



# **Urbanization and socio-spatial dynamics in the small municipality of Guapó: territorial transformations based on the production of social housing in the Goiânia Metropolitan Region**

**Elcileni de Melo Borges**

Governo de Goiás/SGG – Goiânia – GO – Brasil

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8069-0774>

**Débora Ferreira da Cunha**

Universidade Federal de Goiás – Goiânia – GO – Brasil

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1972-5779>

## **Abstract**

This paper, which is part of the research project Contemporary housing production: impacts on urban and socio-spatial reconfiguration in the Goiânia Metropolitan Region (RMG), developed with funding from the Research Support Foundation of Goiás (Fapeg), using post occupancy evaluation methodology, aims to understand how the municipality of Guapó stands out as a privileged location for the social production of housing in the region, as well as the impacts on the beneficiary population's way of life, urban well-being and access to opportunities. This project, which originated as an offshoot of a doctoral research (Borges, 2017), recognizes, as a research premise, the political role immanent to the projects offered by the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV), based on different ways of organizing housing processes, within the scope of socio-spatial inequalities alleviation. To this end, it presents as a case study the results of the research carried out with residents of Residencial Bandeiras, which stands out due to its size (640 housing units), in a small metropolitan municipality of 19,545 inhabitants, according to the 2022 Census (IBGE, 2023), located 37 km away from Goiânia (center), showing a new vector of social housing niche market towards that area of the metropolitan space. The interest in researching housing under the MCMV Program (level 1) in the RMG, within the scope of urban policy from the Applied Social Sciences and Humanities viewpoint, has both scientific and collaborative perspectives for social change and sustainable development for cities.

**Keywords:** Socio-spatial dynamics; demography; metropolitan expansion; social housing.

## **Urbanização e dinâmica socioespacial do pequeno município de Guapó: transformações territoriais a partir da produção de habitação social no espaço da RM Goiânia (GO)**

### **Resumo**

Este *paper*, parte integrante da pesquisa “Produção habitacional contemporânea: impactos na reconfiguração urbana e socioespacial na Região Metropolitana de Goiânia (RMG)”, desenvolvida com financiamento da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa de Goiás (Fapeg), a

partir de metodologia de avaliação pós-ocupação, tem por objetivo compreender o fenômeno de destaque obtido pelo município de Guapó, enquanto lócus privilegiado da produção social da moradia na região, bem como os impactos nos modos de vida, bem-estar urbano e acesso a oportunidades da população beneficiária. Projeto originado como desdobramento de pesquisa de doutoramento (Borges, 2017), reconhece, como premissa de investigação, o papel político imanente aos empreendimentos ofertados pelo Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV), baseado em diferentes formas de organização do processo habitacional, tendo por escopo amenizar as desigualdades socioespaciais. Para tanto, apresenta como estudo de caso os resultados da pesquisa desenvolvida junto a moradores do *Residencial Bandeiras*, que se destaca pelo porte do empreendimento (640 unidades habitacionais), num pequeno município metropolitano com 19.545 habitantes, segundo o Censo 2022 (IBGE, 2023), localizado à 37 km de distância de Goiânia (pólo), evidenciando um novo vetor do nicho residencial social de mercado em direção àquela área do espaço metropolitano. O interesse em pesquisar a produção de moradia do Programa MCMV (Faixa 1), na RMG, no âmbito da política urbana, a partir das Ciências Sociais Aplicadas e Humanas, tem perspectiva científica e de colaboração para a mudança social e o desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades.

**Palavras-Chave:** Dinâmica socioespacial. Demografia. Metropolização. Moradia social.

### Urbanización y dinámica socioespacial del pequeño municipio de Guapó: transformaciones territoriales a partir de la producción de vivienda social en el espacio de la RM Goiânia (GO)

#### Resumen

Este trabajo forma parte del proyecto de investigación “Producción de vivienda contemporánea: impactos en la reconfiguración urbana y socioespacial en la Región Metropolitana de Goiânia (RMG)”, desarrollada con financiamiento de la Fundación de Apoyo a la Investigación de Goiás (Fapeg), con base en estudios post- Metodología de evaluación.-ocupación, tiene como objetivo comprender el fenómeno destacado alcanzado por el municipio de Guapó, como locus privilegiado de la producción social de vivienda en la región, así como los impactos en los modos de vida de la población beneficiaria, el bienestar urbano y acceso a oportunidades. Proyecto originado como fruto de una investigación doctoral (Borges, 2017), reconoce, como premisa de investigación, el papel político inmanente a los proyectos ofrecidos por el Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV), a partir de diferentes formas de organización del proceso habitacional, con el objetivo de paliar las desigualdades socioespaciales. Para ello, presenta como estudio de caso los resultados de una investigación realizada con residentes del *Residencial Bandeiras*, que se destaca por el tamaño del proyecto (640 viviendas), en un pequeño municipio metropolitano con 19.545 habitantes, según el Censo de 2022 (IBGE, 2023), ubicado a 37 km de Goiânia (polo), destacando un nuevo vector de nicho residencial del mercado social hacia esa zona del espacio metropolitano. El interés por investigar la producción de vivienda del Programa MCMV (Track 1), en RMG, en el ámbito de la política urbana, con base en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades Aplicadas, tiene una perspectiva científica y colaborativa para el cambio social y el desarrollo sostenible de las ciudades.

**Palabras clave:** Dinámica socioespacial. Demografía. Metropolización. Vivienda social.

## 1 Introduction

The process of intensification of affordable housing production in Brazil, from 2003 onwards, reflecting in particular new housing policies implemented through the creation of the Ministry of Cities, and the successive affordable housing programs

created during this period, a trend that has continued until the pre-crisis period of 2015, has given rise to numerous scientific studies and evaluations of results, efficacy and social effectiveness in the lives of families, in various locations and research and academic institutions across the country. Analyses of PMCMV (*My House, My Life Program*) housing production and its socio-spatial repercussion throughout the country generally follow the common notion of building housing on the edges of cities around metropolitan regions, far from urban centers, generating demand for public authorities to extend infrastructure to an area beyond what is necessary, resulting in increased time and costs for the population to commute to work, school or leisure, and consequently in a greater impact on transport and mobility in cities, as well as problems of sociability and environment.

