

The effects of “new centralities” on Goiania’s urban space

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SUMMARY

This article describes the process of configuration of new centralities in the city of Goiânia and its effects on urban space production, mainly in the last 50 years. Initially, the concepts of center and centrality are presented, followed by the analysis of three fundamental conditions of urban structuring in the metropolis: “unplanned” urban expansion; multiple urban development axes; and (apparently) disconnected and fragmented centralities. Subsequently, the production of urban space in Goiânia (1933-2020), is the object of analysis, as well as the effects of the “new centralities” in its urban expansion process. The urban analysis methodology consists of the analysis of historic documentation from its urban planning process through the last decades and fieldwork documentation. Thus, this article discusses the (re)configuration and (re)signification of centralities as a result of the social production of urban space, as well as its effects on urban expansion and on the expansion of socio-spatial segregation in Goiânia in the 21st century. Therefore, we focus in the description of the strategies of economic and political control of the territory in the emergence of “new centralities”, understanding it as protagonists of the urban structuring of the metropolis of Goiás, influencing urban expansion, socio-spatial segregation and institutionalization of the urban peripheries.

KEYWORDS: Centralities. Urban space. Goiânia.

1 INTRODUCTION

Goiânia has been the subject of different, sometimes contradictory, interpretations about its sui generis urban space production process, since the beginning of the current century. Consequently, processes underlying the constitution of new centralities have drawn attention to socio-spatial transformations taking place in pericentral regions of Goiás State’s capital. Centralities are inserted in contemporary metropolises’ context and they act in the evolution of pioneer urban centers that, in their turn, trigger urban space expansion and fragmentation processes. They generate high-impact effects by acting as the main characters of local and regional urban development. Some of these effects on the urban structuring of the city of Goiânia, the planned capital of Goiás State, will be herein analyzed. The aim of the current study is to contribute to the debate about the concept of centrality, based on initial reflections arising from a research focused on investigating urban space production in Goiânia. It suggests the mode of centralities’ configurations as a guide for urban development; therefore, it investigates how new centralities developed in Goiânia in the last 50 years in order to establish its economic, political and cultural origins, as well as to identify location patterns in the urban fabric of the metropolitan area.

Hypotheses to be raised refer to the “center-centrality” relationships imposed in Goiânia, as well as to centralities’ dependence and relevance as urban practice dynamics, to help identifying patterns and evidencing evolution trends. It is important analyzing how government was guided in the spatialization of these landmarks to enable identifying whether these centralities were purposefully planned, as well as to better understand the relationships between centers and new centralities, and the urban expansion featured by socio-spatial segregation factors and patterns.

Initially, a conceptual triad was herein proposed to explain the impacts of socio-spatial transformations (center, centrality and periphery) to help better understanding – based on these topics – the narratives circumscribing the analysis of three essential conditions of Goiânia’s urban structuring process, namely: “unplanned” urban expansion; its multiple urban development axes; and apparently disconnected and fragmented centralities. This triad of

elements comprises the expansion of the urban fabric and city's growth rings; the main road system with structuring and development axes; and centralities seen as points, landmarks and spatialized elements along the urban perimeter, with emphasis on some clippings representative of flow, concentration and disconnection dynamics forming the urban space.

The herein conducted analyses were based on elements used to understand Goiânia, both in isolated and overlapped manners, when layers are unified and represent some responses. It was done to help better understanding the conduct adopted by the city in its planning and construction process – from its inception to the present day – by taking into consideration the metropolitan context, with emphasis on centralities. Therefore, the herein adopted methodological process lies on abstracting - from some cartographic analyses - realities consistent with the urban evolution of the investigated city, with its road and development axes, as well as with the “spatialization” of different points and landmarks, by understanding them, all together, as new centralities in the city’s formation and structuring processes.

