


EXPANSION OF THE URBAN SPACE OF PORTO NACIONAL (TO): AN ANALYSIS OF REAL ESTATE CAPITAL AND REAL ESTATE SPECULATION

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Aires José Pereira¹, Roberto de Souza Santos² and Nelsonita de Souza Batista³

ABSTRACT

This article proposes a discussion on the expansion of urban space and socio-spatial segregation in the urban configuration of the city of Porto Nacional (TO). The text seeks to identify and analyze the expansion of the urban fabric in the period from the end of the twentieth century to the years 2016. It seeks to identify which are the main actors responsible for the current configuration of the space. The methodological procedures were based on a literature review and fieldwork and application of interviews to real estate owners. The object of study is treated from a qualitative-quantitative and exploratory approach, highlighting the subjects involved in the process of transformation of space. The search for primary and secondary data collection was carried out from the IBGE database and the Municipal Secretariat of Works and Planning of Porto Nacional through fieldwork. The research allowed to verify that the urban expansion of the city of Porto Nacional is the result of the incorporation of rural lands and the creation of new allotments.

Keywords: Urban Expansion. Developer Capital. Urban Space. Real Estate Speculation.

¹ Dr. in Geography
University of Uberlândia
E-mail: aires@ufr.edu.br
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7707-1187>

² Dr. in Geography
State University of São Paulo
E-mail: robertosantas@uft.edu.br
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4373-6443>

³ Graduated in Pedagogy and Computer Science
Federal Institute of Tocantins
E-mail: nel.nita@hotmail.com.
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-0274-3379>

INTRODUCTION

Real estate speculation refers to one of the genuinely capitalist aspects of urban land. Private appropriation and land valuation play a fundamental role in the process of real estate speculation and result in the unequal production of urban space. This line of reasoning will help us in the analysis of the dynamics and expansion of urban space in Porto Nacional – TO. There has been a considerable growth in the urban space of Porto Nacional, from 1980 onwards, especially after 2010, with the creation of several subdivisions and a closed condominium, which accentuates the already existing socio-spatial segregation.

The research aims to analyze the expansion of the urban fabric in the city of Porto Nacional, taking as a time frame the decade from 1990 to 2016. The specific objectives of the research are to identify and comment on the successive periods of creation of allotments that marked the formation of the processes responsible for the current configuration of the urban space and to comment on the actors that contributed to the current configuration of the urban space in Porto Nacional - TO.

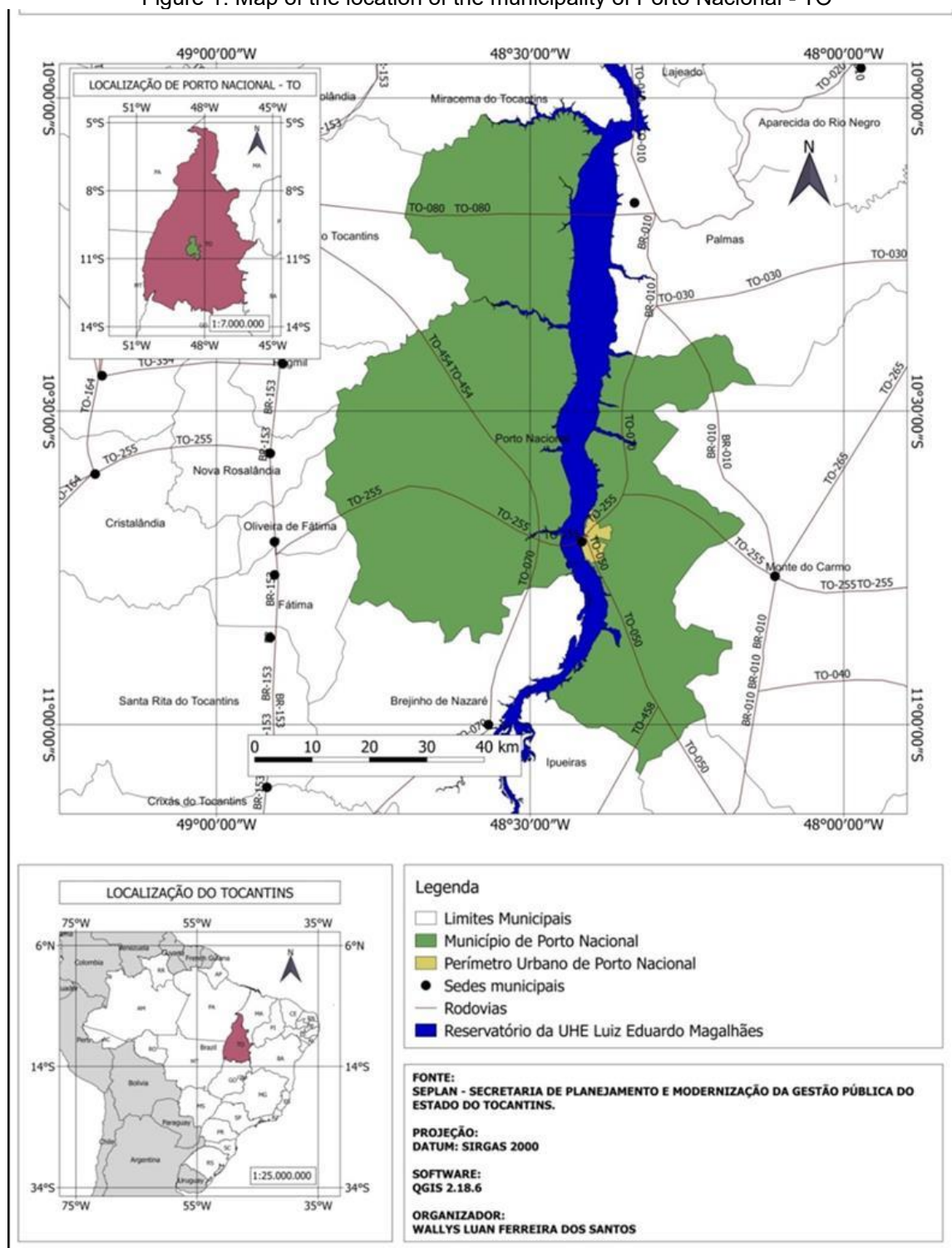
The methodology used was based on a literature review on the topic in question and the empirical research of fieldwork. The object of study is treated from a qualitative-quantitative approach, highlighting the subjects involved in the process of transformation of urban space. It is a descriptive and exploratory research, using the bibliographic analysis of books, scientific articles, dissertations and documents, as well as the use of information collected in the IBGE database.

