolidated for generations, but that reach disproportionate scales since the decade of 2010. We want to know, through new research, what is the consequence of the lack of action and proposals for the urban environment that the current president will cause in the urbanization processes. We symbolize the end of the Ministry of Cities as the beginning of a new period in which we have yet to see any proposal or light at the end of the tunnel.

We concluded this work differently from the moment when we made the final considerations of the master's dissertation in 2015, when it carried optimism and hope for better cities for Brazil. We are left with a pessimism sustained by a past, in which the proposed urban policies did not work, and the others, well-intentioned, which were not corrected or adapted, and for a future without any proposal for the area of urban policy.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

GUILHERME AUGUSTO SOARES DA MOTTA - I have a bachelor's and a master's degree in Architecture and Urbanism, being both achieved at the Federal University of Uberlandia (UFU, Minas Gerais). The master's dissertation was selected to participate in the award for best dissertation in the field of architecture and urbanism research at a national level. The dissertation approached issues of the real estate and the relationship between the public sector and the outcome of segregated cities in Brazil. This research demonstrates the way real estate are planning Brazilian cities in 21st century. Between my undergraduate and master's degree, I have specialized in Environmental Management at the Catholic College of Uberlandia. I have a PhD in Architecture and Urbanism from Mackenzie Presbyterian University in São Paulo, Brazil, which has a postgraduate program (doctorate) that has achieved the highest concept among Brazilian universities, according to CAPES, the national regulatory body. The thesis was defended on August 1st of 2019, and was approved with distinction by the examining board, composed of renowned researchers in the studies of contemporary Brazilian urbanization. My professional background is distinguished by uniting theory and practice. Theoretically, as I have already shown, I have been developing urbanism research that shows academic maturity. In practice, I work with architecture and urbanism office since my years of training. As I graduated, I moved to northern Brazil in the Amazon region, the country's agricultural frontier, where I had experience in work and projects in a region of recent development and huge urban and social problems. In this time I had de privilege of living in the context of Amazon region. Upon returning to my hometown of Uberlandia (Minas Gerais state), I got back to my studies, where I specialized in Environmental Management and developed projects in the area of urbanism, environment and urban sustainability for the private sector. During this period, I was approved in a public tender and started working as a technician at the City Hall of Uberlandia, at the Municipal Secretariat of Urban Planning, on the City Planning Board, working for the public sector. I have also obtained experience as an university professor for five years (from 2014 to 2019) at UNIPAC and Pitagoras universities (Brazil), where I taught classes such as Architecture and Urbanism Projects and Urbanism I (urbanism project of an urban subdivision) and II (revitalization of the city center), Urban Planning I and II, as well as Brazilian Architecture, among others. I had the opportunity to participate in research at University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, through the CAPES Sandwich Scholarship, under the supervision of Professor Philip Harrison. In this context I made a trip through large African cities until arriving in India. This route allowed me to experience urban issues in cities such as Maputo (Mozambique), Dar es Salaam and Stone Town (Tanzania), Nairobi (Kenya), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and Cairo (Egypt), all in Africa. From there, for the purpose of attending two events in India, the 5th PhD Workshop and the 3rd Urban Arc - City and Region, both held in Bangalore, India, in January 2019 at the Indian Institute for Humam Settlements. At this time, I was able to live and enrich my experiences in southern cities such as Mumbai, New Delhi, Bangalore, Agra and Jaipur, applying the point of my research approaching issues of the relations between the public sector and the real estate, building the southern cities in the 21st century. The results of my research could be observed through the master's dissertation, which was published as a book, and several articles published in English and Portuguese in reputable scientific journals. Other articles outcome from my doctoral research are being formatted for publication in scientific journals, by the next months and foreseeing to be published as this book. I am currently in the US, New Jersey, where, despite my advanced level in English, I am improving my language skills to join a postdoctoral program in the country.

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