

**Contrasts of urban development in Bauru city (SP):
slum and fortified enclaves in Jardim Nicéia**

Anna B. P. Krause

Mestranda, UNESP, Campus de Bauru
anna.krause@unesp.br

Jefferson O. Goulart

Professor Doutor, UNESP, Campus de Bauru
jefferson.goulart@unesp.br

SUMMARY

The urban development of medium-sized cities in the interior of São Paulo state reproduced, to a large extent, the segregating logic of the Brazilian urbanization of large urban centers throughout the XX century. This paper analyzes the remarkable characteristics of the recent urbanization process in the city of Bauru (SP), relating them to the rise of precarious settlements in the form of the favela and the phenomenon of contemporary segregation in fortified enclaves. The object of analysis is the Jardim Nicéia slum, located between gated condominiums in the southern part of the city. The methodology used included a bibliographic review of theoretical and analytical references, research on demographic and socioeconomic data sources (IBGE, City Hall and municipal public agencies) and socio-spatial analysis of the area, in order to interpret how segregation is reproduced in this specific territorial area.

KEYWORDS: Urban segregation; slum dwellings, Bauru; Jardim Nicéia.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian development model in the 20th century – characterized, since the 1930s, by the developmental pattern that resulted in the substitution of imports and industrialization and in intense and accelerated urbanization – produced structural inequalities that directly influenced urban morphology. Thus, socio-spatial segregation, as one of the consequences of the unequal distribution of access to urbanized land, was conditioned by the “relation between production and real estate appreciation and its consequences on the production of the city; as well as the inherent contradictions of individual private property as the predominant solution for social housing in Brazil” (FERRARA; GONSALES; COMARÚ, 2019).

The dichotomy between “rich center” and “poor periphery” expressed the complex dynamics of segregation in the contemporary city. Santos (1994) observes that the periphery was not limited to its morphological characteristics and geographic location, but was also opposed to the “central” area in terms of access to public services, which were concentrated in spaces occupied by the higher-income population. In this sense, the socio-spatial cleavage implies that “the socio-spatial segregation acts directly on the possibilities of exercising citizenship, in fact, the existing inequalities are reflected in the access to public policies, due to their spatial location, monetary income and the social welfare” (NEGRI, 2010, p.147).

A direct consequence of segregating urbanization, slums and their urban impacts have been a very relevant object in studies of this type of urban dynamics, since “illegality in relation to land ownership has been the main agent of environmental segregation and hence to social exclusion, in the countryside or in the city” (MARICATO, 1995, p.30). Furthermore, the “macrostructural restrictions make the favela a possible solution to the housing shortage” (CARDOSO, 2007, p.223).

The favela is a social and housing phenomenon that is distinguished by scarcity and absence, a multidimensional expression that expresses political, social, economic and urban determinations, in short, “a territory characterized by the incompleteness of State policies and actions” (SILVA, 2009, p.96) by the precariousness of public investments (in the provision of services, access to goods of all kinds and allocation of infrastructure) and also by the market (in the strictly market dimension of the real estate segment) or even by the predominance of houses built by self-construction, in clear disagreement with the building norms and constructive standards prevailing in the “legal city”.

In summary, “the favela means an urban dwelling that summarizes the unequal conditions of Brazilian urbanization and, at the same time, the struggle of citizens for the legitimate right to inhabit the city” (SILVA, 2009, p. 97). This dynamic was strongly marked by socio-spatial segregation and the absence of effective housing policies, decisively contributing

to the spread of the favela phenomenon (VALLADARES, 2007; 2021; ZALUAR; SOUZA, 2006). Favelization dates back to the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century in Rio de Janeiro, however, it was later in São Paulo, as a result of the housing crisis in the 1940s (BONDUKI, 2004).

In a capitalist economy, urban spaces are conditioned to economic activities and, thus, the urban form also influences market dynamics. In these terms, the city is “both a product and a condition of the social processes of transformations underway in the most recent phase of capitalist development” (HARVEY, 2005, p.165). Thus, the strategies adopted by the State aimed at economic development and urban growth, which have as one of their consequences the slums, are inseparable. Therefore, the phenomenon of favelas only happens when land is treated as a commodity and privileges only specific sectors of the population, so that social inequality is its catalyst. In that regard:

Illegal housing production and segregated urbanism are, therefore, related to the characteristics of the industrial development process – insofar as the industrial worker’s salary does not qualify him to acquire a house in the legal real estate market –, to the characteristics of the capitalist real estate market. – there is no anti-speculative restriction on the supply of social infrastructure of the property, such as the application of the function of the function – and also on the characteristics of industrial investments and the public market, which favor protection and restriction (MARICATO, 1995, p.22).

