

## **Housing policy, shortage and socio-spatial segregation in the city of Piracicaba (SP)<sup>1</sup>**

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## SUMMARY

The objective of the paper is to evaluate the close relationship between public policies of social housing, housing deficit and the process of socio-spatial segregation in the city of Piracicaba, located in the interior of the state of São Paulo, in Brazil, between the years 2000-2020. For this, the method adopted consists of a mixed quali-quantitative approach. Whether due to lack or inadequacy, the housing problem is one of the main urban shortages, whose measurement can be made from the deficit and household inadequacy indicators. To address these issues, housing policies are presented as a state intervention to provide access to housing. However, after years of implementing these policies, the paradox created by them is noted, since, although they were able to face part of the problem, they contributed to the intensification of socio-spatial segregation on the intra-urban scale. In these terms, Piracicaba is an emblematic case of the relationship that is established territorially between these elements, in which socio-spatial segregation is seen as a by-product of social housing policies, under the pretext of coping with housing needs. The investigation therefore seeks to contribute to research on the relationship between housing policies and socio-spatial segregation in medium-sized cities in São Paulo, inserting the concept of deficit as a basic element of this problem.

**KEYWORDS:** Housing Policy. Socio-spatial Segregation. Piracicaba.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The housing problem in the Latin American context, far from being conjunctural, is a structural problem inherent to the corresponding social formation and also to forms of territorial ordering, that is, it goes back to the patterns of development and modernization, to the dependency relationships of underdeveloped countries in the capitalist system and, not least, to the profoundly unequal urbanization model.

In this scenario, it is essential to understand that, historically, urbanization has generated and amplified several needs, however, placing it as the central element in the transformation of these needs into a social problem can reduce the fundamental issues surrounding it. Thus, there is a risk of forgetting that, in fact, it is not the physical expansion itself that creates these urban problems, including housing, as the explanations must be found in the socioeconomic macrostructure and in the political-institutional order in which they are inserted.

Understanding the problem also requires acknowledging that the problem is not limited to the lack of housing either, as its inclusion in this category hides the elements that structure it and allow it to remain a social problem until today, although with new added elements. Thus, whether due to its lack or inadequacy, the housing problem can be considered one of the main problems to be faced nowadays, and it is certainly one of the main liabilities of the historical Brazilian social segregation (RAMOS; NOIA, 2016).

Therefore, it is necessary to analyze capitalist development, industrialization and the urbanization process as interrelated fields and also inductors of the aggravation of the multiple problems and needs that overlap in the urban space. Together, these processes have created a mismatch between demand and demand for urban housing and services. This contradiction produced a scenario of housing shortage - due to market failures to adjust the supply, as well as the lack of mechanisms of the State of provision or housing subsidy to fulfill the gaps left by the private market (UN-HABITAT, 2015) -, of impoverishment of the city and disorderly occupation of urban land with disastrous effects on the quality of life of the most vulnerable socioeconomic strata (FERREIRA, 2000; RAMOS; NOIA, 2016).

Furthermore, the theme of housing is inseparable from the agrarian structure and access to land, whose ordering in Brazil has historically served (and still serves) to perpetuate

the unequal conditions of access to housing. Indeed, private land ownership is a knot that is still at the heart of urban conflicts (MARICATO, 2012).

The Brazilian urban development model that prevailed throughout the 20th century was characterized by the combination of exclusion from access to urban land and the overexploitation of the workforce, which assume the character of socioeconomic elements that structure the social problem of housing, because "in this way, those who did not meet the conditions to build (which required legal possession of the land, financial capital, technical knowledge, etc.) nor the resources to buy a product legally defined as such were excluded" (MARICATO, 2004, p. 30). Without solving these problems, it would not be possible to truly face the housing problem.

One of the fundamental conditions for understanding urban and housing problems is not separating them from the political and socioeconomic context in which they are inserted. Thus, these factors continue to play a determining role in the territorial organization and configuration of Brazilian cities. Due to the complex relationships that involve the housing problem, it is possible to say that "it is not the solution to the housing issue that simultaneously leads to the solution of the social problem, but it is through the solution of the social problem (...) that the solution of the housing problem is possible" (ENGELS, 2015, p. 80).

If explaining these phenomena is not an easy task, it is even more difficult to establish a methodology capable of measuring and characterizing housing needs. For this purpose, housing deficit and inadequate housing indicators are the main methodological tools disseminated in the field of public housing policies. However, to understand the housing problem from a broader social perspective, such indicators should not be taken peremptorily as synonymous with deficit: while the first term refers to a structural issue of our society – whose facets can only be explained from socio-economic and political-institutional analysis – the second term aims to diagnose and scale part of our housing needs in a given time frame through a set or more of statistical indicators (UN-HABITAT, 2015).