In the Goiânia Metropolitan Region (RMG), the municipalities with medium and low metropolitan integration have stood out in what we call *social production of housing*, attracted especially by more affordable land. The case of the municipality of Guapó deserves more detailed investigation, due to its greater participation in this production, reverberating in the regional demographic dynamics. According to a survey carried out by Borges (2020: 197-200), based on the tabulation of data from the Ministry of Cities, the Ministry of Regional Development - MDR and the public bank Caixa (Southern Goiás Regional), the benefits granted through the MCMV Program (2009-2019), destined for the 21 municipalities that make up the RMG (Complementary Law No. 149/2019), led to a total of 127,223 new housing units (42% of the state total), involving investments of around R\$12 billion (or 39% of the state total). By adding the housing production due to other public programs (Solidarity Credit, Growth Acceleration Program - Pro-Housing and Urbanization of Precarious Settlements and *MCMV-Entidades*), the intensity of social housing production in the period (position in May 2019) stands out: a balance of 135,300 new homes (level 1, 1.5, 2 and 3), distributed throughout the RMG, with a greater presence in the municipalities of *Goiânia* (concentration on the outskirts of the Metropolitan Center), *Aparecida de Goiânia*, *Trindade*, *Senador Canedo*, *Goianira*, *Guapó* and *Nerópolis* (BORGES, 2020: 213-218).

Thus, in order to get a closer look at the reality of this housing provision, the aim of this work is to investigate the living conditions of low and middle-income strata, the residential satisfaction of the beneficiaries of these new homes and possible transformations in the collective life of neighborhoods, including existing problems in order to observe the networks developed by residents in their practical relationships with their surroundings. It should be noted that the partial results presented here are part of a study carried out by a team of professors, researchers, undergraduate and graduate students from the Higher Education Institutions in Goiás (UFG – coordination, UEG and PUC Goiás), whose project was selected under the Public Notice No. 07/2014, from the Research Support Foundation of Goiás - FAPEG, for necessary financial support to carry out the interviews and on-site observation (field research).

This is a previously proposed project from 2014, at the height of a series of popular housing programs, when there was a movement of all segments, both families demanding housing, as well as state and municipal housing policy management bodies, social entities, entrepreneurs and scholars on the subject, from

all over the country. The project was contemplated for the use of financial resources, but was only released in 2018 due to the fiscal-budgetary crisis and the spending limits imposed by the Fiscal Responsibility Law on the state of Goiás (LC No. 101/2000). Subsequently, it was also approved by the Research Ethics Committee (CEP) of the Federal University of Goiás (UFG), according to CEP/UFG Report No. 3.257.243, dated April 2019. The technical visits took place between September and November 2019 (field research).

## 2 Methodology

The methodology used was a Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POO) using a questionnaire model developed within the scope of the *Observatório das Metrôpoles/INCT/CNPq Research Network*, developed by the thematic network "Evaluation of the PMCMV" with the participation of researchers from LabHab/USP, the results of which were presented in the book "*Minha Casa: e a Cidade?*" (AMORE; SHIMBO; RUFINIO, 2015). Locally, tested in the research by Borges (2017), the final format of the research plan was proposed as qualitative in nature, based on the methodology of participatory observation, in the terms advocated by Becker (1972), largely used in social sciences, which has proved useful in studies evaluating the social effectiveness of the MCMV Program, such as the research by Carvalho and Stephan (2016) and Borges (2017).

The field survey included a set of 471 questionnaire interviews, carried out after the residents' consent, in 13 (thirteen) municipalities in the RMG, selected from Caixa's spreadsheet, making up a total of 32 housing projects (or 38 if we consider those with 2 or 3 stages). The total sample included 1,620 people, following their family composition.

Initially, the research plan approved by Fapeg stipulated a sample of 600 social housing units, built as a result of popular programs *Crédito Solidário*, *PAC UAP*, *MCMV* (500 units level 1 and 100 units level 2) and *MCMV-Entidades*. However, it was precisely the level 2 projects, which were left for the last phase of the research, that could not be visited, as their completion was affected by the lockdown regulations, due to the pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus (Covid-19), so it was necessary to terminate visits with a smaller number of questionnaires, in addition to an extension authorized by Fapeg's Scientific and Innovation Directorate (extension "on an exceptional basis").

The cities visited were *Aparecida de Goiânia*, *Aragoiânia*, *Bela Vista de Goiás*, *Brazabrantes*, *Caturai*, *Goiânia*, *Goianira*, *Guapó*, *Hidrolândia*, *Inhumas*, *Nerópolis*, *Senador Canedo* and *Trindade*. The choice of cities in the RMG included in the sample was based on a number of criteria: (i) concentration of developments in the 0-3 and 3-6 minimum wage range; (ii) dynamics of the municipality in the metropolitan context; (iii) action by the municipality (greater or lesser donation of land, etc.); (iv) greater participation by *MCMV Empresarial* and *Entidades* (collective self-management). The scale of analysis was defined in four geographical categories: the metropolis, the municipality, the development and the housing unit.

Once the non-probabilistic convenient sample had been defined, the questionnaires were drafted and revised with a view to adapting it to the local reality of the RMG, and then the fieldwork was carried out, with questionnaires being implemented and applied in individual interviews. The interviews were not recorded,



and in the next phase, the quantitative results were tabulated and analyzed with the support of statistical software (SPSS), but they had to be interrupted due to the new coronavirus pandemic, with the suspension of the University's activities as well as the use of the laboratories, following the social distancing measures recommended by health and sanitary authorities.