Regarding the analysis based on the city of São Paulo, Caldeira (2003) describes the historical evolution of the different manifestations of socio-spatial segregation in three major cycles. At first (from 1890 to 1940), segregation was based on types of housing in a less inflated urban space, and “legal” residences occupy the central regions along with precarious housing. The State, moved by the interest of the elites in beautifying urban areas and by the need to invest in sanitary infrastructure works, promoted intense combat and the attempt to “exterminate” the tenements and shacks, without this population being relocated to other areas.

The following period (from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s) was marked by an intense process of industrialization, which accentuated spatial and economic inequalities in urban areas. The cheapening of the workforce, especially in large centers, led the working class to the production of houses through self-construction and irregular occupation of urban land (MARICATO, 2011), so that “accelerated urbanization still had as an aggravating factor the inability of the public power to invest in urban infrastructure and to expand its capacity to regulate the land and real estate market” (CARDOSO, 2007, p.222). Finally, low-income families settled on the fringes of cities, through self-construction, giving rise to the first favelas.

It is precisely from this period (1940-1970) that we can highlight the urban space in Brazil organized by the center-periphery cleavage, with social groups clearly differentiated in large areas of occupation, and with the territories furthest from the center occupied by the impoverished population. (CALDEIRA, 2003). In this context, both in the academic community and in popular assimilation, the periphery has become synonymous with favela, poverty and the absence of the State.

With the advance of cities towards the outskirts occupied through self-development and the interest of the real estate market in areas far from the central regions of the city of São Paulo, from the 1980s onwards a new territorial configuration emerges, marked by “walls and security technologies” (CALDEIRA, 2003).

If the center-periphery cleavage was previously sufficient to synthesize Brazilian urbanization precisely because it captured the essentials – the polarity and antagonism between two very different territories, whose distinguishing mark was the socio-spatial stratification: rich in the center, poor and miserable in the periphery –, from the 1980s onwards this panorama underwent important changes because the wealthier strata also occupied new areas of urban expansion adjacent to areas previously restricted to the poorest (favelas, popular housing projects, etc.).

But this spatial displacement did not represent a social approximation between the rich and the poor, on the contrary, it was distinguished by fortified architectural solutions, social avoidance and the search for social homogeneity to seek protection from the fear of violence and the perception of insecurity. This new type of segregation was materialized in the form of fortified enclaves (residential condominiums, service buildings, schools, hospitals, leisure centers and theme parks), defined as follows:

They are private property for collective use and emphasize the value of what is private and restricted while devaluing what is public and open in the city. They are physically demarcated and isolated by walls, railings, empty spaces and architectural details. (CALDEIRA, 2003, p.258).

If, on the one hand, there is a part of the population determined to take refuge from urban violence in gated communities or other spaces, and which attributes security and status to these ways of living in cities, on the other hand, there is also the process of slums caused by the inequality, so that “the segregation of one is reflected in the segregation of the other, dialectically in the same process and at the same time” (NEGRI, 2010, p.133).

The "advance of the city" towards the peripheries is not necessarily stimulated by demographic or economic growth, but is also driven by "land and real estate interests", "as attested by the large number of unbuilt lots in cities of different sizes" (SPOSITO, 2010, p.125).