One of the main indicators for measuring the housing deficit that we have today is João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP), which does not imply that this methodology is the most reliable to measure housing needs in Brazil. Even so, it establishes two important indicators to measure housing needs: housing deficit and inadequate housing.

In short, the concept of housing deficit refers to the need to build new homes to meet the needs accumulated in a given time frame, so that this is readily a quantitative indicator. In its turn, the inadequacy of the home (a qualitative indicator) refers to the internal aspects of housing and that harmfully interfere in the quality of life of its residents. In these terms, this last indicator does not concern the dimensioning of the housing stock, but the qualification of the existing stock (FJP, 2018).

Basically, the deficit is the result of the following components: i) precarious housing; ii) family cohabitation; iii) excessive rent burden; and iv) excessive density of rented households. Also, some have other subcomponents. However, as it is not enough to cover the entire housing problem, there is a need for complementarity through the indicator of household inadequacy, which is composed of five components: i) lack of infrastructure; ii) excessive density of own homes; iii) absence of bathroom; iv) inadequate coverage; and v) inadequate land tenure (FJP, 2018). Together, these components reveal the needs related to housing and urban

precariousness that emerge as a reflection of a set of situations of socioeconomic fragility of families residing in these households (HABITAÇÃO, 2016).

Another important issue to be considered, especially when taking these data as an evaluative basis for a public policy or for housing planning, is that these indicators still do not add issues related to demographic dynamics (migration balances), not even race, sex and education, as well as not considering people living on the streets (homeless). Despite the limitations observed, this is still one of the most consistent instruments in terms of measuring housing needs in Brazil.

It is important to mention problems like those because, when disregarded, these indicators could be more easily converted (especially the deficit) to a question of demand and thus reduce the complex socioeconomic paradoxes of the housing issue to a limited understanding of the market, finally, the offer of the “housing” merchandise.

To better explain this problem, although subtle, the existing differences between deficit and demand are essential for public policies. According to the UN-Habitat report (2015), deficit and demand are not mutually exclusive concepts, since the deficit contains part of the demand and vice versa, however, it is necessary to delimit that they have qualitatively different notions, and that they refer to disparate institutional logics. In this sense, while the first term, in the mold of studies such as the FJP, seeks to characterize the needs for housing and refers directly to a duty of the State, the second is the responsibility of the private market and is related to an economic concept that it alludes to the individual interests of a sector of the population that has sufficient income to purchase the commodity “housing”.

Given the complexity of this social problem, public housing policies are presented as a state intervention, with the purpose of meeting the needs for housing, especially of the low-income population, guaranteeing access to decent housing. However, after long years of implementation of these policies, the paradox created by them is noticeable, since, although they were able to face part of the deficit and inadequate housing, they certainly also contributed to the aggravation of the socio-spatial segregation process.

Therefore, a problematic logic of thinking about housing policies was consolidated from an understanding limited to the perspective of the deficit - that is, as a problem of numbers to be beaten -, which inevitably leads to the elaboration and implementation of policies for mass production of housing. In fact, the results could not be other than the production of new housing in peripheral areas (even creating new expansion fronts), close to the urban perimeter, areas with little infrastructure, lack of urban equipment, in monofunctional regions or with rural profile, far from the provision of services and jobs, with mobility problems, among others.

It is important to point out that socio-spatial segregation is a problem that refers to our own formation and forms of occupation of the urban space, and that, in addition, it reaches the urban and social dimensions, that is:

Socio-spatial segregation corresponds to the spatial separation in different areas of the urban territory. Thus, the segregation of space is directly linked to historical, cultural and economic aspects, which can be intensified due to the fact that the population masses that are characterized as victims of this process do not have full access to tools capable of circumventing this reality (SILVA *et al.*, 2016, p. 259).

Therefore, it is about analyzing how this relationship develops between the social interest housing policy, housing shortage and the process of socio-spatial segregation, as interdependent elements, taking as empirical object of study the municipality of Piracicaba (SP) in the interval of 2000 to 2020.

The choice of the chronological cut of the research was made for two reasons: the first, due to its contemporaneity, which allows us to examine the current framework of housing policies; the second because it allows the analysis and comparison of two institutional patterns of social housing policies, one before and one after the My house My Life Program (PMCMV). Thus, the chosen chronological cut portrays a transitional period of public housing policies in Brazil.