In addition to the interviews, face-to-face and virtual meetings, photographic reports, graphics, mapping and bibliographical surveys were made in order to find more elements to understand the housing production observed in the RMG. The data collected in the field was necessary for quantitative, qualitative and spatial analysis, as well as for theoretical argumentation. Cartographic databases were also used, with political-administrative delimitation of municipal coverage, with vector specifications generated in 1:100,000, georeferenced in the geographic coordinate system - Datum: SIRGAS 2000, in shp, dbf, shx files, which can be viewed and edited in Geographic Information System (GIS) programs. The free software Quantum Gis 2.12.3 (QGIS) was used to spatialize data and prepare/organize the summary map.

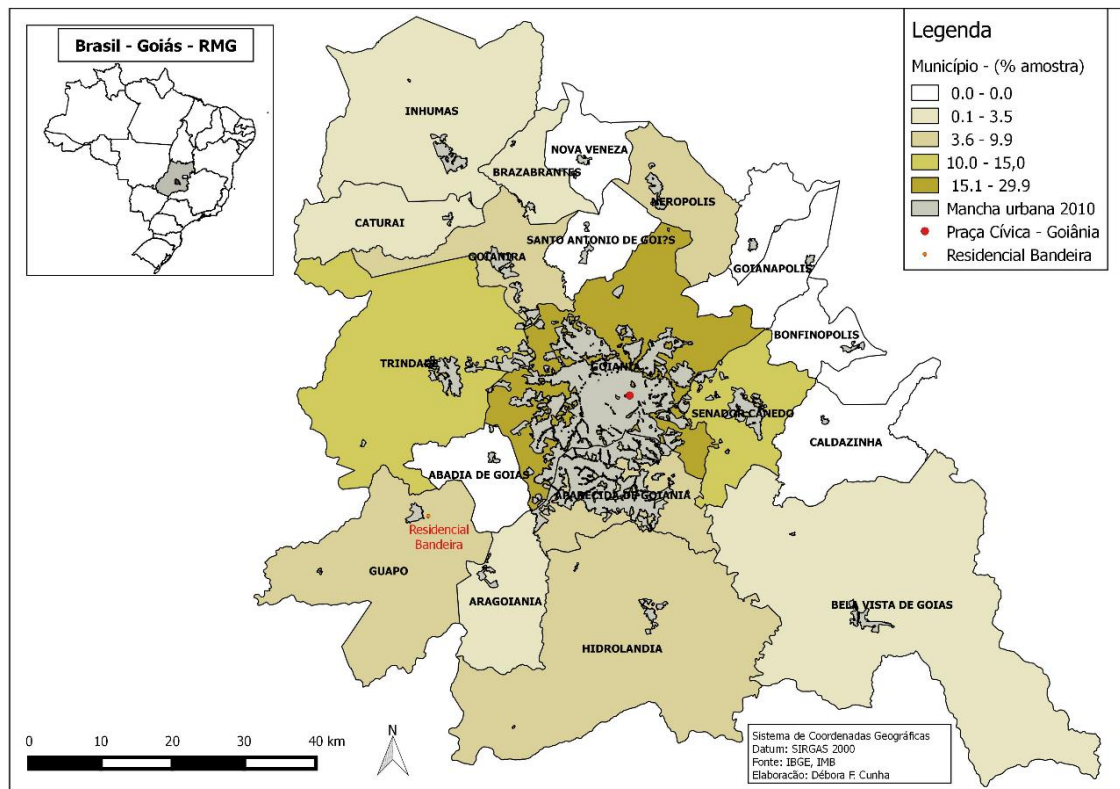
However, taking as a reference the analysis and findings of the research by Amore, Shimbo and Rufino (2015), it became clear that isolated, quantitative data alone is not entirely efficient for assessing the level of user satisfaction any more than opinion polls alone are. This is why it is necessary to cross-reference Post-Occupancy Evaluation data with technical measurement data.

In this context, considering the caveats of the experiences mentioned above, this paper is based on the partial results of the research carried out by the above-mentioned academic institutions in Goiás, focusing on a single location: the municipality of Guapó.

### **3 Guapó: standing out in self-managed housing production**

The municipality of Guapó is located in the metropolitan region of Goiânia, state of Goiás, in the Brazilian Midwest Region. RMG is made up of 21 municipalities (GOIÁS, 2018), characterized as the region of the state with the largest population and highest economic and urban concentration (IBGE, 2020). The questionnaires were applied in thirteen municipalities featuring the number of questionnaires in the sample. This work has an analysis and discussion of the relationship between the notion of *city-making* and the *right to the city*, based on sample data collected from *Residencial Bandeira* in Guapó. The municipality with 19,500 inhabitants (IBGE, 2023) is 37 kilometers from Goiânia and is surrounded by the metropolitan city of Abadia de Goiás (which had the highest household growth rate in the country, according to IBGE 2022 Census). The map in Figure 1 shows the thirteen municipalities of the RMG surveyed, with the share of questionnaires applied in the sample, with emphasis on the location of the case under study, *Residencial Bandeira*, in Guapó, and the center of Goiânia.

Figure 1 - RMG: municipalities in the sample selected (Guapó in highlight)



Source: IBGE (2010), Survey (2019). Made by: CUNHA, D. F. (2022).

The land that makes up the municipality of Guapó belonged to the municipality of Trindade and was donated for the construction of a religious chapel in 1905, forming the village São Sebastião do Ribeirão, promoted to the status of district of Trindade in 1914, before being incorporated into Goiânia in 1935 during the transfer of the state capital, being renamed Guapó in 1943 and achieving its political emancipation in 1948<sup>1</sup>.

The city of Guapó is crossed by the road BR 060, its main access, on the banks of *Ribeirão dos Pereiras*, a spring of great importance for the city water supply, although in conditions of environmental degradation, problems arising from the ways in which natural resources are managed. This is due to the silting up caused by deforestation and the consequent absence of natural or secondary vegetation, formation of pastures after the opening of farms and the influence of cattle trampling, among other conditions.