Although the Brazilian State has invested in ways to combat slums, with programs aimed at building popular housing units, such policies were not quantitatively sufficient or qualitatively adequate to contain the growing housing deficit and promote adequate actions for urban insertion. In addition, historically the production of these housing projects - notably in the experience cycle of the National Housing Bank (BNH), from 1964 to 1986, including the action of Housing Companies (COHABs) - reinforced the logic of segregation, built far from the urban fabric, of poor architectural quality and usually with low access to public services.¹

The medium-sized cities in the interior of São Paulo that benefited from the processes of industrial deconcentration and internalization of development in the 1960s and 1980s (NEGRI, 1988) reproduced on other scales the problems that were previously exclusive to large urban centers (peripheralization, slums, precarious urbanistic) and also started to have in common a verticalization process around the 1980s in the central areas, together with the construction of housing projects and popular subdivisions in the urban peripheries. Following this real estate boom in many cities, especially from the 1990s onwards, gated communities began to appear in areas where land was previously cheap, that is, further away from the central

¹ On housing policies in Brazil, see: Bonduki (2004); Cardoso; Aragão (2013); Cardoso; Jaenisch, Aragão (2017); Maricato (1995, 2011); Royer (2009). Specifically on the case of Bauru, see Damasceno (2021).

region: “these dynamics collaborate with the formation of true 'voids'. urban areas' generating a city that is more territorially sparse and less spatially integrated” (SPOSITO, 2010, p. 131).

The location of these sets in the “peripheral rings” produced “new centralities” insofar as they guided the installation of new commercial and service corridors. They are not “natural” centers, in the sense that they result from historical actions and decisions, but guided by the action of the real estate market that aims to “add value to the land and to properties that have already been built in areas whose land and real estate prices were previously, much smaller” (SPOSITO, 2010; p.13).

The contemporary pattern of socio-spatial segregation, which includes favelaization as a counterpoint to the spread of fortified enclaves (such as gated communities), especially in peripheral and urban sprawl areas, reinforces socio-spatial inequalities, and is strongly stimulated by the real estate market. Outside the large urban centers, this logic of segregation is mimicked, with peculiarities related to the urbanization model to which the city is submitted.

2. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The objective of this work is to analyze how public policies for urban development influenced the emergence of favelas and stimulated socio-spatial segregation processes in the city of Bauru (SP), taking as a particular object of analysis the territory where the Jardim favela is located. Nicaea. In the bibliographic survey, theoretical references, analytical parameters and definitions of spatial segregation and its manifestations in urban space were sought, as well as data on the development of this medium-sized city in the interior of São Paulo. This theoretical repertoire provides analytical support for an in-depth analysis of the object of study, together with demographic and socioeconomic information and data from the main research sources. (IBGE; PMB; SEBES; SEPLAN e SEADE).

For a more detailed analysis of the segregation processes that can be observed in the irregular occupation, maps were prepared from satellite images. The objective of this morphological analysis was to identify material and immaterial barriers that act on Jardim Nicéia, making it a segregated space from the urban fabric.

This is a qualitative research, which intends to describe and analyze the main characteristics related to the processes of formation and consolidation of a specific territorial cut, comprised by Jardim Nicéia and its insertion in the urban space. Furthermore, quantitative data referring to the city of Bauru and the slums in the municipality were added.

3. RESULTS

Activities related to coffee production were responsible for the largest source of economic income in the state of São Paulo between 1850-1920, creating what Negri (1988) describes as the “surplus capital” of the coffee industry, with parallel investments in other activities related to trade, transport and services that connect to agricultural production. Territorial expansion and investment in the construction of railway lines through the interior of the state generated “in parallel an urbanization process that also led to the expansion of food and raw materials agriculture, which began to operate with its own resources, outside the property agrarian coffee” (NEGRI, 1996, p.25).

Bauru, therefore, was one of the cities of growth driven by the expansion of the railroad, with emphasis on the transport flows generated by the railroad junction of the

Sorocabana (1905), Noroeste do Brasil (1906) and Paulista (1910) railroads, which generated connections with the capital of São Paulo and other cities in the interior (CAPELOZZA, 2014). The “transit city” function has strengthened other economic activities, such as trade and services. (LOSNAK, 2004).

In the second half of the 20th century and at the height of developmentalism in the 1950s and 1970s, the development of cities in the interior of São Paulo was stimulated by the State's efforts to “promote a better distribution of industrial activities” (CANO, 1988, p. 78). , originally concentrated in the city of São Paulo and in the metropolitan regions, already quite densely. The intention was to stimulate the increase in the supply of jobs and reduce the “existing socioeconomic imbalances in the different regions of the State” (CANO, 1988, pg.76), in addition to carrying out “the spatial transference” of part of the urban problems, together with the industries, away from the capital (NEGRI, 1988).