The text is composed of the following topics: the introduction presents the research and the geographical location of the study area, the municipality of Porto Nacional. The topic - the social agents that produce and reproduce urban space: from the political city to the capitalist industrial city that describes the temporal evolution of the urbanization process and the main social and economic agents that produce urban space. The topic - economic growth and expectations of the real estate market in Porto Nacional reports the factors that provided the economic growth from 2006 and the expectations of the real estate capital in Porto Nacional. The topic - expansion of the urban fabric in Porto Nacional - TO: real estate speculation and socio-spatial segregation describes and analyzes the process of expansion of the urban fabric of the city of Porto, from the creation of allotments, at the end of the twentieth century until the years 2016. The topic - final considerations

brings the conclusions and findings in the light of the theoretical and empirical research worked on in the text.

As for the geographical location of the object of study, the municipality of Porto Nacional is located east of the Tocantins River, 64 km from the capital Palmas - TO, between the parallels: 10° 42' 29" south latitude and 48° 25' 02" west longitude. Figure 01 illustrates the location of the municipality of Porto Nacional. The municipality has an area of 4,449.892 km² and a population of about 64,418 inhabitants.

Figure 1. Map of the location of the municipality of Porto Nacional - TO



Source: IBGE (2010).

Porto Nacional is a riverside city that had the beginning of its human occupation because it was a crossing post of two nuclei – the village of Pontal (located west of the Tocantins River) and Monte do Carmo (located east of the Tocantins River), with Porto Real as its first name, functioning as an exchange point between these nuclei. In the nineteenth

century, the development of the locality that corresponds to the current Porto Nacional was related to the activity of navigation and trade with Belém do Pará, as stated by Oliveira (2010).

With the decrease of gold in the neighboring camps, the place became Porto Real, which was transferred in 1810 from Monte do Carmo, becoming the largest and most important commercial center in the North of Goiás. According to Oliveira (2010), in this period, for example, about 30 vessels departed from Porto Real per year towards Pará. Currently, Porto Nacional has economic prominence in the agricultural sector and in the tertiary sector, including trade and the provision of services.

THE SOCIAL AGENTS THAT PRODUCE AND REPRODUCE THE URBAN SPACE: FROM THE POLITICAL CITY TO THE INDUSTRIAL-CAPITALIST CITY

Analyzing urban space is a concern of several researchers from different areas of knowledge. Within the analysis from the perspective of geographical science, another important element is observed, which is the scale of the phenomena. Scale is seen as a strategy for apprehending reality, which defines the empirical field of research, considering that it is the phenomena that give meaning to the objectified spatial cut and also to the category of analysis. The geographical analysis of phenomena requires that the apprehension of space occurs at the scale in which it is perceived, taking into account that a space or a region has a territorial dimension and a social dimension that interact and configure a particular scale of space, as stated by Castro (1995). In the case of the object of study of this research is the urban space of Porto Nacional within a process of expansion and social materialization.

Carlos (1992, p. 27) points out that the city is the "materialization of social labor as an instrument of surplus value, a condition and means for the establishment of diverse social relations", and from this thesis, it can be inferred that urban contradictions and socio-spatial segregation in urban space are one of the consequences of this appropriation by capital. The urban space produced through the aspirations and needs of a class society makes itself a field of struggle in which interests and battles are resolved by the political play of social forces. According to Carlos (2004, p.7), "the city, considered a human construction, is a historical-social product; in this dimension it appears as materialized work accumulated throughout the historical process and developed by a series of generations". Therefore, the urban space is historically built from the labor force of the working class, and

in it the urban-industrial economy prevails, causing the city to have constant growth – characteristic of the development of capitalist economies.

Within the historical process, the city has evolved according to the political, economic and cultural conjuncture of its time. According to the temporal axis of the urbanization process, outlined by Lefebvre (1999), near point zero is the first city, the political city. In the political city, the social division of labor was already established, since, on the one hand, there were priests, princes, military chiefs and scribes (the one who mastered writing and used it to write the laws of his region); and on the other, artisans, peasants and slaves.

When merchants became the hegemonic class, commerce was installed around the central square, as an expression of the centrality of the market, as a form of the first step towards the commercial city. The conditions of stability of the political city collapsed with the consolidation of commercial activity and, in effect, the architectural morphology of the city gave way to the meeting of people for the purpose of establishing exchange.

The industrial city "[...] it precedes and announces the *critical zone*. At that moment, the implosion-explosion produces all its consequences. The growth of industrial production superimposes the growth of commercial exchanges and multiplies them" (Lefebvre, 1999, p. 24, emphasis added). Following the temporal evolution of the urbanization process outlined by Lefebvre, it is possible to perceive two important scenarios during the temporal transition from the commercial city to the industrial city and from the industrial city to the critical zone. Between the commercial city and the industrial city, there is an inflection from agrarian space to urban space.

Thus, it is considered that the city assumes forms, characteristics and functions in each of the different stages of the historical process. In this way, "the city would be, in each era, the product of the division, the type and objects of work, as well as the power centralized in it" (Carlos, 1992, p.57). In the capitalist mode of production, the city reproduces the conflicting interests between workers and entrepreneurs, which ends up generating a socially contradictory space.

Urban space is defined as a set of different land uses juxtaposed with each other. This set of land uses is the spatial organization of the city, a fragmented space linked to three dialectical pairs: it is simultaneously fragmented and articulated; it is a reflection and social conditioning; It is a symbolic field, but also a field of social struggles. Thus, the urban space is divided into residential areas, reflecting the complex social structure into classes.

The work factor is of fundamental importance in the spatial organization of the city. It is a condition for differentiating the urban space together with the capital employed. Work is employed according to the needs of capital, not always respecting the needs of society as a whole. The working citizen employs his labor force in the spatial arrangement of the city, but does not always participate in the comforts, leisure, social well-being, in short, in the benefits that it has. Even because, the benefits of the city, created by proletarian work, are individualized according to the purchasing power of its residents and the resulting problems are socialized among all others who have no way to defend themselves from such a situation. That is, the worker with low purchasing power produces, through his labor power, a city that denies him the possibility of inhabiting it. (Pereira, 2021, p. 90).

In the spatial analysis of the industrial city, (even if it – city – is not industrial, but we are under the aegis of industrial cities), it is perceived that the process of socio-spatial production is reflected in the social conditions of different social agents that reproduce the urban context. The large industrial owners, the large commercial companies and, above all, the real estate capital act as large consumers of space, due to the dimension of their economic activities of a capitalist and socially contradictory nature. From the fieldwork, it was found that in many cases, landowners are land owners who work to obtain the highest land income from their properties, with an interest in converting rural land into urban land, especially in the areas surrounding the city.