With a territory of 512 km<sup>2</sup>, made up largely of rural areas (4.69 km<sup>2</sup> urban and 507.30 km<sup>2</sup> rural), Guapó has a population density of 38.01 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> (IBGE, 2023) and it is among the metropolitan municipalities with the lowest urbanization rates: 81.1% (2010), characterized by low economic dynamism, insufficient local

<sup>1</sup> The village São Sebastião do Ribeirão, founded in 1905, changed its status to *district* of Trindade in 1914; it was detached from the municipality of Trindade and incorporated into Goiânia by Decree no. 3235 of August 2, 1935. It was renamed Guapó by State Act 8305/1943; it became a municipality by Law 171 of October 8, 1948, and a judicial district was created by Law 711 of November 14, 1952 and installed on May 1, 1954.

revenue to meet expenses, impacted mainly by its proximity to the metropolitan center.

Borges (2020) researched Guapó's population stagnation and/or decrease being shown in each new census: according to IBGE estimates in 2016, its population was 14,462 inhabitants; in 2000 the municipality had 13,997 inhabitants, maintaining nearly the same number in 2010: 13,976 inhabitants, registering a negative geometric rate of population growth (-0.02%) over the decade, making it the only metropolitan municipality with a population decrease. However, the perception of an increase in the supply of housing in the municipality has brought about a new pace of local population growth, as confirmed by the data from the 2022 Census showing a total population of 19,545 inhabitants and a positive geometric growth rate (2.83%). With a total household stock of 7,170 units, meaning an intercensal household growth of 3.95% (IBGE, 2023). The basic housing deficit in 2010 was 301 units and the relative deficit was 6.68% of households (FJP). Estimates from the *Mauro Borges Institute*, based on data from *CadÚnico*, showed an absolute housing deficit of 403 families (IMB, 2018).

In general, the local urban socio-economic indicators show poor performance: Guapó's GDP per capita is R\$ 7.045.94, the third lowest in the metropolitan region of Goiânia; 10.76% of its population lives in poverty (family income of less than one minimum wage); the municipality's Human Development Index - HDI, calculated by the United Nations Program - UNDP Brazil, is 0.697; the Vulnerability Index - IVS, calculated by the Institute of Economic and Applied Research - IPEA, is 0.334; and the Urban Well-Being Index - IBEU, calculated by the Observatory of the Metropolis, is 0.767, which places it 8th in the metropolitan ranking.

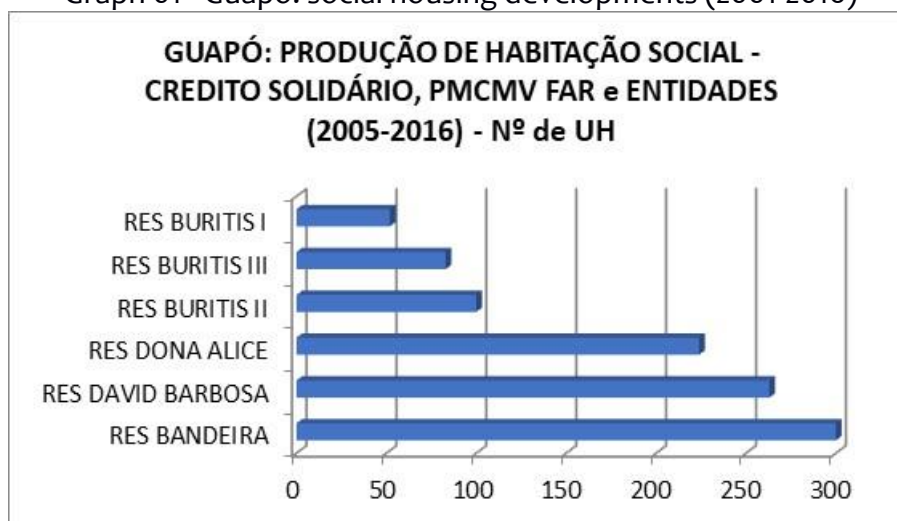
In the context of the City Statute, the municipality of Guapó, even though its population is not larger than 20,000 inhabitants, is obliged to make a Master Plan because it is part of the metropolitan region, and has signed an agreement with the State Department of Cities, under the *Cidade pra Gente Program*, to receive support and training to prepare this urban planning instrument. The experience of making Guapó's Democratic Master Plan, approved by Law No. 12/2008, was based on representative participation as a prerequisite for understanding the municipality's reality, identifying problems, conflicts and potential in the city, proposing better conditions for land use and occupation, making the most of available resources, guaranteeing the social function of property, expanding access to urbanized land, reducing social inequalities and promoting local development in a sustainable manner.

However, the participation of the population of Guapó in the making of the Master Plan was restricted, although of paramount importance, and was represented by the Community Working Group (GTC), whose role was to lead and coordinate all the stages of drawing up the Master Plan by publicizing the whole process, mobilizing the community to participate in all the discussions and decisions, supporting the work of the technical consultancy and evaluating the results, in order to keep them aligned with the real demands and potential of the municipality, contributing to the integration of Guapó with Goiânia Metropolitan Region. Endlich (2008) points out that changes at the local level start out small and seemingly insignificant, but it can become relevant. Even if mobilization at the local level has limited reach, it can become compelling.

Since the restructuring of national housing policy, when the Ministry of Cities and subsequent popular programs were created, the municipality of Guapó has stood out as a preferred location for production by organized social entities, namely the intensification of social housing production, or even production for the economic segment of real estate, as survey made by Borges (2020) showed. The main aspect was the price of land, which is even more advantageous than in other metropolitan municipalities bordering the center, providing possible better results in the case of real estate developers, and/or a greater possibility of fitting in the Social Housing Programs funding accessible to social movements for housing.