In addition to federal actions, the state government acted decisively to stimulate industrial deconcentration and the inland development of the State of São Paulo (Sabesp), the implementation of the “Regional Action” program to consolidate administrative decentralization, among other initiatives. At the local scale, municipal governments adopted common policies to attract companies, such as adaptations in urban legislation, creation of industrial districts and granting of tax exemptions (IPTU, above all).

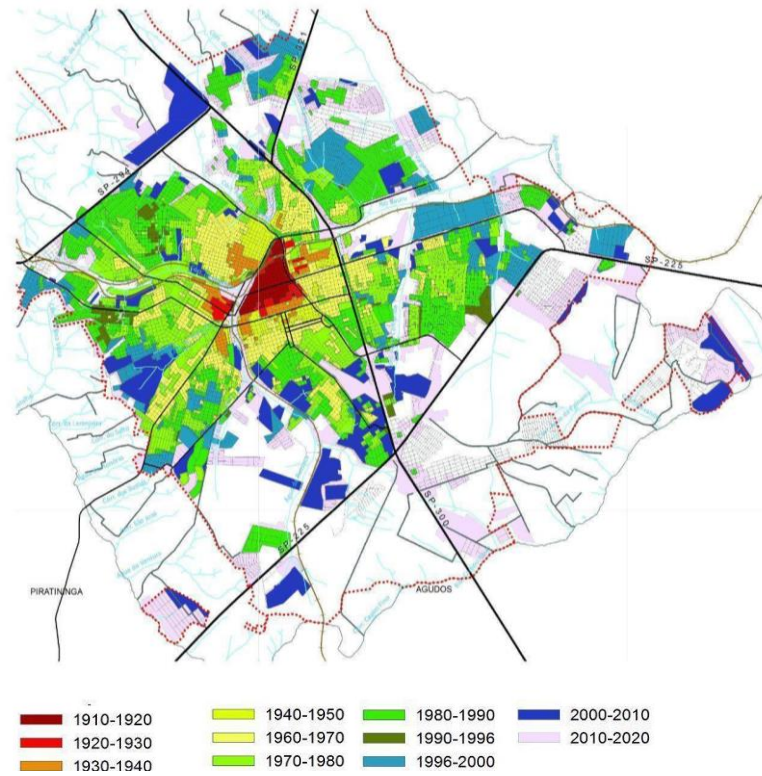
Bauru was no exception and, despite the “ideals of modernization”, the city did not become the industrial hub desired by its elites (LOSNAK, 2004), especially when compared to other medium-sized cities in the same period. Despite the incentives aimed at attracting the manufacturing sector to the city, they did not produce the expected result, but the urban fabric of the municipality was greatly affected by the developmental policies of the period. Government initiatives – carried out mainly between 1960-1980 – involved investments in urban infrastructure works, mainly roads (NEGRI, 1988), and the proliferation of subdivisions – both public and private – and commercial corridors. These changes were reflected in the expansion of the municipality and its urban area (Figure 1).

The urban expansion of the city followed a dispersive logic, so that most of the housing centers (mainly public, but not only these) were directed to the fringes of the urban fabric, characterized by a precarious supply of urban infrastructure (sanitation, transport, paving etc.) and away from public facilities (schools, health units and others). The main agent for public housing provision was COHAB-Bauru.

This expansion intensified especially in the last decade of the century. XX, a period in which “the production of urbanized land resulted in an increase of approximately 1,400 hectares to the existing urban area, whose most plausible explanatory hypothesis is that the corresponding production would result from a repressed demand from previous years” (DAMASCENO, 2021, p. 100). The same author notes that there was also a progressive occupation of the territory located beyond Rod. Marechal Rondon (precisely where Jardim Nicéia is located) and in the directions of the Piratinga, Jaú and Iacanga/Arealva road axes (where the new regional airport was installed in 2006).

In the last three decades there has been an intense real estate production in Bauru, which has resulted in territorial occupation and expansion of the urban area, with notable problems of urban integration in view of the tendency to expand towards the fringes of the city. This dynamic obviously reflected the interests of the real estate market.