## **2 OBJECTIVES**

The aim of this study is to evaluate the relationship between public policies on social housing, the housing shortage and the process of socio-spatial segregation in the city of Piracicaba, a medium-sized city located in the interior of São Paulo, between the years 2000-2020. In view of this, not only the socio-spatial aspects of housing production of social interest will be considered, but also its quantitative impacts on the housing deficit. It is intended to evaluate the characteristics and impacts resulting from this relationship, in its multiple dimensions.

## **3 METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS METHOD**

The methodology adopted consists of a mixed quali-quantitative approach. In principle, this investigation is presented as a qualitative research - comprising the analysis of territorial dynamics shaped or intensified from the implementation of these housing policies, also evaluating how they contribute to the process of socio-spatial segregation -, to which quantitative methodological procedures will be added, with the purpose of numerically dimensioning the housing provision and assessing the relationship between provision and housing deficit.

The first stage of the investigation consisted of a bibliographical survey on the social problem of housing in Brazil, the conceptualization of the housing deficit and household inadequacy, as well as the importance of these indicators for public housing policies.

Next, data from primary and secondary sources of the object of study were collected, classified and systematized. The theoretical framework served as a foundation for the analysis of empirical data. The empirical survey of the research was carried out by collecting urban, demographic and socioeconomic data from primary sources, such as the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), SEADE Foundation, among others, but also from collections of the Municipality of Piracicaba and other agencies publics related to housing and urban planning, such as: Piracicaba Municipal Housing Development Company (EMDHAP), Piracicaba Research and Planning Institute (IPPLAP), São Paulo Housing and Urban Development Company (CDHU) and Ministry of Development Regional (MDR). Therefore, an essential part of this research refers

to the survey and analysis of housing production resulting from these housing policies, evaluating its impacts on the socio-spatial segregation process, and its relationship with the housing deficit.