Real estate developers (real estate developers) work by building projects with a higher use value than older buildings, thus obtaining an increasingly higher sale price, which increases the social exclusion of the popular classes. It can also happen that "(...) to the extent that the approval bodies of housing projects establish minimum dimensions for the buildings constructed, developers and builders make them rules, discarding the possibility of building larger housing" (Lucena; Maia, 2022, p. 172).

In the industrial city, the State operates in the regulation of urban land use and acts directly with other agents, such as industrial and financial capital, landowners and real estate developers. It has a set of instruments, for example, the Federal Council of Real Estate Brokers (COFECI) and tax legislation that can regulate urban space, such as the right of expropriation and precedence in the purchase of land, control and limitation of land prices and location, among others.

Finally, there are the excluded social groups, which are those who do not have the income to pay the rent for decent housing and much less to buy a property. These people are left with the following homes: tenements, self-construction systems, housing projects provided by the state agent and the degrading favelas. It is through the production of the favela, on public and private land, that excluded social groups effectively become agents

that shape urban space. In summary, from the political city to the industrial city, the social agents that produce urban space are the workers and the economic and commercial entrepreneurs, whether the agrarian aristocracy or the commercial bourgeoisie. In the case of the industrial city, it was the workers and the industrial bourgeoisie.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE REAL ESTATE MARKET IN PORTO NACIONAL

Currently, there is a set of factors that contribute to economic growth in Porto Nacional. Among them, we can highlight a greater presence of agribusiness economic activity and the installation of multimodal yards in the district of Luzimangues (Luzimangues is north of the city of Porto Nacional, approximately 70 kilometers away). According to Abreu (2014), the construction of the multimodal yard of the North-South railroad, in the vicinity of the district of Luzimangues, in the municipality of Porto Nacional, caused an expectation of local development. Another important factor for the growth of the local economy of Luzimangues is related to its proximity to the capital Palmas.

Between 2006 and 2018, there was economic growth in Porto Nacional with the increase in the number of companies and, consequently, an increase in the number of employed personnel, as shown in Table 01. The number of companies went from 962 in 2006 to 1327 in 2018. In chart 01, data from two to two years were used to obtain a detailed X-ray of the period analyzed. The increase in companies is boosted by the economic activity of regional agribusiness and the service sector. But at the same time that there is an increase in the number of companies, there is also, with the advance of large property, small farmers end up moving and migrating to the cities. Since agribusiness prioritizes monoculture for the export market, placing essential items for feeding workers on the margin of productivity.

Table 1. Growth of Porto Nacional based on occupancy and number of companies

Company Number, employed persons and average salary in Porto Nacional – TO			
Year	Number of Units	Busy Staff	Average monthly salary (in minimum wages)
2006	962	5.650	1,8
2008	1019	5.373	2,1
2010	1.077	5.892	1,9
2012	1.196	7.634	2,2
2014	1.263	8.545	2,0
2016	1.442	8.548	2,2
2018	1.327	10.269	2,2

Source: IBGE (2018). Organized by the authors.

Observing Chart 01, it is possible to see that there was an increase in the number of company establishments from 2008 onwards, in the number of occupations from 2010 onwards in Porto Nacional with the arrival of new companies that settled in the municipality in the period analyzed, mainly in the services, commerce and agribusiness sectors. In the service and commercial sector, there are several medium-sized companies of national and regional origin. In the case of agribusiness companies, there are Bunge, Pionner, Bayer, which are multinationals and also companies linked to agricultural equipment and fertilizers of foreign, national and regional origin in the city of Porto Nacional and region.

According to a survey carried out by the fieldwork, in the municipality, there is also the presence of agribusiness companies that operate in biofuel, fertilizers, refrigerators, in addition to others that undertake the sale of agricultural equipment. There are several companies that operate in the economic activity of agribusiness, which enhance the economy of the municipality. With the arrival of agribusiness companies in the municipality and the consequent heating up of the local economy, the trend is that there will also be a heating up of the labor market.

The representative of the real estate sector in an interview says that the city has hosted several university courses, a fact that has attracted a demographic contingent to its surroundings and, with this, other branches of the economy also benefit, such as the real estate sector. There is a significant presence of higher education courses, whether public or private, in the city, among which, we can highlight: a Campus of the Federal University of Tocantins (UFT) and another of the Federal Institute of Tocantins (IFTO), in the public education sector.

In addition, private colleges are also present, developing the teaching modality in person. They are: Instituto Tocantinense Presidente Antônio Carlos (ITPAC) and Faculdade

São Marcos (FASAMAR). Regarding private colleges that operate in distance education (Distance Education), the Paulo Freire Institute (IPF) and the North College of Paraná (UNOPAR) are verified.

ITPAC arrived in Porto Nacional in 2008, offering medical courses in the municipality. At first, the institution was installed in the center of the city and bought the Higher Education Institute of Porto Nacional (IESPEN) and the Educational Union of Porto Nacional (UNIPORTO), as stated by Oliveira (2009). The installation of these developments in the city heated up the rental market, due to the fact that a large part of its students were from other regions, which caused a demand for housing. Currently, the ITPAC College already has its own building, located in the Ipês Sector, in the northeast portion of the city, with more than 6 courses. The UFT, which offers courses in the areas of human and biological sciences, also contributed and contributes to the heating of the rental market in the city.

Universities have had and continue to play an important role in the dynamics of the city of Porto Nacional, since they have increased the offers of higher education courses for the municipality. The educational enterprises in the municipality provided a regional dynamic with regard to the sector of educational service provision, contributing to the importance of the city of Porto in the regional urban network.

In an interview, the representative of Imobiliária Bela Vista⁴, says that the enthusiasm of the real estate market is a fact in Porto Nacional. He, who has lived and worked in Porto Nacional since 1991, assures that the arrival of companies and colleges of higher education contributed to the appreciation of the real estate market with an increase in rent and boosted the sales of lots in the city.

When I started working here, in 1991, a 600 m² lot in the Airport sector cost about Cr\$ 1,000.00 (one thousand cruzeiros), today a lot in this part of the city costs from R\$ 100,000.00 to R\$ 120,000.00. When ITPAC arrived here, it was very good for us, it took a very big beat, it collaborated a lot with the increase in sales and value of lots and rent. Before building the building in the sector where it is today, the lots there were worth from R\$ 6,000.00 to R\$ 12,000.00, although the UFT was already there, there was not much appreciation in the nearby lots. Even when ITPAC went to build there, I already knew and many lot owners there didn't know. I bought several lots of R\$ 6,000.00 and then sold R\$ 12,000.00. Today the lots cost from R\$ 35,000.00 to R\$ 40,000.00. (Interview with a representative of the real estate sector in 2018).