Figure 1: Urban Expansion of Bauru – 1910-2020



With regard to public housing provision, the popular nuclei produced by COHAB-Bauru form a considerable part of the city's housing provision (Table 1). The housing production of COHAB-Bauru, however, was not synonymous with successful policies, as many of its complexes were installed in peripheral areas and urban expansion; in addition, the architectural quality, urban insertion and construction standards were not always adequate.

Table 1 - Number of Housing Projects Produced by COHAB - Bauru 1966-1999

Decade	Housing projects produced by COHAB Bauru	Total number of housing units delivered
1960	02	724
1970	06	3761
1980	14	6247
1990	4	4090
Total	26	14.822

Source: Bauru City Hall (2011) apud OTERO (2016), with modifications by the authors.

The rhythm of growth of irregular occupations and slums did not regress, on the contrary, and urban voids proliferated that were shaped by the opening of several subdivisions implanted in discontinuity with the urban fabric, and thus “at least three modalities were created: voids within the consolidated urban area, but also in peripheral areas and in the same way built-up voids” (DAMASCENO, 2021, p.102-103).

The rate of approval of subdivisions decreased in the decades following Municipal Law nº 2,339/82, which regulated the regulations regarding the subdivision, use and occupation of the land, “while guaranteeing minimum standards of infrastructure, it made the 'urbanized lot'

product more expensive. , having as a correlate the decrease in its production” (OTERO, 2016, p.118) This institutional innovation produced important changes, after all, there were “periods in which many subdivisions were carried out using as a rule to obtain the largest number of lots possible, without adequate observation of techniques that respect topography, drainage and even less, that take into account social and environmental issues” (BAURU, 2008, p.5-6).

In addition to the provision of housing aimed at the lower social strata having suffered a considerable drop, closed subdivisions began to proliferate in the city from the 1990s, aimed at high-income segments, and located mainly in the south region of the city (Figure 2). A similar process occurred in other cities in the interior of São Paulo, through the spread of fortified enclaves and closed spaces (SPOSITO; GÓES, 2013; GOULART; GONÇALVES, 2019).

Figure 2: Location of closed subdivisions in Bauru



- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1- Parque Residencial Paineiras | 12-Residencial Quinta Ranieri Green | 22-Spazio Verdi Comendador |
| 2- Parque Residencial Samambaia | 13-Residencial Tivoli II | 23-Alphaville |
| 3- Jardim Shnagrílá | 14-Residencial Villagio II | 24-Cidade Jardim |
| 4- Residencial Tivoli | 15-Residencial Villagio III | 25-Santa Rosa |
| 5- Jardim Colonial | 16-Residencial Spazio Verdi | 26-Res. Quinta Ranieri Gold |
| 6- Residencial Vilagio | 17-Sauipe | 27-Residencial Jardim do Sul |
| 7- Residencial Lago Sul | 18-Estoril 5 | 28-Floratta Alto das Nações |
| 9- Residencial Vilagio Campo Novo | 19-Residencial Villa Lobos | 24-Cidade Jardim |
| 10- Residencial Ilha de Capri | 20-Villa Dumont | 25-Santa Rosa |
| 11-Residencial Odete Tavano | 21-Estoril Centreville | 26-Res. Quinta Ranieri Gold |
| | | 27-Residencial Jardim do Sul |
| | | 28-Floratta Alto das Nações |

Source: Municipality of Bauru (2020); OTERO (2016).

With an economy in which the tertiary sector predominates (which accounts for more than 70% of the local Value Added) and a population of 379,297 inhabitants, Bauru, according to the IBGE estimate for the year 2020, has an urbanization rate of 98.33% (2010 Census). The urbanization process took place very quickly, since “until the 1940s, the urban population corresponded to 50% of the total, and in the 50s it increased to 80%” (BAURU, 2008).

Table 1- Demographic, Economic and Territorial Data for the City of Bauru

Estimated Population (2020)	379.297 people
Area of the territorial unit	667,684 km ²
Human Development Index (HDI)	0,801
GDP per capita	R\$ 37.051,72

Source: prepared by the authors with data from IBGE (2020).

The SOMA Institute, together with the Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento (SEPLAN), diagnosed that, in 2011, the city had 22 irregular settlements in public and private urban areas in the city, with about 3,162 families living in these areas (INSTITUTO SOMA, 2013). These numbers represent both residences with irregular land tenure and those considered unsuitable for housing (improvised, room type, and which do not have a bathroom or toilet). Thus, “in 2016, 16 new areas were detected, increasing the number of families living in a situation of inadequacy to more than 6 thousand” (BAURU, 2020, p.73).