2 ARTICULATING THE CONCEPTS OF CENTER AND CENTRALITY

Scholars have long been trying to understand the city through society’s relationship with space. Some political, economic and cultural correspondences were established among urban space production modes adopted in contemporary society, from Lefebvre (2001) to Santos (2002). This is the context where the debate about centers and centralities is inserted in. According to Villaça (2011), it is not possible determining a center in itself; is this statement also valid for centrality? If, in order for it to be valid, a given space must be the target of urban dynamics and, consequently, become a “central” area in a given region, does centrality also result from a centralization-decentralization process taking place at regional scale? Thus, this urban space-generator center is understood as the place where centripetal forces radiate from. Moreover, these forces orbit over it for a time long enough to attribute such a feature to it; they permanently turn it into a centrality (HOLSTON, 2013). The existence of a main center, which apparently sets a (superficial) space-time totality condition, can induce one’s understanding that everything else lies on centralities, with their multiple and disconnected shapes. It does not seem to be the case in cities whose territory or region are organized in a polycentral or polynuclear manner.

Centralization-decentralization processes subject the center to urban development, to the reality of no longer representing a centripetal process, but centrifugal movements that disconnect the city and reach all spaces with “central” areas. Therefore, based on Bezerra and Cavalcante (2009), the main difference between center and centrality lies on the fact that ‘center’ refers to territory, to what is physical and built, whereas centrality implies socio-spatial relationships, flows and movements of the entire incorporation process associated with city’s mutation.

It is worth emphasizing that Moreira’s (2007) article about territories contextualizes the location-distribution contradiction as ontological principle of space constitution; this contradiction is structured in two opposing spatial planning forms that stress one another due to relationships between places. These forms comprise: a) centralities that result from a focal

location-distribution structure that leads to a single hierarchical reference of place; and b) alterities that result from a dispersed distribution structure that points towards the plurality of what is multiple and reflects the distributive condition of places. Thus, reasoning about differences between center and central space is the starting point to better understand new “moments”, such as centralities. It is noteworthy that flows are factors determining a given space as landmark or element of centrality. Landmark is the pioneer center itself, the starting point of a given city and urbanization process. The center, with centrality features, would be “a space of convergence/divergence, it is the node of the circulation system” (SPOSITO, 1991, p. 6). Accordingly, the aforementioned author clearly states that the center is associated with what is fixed and established, with both place and urban shape; whereas centralities are associated with movements, flows and intentions. A center can be, and often is, a centrality, but centrality does not always mean center.

Once pioneer centers’ exclusive status as original and unique matrix was overcome and extensive urbanization and metropolization processes took place in large cities, flow and urban production demands have established new analysis scales. Consequently, the ‘center’ loses its prominence due to demands associated with the dispersion of polynucleated cities with multiple and varying centralities along the urban area (BEZERRA; CAVALCANTE, 2009). Kneib (2016) has addressed the construction of planned centralities capable of hosting different activities, as well as of equally serving, and providing easy access to, the entire population, a fact that features compact cities.

Figure 01 depicts the correspondence between center and centrality at the time they are dispersed in the urban fabric due to the urban space restructuring process. A given space understood as center has value features, such as spatial optimization, urban concentration, flows’ convergence and large displacements’ inhibition; then, it is expanded and starts to show aspects such as decentralization, multicentricity, as well as center fragmentation and transformations.

Figure 1: Scheme showing the transformation of centrality: from the center to the new centrality forms
URBAN SPACE (RE)STRUCTURING



Source: Bezerra and Cavalcante, 2009 - adapted by the authors

New centralities reconfigure and present themselves as vectors of deterritorialization, mainly in contemporary cities, by forming a field of forces in pioneer center’s socio-spatial dynamics and articulation with sub-centers; therefore, they are the main tools to analyze urban dynamics and practices. Centralities often correspond to the concentration or prominence of a certain area or equipment with significant attraction and flow. This factor depicts the center-

periphery logic, according to which, centrality is seen as rupture and discontinuity of fragmented spatial production (LOPES JÚNIOR; DOS SANTOS, 2009). Therefore, it is possible saying that center, centrality and periphery are mediators of the center-periphery dynamics that result from cities' formation and development processes. The center-periphery relationship is clearly associated with the process to form centralities, which comprises the departure from the central area and the formation of new spatiality's pattern, such as peripheries. Once established, it generates centralities in nowadays' large cities. Thus, the "observation of several centralities in definition and different peripheries in construction" is evident (SPOSITO, 2001, p. 89). This observation reflects the decentralization process, which is understood as the loss of an absolute and unitary center to a multiplicity comprising different scales, meanings and features seen throughout the city.