⁴ The interview was conducted in May 2018 on the premises of the company where the interviewee works, located in the city of Porto Nacional.

In this statement of the interviewee, it is possible to verify that the arrival of the UFT, and especially of ITPAC, in Porto Nacional, in the vicinity of the neighborhood of the Jardins dos Ipês Sector, promoted a significant appreciation of the properties in the neighborhood. Other neighborhoods also had their properties appreciated significantly. The Airport Sector neighborhood, for example, which is next to the city center, had the most expressive value of its lots, in 2009, for an average of R\$ 60,000.00; in 2017, the amount rose to R\$ 100,000.00 to R\$ 120,000.00. This appreciation of urban real estate prices intensifies socio-spatial segregation by making housing more expensive, which makes it more inaccessible to the low-income population, and creates a favorable scenario for real estate developers to create more subdivisions in an attempt to accumulate capital.

The city we are studying has a history of "construction" and "reproduction" of space, which has assumed varied characteristics according to a set of other variables that have marked its growth. By analyzing its whole, the fundamental outline of its transformations is obtained. Likewise, by evaluating the details, for example, in each neighborhood, one has a better opportunity to reevaluate and rewrite its history. The examples to be analyzed, the peripheral neighborhoods of this city, represent a test of this to raise the prices of land and, obviously, raise the costs of the housing product, which will not only hinder the production of housing, but will also hinder the technological modernization of the civil industry itself; in addition to contributing to raising land prices. In view of the above, the urban space constitutes an objective reality, a social product in a permanent process of transformation. (Pereira, 2020, p. 14).

What can be seen is that, with the heating up of the local real estate market, there was an expansion of the city's urban space, enabling a disorderly growth of the urban fabric with the creation of new subdivisions. In the Sector of Jardins dos Ipês neighborhood, where ITPAC was installed, there are several lots with few building buildings (low rate of land occupation), even so, new allotments have recently been created in its surroundings, such as Jardim América, Jardim Novo América and Jardim Universitário. The creation of allotments is an economic enterprise that can serve as a store of value for the capitalist.

The nature of urban land as a store of value is a path to the commodification of urban land. As a result, the social function of housing is compromised. As much as we have ensured the right to the city, as the Federal Constitution guarantees, the access of the low-income population to this right is still very limited. In the Federal Constitution of 1988, in its Article 182 and paragraph 2, the right to the city and the social function of land are ensured: "Urban property fulfills its social function when it meets the fundamental requirements of city ordinance expressed in the master plan" (BRASIL, 1988).

In addition to the constitution, the 2001 City Statute also ensures this right, when it is responsible for establishing urban policy and developing the city's social functions and urban property at the municipal level. However, even though it is a constitutionally guaranteed right, the low-income population has this right limited. But to assert this right, it is necessary to mobilize and organize the workers' struggle politically.

The social function of possession is articulated with fundamental rights and human rights. According to Souza (2020), the social function of urban property emerges as a fundamental right from a social and economic perspective, which acts as an instrument that organizes urban space. The social function linked to property has become an important mechanism for the adequate and orderly development of the territory, aiming at social, cultural, economic and political sustainability. But, for this instrument to happen in practice, it is necessary that the low-income population often mobilizes politically. That is why, in order to achieve the social function and the right to the city, urban property needs to be defined by the Government and not by capital. That is, the interests of capital serve the interests of the market and the public power also seeks to serve the market, but, in theory, it could meet the collective interests, especially with political mobilization.

Social movements, especially the Homeless Workers' Movement, are able to mobilize to mitigate the contradictions between the social function of property and access to the right to land. In other words, social movements are a source of inspiration to assert the right to housing. The demonstrations and political mobilization of urban social movements configure the class struggle. Access to the right to land will be guaranteed when social movements and social subjects put pressure on capital and the State to meet their interests, and when social movements become protagonists, the right to the city also becomes real.

EXPANSION OF THE URBAN FABRIC IN PORTO NACIONAL – TO: REAL ESTATE SPECULATION AND SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Capitalist activity produces an uneven geographical development, which generates a socially contradictory city. Private property conditioned by the logic of capital in the urban space plays a central role in this social and contradictory inequality. Carlos (2004) reasons in this line of argument, stating that:

Segregation is the negation of urban and urban life. Its foundation is the existence of private property of urban land, which differentiates the citizen's access to

housing, producing the fragmentation of the elements of urban socio-spatial practice, separating the places of life, as autonomous elements: at this level, the existence of private property of land realizes inequalities that are at the basis of the development of capitalist society. (Carlos, 2004, p. 141).

Between the lines of Carlos' argument, we can observe that urban socio-spatial segregation is a factor that causes social inequalities in the city - it is a phenomenon arising from the action of private property on urban land. Villaça (2001) also helps us to reason in this direction, pointing out that Brazilian society has enormous economic inequality and political power. For this author, there is social segregation of the most varied natures in Brazilian cities, especially of classes. In conceptual terms, segregation is understood as a process according to which different classes or social strata tend to be increasingly concentrated in different regions or groups of neighborhoods, especially when it comes to the spatial separation of the rich classes with poverty.

On the intra-urban scale, a picture of socio-spatial segregation is perceptible, characterized by the dichotomy between the rich center x the poor periphery, or between rich neighborhoods and the neighborhoods of poverty. The first is endowed with most urban, public and private services that is occupied by the higher income classes. The second, that is, the periphery is where we find greater social inequalities. But, currently, there has been the emergence of a new pattern of peripheral segregation - that of the elite that are the gated communities. This is already present in the city of Porto Nacional with the construction of the closed condominium Residencial Porto Leman, located on the outskirts of the city to the south. Many authors call this type of segregation, spatial self-segregation. Frey and Duarte (2006) state that a few decades ago, we experienced a movement of self-segregation in Brazil: when people from social classes with high purchasing power gather in gated communities, usually far from urban centers.

According to Villaça (2001), there are three types of urban segregation: 1) an opposition between the center, where the price of land is higher, and the periphery where the price is lower; 2) a growing separation between the zones and housing reserved for the most privileged social strata and the zones of popular housing; 3) a generalized dismantling of urban functions disseminated in geographically distinct and increasingly specialized areas: office areas, industrial areas, housing areas. By fragmenting urban land into specific spaces for each economic activity or for certain social classes, the process of segregation becomes broader.