The revision of the Municipal Master Plan took place between 2005-2008, and was “guided by the principles established in the Federal Constitution and in the City Statute, among them the fulfillment of the social function of the city and property, sustainable development and participation popular” (BAURU, 2008, p.4). The Participatory Master Plan (Law No. 5,631, of August 22, 2008) established the ZEIS instrument, later regulated by Municipal Law 5,766/2009, under three modalities: ZEIS 1: private areas occupied by slums to be regularized; ZEIS 2: empty areas with constructive potential; ZEIS 3: public areas occupied by favelas to be regularized (GOULART, TERCI, OTERO; 2012).

Jardim Nicéia, object of analysis of this article, is described in the Participatory Master Plan as ZEIS 1, characterized as “areas of private property occupied by low-income population, including slums, in which there is public interest, production and maintenance of inhabitants of social interest, including social and income-generating equipment” (BAURU, 2008, p. 20).

The emergence of the occupation of Jardim Nicéia dates back to the period of growth of medium-sized cities in the 1960s-70s and to the processes of exclusion of the poorest population from public housing policies promoted during the military dictatorship, that is, “at the same time that housing in this system suffers a surplus, what is verified is the increase of the slum process in the city” (CORGHI, 2008, p.122-123). The origin of this settlement dates back to 1965, and the irregular occupation coincides with the approval process for an open subdivision in the same region. The settlement was registered as a favela in 1991, when only 18 dwellings were counted (CUNHA, 2020). In the survey carried out in 2011 (Table 2), the approximate area of occupation corresponded to 56,959 m², and the survey already records a large demographic expansion, with 240 families inhabiting the settlement. (INSTITUTO SOMA, 2013).

Table 2- Number of registered houses in the Jardim Nicéia favela

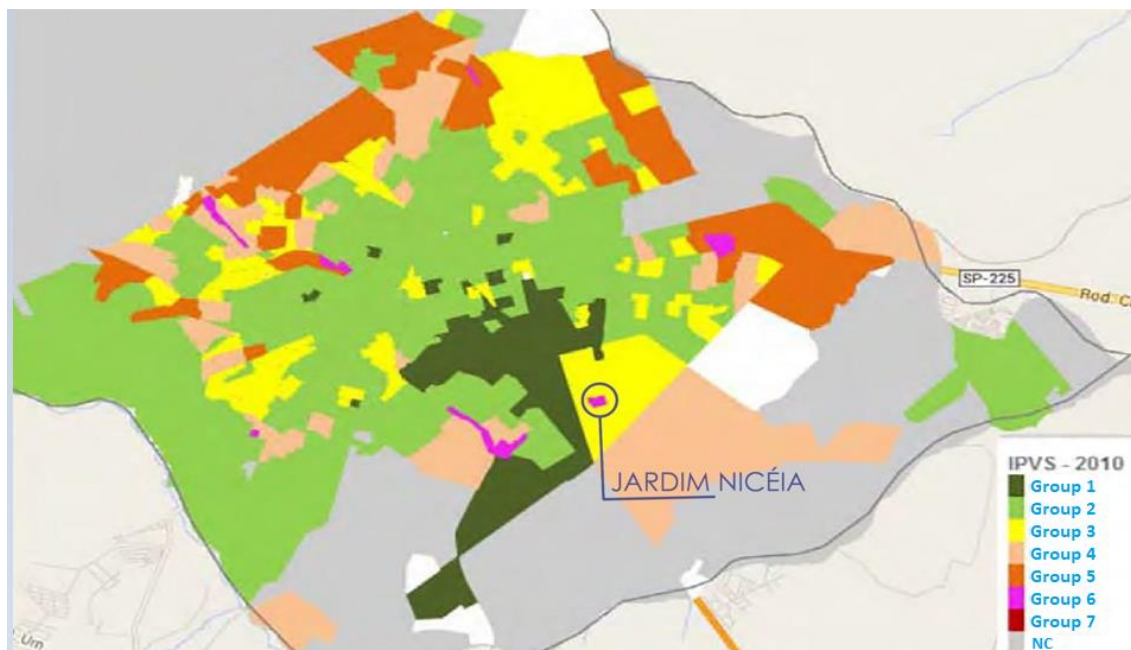
Year of counting	1991	1992	1993	1995	1997	1998	2004	2011
Number of registered houses	18	51	80	80	148	196	165	240

Source: own elaboration with data from Pinheiro (2012) and INSTITUTO SOMA (2013).