In fact, there has been a rush of developments in this small metropolitan municipality: in addition to the first stage of *Residencial Buritis*, with 52 housing units, built in 2007 thanks to the *Crédito Solidário Program* under the responsibility of the Union for Housing of Social Interest – UMIS, and the *Bandeira* residential development, with 300 housing units, through PMCMV, with resources from the Residential Leasing Fund – FAR, four other projects were made after 2010 through *MCMV-Entidades*, with resources from the Social Development Fund – FDS, 2 new stages of *Residencial dos Buritis: Stage II* with 100 unites, under the responsibility of the Union for Housing of Social Interest – UMIS; and Stage III, with 82 units by the State Union for Popular Housing of Goiás; *Residencial Dona Alice* with 224 units, and *Residencial David Barbosa* with 263 units. And another 818 housing units by the MCMV/PNHU, for income level 2 (between 3 and 6 minimum wages), the so-called budget segment of real estate, as shown in the graph below.

Graph 01 - Guapó: social housing developments (2001-2016)



Source: Ministério das Cidades; CAIXA Regional Sul Goiás. Made by: BORGES, E. M. (2020).

#### 4 *Residencial Bandeira* (PMCV2/FAR): a case of social housing development on the fringes of the city

*Residencial Bandeira*, located on *Fazenda Agropecuária Bandeira* - municipality of Guapó, with access to Goiânia via BR 060 (exit to Abadiânia), consists of almost 500 housing units: 300 units in the 1st Stage; 94 in the 2nd Stage and 93 in the 3rd Stage, built through PMCMV, in a project under the responsibility of *Máximo*

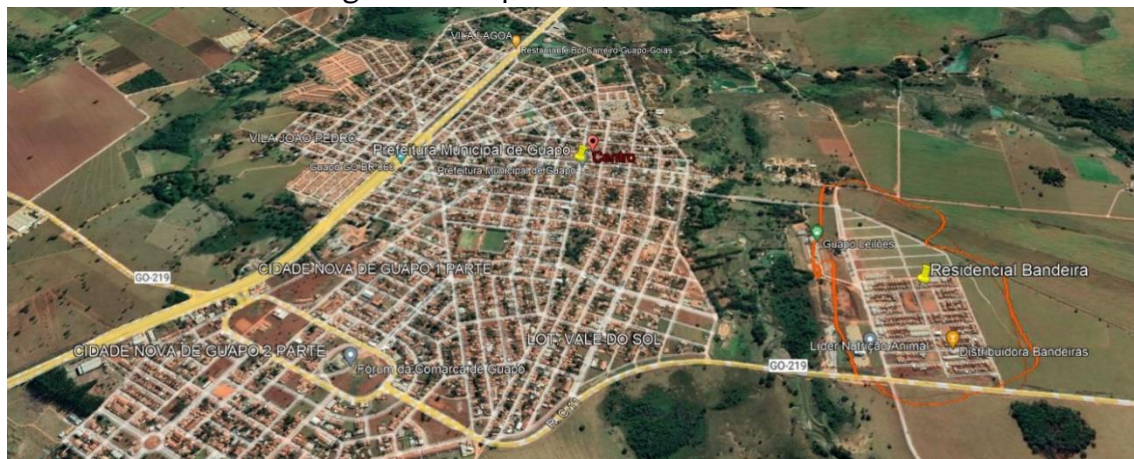


*Construtora e Incorporadora Ltda*, approved in 2012 (work under completion). It stands out as a great project in a small town, drawing the attention of passers-by, next to the road connecting Guapó to Aragoiânia (GO 219), in a highland area immediately above the stream that borders the town (*Ribeirão dos Pereiras*) mentioned above.

The single-storey houses, which vary in size and are intended for people with different income profiles (level 1 and 2), also use different sources of funding: 300 houses in Stage 1 were built with funds from the Residential Lease Fund - FAR (income level 1), are 44.63m<sup>2</sup> and were completed in 2017; two other projects launched later, with 94 units in Stage 2 and 93 units in Stage 3, both with 61.43m<sup>2</sup> houses, are traded directly by the builder, and can fit into the MCMV/National Urban Housing Program - PNHU (income level 2). The houses were sold in the same way as a market transaction: the construction company's website has a page where the product is available and, in its advertising piece we see the project with its location, a folder with the MCMV logo, the subsidy of R\$ 17,950.00, as well as the "decorated house" available for the customer to schedule a visit.

The housing was built in partnership with the federal, state and municipal governments, through the PMCMV and *Cheque Mais Moradia*. The first stage, with 300 homes, involved an investment of 18.6 million reais, benefiting families with incomes of up to three minimum wages. Borges (2020) characterized Guapó as "the locus of self-managed housing production". *Residencial Bandeira* was built on land located on *Fazenda Agropecuária Bandeira*, expanding the urban area of Guapó, which is more than 40 kilometers from the center of Goiânia. The image in Figure 2 shows the urban area of Guapó and the location of *Residencial Bandeira*.

Figure 2 - Guapó: Residencial Bandeira



Source: Google Earth, 2021. Made by: The authors.

The on-site evaluation showed, among other things, the dynamism of the popular housing market in Guapó, which has been drawing attention for the large number of social housing units, mainly produced by *Entidades* in recent years, especially since the MCMV2. The Bandeira housing estate was built on the site of a farm, organized into blocks, land sectors and roads, where a building was also erected in the same area to house a Basic Health Unit (UBS), despite the fact that the area was still uninhabited and not served by public transport, but the characteristics

of a small municipality mean that people can get around walking or by bicycle. The city is served by the Metropolitan Public Transport Network, Line 182, Terminal Dergo/ Guapó - via *Terminal Parque Oeste*, which the population uses mainly to travel to the metropolitan hub of Goiânia for access to the job market, health services and higher education, for example. In other words, the field visit showed that social housing tends to be located on the edge of the city, while the economic segment permeates the urban fabric.