In the neoliberal context, it is important to make some comments about the socio-spatial segregation of the city. This segregation is the greatest expression of social exclusion and is configured in points of generalized poverty. It is observed when the low-income population has difficulty accessing urban collective services and equipment. Thus, the process of urban segregation is worked on by several authors with different views. One of them points to segregation as a process that manifests itself in land rent, in which the high-income class gets the land of higher value and the low-income population, on the contrary, the land of lower price (Bastos Filho *et al*, 2019).

However, there are disputes about this thesis (even confirmed by the same authors mentioned in the previous paragraph), that is, the high-income class can occupy cheaper land and this process of segregation occurs as a result of the pressure of political and economic powers on the State, brokering an unequal distribution of investments in infrastructure (Bastos Filho *et al*, 2019).

There is a third line of research, which is based on the idea that the process of segregation is the result of struggles or disputes over locations, which occurs, however, between social groups or between classes. Within this perspective, the growth of crime and the growing fear of urban violence can generate patterns of socio-spatial segregation, especially with the emergence of gated communities (Vilaça, 2001 and 2011; Maricato, 1997 and 2000; Lefebvre, 2002). It is a process in which different social classes tend to be concentrated in different regions of the urban space (Vilaça, 2001).

After this comment on socio-spatial segregation, we will return to the discussion about the research of our analysis. According to Oliveira (2009), during the process of territorial formation of the state of Goiás, there were several attempts to separate the former North from the South of Goiás, reaching the peak of approval of the creation of the state of Tocantins, in the Federal Constitution, on October 5, 1988. Soon after the legal process of the creation of the state, a new political and geopolitical dispute begins over the location of the capital. The controversy revolved around the three main cities in the state at the time, candidates to host the provisional capital of the state of Tocantins: Araguaína, Gurupi and Porto Nacional.

[...] the fact that the location of the provisional capital of the state of Tocantins was under the responsibility of the executive, as stated in the 1988 Constitution, is yet another "mistake" of Brazilian parliamentarians, of wanting to solve the country's regional problems, from their offices in Brasília. Those constituents were unaware that in the territory of the new state, three cities disputed the right to host the

provisional capital of the State of Tocantins (Porto Nacional, Gurupi and Araguaína). (Lira, 2011, p. 172).

However, none of the three cities mentioned by the author were chosen by the executive power to host the provisional capital of the new state. To everyone's surprise, the name was the small town of Miracema do Norte, called today Miracema do Tocantins, which became the state capital on January 1st, a position it held until December 1st, 1989. According to Lira (2011), the city of Miracema do Tocantins, at the time it was elected capital, had an average of six thousand inhabitants, without infrastructure and with serious flooding problems in the rainy season, as a consequence of the flooding of the Tocantins River. The other cities that disputed the title of the headquarters to the capital, all with larger and better infrastructures and public buildings that could be used during the condition of capital, in addition to providing a population contingent. Even so, they were not chosen.

The installation of the provisional capital in Miracema do Tocantins was intended to constitute a provisional capital, until the construction of the definitive capital was carried out. The first step towards the planning of the definitive capital was taken shortly after the election of Governor Siqueira Campos, on November 15, 1988, who requested the survey to define the location of the new capital. The result of the survey determined an area located between the municipalities of Porto Nacional and Taquaruçu do Porto. Thus, the capital Palmas was created on May 20, 1989 (shortly after the creation of the state) and installed on January 1, 1990.

The creation of the state of Tocantins, in 1988, together with the fact that the capital was built in the geographical vicinity of the city of Porto Nacional with a distance of 70 kilometers, brought a new dynamic to the production of the urban space of Porto. After the creation of the state of Tocantins and the transfer of the provisional capital from the city of Miracema do Tocantins to Palmas, the city of Porto Nacional underwent an important process of spatial transformation. With the construction of Palmas, the regional importance of Porto Nacional was reduced, which caused the slowdown of its demographic and economic growth. In the demographic case, Table 02 shows that Porto Nacional, after the construction of the capital Palmas, suffered a reduction in its population growth.

Table 02. Population of the municipalities of Palmas and Porto Nacional.

Cities	1970	1980	1991	2000	2010	2020 ⁵
Palmas			24 261	137 045	228.332	306.296
National Port	31.517	39.327	43.224	44.991	49.146	53.316

Source: IBGE, 2010; 2022a; 2022b; 2022c; 2022d. Org. The authors.

In the censuses analyzed between the 1970s and 1980s, we noticed that Porto Nacional increased its population by 7,810 inhabitants, that is, it went from 31,517 (1970) to 39,327 (1980), however, when we observe the interval from 1991 to 2000, the increase was only 1,767, that is, it went from 43,224 (1991) to 44,991 (2010). Also observing Table 02, it can be seen that in the 1970 and 1980 censuses, as Palmas did not yet exist, no inhabitant was registered. But it is also observed that Palmas was installed on January 1, 1990 and in 1991 already had 24,261 inhabitants.

In the interval between 2000 and 2010, Porto Nacional again had considerable population growth, from 44,991 to 49,146, with an increase of 4,155 inhabitants. And between 2010 and 2020, the population increased by 4,170 inhabitants. Both between the years 2000 and 2010 and between the years 2010 and 2020, the increase in population was much higher than in 1991 and 2000. This demographic increase after the 2000s, empirically, allows us to suppose that it was conditioned by the heating up of the economy of the municipality of Porto Nacional, as we have seen in Chart 01.

It is possible to note that, between 1991 and 2000, the population of Palmas grew sharply with an increase of 112,784 inhabitants in 9 years. In Porto Nacional, however, it went from 43,224 to 44,991 – a timid increase of 1,741 inhabitants. In the interval between 2010 and 2020, the population of Palmas had a significant growth, in 2010 it had a population of around 228,332 and, in 2020, it went to 306,296 inhabitants, an increase of 77,964 inhabitants in just ten years – while Porto Nacional had a growth of around 4,170 inhabitants in the same period, as we can see in Table 02.