As an irregular occupation, Jardim Nicéia reproduces the contradictory dynamics of segregation described by Caldeira (2003), surrounded by “fortified enclaves”. A spatial particularity of Jardim Nicéia, compared to other irregular occupations in the city, is its privileged

location in the southern sector of the city, “where households with a family income greater than 15 minimum wages are concentrated”, contrasting with the reality of favelas in the city municipality, “whose average income is less than two minimum wages” (BAURU, 2008, p.9). The difference in socioeconomic level between these spaces can be observed through the performance of the São Paulo Social Vulnerability Index (IPVS) in the city of Bauru (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Municipality of Bauru – Map of the Índice Paulista de Vulnerabilidade Social (IPVS)



Source: SEADE (2010).

Jardim Nicéia, highlighted on the map, is part of classification group 6, considered to have “very high vulnerability”. This group is composed of “young families living in subnormal agglomerations”, with an average income of R\$898 (equivalent to 1.76 minimum wage in the year in which the data were collected). The occupation is a “stain of informality” present in the space, clashing with the reality of the surroundings, classified as group 3, of low socioeconomic vulnerability (SEBES, 2010)².

The socioeconomic profile of the heads of families in the Jardim Nicéia region reveals valuable data on schooling and average family income of the families that inhabit the region: 57.56% of those responsible for the family do not have completed elementary school and 58% of the families have an income family of up to two minimum wages (CUNHA, 2020). Socioeconomic contrasts are obviously reflected in different housing patterns (Figure 4). In addition, low schooling, associated with low wages, decisively contributes to the favela being the only alternative housing for the overwhelming majority of its residents.

² To understand the methodology used for this classification, access the institutional website of Fundação SEADE. Available in: <www.seade.gov.br>.

Figure 4: Comparison between housing in Jardim Nicéia and Condomínio Residencial Sauípe



Source: Google Maps

This occupation is located close to the Marechal Rondon Highway and other intra-urban traffic routes, as well as other highly relevant urban facilities, private or public, such as Bauru Shopping (the city's main commercial center, located on the opposite side of the highway), the Bauru State Hospital and the Unesp campus (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of regional flows and large urban facilities



Source: Google Earth, adapted by the authors.

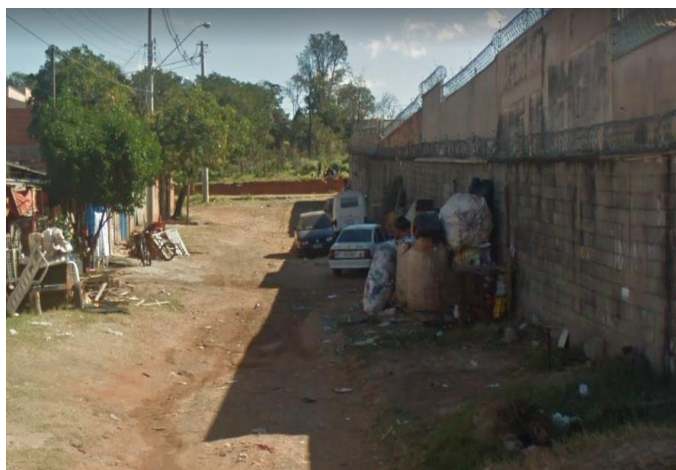
Three closed subdivisions are located in the immediate vicinity: Residencial Sauípe, Residencial Odete Tavano and Jardim Colonial. The Sauípe Condominium has its walls facing Jardim Nicéia, causing a remarkable visual contrast between the formal and informal aspects of irregular occupation (Figure 6). In addition, the surroundings have some residential condominiums aimed at the middle class (lanes 2 and 3 of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, whose public has a family income between R\$ 4,000.00 and R\$ 9,000.00), among them the Residencial Bela América, Residencial Bela Europa, Condomínio Residencial Campo Belo and Condomínio Residencial Campo Limpo, located north of Jardim Nicéia (Figure 7).