However, what would be the logic based on which centralities take place in Goiânia's urban space production? The entire spatial formation process - based on the decentralization arising from the creation of different centralities - is connected to a network of interests orchestrated by development vectors or by the initiative and insistence of different urban promoters that guide the cities' production. Harvey (1989) has analyzed capital and social factors linked to cities' context to help better understanding how capital overcomes social, based on the identification of urbanization, economic development and social change processes.

Based on this, Sposito (1996) has advocated that socioeconomic transformations, which took place throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, accounted for the emergence of centralities understood as use spaces, as well as associated changes in habits and coexistence with societies' evolution in cities' context, by taking into consideration both the space and the cities, themselves. Finally, the multiple and varied centralities, as they appear in the space and in the urban restructuring of contemporary cities, are currently elementary pieces in urban studies. It is possible analyzing centralities as conductors of cities' development process, emergence of new areas and urban growth. Goiânia's urban space is herein addressed based on this reasoning.

3 ANALYZING URBAN SPACE PRODUCTION IN GOIÂNIA

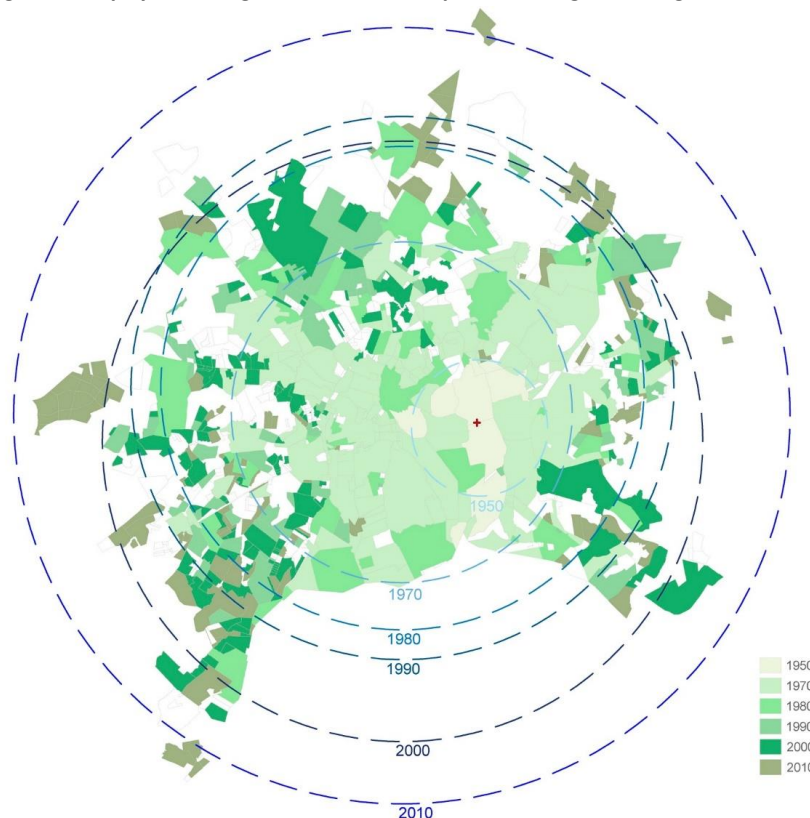
Goiânia is a relatively new city, which was planned at times of intense Brazilian urbanization in the 20th century and whose territorial configuration can be recognized in almost all urban spaces in Brazilian metropolises. Once it was planned, it stood out for its historic center, as well as for historical and central value areas, such as the pre-existing municipality of Campinas, which is nowadays a neighborhood incorporated to Goiânia. Although these areas have established themselves as fundamental centralities, nowadays, the scale and metropolization of Goiânia have led to a different reality (RIBEIRO, 2004). Initially, this condition has changed based on Medeiros and Resende's (2021) idea of an expanded center incorporating adjacent sectors and sectors formed in the Central Sector's sequence.