In general, we do not have empirical data, but it is assumed that to some extent, all the municipalities surrounding the capital lost part of their population to Palmas. Porto Nacional, as a city closer to the capital, also had a significant portion of its population that migrated to the city of Palmas. Therefore, after the creation of Palmas, the city of Porto

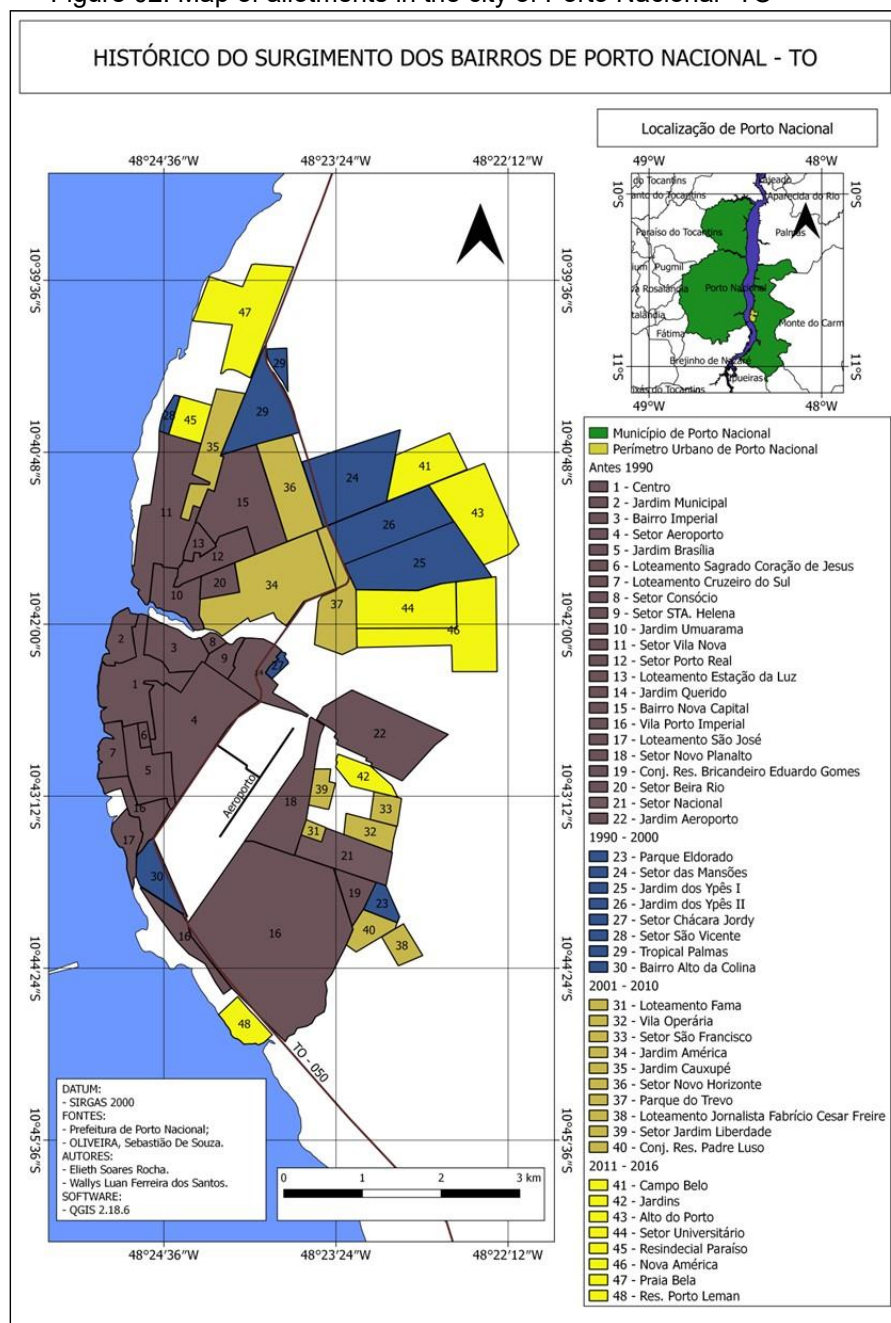
⁵ The population in 2020 is estimated, according to data collected on the IBGE website: <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/to/porto-nacional/panorama>. Accessed on February 20, 2020.

Nacional had a new dynamic of its demographic growth. The proximity of the city of Porto to the capital of the beginning brought an advantage, due to Porto Nacional having served as a logistical support base for the entrepreneurs of the construction of the capital, due to the fact that the works and buildings were carried out in the middle of the cerrado without any infrastructure. For the execution of the works, it was necessary to hire workers from the surrounding regions. Porto Nacional, one of the closest cities, benefited from this contract. From this scenario, the city of Porto Nacional began to perform the functions that the capital could not do until it was completely built.

With the construction of the capital, there was a migration from Porto to the capital Palmas in search of new job prospects. In the period from 1991 to the 2000s, several public and private institutions that existed in Porto Nacional migrated to Palmas, for example: the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), the Federal Revenue Service, the Board of Trade of the State of Tocantins (JUCETINS), Banco Itaú and Banco HSBC, and several other companies (Oliveiras, 2009).

Despite this evasion of companies from Porto Nacional, there was an expansion of the local urban fabric. Looking at Figure 02, we can see that most of the allotments created in the city of Porto Nacional took place from the 1990s onwards, mainly between 1990 and 2016. What can be seen from this is that real estate agents bet on the heating up of the local market and felt motivated to invest. The result was the creation of several allotments in the city, starting in the 1990s, due to the proximity of Porto Nacional to the capital Palmas. The city was born on the east bank of the Tocantins River, as we can see in the map in Figure 02, and expanded to the east of the river. Regarding the urban space, until the 1990s, the city expanded to the Southeast region. The darkest part (brown) of the map represents the space that was occupied and built before the 1990s, accounting for 22 neighborhoods.

Figure 02. Map of allotments in the city of Porto Nacional -TO



Source: Oliveira (2009).

Between the 1990s and 2000s, the expansion of the urban fabric took place towards the north of the city, accounting for 8 neighborhoods, represented by the darkest blue color on the map. The neighborhoods created between 2001 and 2010 account for 10 allotments that, in terms of number, are mostly located in the south of the city, with 6 neighborhoods. Represented on the map in orange. In terms of area, most of it is located in the northern part of the city. The urban occupation between 2011 and 2016 is composed of 8

neighborhoods, represented on the map by the lightest yellow color. In this period, the growth of the urban fabric took place in the north of the city.

Several allotments created are from the same real estate agency, signaling that the expansion of the urban fabric is not established by many real estate agents, which can configure a control of real estate prices. For example, we have the case of the Jardim América, Jardim Novo América and Jardim Universitário subdivisions that are marketed by Imobiliária Buriti. In an interview with the representative of the real estate company Buriti, in May 2017, the manager of the company Buriti (of non-local origin) told us that the company began operating in Porto Nacional in 2009, with the opening of Jardim América – its first subdivision in the city.

She says that Jardim Universitário already existed and belonged to the company DPE (of non-local origin), in which Buriti became a partner. The real estate company Buriti also created the Novo América subdivision. When asked if the company intended to open new allotments, the interviewee replied that at that time it did not, because, with the crisis, they still had many lots to sell, in addition, there are many returns of lots. Delinquency is motivated by cyclical capital crises, mainly because of real estate prices that are not accessible to the low-income population. He also stated that the lots cost from R\$ 17,000.00 to R\$ 50,000.00 and the price varies depending on the location, or whether it is residential or commercial.