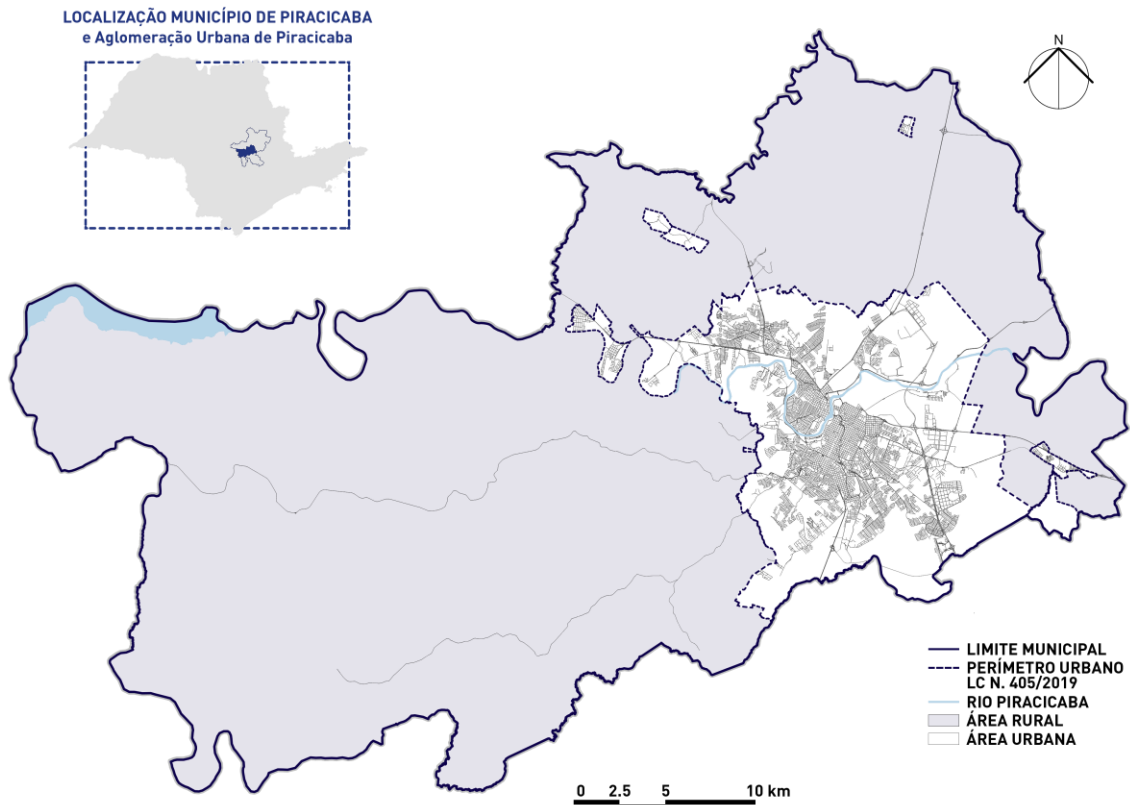
#### **4 RESULTS**

Piracicaba is an important medium urban center in the interior of the state of São Paulo, which, classified as a level C regional capital, exerts a strong regional influence, being required for the development of a set of activities (IBGE, 2020). With a total population estimated in the year 2020 at 407,252 people, according to the latest IBGE Demographic Census of 2010, the total population of the municipality was 364,571 inhabitants - 356,743 living in urban areas and 7,828 in rural areas -, which is equivalent to a degree of urbanization of 97.85%. The municipality has a wide territorial extension of 1,378.07 km<sup>2</sup>, with 333.18 km<sup>2</sup> corresponding to the urban area (24% of the total) and 1,044.89 rural km<sup>2</sup>, which represents 76% of the territorial extension (Map 1).

Located in a privileged location on the state road network, the municipality is accessed by Luiz of Queiroz Highway (SP-304), which in one of its sections crosses Bandeirantes Highway (SP-348) and finally flows into Anhanguera Highway (SP-330). This regional characteristic gave it dynamism in the flow of people, and also in the flow of goods due to its proximity to important urban and economic centers such as Campinas and São Paulo. In addition, the easy access to the Washington Luís Highway (SP-310), which crosses the interior of the state, allows connection with other important medium-sized cities in the center-west of São Paulo.

Given the region in which it is located, the municipality stands out as an important industrial and agricultural hub, with the predominance of the metal-mechanical segment, food, sugar and alcohol and agribusiness industries.

Mapa 1 – Localization of Piracicaba



Source: Own elaboration with IPPLAP data, 2020.

Social housing policies in Piracicaba date back to the 1960s, in the context of the military dictatorship, a period in which the undertakings of the Housing Companies (COHABs) – in the role of executing agents at the local level of the housing policies of the National Housing Bank (BNH) – played an important role both in housing provision and in the process of segregation and marginalization of low-income sectors. In the case of Piracicaba, in short, such projects started to occupy locations that were increasingly peripheral in relation to the consolidated urban grid.

In addition to the political-institutional issue, these policies were historically inserted in a period of intense demographic growth, strongly guided by the need to combat the housing deficit that was growing in Brazilian cities. In Piracicaba, between 1960-1970, the Geometric Annual Population Growth Rate (TGCA) reached 2.76% and continued to accelerate over the next few years; although the social problem of housing is not an exclusive reflection of urbanization, it certainly aggravates it. During this period, it is important to highlight that the city exerted a great attraction on internal migratory flows, for two main reasons: i) installation of large industrial plants; and ii) increase in the unskilled labor market, such as that of the sugar-alcohol sector.

In this scenario, the housing sector was increasingly pressured due to the acceleration of demand for housing, which, in part, can be answered by the private market for a population group that had higher income. In the case of access to housing that took place irregularly – as in



the cases of land occupations and slums – the offer had to be public through public housing policies.

Until 2000, 31 housing projects were approved, equivalent to the offer of 13,374 units. In fact, until this period 13.57% of the urban population of the municipality lived in these projects, totaling 43,064 people<sup>2</sup>. In addition to COHAB-Bandeirante, the policies and actions of the São Paulo State Housing and Urban Development Company (CDHU) and, above all, the Piracicaba Municipal Housing Development Company (EMDHAP) – the agency that produced the most housing units stood out, although it was created in 1990. In addition, private participation in the housing sector was very low, being restricted to an isolated action in the second half of the last century, with an equally small production.

Over these years, the North 1 region has been consolidated as a pioneer in the implementation of housing projects, and which has historically been inserted in a vector of urban expansion that had been occurring independently of these policies. Then, the East region also registered a movement of reaffirmation of a new dispersed urbanization front, and is now being chosen to receive some of these projects. However, over the years, the West and South regions have also been gradually added to this vector of residential expansion of lower-income segments through these public policies. In both cases, these sets were inserted within the urban perimeter, in some cases even outside it, especially on the fringes or in areas of urban expansion.

In short, even considering the policies for the direct provision of housing until 2000, around 86.40% of all housing production in Piracicaba was produced only by different promoters of the public power. Thus, when analyzing the production of urban space from a social perspective, the decisive role played by the municipal, state and federal spheres of government is noted, as a co-responsible rather than neutral agent in the process of unequal production of urban space, even if with different motivations from private agents.

Going into the research, between the years 2000-2020, more than 30 housing projects were approved, totaling 10,389 new homes, with an estimated resident population of 33,453 people. In this scenario, it is estimated a total of approximately 76,517 people living in these clusters by the end of the analyzed period. Comparing the volume produced with the IBGE population projection (2020), around 18.79% of the entire population of the municipality lived in these housing projects at the end of this period.