Table 4- Data on closed condominiums in the surroundings near Jardim Nicéia

Condominium Name	Opening date	Number of Lots	Responsible Company
Jardim Colonial	1995	311	Gino Paulucci Jr. And others
Residencial Odete Tavano	2002	193	Tripo O Administração e Participações
Residencial Sauípe	2004	76	Construtora Conclusa

Source: Municipality of Bauru (2020); OTERO (2016)

Figura 6: Wall of the Costa do Sauípe condominium at the meeting Jardim Nicéia



Source: Authors' collection.

Figure 7: Location of real estate developments in the Jardim Nicéia region



- 1: Jardim Nicéia 2: Residencial Sauípe 3: Residencial Odete Tavano
 4: Jardim Colonial 5: Residencial Bela América 6: Condomínio Residencial Campo Belo

Source: Google Earth, with adaptations by the authors.

The favela's position in a prime area, however, does not guarantee full access to the services offered in the surrounding area, which lacks improvements in public transport, lighting and paving.

As for mobility, the access of Jardim Nicéia residents to other parts of the city is quite limited. In addition to the siege of gated communities, Rodovia Marechal Rondon makes it difficult for pedestrians to pass to nearby neighborhoods, as the footbridge is no longer accessible for part of the residents “after the ramp was replaced by a ladder, carried out by the Transport Agency of the State of São Paulo (Artesp) during a work on the Marechal Rondon highway” (CUNHA, 2020). The absence of asphalt in most streets compromises residents’ access to public transport, which circulates only in the vicinity of the neighborhood, in addition to making it difficult to collect garbage: “currently, the informal occupation has nine streets, with partial infrastructure: the streets 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are not paved and part of 6th street has poor public lighting” (CUNHA, 2020, p. 101). The lack of paving and the location of the occupation in a floodplain area compromise the drainage of rainwater, causing frequent flooding and flooding. (PINHEIRO, 2012).

Access to public services has been slowly gained by favela residents, with most interventions carried out in the last decade (water, sewage, drainage, public square). The public square, opened in 2013, was the first leisure space for the residents of the neighborhood and other specific drainage works were carried out by the municipality in 2012. (CUNHA, 2020).

In the land tenure dimension, residents still do not have the property title, which causes great insecurity about tenure. Land tenure regularization, considered of “high complexity” (INSTITUTO SOMA, 2013), remains in progress: “although the city hall is carrying out the necessary actions for the progress of the land tenure regularization process, such as topography and registration of residents, the regularization of plots not yet finished” (CUNHA, 2020, p.101).

4. CONCLUSION

The production of urban space in Bauru was marked by the lack of regulation by the municipality on urban land and by the indiscriminate approval of subdivisions, both public and private, especially from the 1960s onwards, resulting in fragmented and segregated spaces. Even with the considerable quantitative housing supply for the popular classes (especially from COHAB-Bauru), there was a proliferation of slums in the municipality.

In contrast to precarious settlements, there was the spread of fortified enclaves in Bauru, especially from the 1990s onwards, reproducing on a smaller scale the reality observed in São Paulo (CALDEIRA, 2000). The contrast between gated communities (for the high-income population) and slums (for the poor) in the urban landscape reveals symptoms of a society marked by deep social inequalities, which reinforces the class division due to socio-spatial segregation. This configuration does not allow interaction between different social groups, after all, the basic conditions of fortified enclaves are precisely social avoidance and homogeneity, caused by the separation of walled barriers and by sophisticated security systems. Although in more modest proportions, Bauru has also been transforming itself into a city of walls.

Jardim Nicéia – which originally constituted an isolated settlement – was progressively surrounded by fortified enclaves from the 1990s onwards. consider the temporal distance

between the beginning of the occupation (1965), the inauguration of the first closed condominium (1995), and the first urban infrastructure works in the place (2012).

In order to face the differences between the segregated spaces, the action of the State is decisive, which needs to guarantee that the population that inhabits areas of irregular occupation has access to public goods and services in an integral way. More rigorous control over land use and occupation rules is also necessary to prevent the reproduction of this type of socio-spatial inequality.

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