The "marginality" of these neighborhoods seems to emerge even before they are built, a construction that can be understood as a pact, an extensive agreement between sectors that dispute the monopoly of urbanization, and consequently, soon after their occupation, the demands of the communities for better housing conditions also become "standardized", closing another cycle of production of emerging spaces, an expression of *city-making*, the margin and the center (Agier, 2015), as illustrated by the photos below showing *Residencial Bandeiras* in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Residencial Bandeiras: 'marginality' and standardization



Source: Borges (2020).

## 5 Results and discussion

In Brazil, the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (My House, My Life) program has emerged as an important political and economic engine for urban social formation, encouraged by the federal government, which in turn has further accredited the housing sector as a means of stabilizing the economy.

In Goiás, analyses of the housing programs implemented in the RMG, following the dynamism of the housing market, especially in the *budget* segment, as shown by Moyses et al. (2013), Borges (2020), among others, have shown that the state and metropolitan municipalities have performed strongly in contracting the MCMV and *Crédito Solidário* programs (vice-leader and national leader), which are responsible for most of the new housing built in the RMG, disseminating standardized houses/apartments and neighborhoods, which differ only by the income range of the residents, generating a kind of intra-neighborhood segmentation.

This characteristic observed in MCMV program development in RMG municipalities, most of which are considered low income, in addition to carrying a political message, such as the discourse on maintaining the program that many political candidates make during elections, and consequently greater approval and

support from voters who see MCMV as an opportunity for the right to housing and home ownership, is wrapped up in aspects that constitute, in fact, a "standard" environment: precarious basic sanitation, the lack of schools and health posts, poor access to the internet and telephone network, remoteness from urban centers.

In this sense, the research confirmed that the space on the outskirts of the metropolis has become a privileged locus of access for real estate capital and housing products, motivated above all by the price of land, with intense movement of this capital towards the cities in the metropolitan area, more precisely along the access routes to Goiânia (as illustrated in Figure 2). Among some of the fieldwork, the visits to the municipality of Guapó, more specifically to *Residencial Bandeira* (level 1), characterized the similarities found in many field trips.

The route taken to reach the research destination, *Residencial Bandeira*, made it clear that the neighborhood was located on the edge of a new residential area, inserted among asphalt, dirt roads (unpaved) and a good number of unbuilt allotments, contributing to the urban voids that made up the landscape.

Field research reports:

- 1) In *Residencial Bandeira*, five researchers went to apply the questionnaires. The meeting place after the interviews was a space similar to a square, located between two blocks in the neighborhood, which had an internal building, just a spacious concrete floor. One of the people interviewed said that there had sometimes been a street fair there on Sundays, but that this was not the reason for and purpose of the construction, and that the occupation of the space, after the creation of the market, was due to the abandonment and non-completion of the public project.
- 2) In another application of the questionnaire, a 75-year-old woman who lived by herself was interviewed. The house owner said that due to the fact that she was alone and her family lived in Goiânia, her neighbor was the person who helped her the most in daily life; she was a retired municipal server at the school lunch service, earning minimum retirement wage. She said that as she had never been able to buy or rent a property, she has always lived in relatives' houses. When she saw the opportunity to finally own a house, she turned to CRAS to register, being granted with a house of a size and structure similar to others in the project, except for those which have undergone some kind of improvement carried out later by residents (expansion/renovation).
- 3) The questionnaire took an average of 20 to 30 minutes to be completed, the first part composed of questions relating to the resident's socioeconomic situation, in order to understand the previous housing situation, and then it moved on to questions about the new housing. At first, one interviewee seemed extremely satisfied with the house. However, during the questionnaire, she point out some problems she has experienced in the property and in the neighborhood, such as poor ventilation, infiltration and cracks, noise pollution, which, according to her, was what bothered her the most, since, due to health problems, she felt severe headaches.

These results confirm what several studies point out about production within the scope of the MCMV program and, more broadly, in the *budget* housing segment in Brazil, largely showing poor urban and architectural quality, in addition to the



location of the projects (generally distant from the urban centers), implying high social costs, both in infrastructure provided and in public services offered.

In this matter, the field records coincide with what Michel Agier (2015) describes as *Right to the City* and its movements, the displacement of residents in housing developments on the edges of cities and the forms of introduction to the neighborhood, but also the right to living an urban life, the need for schools, daycare centers, shopping centers, health centers, a greater number of bus lines and, also, accessibility for all residents.

Cunha et al (2022) also remember that this echoes circumstances in all cities, the fight for well-being and rights does not only manifest itself verbally, the city-making, the movements, the sociability bring out the neighborhoods' singularities seen in *Minha Casa Minha Vida*, since, even based on assumptions of reducing social and housing inequalities, the production of lifestyles of residents still in defense of belonging to an urban life are not resolved in a fair way.

The dichotomy of margin and center becomes a central issue for understanding this living and moving social body, which is the City (MAGNANI, 2012). In addition to socioeconomic issues, cultural markers outline the production of life in the business described in the research, such as more and more women assuming the position of heads of families, the majority being single mothers and, therefore, experiencing the precariousness of the neighborhood where they live in an even more pronounced way. Of the sample universe, people who declared themselves in the family position of "provider", 72.7% were women, including 58% mixed race, with an average age of 45 years. In the interviews carried out, the constant feeling of insecurity and complaints about the absence of daycare centers and schools close to their homes, where they could leave their children before work, were even more common and emphasized in conversations with women.

On the other hand, the daily lives of elderly residents and people with disabilities also face the adversities of the housing project, without any progress in improving accessibility for people. In level 2 condominiums, they only distributed houses/apartments that were on the ground floor to residents with some physical or visual disability, but these owners complained about the internal architecture of the apartments, like the bathroom, for example, always mentioned as the most uncomfortable room to use, because they are small and do not have support supports and adapters, often making mobility unfeasible. These factors also reveal the shaping of interests and the constitution of a society based on the consciousness of hegemony, ignoring differences and needs of those who live in a house and are in the city, establishing a standardization of ways of life and thus worsening inequalities and problems related to the right to the city. Problems for which there are possible ways to confront and correct course, given the innovations and modifications brought about by Provisional Measure No. 1,162/2023 – the so-called New MCMV.