Thus, considering the territorialization of housing production policies from 2000 to 2020, it is observed that the sectors that most concentrate the implementation of these housing projects were the same ones already formed from the second half of the last century, which continue to be used extensively to this day. In general, the provision of social interest housing in the period studied was based on the reproduction of the socio-spatial segregation of the previous cycle, which shows continuity. Therefore, it is not by chance that these same regions destined to housing projects also concentrate several irregular occupations/favelas existing in the city.

In the analyzed period, however, the performance of the real estate sector, mixed with housing policy, created new expansion fronts in the North 1 and West regions, so that, although these regions are not new in terms of the implementation of these projects, the portions now

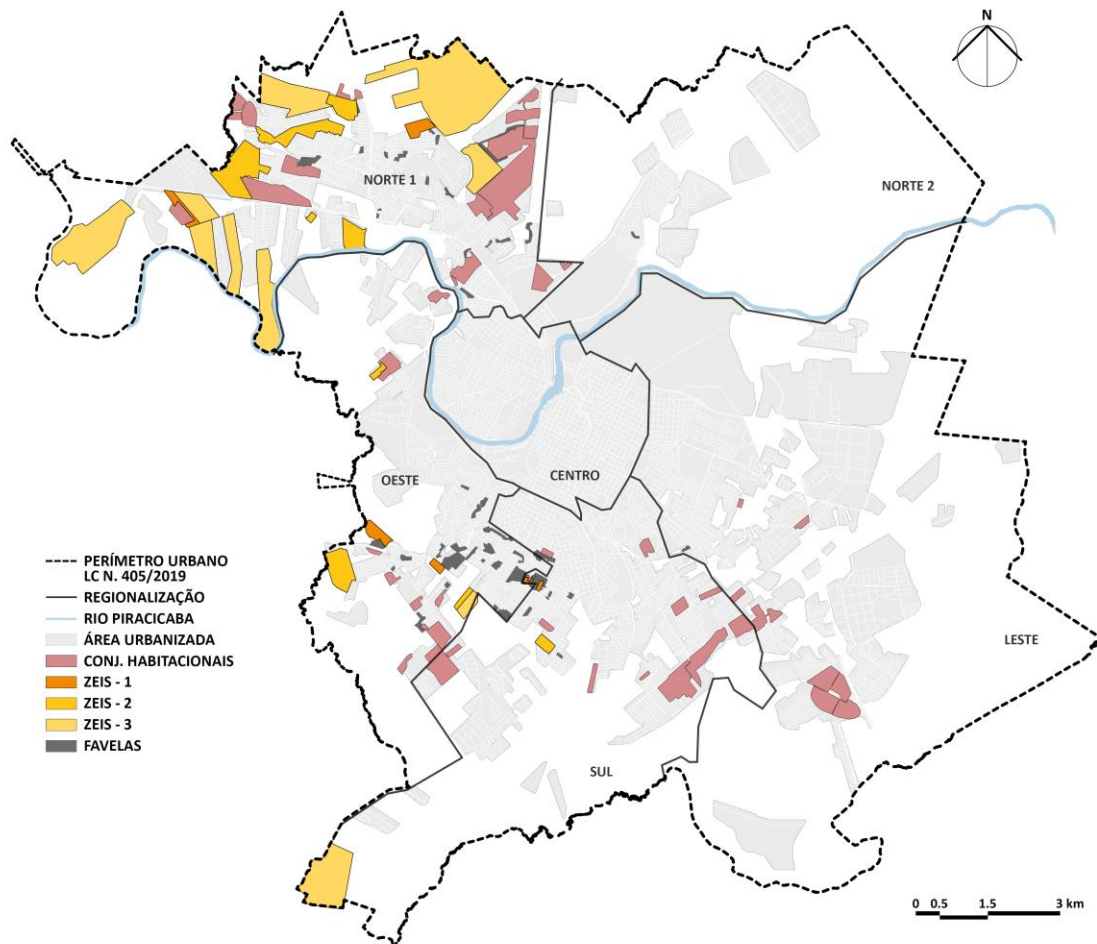
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<sup>2</sup> In order to estimate the resident population in these housing developments, an average of 3.22 residents per permanent private home was considered, according to criteria adopted by the 2010 IBGE Demographic Census.



chosen for the PMCMV housing complexes, they created new peripheries in distant areas, further fostering a close relationship with the urban perimeter, as well as the urban fabric. In the East region, the new clusters were inserted in remaining areas of open subdivisions, although still far from the consolidated central core. This demonstrates how socio-spatial segregation continues to guide urban development in Piracicaba (Map 2).