Goiânia's growth was quite marked by the centralization-decentralization process, which presented several conflicts of centralities throughout the city's perimeter; these conflicts were boosted since the city's original planning in the 1930s, by plans designed from its first

decades of existence up to current actions. This trajectory was featured by the leading role played by Atilio Corrêa Lima, from 1933 to 1935; by Armando de Godoy, in 1937; by Luís Saia, from 1959 to 1962; by Jorge Wilhelm, from 1967 to 1979; and by ENGEVIX company, from 1989 to 1992 (RODOVALHO, 2008). More recently, one finds the Master Plan elaborated by the city hall in 2007 and the recently approved 2022 Master Plan. This report and the behavior of Goiânia's centralities were the topics herein subjected to in-depth analysis, based on historical-historiographical and documentary surveys, which, in their turn, were based on the analysis of three different aspects – city expansion; road axes and system; and centralities – to help better understanding flow and displacement patterns observed in this capital city.

Based on mapping Goiânia's urban expansion over decades, it was possible perceiving urban evolution trends and rhythms (Figure 02). The city presented a pioneer core and a kind of expanded center until 1950. From that date onwards, there was the so-called first significant expansion movement, according to which, the city incorporated larger urban areas, as well as presented increased population index, virtually in a single cycle until the 1970s. From 1970 onwards, the city took on new proportions and its expansion got even more intense, faster and widespread, mostly due to the idea of metropolization, to changes in typologies and urban landscape, to real estate speculation and to peripheralization. From subsequent years to the present day, the city has been reaching farther regions and growing, almost always in an uneven manner (BELLORIO, 2013).

Figure 2: Map synthesizing Goiânia's urban expansion and growth rings over decades



Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2022

Based on the analysis of growth rings projected on Goiânia's urban expansion, it is worth emphasizing that the city did not expand in a concentric and homogeneous way. It has often spread towards the Western region, for example. It is possible noticing that even before some central areas were occupied, others were already under formation.

Since the initial planning, the road system has always played significantly important role in Goiânia's urban structure (Figure 03). At the time it was only supported by the roads forming the pioneer core - Goiás Avenue with the North-South connection, and Anhanguera Avenue in the East-West direction -, Paranaíba Avenue delimited the "triangle" formed by Araguaia and Tocantins avenues, which articulate the Civic Square ("the heart of the city"). Centrality, as a whole, or "central" centralities (with commercial, power and civic centers) were inserted in this frame (RIBEIRO, 2004).

Based on Atílio's plan and, subsequently, on Armando de Godoy's, Goiânia's road axes played key role in the expanded center. For example, Anhanguera Avenue was an important connection between the center and Campinas region; Rua 10 [Tenth Street] (or Avenida Universitária [University Avenue]) would take the flow from the center to the Eastern University Sector; whereas other structural pathways would induce movement towards the South, to the Southern Sector, as well as to the West, to the Western and Marista Sectors, according to Rodovalho (2008). From the 1950s onwards, the BR-153 proposal was elaborated due to highway policies in place in Brazil; this road would cross Goiânia from North to South and would link the city to surrounding subdivisions where the highway would be built. However, Luis Saia's planning was the one including this issue in the city's urban and territorial planning, as reported by Moyses (2004). However, this plan was not implemented due to the national political context of that time; it was resumed years later by Jorge Wilhelm.