Real estate capital and developers have the land (the property) as a genuinely commercial property. Before selling the property to the final consumer (those who buy to live), the properties can be sold several times, which makes the properties more expensive and, consequently, increases socio-spatial segregation. When asked about the number of lots without building buildings (property without construction), the interviewee reported that it is customary for a customer to buy several lots, those they buy as a store of value, waiting for the lots to appreciate in value and then sell them at a price higher than the one they bought. This would be one of the justifications for several lots without building construction for longer. In other words, the lots that are waiting for price appreciation configure a genuinely mercantile character of the land and not as a social necessity for housing.

Those customers who bought to build their own house, to get out of rent, soon started building. As we saw in the interviewee's statement, the allotments with properties without building construction do not remain because the real estate company has not yet

sold the lot for someone to build. In the search for the "need" of accumulation, real estate capital and developers have in the creation of allotments, the possibility of effectiveness, opening a window for the creation of new allotments.

In Porto Nacional, we found that the creation of new neighborhoods and allotments contributed significantly to the expansion of the urban fabric. The expansion took place with the creation of several allotments that, for a certain period, some were left without building constructions, others are not yet built, configuring themselves in lots purchased from the real estate company not to build but as a commercial asset waiting for appreciation for sale.

From the years 2009, several allotments were created, such as Jardim América, Setor Universitário, Setor Nova América, Alto do Porto, Praia Bela, Campo Belo, Jardins, Residencial Porto Leman and Residencial Paraíso. Among these allotments, we can highlight Praia Bela and Jardins da Petro Imobiliária, visited during the fieldwork and on which we found the presence of electrical infrastructure, but few building buildings. Looking at Figure 03, it is possible to see that in the Praia Bela subdivision (in figure 02, it is number 47 in yellow), there are still several lots without building constructions, although it already has some houses under construction, even with the unfinished asphalt infrastructure. This subdivision is located in the northern part of the city, at the exit to Palmas.

Figure 03. Praia Bela Allotment, in Porto Nacional – TO.



Source: The authors (2017).

The Jardins subdivision, created in 2014, is located in the southeast zone of the city (it is allotment 42). As we can see in Figure 04, it is a subdivision with several lots with buildings, but there are still lots without building buildings. During fieldwork in the Jardins Sector, we realized that the subdivision is provided with water, sewage, energy

infrastructure, however, there are still unpaved streets. The creation of these allotments demonstrates the performance of the developing capital in the city, transforming rural land into urban land, acting through some real estate companies, which are the agents of the production process of the urban space that seek to benefit and obtain profit. It can be seen that there is a demand for housing in the municipality, since the numbers indicated in Table 02 with the population data. However, it is worth remembering that there is also a partial attendance of the housing deficit and a portion of the allotments open to real estate speculation.

Figure 04. Jardins Allotment, in Porto Nacional – TO.



Source: The authors (2017).

The lots are sold with installments that can last up to 48 months or more, that is, for a period the real estate agency will be receiving payment for the properties sold. Depending on the dynamics of the real estate market, the prices of the lots may increase their prices, so the real estate lots that have not been sold will have their prices increased. In Figures 03 and Figure 04, we can observe the presence of the administrator Petro Imobiliária, in the Praia Bela and Jardins subdivisions, which transforms rural land into urban land. This mechanism configures the most genuine form of transforming land into merchandise.

Real estate companies establish spatial strategies and articulate themselves in the real estate market to expand their capital. They seek to serve the housing production market in the different social income segments, from popular housing to luxury condominiums. According to empirical research and the testimonies of the interviewees, real estate companies have portfolios to meet the various social strata that demand housing, but from the market perspective. For them, what matters is that it is market-oriented, where the pursuit of capitalist accumulation is possible. The real estate company

Buriti Empreendimentos, with national capital, operates in Tocantins and in several other Brazilian states; other real estate companies, such as the administrator Petro Imobiliária of the Praia Bela and Jardins subdivisions, the Bela Vista Real Estate (regional capital), operate in the city to serve the real estate market for civil construction, management and sale of properties for affordable housing. They also operate in the commercialization of real estate for social classes with higher purchasing power and, on the other hand, the classes with very low purchasing power are not the most desired market niches for developers.

The real estate economic agents that operate in Porto Nacional, in the civil construction sector, in the commercialization and creation of allotments contribute to the urban expansion and the heating of the rental real estate market. The performance of these agents in the local market also contributes to the importance of the city in the urban network of the immediate surroundings and in the regional economy.

However, in a capitalist society, there are contradictions and social inequalities in the reproduction of urban space. Capitalist society builds an unequal and contradictory space. This conditioning is the mechanism that allows the formation of a society, in which the process of social and spatial segregation becomes present. The State as a political, ideological, legal and cultural institution has a fundamental role in this process, in its federal, state and municipal spheres. An example of socio-spatial segregation conducted by the government is when it acts as an inducer of segregation, instituting public policies for investment in real estate developments.

From 1930 onwards, the first transition occurred, in which state intervention began to be carried out with the promotion of housing projects, stimulating the real estate market at the same time that it began to regulate the rentier rental market. The second moment of transition occurs with the creation of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, as the State no longer proposes housing projects, leaving real estate agents not only with the function of executing them (as it was before), but also with proposing them. This format of the PMCMV, in which real estate agents are the main promoters of housing projects, consolidates the strengthening that the real estate market had already been obtaining in the years prior to the creation of the aforementioned Program. (Lucena; Maia, 2022, p. 169)

This political mechanism of the public power ends up intensifying the process of socio-spatial segregation when it builds housing complexes. These housing complexes, built on the outskirts of the city, are the places where the low-income population lives. In Porto Nacional, this performance of the managers of the public sphere is present, as for example in the case of Residencial Paraíso. In figures 05 and 06 we can observe a housing complex in Porto Nacional, which is a planned neighborhood that, as a rule, most

of these housing complexes are built on the outskirts of the urban space, expanding the process of socio-spatial segregation.

The Irmã Edila Housing Complex, delivered to residents in September 2015, is one of the stages aimed at families with an income of up to R\$ 1.6 thousand. The Rio Tocantins Residential was built later, around 2014. Such housing complexes exemplify the segregation induced by the public power for the low-income population, in the construction of popular houses on the outskirts of the city, through the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program. In fact, the government has been working in this process for some time.