Map 2 – Housing developments, Special Areas of Social Interest and favelas in Piracicaba



Source: Own elaboration with data from OTERO, 2016; SEMOB; MDR, 2021; PIRACICABA, 2021.

A similar dynamic occurred with the demarcation of Special Social Interest Zones (ZEIS) in 2019, inserted in the North 1, West and South regions. According to the Piracicaba Development Master Plan (Complementary Law No. 12 of 2019), three were created modalities of these zones: i) ZEIS 1: enterprises promoted by EMDHAP or other public bodies; ii) ZEIS 2: housing projects promoted by private initiative; and iii) ZEIS 3: enterprises promoted by private initiative in the form of land subdivision or overlapping houses (PIRACICABA, 2019).

However, despite the potential of this instrument, its demarcation occurred, for the most part, outside the consolidated urban grid and at the limit of the urban perimeter, with emphasis on an exacerbated concentration around the Geraldo de Barros Highway (SP-304), in

North Region 1. In addition, there is a predominance of ZEIS 2 and 3 in this same region, both in quantity and in territorial extension. This finding may indicate a trend for the coming years, in the sense of the municipality prioritizing the production of housing projects promoted by the private sector, especially in light of the most recent setback in federal public investments in social housing. It also indicates to which territories the government intends to allocate the implantation of new housing projects.

Despite its demographic dimension, even though Piracicaba was the city in its region that produced the most housing projects of social interest, it is still one of the cities with the highest slums, which until 2020 was approximately 72 irregular occupations (a growth of 71.43% in relation to the beginning of the 2000s, when there were around 42), according to IPPLAP data.

In 2000, the total housing deficit in the municipality was 7,276 households, of which 6,955 were located in the urban area, equivalent to 95.59%, and only 321 households in the rural area, 4.62% of the total. However, of the 6,955 households classified as urban deficit, 4,303 of them correspond to those with an income of up to 3 minimum wages, which represents a percentage of 61.87%. As for the inadequacy of households, in the period, total values were not available that would allow us to estimate it in the municipality.

To respond to the housing deficit between 2001 and 2010, the approved social interest housing production meant an increase of 4,549 new homes. Indeed, when comparing the deficit – which in 2000 was 4,303 households – with public policies for housing production, there is a balance of 105.75%. That is, at the end of this first period, only because of the action of the public authorities, there was a surplus of 246 households in relation to the accumulated liabilities due to replacement or increase in the stock of housing. However, even though this could indicate an advance by the municipality in relation to meeting the housing needs of lower-income groups, it is necessary to consider that not all of this production was able to solve the problem in the municipality.

In 2010, the urban housing deficit had increased to 12,309 households (almost doubled). Of the total housing deficit, 54.82% (6,748 households) refer to those with an income of up to 3 minimum wages. This equates to a growth of 56.82% compared to 2000. These data, however, need to be weighed in light of the components added to the deficit and the change in the quantification methodologies of this indicator, such as, for example, the excessive burden with rent, which could even explain why the housing deficit produced this leap compared to the beginning of the 21st century.

In 2010, the number of inadequate urban households in Piracicaba was 4,482. However, it is observed that, as with the housing deficit, the components that made up the household inadequacy also underwent changes, considering that the land inadequacy was not calculated in this period, due to the lack of information for this from the data provided by the Demographic Census. By restricting this data to households with an income of up to 3 minimum wages, it appears that, of the total inadequacy, the equivalent of 2,061 households corresponded exclusively to those with an income of up to 3 minimum wages (approximately 45.98% of the total of households with some degree of inadequacy).

On the other hand, the housing policy in the years 2011 and 2020 resulted in the provision of 5,840 new homes, whose production corresponded to 84.54% of the estimated housing deficit for this most needy population. Compared to the previous decade, therefore,