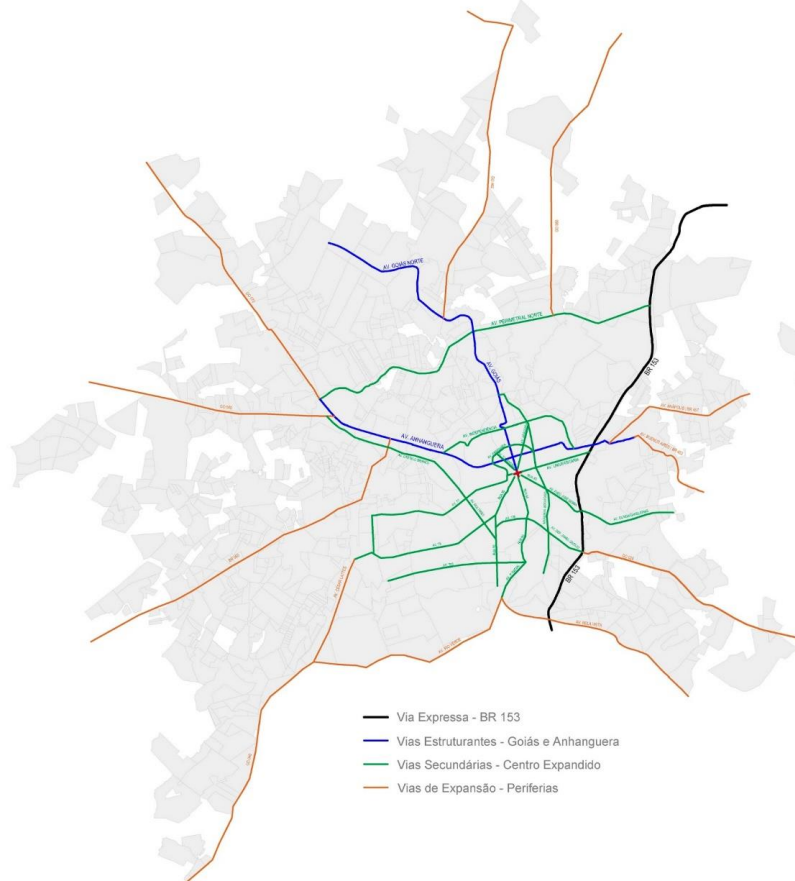
Wilhelm, who took over the Goiânia's Integrated Development Plan in the late 1960s, highlighted some aspects of the road axes. Among them, one finds the valuing of BR-153 regions, the main role played by Anhanguera Avenue as commercial relevance axis and as stimulus to development in East-West direction, as well as the role played by Goiás Avenue, as integration axis to meet the demand towards North the capital city (RODOVALHO, 2008).

In the 1990s, some decisions about the road system were made in ENGEVIX plan, which encouraged the city's connection to its poles. Thus, Avenida Perimetral Norte [North Perimetral Avenue] was introduced as important road in the Northern region of Goiânia, whereas "T" roads, such as T-63 Avenue in the South region, were established in a strong boosting, verticalization and densification area. The BR-153 region, mainly where Jardim Goiás is located nowadays, became a major attraction for the installation of equipment, i.e., of centralities (BELLORIO, 2013). This region, which is anchored in an urban park and in large equipment, is highly valued; consequently, it is highly densified and verticalized. According to the aforementioned author, other axes were also taken into consideration, such as Marginal Botafogo freeway, radial avenues favoring fast access from one area to another in the city, and bordering roads, such as Rio Verde Avenue, between Goiânia and Aparecida de Goiânia, which plays significant role in the conurbation of these municipalities. It is worth emphasizing that due to the expansion of the city, its peripheralization and new typologies, such as horizontal condominiums and metropolization itself, ended up depending on the shared access to neighboring municipalities.

Thus, this process enabled several arterial pathways, which extended towards highways, formed the urban fabric and the intercity flow.

Recent urban planning strategies, such as the current Master Plan (2007), and its update - which is expected to take effect in 2022 - prioritize road infrastructures and understand them as “exclusive or preferred development axes” encouraged for regions holding flows inherent to their respective centralities.

Figure 3: Map synthesizing Goiânia’s road system and development structuring axes



Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2022

The aim of the current study was to investigate the representativeness of a centrality formation pattern throughout the city's space construction (Figure 04). As previously stated about the structuring axes, the pioneer core has established itself as the primary centrality; therefore, it is a consolidated centrality, nowadays, despite the mutations and differences observed in its dynamics and prominence overtime. The Civic Square has been seen as symbol of power and concentration of civic manifestations, since its emergence. Likewise, the intersection of Goiás and Anhanguera avenues had its financial use value replaced by commercial value, later on. Moreover, Independência Avenue in Praça do Trabalhador [Worker's Square] region, whose development headed towards rail and industrial sectors, has strongly established itself as commercial hub due to the hippie fair, to the 44th Street complex and to the city access channel, which was anchored by the bus terminal built in the 1980s.

Campinas Sector region, which precedes the emergence of Goiânia, remains a consolidated centrality, given the permanence of original populations and its symbolic relevance as support for Goiânia construction; moreover, it remains an attractive commercial hub capable of catalyzing both residents and visitors.