Figure 05. Popular house of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, in the Irmã Edila Housing Complex, Porto Nacional - TO



Source: Jornal Conexão Tocantins (2015).

Figure 06. Popular house of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program in the Rio Tocantins Residential, Porto Nacional - TO



Source: The author(s) (2017).

The performance of the public power in this process ends up generating a policy in which there is a confluence between the State, construction companies, developers and even financial capital for the production of social market housing and not for social interest

housing, which becomes a strategy for real estate agents to increase their profits. This political procedure of the public power, together with the real estate economic agents, generates an induced socio-spatial segregation, by the fact that it makes the land a mercantile object.

If land or urban land becomes a commodity, it enters the game of the real estate market, in which its price may not be accessible to everyone, that is, it may not be interesting to the market. The State can mitigate housing demands, but in a timely manner. In the construction of low-income housing, for example, in the case of the PMCMV, which was launched in March 2009 by the federal government, in partnership with states, municipalities, companies and non-profit entities, aimed at low- and middle-income families (with gross income up to R\$ 6,500.00). It is worth remembering that by Brazilian standards, this income is not that low.

In fieldwork, we found that the houses are small (according to the representative of the city hall in an interview stated that it is an average of 40 square meters) and built equally on small plots as well, and depending on the number of family members, it becomes difficult to accommodate everyone in the same house. In addition, the houses are built on the outskirts of the city, where it is cheaper for the government to acquire the property (the land) for the construction of the housing complexes. And the PMCMV also builds housing complexes characterized by the standardization of Housing Units (UHs), by the standardization of projects.

The implications of this increasing standardization of housing projects are clearly presented in the landscape through its homogenization. [...] It is worth mentioning that the reduction in the size of the Housing Units in the PMCMV was facilitated due to the fact that Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF) stipulated the minimum measures of 32 m² and later, 36 m² for single-family dwellings, and 37 m² and later 39 m² for multifamily dwellings. These dimensions, in turn, have become the rule in the housing production of construction companies. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that undersizing makes housing even more precarious in relation to the needs of families, compromising their quality of life. The underdimensioning is not due to the reduction of the number of rooms, but of the areas of the units, that is, the number of rooms is regularized, but the dimensions are too small, which results in several architectural problems. These, in turn, will have serious implications for the daily relationships established within the home, (Lucena; Maira, 2022, p. 170-171).

The size of the houses in the housing complexes built by the government itself is incompatible for a family to live with dignity. Houses become monofunctional, lacking spaces for living rooms, resting rooms, and accommodating all the family's demands. As commented in the previous paragraphs, the articulation and partnership of the public power

with private economic agents for the construction of popular housing involves several intermediaries, which makes real estate developments more expensive, allowing several agents to obtain a slice of public resources (in the form of profits). With the neoliberal state, the tendency is for the outsourcing of these services to increase the number of intermediaries. With this, the costs also increase and outsourcing the responsibility of fulfilling the execution of the projects until the end of the works.

Zandonadi (2022) emphasizes that the contradiction in the price of land and housing, incorporating various capitalist agents that permanently act in the creation of new demands, products, and locations, excludes a large part of the working class that does not achieve wages that can acquire ownership of urban real estate. This fact increases the demand for more acquisition of financial loans or makes the working class look for housing in the real estate rental market or occupations.

Another undesirable issue for the acquisition of affordable housing was the cut in public investments in social policies, especially for the low-income population. Among these cuts in investments are those that continue the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program. For example, in 2021, the Bolsonaro government cut investments and even changed the name of the Program from Minha Casa Minha Vida to Casa Verde e Amarela. From 2009, the year MCMV was created, until the end of 2018, before Bolsonaro became president, the annual investment allocated to the program was R\$ 11.3 billion, on average⁶. In the first year of government, the amount fell to R\$ 4.6 billion. In September 2019, a 42% cut was foreseen in the following year's budget, initially stipulated at R\$ 2.71 billion.

The MCMV Program, even though it is a policy that leads to social segregation induced by the State itself, is a social policy that guarantees housing for an important portion of the low-income population. The low-income population needs the support and assistance of the government to have access to basic services such as housing, security and education.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Porto Nacional, there was an expansion of the urban area and incorporation of rural land into the urban space of the city. Even in smaller cities and in the interior of the country, real estate capital and real estate development capital play an important role in the

⁶ Data extracted from the <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2021/02/17/triste-fim-do-minha-casa-minha-vidacomo-bolsonaro-extinguio-oprograma-sem-alarde>.

construction of urban space, based on partnerships with the local (municipal) and state and federal governments. The process of incorporation of rural land into urban areas has a genuinely mercantile character in the appropriation of land for civil construction purposes. This process accentuates real estate speculation that benefits capital and not the population in general.

The federal government, Caixa Econômica Federal, the Municipality of Porto Nacional, the real estate company Petro Imobiliária and other real estate companies are the main transforming agents of the production and reproduction of the urban space of the city of Porto Nacional. These agents act with greater emphasis to meet the economic interests of real estate capital, to the detriment of the social character of urban land and, as a consequence, continue to produce the traditional socio-spatial contradictions, both in large metropolises and in smaller cities in the interior of the country.

The role of the public authorities in civil construction and the construction of affordable housing, on the one hand, is interesting, because the public authorities are able to mitigate the housing deficit and provide financial support to the low-income population classes and, especially, to the workers. However, if the government or the State does not have a policy focused on this segment of the population and establishes specific policies, this population's access to housing is compromised, precisely because these policies, in the way they are currently configured, do not meet the interests and demands of such population in their fullness, with regard to access to housing.

As for the industrial city, we can list numerous social contradictions and socio-spatial segregation. From a Lefebvrian analysis, the industrial city is configured as a "prison of space-time". According to Araújo (2012), in the "prison of space-time" space, the control of social time occurs in the industrial city. An example is the time of the daily commute home-work-home, which imposes on the worker to spend several hours of his time, within a transport route, especially the low-income population of the peripheries. There is in the industrial city a strong presence of segregation of all kinds, from the center and the peripheries, violence, racism, homophobia. Another contradiction of the industrial city is the mercantile nature of the urban land, where the land takes the form of merchandise and exchange value. As Araújo (2012, p. 138) states, in the industrial city there is a "socio-spatial segregation that denies both the city, because it makes it a product instead of a work, and the urban city, whose content resides in the value of use and in the appropriation of time and space".

If we analyze the city of Porto Nacional, from this interpretation, we will find that most of these social contradictions are present, safeguarding the due proportionalities, even though it is a city in the interior of the country. Porto Nacional is not an industrial city in the theoretical-methodological rigor, but it had and has its formation in the industrial conjuncture.

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