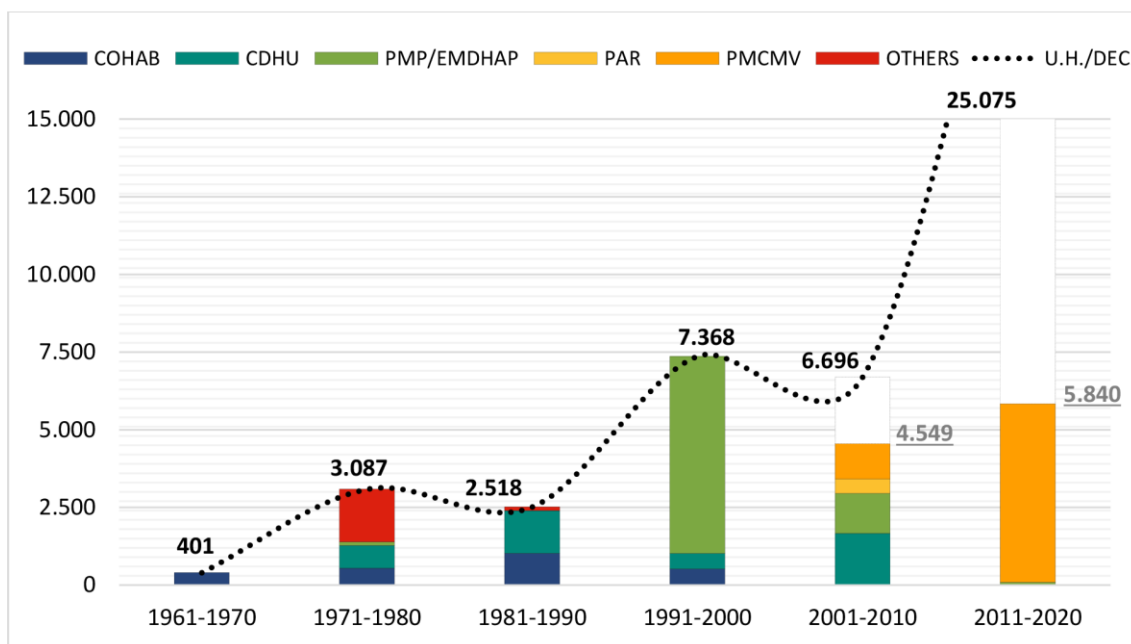
this represented a decline in meeting the accumulated needs for housing, given that, despite different political and economic conditions, in 2000, the balance between deficit and production was greater than 100%. Nevertheless, the housing production verified in this period continued to be carried out in increasingly peripheral areas.

And even if this production remained below the needs for replacement or increase in the population's housing stock of up to 3 minimum wages, and that it has little to do with the inadequacy of households, it is important to highlight that the last two decades were the periods of greater housing production in the context of a public housing policy, although not all of this production can be classified as being of social interest.

The provision of new housing for the lower-income strata had already been declining since the 2000s, even though between 2011 and 2020 this production had been recovering at the expense of a conversion of the target population through lower production in range 1 and higher in range 1.5, whose income is a little higher (Graph 1). However, what is most striking is the fact that the same graph indicates in dashed the trajectory of production aimed at the middle and high-income strata (ranges 2 and 3) of the PMCMV, by which we can observe that little by little this was the sector that started to be prioritized at the local level by the housing policy, especially by the real estate market, which played the role of the main executing agent of this policy, regardless of the income bracket.

It is widely known that the institutional framework of the PMCMV grants great autonomy to the action of private entrepreneurs. Although in the case of Strip 1 the needs for housing are indicated by the local government, in the operations of Strips 2 and 3, financing is granted by CEF and the construction companies act as authentic developers, assuming the sale of the units produced.

Graph 1 – Evolution of social interest housing production in Piracicaba



Source: Own elaboration with data from OTERO, 2016; SEMOB; MDR, 2021.

In these terms, if by 2010 the total urban housing deficit in Piracicaba was 12,309 households, of which just over half referred to urban households with an income of up to 3 MW, over the last decade approximately 19,235 new housing units only by the PMCMV for the population with greater purchasing power. Adding it all up, we would have around 25,075 housing units delivered or under construction throughout the municipality, with notable hegemony of the PMCMV. It is surprising, however, that all this production has meant a surplus of 203% of all quantitative needs measured by João Pinheiro Foundation for 2010.

In terms of way of speculation, this amount would be enough to meet the entire housing deficit and inadequate housing in the city, and there would still be 8,284 houses left. However, what we see is that the housing problem still persists, as well as the slums.

However, only 35% of the housing units produced over the last decade were destined for the low-income population. In other words, for the segments that account for more than half of the housing deficit, 5,840 homes were produced, which is not an insignificant number, however, it must be considered that this large volume of housing production did not have the real intention of meeting the public that should be prioritized: many of these units were contracted for Bands 1.5, since 2014 no new housing projects have been contracted for Band 1. Indeed, this production did not address the problem of social housing at its root, and it only reinforced the situation of socio-spatial and residential segregation.