Figure 4: Map synthesizing Goiânia's centralities



Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2022

The second classification used to analyze centralities lied on expanded centralities, which emerged from the expansion of the pioneer center to the most effective expansion of the city. An example of it lies on the East University neighborhood, which comprises the *campi* of Federal University of Goiás and Pontifical Catholic University of Goiás since 1960. This is one of the first specialized centralities formed by higher education institutions articulated by the University Square. The West Sector also fits the expanded centrality category, since it was an important financial center of Goiânia throughout the 1970s and 1980s, although it was also used for other purposes, such as hospitality. The significant growth of Goiânia towards distant regions has generated important centralities in local peripheries, such as Goiânia Airport, which was launched in 1955, at a considerable distance from the center, although it played central and important role in covering the entire municipality. It was built near a road axis (BR-153), which also covers large equipment, such as Serra Dourada Stadium (built in 1975) and Flamboyant mall (built in the 1980s), whose American mall-like features represented a new centrality modality in

urban planning. Goiânia racetrack was also inserted in this scope when it became the catalyst symbol of the city's development and growth, mainly due to the concentration of high-standard horizontal condominiums in this region (BELLORIO, 2013). Part of the 1992 Master Plan focused on large equipment.

Based on the same logic applied to the previous centralities, Marista Sector fits the category of new and consolidating centralities. It is an attraction and use centrality, given its pubs and restaurants, which turn it into reference in this sector, but it has also experienced the recent installation of new equipment, mainly the ones belonging to business and financial sectors, such as the Orion Complex (which comprises hospital, hotel and conveniences) and the World Trade Center. The 'peripheralization' process experienced by Goiânia had its local government transferred to the Municipal Palace, which is obviously a centrality by nature and corresponds to important changes in the use of this region; moreover, it will also attract similar uses (institutional) due to the presence of this landmark.

Passeio das Águas Mall, in the Northern region, started operating in 2013 in a way similar to that of Flamboyant Mall in the 1980s. Since the beginning, it has been boosting investments in this region and generating expectations for issues, such as dynamic uses, economy attraction, as well as verticalization and densification of its neighboring spaces in the coming years. Samambaia Campus, which belongs to UFG, was launched in the Northern region, in the 1970s. This campus is an important anchor located close to this equipment; it accounts for both municipal and inter-municipal flows heading towards a region at implementation stage. It also contributes to neighborhoods' formation and to other uses in the surrounding areas. This movement encouraged the verticalization of the Northern region – which is also linked to an urban park – and, most recently, the implementation of horizontal condominiums and small farms.

The same rule applied to equipment seen as landmarks and development catalysts was applied in the farthest regions of Goiânia. Although Buriti Mall is located in the neighboring city of Aparecida de Goiânia, its launching in 1996 has contributed to the development of different neighborhoods in this region, such as Parque Amazônia and the entire axis of Rio Verde Avenue, as mentioned by Rodvalho (2008). The decentralization process is so strong and real that peripheral regions located quite far from the city center are equipped with all uses and services offered in the urban space concentrated in that region, such as the Garavelo Sector and the city's growing Southwestern region, which started building high-standard horizontal condominiums, in the mid-1990s. These standards are seen as autonomous centralities.

4 THE EFFECT OF “NEW CENTRALITIES” ON THE URBAN EXPANSION OF GOIÂNIA

Based on the conceptual analysis, as well as on the approach to urban evolution and to transformations resulting from Goiânia's expansion process, it was possible performing a more critical and analytical reading to help better understanding centrality paradigms as political, development and economic strategies adopted to produce urban space, based on some hypotheses and questions.

Different spatial manifestations in Goiânia, from the pioneer core and its adjacencies (seen as centrality) to its configuration as polynucleated or polycentralized city can also be seen, if one takes into consideration the process understood as multicentricity or polycentricity (CANDIDO, 2014). In addition, the objects of analysis used in the current research – i.e., urban network expansion, road system structuring axes, and centralities seen as reference points and landmarks - overlap one another and correspond to each other. Therefore, it is possible understanding that the city formation process comprises the application of the center-centrality theory, which is evidenced by a “central” origin matrix and by its corresponding reverberations throughout urban evolution.