## 6 By way of final considerations

The consolidation of Goiânia's urbanization process, at the end of 1970, was marked by a lack of control over the occupation process, with few and ineffective attempts to promote the city's planned growth. Moyses (2006) analyzed the 1980s and 1990s as a period of urbanization carried out in reverse, with inconsequential occupations of urban and rural lands in the municipality (cases of the northwest and



north region). In this way, the private model of producing the city was maintained, organized in terms of a rentier policy, which marked Goiânia with traces of inequality and precariousness. This is what Moraes (2003) called “planned segregation” of the low-income population.

In summary, the research observed that the production of social housing established in the MCMV Program exposes urban centers problems belonging to the Brazilian social formation, reproducing in the small municipality of Guapó characteristics of contemporary urbanization, observed in Goiânia, as well as in large cities, and also of territorial extension, peripheralization and socio-spatial segregation.

A process that produces dispersed cities and expands social inequalities accumulated over time, such as unemployment, marginalization, violence, housing deficit and precarious housing, among others. The transformation of this process, intended for another urbanization, an inclusive and sustainable urban development, requires the application of urban policy, with the formulation and implementation of public policies which mitigate the effects caused by the construction of cities without due attention to urban planning, influenced by disputes and segregationist economic interests, situation aggravated by the adverse climate conditions that occurred in this first quarter of the 21st century.

In demographic terms, the population dynamics in the metropolitan region of Goiânia, based on the results of the 2022 Census from IBGE, shows remarkable growth, especially in relation to other regions of the country, due to an increasing number of citizens seeking to settle in the city of Guapó for housing purposes, so they travel daily in search of better job opportunities in the metropolitan center, proving the importance of access to housing in the socio-spatial dynamization of a given location.

The data presented in this research reaffirm the perception that the problem of housing shortage, which directly affects the most needy and socially vulnerable people, in large urban centers as well as in RMG, is not solved only through supply by the private sector, requiring strong action from the State, through effective and planned public policies, aimed at rebuilding cities and the universal right to the city, as proposed by Borges et al. (2022, p. 108).

In this sense, Goiás housing policy contributes positively as, in recent years, it has introduced important innovations for greater inclusion of beneficiaries in housing programs, such as *Pra Ter Onde Morar – Aluguel Social* (Law nº 21,186/2021), a novelty in the social policy of Goiás, offered to families in socioeconomic vulnerability, in arrears with mortgage or rent, and to students who benefit from the scholarship program at the State University of Goiás, for a period of 18 months, which can be extended in exceptional cases.

On the national scene, the outlook is also quite optimistic, given the return of the *Minha Casa Minha Vida Program*, which has been paralyzed and suspended since 2020, replaced by the stillborn *Casa Verde Amarela*, which had already been abandoned during the entire previous administration leaving out the population in the lowest income strata and social entities (level 1). For Balbim (2023), the new MCMV (MP nº 1162/2023) has the potential to be the programmatic platform for Brazilian urban development, and its implementation will be guaranteed if the envisioned innovations are regulated and implemented, such as priority assistance to groups vulnerable groups, diversity of modalities, robust political guidelines and the

reinforcement of social fight for rights, after a period in which these issues had been challenged by the State.

## REFERENCES

AGIER, M. Do direito à cidade ao fazer-cidade. O antropólogo, uma margem e o centro. *Mana*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 21, n. 3, p. 483-498, dezembro de 2015.

AMORE, C. S.; SHIMBO, L. Z. e RUFINO, M B. C. Minha Casa: e a Cidade? *Letra Capital*. Rio de Janeiro. 2015

AMORE, C. S. “Minha Casa Minha Vida” para iniciantes. In: AMORE, Caio S; SHIMBO, Lucia Z e Rufino, M Beatriz C. *Minha Casa... e a Cidade?* Letra Capital: Rio de Janeiro, 2015. p. 11-27.

BALBIM, R. N. Do Casa Verde e Amarela ao Banco Nacional da Habitação, passando pelo Minha Casa Minha Vida: uma avaliação da velha nova política de desenvolvimento urbano. Texto para Discussão (TD) 2751 (PDF). Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Ipea). Brasília, 2022. Disponível em: <https://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/handle/11058/11104>.

BALBIM, R. N. O Minha Casa Minha Vida voltou. Dos tons de cinza do Casa Verde Amarela ao policromatismo das pautas identitárias, quais revisões e possibilidades a MP e suas 253 emendas anunciam? (Publicação Preliminar). Nota Técnica (PDF). Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Ipea). Brasília, 2023. Disponível em: <https://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/handle/11058/11855>.

BALBIM, R. N. O Minha Casa Minha Vida voltou – produção das Cidades. *Le Monde Diplomatique Brasil*. 22 de junho de 2023. Disponível em: <https://diplomatique.org.br/o-minha-casa-minha-vida-voltou/>.

BECKER, H. Métodos de Pesquisa nas Ciências Sociais. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1992 (3ª ed.) (Caps. 2 e 3, pp. 47/99 – Problemas de Inferência e Prova na observação participante: evidências de trabalho de campo).

BORGES, E. M. Habitação e MetrÓpole: Transformações recentes na dinâmica urbana de Goiânia, Tese de Doutorado (IESA/UFG). Goiânia, 2017.

BORGES, E. M. Dinâmicas do mercado imobiliário e metropolização de Goiânia: um balanço de 15 anos pós-retomada da política habitacional. Editora Appris. Curitiba. 2020.