In income groups above 3 minimum wages, whose deficit measured in 2010 was 5,561 households (45.18% of the total urban deficit), housing production exceeded the demand of these segments by 146%. In this case, it would be appropriate to use this expression (deficit), as it is precisely these segments that can be served by the private market. In view of this, the My House My Life Program no longer behaved only as a housing policy, but as an important lever in the dynamics of local real estate production, having little relationship with the needs for housing, although it usually uses it as a discourse to support its actions (OTERO; DAMASCENO, 2019).

With regard to housing production, the last two decades have entered into one of the periods of greatest production aimed at the lowest-income strata, although they have not quantitatively surpassed the 1990s. Since then, the trajectory of the housing supply curve has made a 'U' trajectory, that is, the number of homes fell between 2001 and 2010, though, it rose again in the last decade, especially due to the broader role of the PMCMV. However, if we were also to evaluate the units produced for other income groups by the same program, we would see that there was a housing (over)production, which can hardly be explained from the criterion of housing deficit, much less the inadequacy of households, as they serve, primarily to the interests of the real estate market, with direct effects on the production and occupation of urban space.

## **5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Among the various social problems that arose or intensified in Brazil's urbanization trajectory, as a result of the processes of modernization and late industrialization, under the aegis of dependent capitalism in underdeveloped countries, the social problem of housing is the one that concentrates one of the biggest gaps in the field of development.

Historically, the combination of these processes has produced urban problems that are still felt today, with very similar characteristics in cities of different scales: slums and urban-housing precariousness; ambiental degradation; mobility based on automobiles and insufficient or poor quality public transport; socio-spatial and residential segregation; insufficiency and precariousness of services, public equipment and infrastructure.

Therefore, it would not be a mistake to state that urban and housing precariousness and the process of socio-spatial segregation are striking features of Brazilian society. As urbanization intensified, driven by industrialization, the contradictions between economic growth and the impoverishment of a significant portion of the population, notably in the lower-income sectors, became clearer. This process took place as a function of the capitalist logic of accumulation incorporated into the Brazilian urban development model, which had a decisive impact on the unequal production and occupation of space in cities of different demographic scales and urban configurations.

In general, the strategy adopted by the State to face the social problem of housing in Brazil – most of the time reduced to a question of housing deficit (quantitative dimension) – was guided, especially, by the adoption of a hegemonic based pattern. In the financing, construction and sale of new housing units. This paradigm proved to be inefficient in solving this problem, since, over the years, what should be recognized as a deficit and inadequacy of households has only been growing rapidly, with increasingly higher numbers and an increasingly distant perspective of solving, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The housing policy implemented over the last two decades (2000 to 2020) did not escape this rule, visibly marked by the leading role of the private sector, which only sought to “ensure the expansion of gains in housing production for this segment, showing the articulation of three fundamental strategies: standardization of construction, generation of economies of scale and search for cheap land” (RUFINO *et al.*, 2015, p. 103).

All the components mentioned above were common and are likely to be identified in the city of Piracicaba. Thus, in general, patterns common to these processes are observed, which produced very similar results regarding the production of segregated and discontinuous spaces, in which public policies for social housing have become a central element of this dynamic, as well as in the consolidation of old fringes and in the conformation of new urban peripheries.

Piracicaba is part of one of the main regions of the interior of São Paulo in terms of socioeconomic development, having experienced a remarkable production of new homes within the My House My Life Program, at very expressive quantitative levels. However, this significant volume of housing production and its determinations “cannot be explained either from the point of view of the housing deficit, nor the demand for new homes” (OTERO; DAMASCENO, 2019, p.1), but from the perspectives of obtaining profits, interest and income from the land provided by it, after all, this production was facilitated by the vast land stock existing in the city, including the possibilities of using residual peripheral areas.

In spite of the demographic and economic dynamics that directly influence the indicators of deficit and household inadequacy, the large volume of housing production has not been able to significantly impact the quantitative and qualitative issue of housing needs, as it continues to grow. Despite this, the housing deficit remains a central theme in the housing policy discourse, even justifying these direct housing provision policies, although in the last two

decades it has gradually deviated from truly answering it, as well as the inadequacy of households, as it requires alternative policies.

In fact, even though part of the shortage for housing has been faced, to a large extent these policies have been dictated and conditioned by the private segments of the real estate sector and, thus, the affinity between them has been shown to be much more a relationship of economic interests than properly a relationship of social orientation, which takes place with the consent of the government. In these terms, from a territorial perspective, it is observed that socio-spatial and residential segregation has intensified through these public housing policies, extending the urban fabric horizontally and creating new peripheries, mostly occupied by lower-income strata.

Although these social interest housing projects are not the only ones responsible for the stratification process of the urban space, it is mainly through their implementation – through the State's actions, therefore – that the most vulnerable segments are repeatedly separated territorially and socially.

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