BORGES, E. M.; MOYSES, A.; CUNHA, D. F.; OLIVEIRA, A. F. Como anda a metrópole goianiense no Séc. XXI : Desigualdades e bem-estar urbano. In: Celene Cunha Monteiro Antunes Barreira; Marcos Bittar Haddad; Aristides Moysés. (Org.). *Reforma Urbana e Direito à Cidade - Goiânia*. 1ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2022, v. 2, p. 13-25.

BORGES, E. M.; CUNHA, D. F. ; BOAVENTURA, D. M. R. ; MORAES, L. M. . Precariedade da moradia e ocupações espontâneas na Metrópole Goiânia. In: Celene Cunha Monteiro Antunes Barreira; Marcos Bittar Haddad; Aristides Moysés. (Org.). Reforma Urbana e Direito à Cidade. 1ed.Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2022, v. 2, p. 91-111.

CARVALHO, A. W. B.; STEPHAN, I. I. C. A eficácia social do Programa MCMV: discussão conceitual e reflexões a partir de um caso empírico. Cadernos Metrópole, V. 18, nº 35, abril-2016.

CUNHA, D. F.; Borges, E. M.; SALDANHA, B. C. D. N. Fazer-Cidade: um olhar a partir do legado do Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida. In: XIX Enanpur, 2022, Blumenau/SC/BR. Anais ... XIX Enapur. Blumenau: FURB/ANPUR, 2022. v. 1. p. 1-11.

ENDLICH, A. M. Novos referenciais de desenvolvimento e planejamento territorial: possibilidades para as pequenas cidades?. Redes, 12(2), 2008, p. 5-35. Disponível em: <https://doi.org/10.17058/redes.v12i2.257>

FUNDAÇÃO JOÃO PINHEIRO. Déficit Habitacional no Brasil – 2016-2019. FJP/ Centro de Estatística e Informações. Belo Horizonte: 2021.

INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DE GEOGRAFIA E ESTATÍSTICA – IBGE. Censos Demográficos e Estimativas. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE. Cidades 2021. Acesso: 2023.

INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DE GEOGRAFIA E ESTATÍSTICA – IBGE. Prévia da População dos Municípios com base nos dados do Censo Demográfico 2022, coletados até 25/12/2022. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE. Acesso: 2023.

IMB/GOIÁS. Déficit Habitacional em Goiás: uma análise do CadÚnico. IMB/SegPlan – Estudos do IMB. Goiânia. Novembro de 2018.

MORAES, L. M. A segregação planejada: Goiânia, Brasília e Palmas. Goiânia: Ed. da UCG, 2003.

MOYSÉS, A. Cidade, Segregação Urbana e Planejamento. Goiânia: Ed. da UCG, 2006.

MOYSES, A.; CUNHA, D.F; BORGES E. M.; MAIA, T. B. C. Impactos da produção habitacional contemporânea na Região Metropolitana de Goiânia: dinâmica, estratégias de mercado e a configuração de novas espacialidades e centralidades. In: CARDOSO, A. L. (org.). O programa Minha Casa Minha Vida e seus efeitos territoriais. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2013.

MAGNANI, J. G. C. Da periferia ao centro: trajetórias de pesquisa em antropologia urbana. São Paulo: Editora Terceiro Nome, 2012.

SHIMBO, L. Z. Métodos e escalas de análise. In: AMORE, Caio S; SHIMBO, Lucia Z e Rufino, M Beatriz C. Minha Casa... e a Cidade? Letra Capital: Rio de Janeiro, 2015. p. 29-50.

SILVA, P. O.; NASCIMENTO, T. F.; MACEDO, M. P. Avaliação quali-quantitativa de problemas ambientais: o caso do Ribeirão dos Pereiras, em Guapó (GO). III Semana de Pesquisa e Extensão da UEG – UNU Morrinhos, 25 a 27 de outubro, de 2011. Disponível em: <https://pt.scribd.com/document/83937675/Avaliacao-quali-quantitativa-de-problemas-ambientais-o-caso-do-ribeirao-dos-pereiras-em-guapo-GO#>.

**Elcileni de Melo Borges**

Economista; mestre em economia social e do trabalho (Unicamp); doutora em geografia urbana (IESA/UFG); Gestora Governamental/Gerente de Políticas e Programas da Região Metropolitana de Goiânia (SGG-Goiás); pesquisadora do Observatório das Metrôpoles – Núcleo Goiânia. CEP: 74.230-050. email: [elcimb@uol.com.br](mailto:elcimb@uol.com.br);

**Débora Ferreira da Cunha**

Economista; mestre em Transportes (UnB); doutora em geografia urbana (IESA/UFG); Professora (FCS/UFG) e PPG Projeto e Cidade (FAV/UFG); pesquisadora do Observatório das Metrôpoles – Núcleo Goiânia. End: Universidade Federal de Goiás. CEP: 74001-970. email: [debora@ufg.br](mailto:debora@ufg.br).

Submitted in: 03/05/2023

Approved in: 30/10/2023

**CONTRIBUTION OF EACH AUTHOR**

Conceptualization: Borges, Elcileni; Cunha, Débora;

Data Curation: Borges, Elcileni;

Formal Analysis: Cunha, Débora;

Funding acquisition: Universidade Federal de Goiás – UFG/IESA;

Investigation/Research: Borges, Elcileni; Cunha, Débora;

Methodology: Borges, Elcileni; Cunha, Débora;

Project Administration: Universidade Federal de Goiás – UFG/IESA (coordenação: Prof<sup>a</sup> Celene Cunha Monteiro Barreira);

Resources: not applicable;

Software: Statistics software (SPSS) and Quantum Gis;

Supervision: Borges, Elcileni; Cunha, Débora;

Validation: Borges, Elcileni; Cunha, Débora;

Visualization: Cunha, Débora;

Writing – original draft: Borges, Elcileni;

Writing – Review & Editing: Cunha, Débora.

Research Support: Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Goiás – Fapeg.