This proposal for the primary centralities was based on a political and sectoral organization bias, which remains biased by modern planning, through a very well defined and spatialized sectorization. On the other hand, by assuming its role as living organism susceptible and inherent to mutations, the city lost control of this rational logic and it allowed political, social, cultural and economic factors, among others, to get into dispute. These factors have also determined issues, such as socio-spatial segregation, in the occupational distribution of spaces in the urban fabric, which is not very concentric; it presents organized, although dispersed and fragmented, centralities that corroborate a chain series of phenomena representative of inequalities in the urban scenario (HOLSTON, 2013).

The city projects in its territory the capitalist mode of production, overlapping others ways of socio-spatial production and reproduction. Following a structural feature of Brazilian urbanization, Goiânia is not different, given its image as a divided, fragmented and unequal city. Thus, one could say that almost all movements associated with master plans, mainly the most recent ones, which encompassed city development strategies, sought financial return and that real estate developers were their main agents (GUIMARÃES, 2016). Therefore, Goiânia held the control and purpose of centralities for a long period-of-time; however, similarly to other realities, it was quite hostage to unplanned centralities, which were structured based on the interests of a given minority, which benefited from them.

Assumingly, the city could have control over the distribution and outspread of the first sub-centers, even in the pioneer core and in the expanded center. However, this control gets harder to be accomplished and compromised when one dictates a new methodology to boost the city growth, by displacing relevant uses to kilometers away from the center, mainly focused on speculation, in order to take investments and add value to the land. Goiânia is a strong example of how some neighborhoods became elitist and focused on a single social layer of the population. The same phenomenon takes place in the peripheries, if one takes into consideration the idea of large equipment until then isolated on the side of the highways. It also happened in Jardim Goiás region, for example, which presented noticeable trend in the spatial and urban reading of Goiânia (Figure 05).

This logic was quite reverberated in Southeastern Goiânia, which was one of the last regions to have its occupation consolidated. However, the installation of equipment, such as the Flamboyant Mall and the City Hall (institutional centrality), near BR-153 and GO-020, was the movement that changed this reality. New land uses were automatically attracted to this region, after the Municipal Palace was established in it. New residential occupations (of different

typologies) were created in the region, whereas others were added to it, along with the supply of commercial equipment and services, and it contributed to the standard observed in this region, nowadays. Recent typologies, such as horizontal condominiums and verticalization, are the living proof of the strong land interest in overvaluing this area; they are influenced by the presence of centralities and, sometimes, they even become one, due to maximum occupation, concentration, prevalence and attraction of displacements and to individuals' option for staying in this city area (Figure 06). One of the elements explored in planning processes focused on valuing potential areas lies on natural resources, such as environmental protection areas inserted in luxury horizontal condominiums, as well as on urban parks used as catalysts for high-standard vertical condominiums. This factor could explain the dense conurbations in the metropolitan area, such as with the cities of Aparecida de Goiânia, Senador Canedo and Bela Vista - which was consequence from economic and political dispute, - as well as its resulting complexity in the regional governance policies.

Figure 5: Jardim Goiás, in Goiânia, with emphasis on highways BR-153 and GO-020, and on large equipment and urban dynamics, such as verticalization and densification



Source: Fernando Leite – Jornal Opção, 2015

Figure 6: Aerial image of the Southeastern region, near the City Hall in 2003 and 2022



Source: Google Earth, 2022 - Adapted by the authors

5 CONCLUSION

Based on the urban space production context in Goiás State, it is possible inferring that “new centralities” have changed the urban development dynamics, either by establishing the center as original centrality or by implementing processes focused on structuring the fragmented urban fabric. Therefore, these transformation spaces can be “located” at any point in the urban perimeter and, given their unique urban conditions, they can act as catalysts for multiple urban development agents and multi-scale flows (economic, social, demographic, among others).

Our effort to emphasize the “new centralities” in Goiânia originated from the premise that its center still plays prominent socioeconomic, cultural and historical role. Centralities are founding space instituted since the origin of the city; they have initially emerged from the formation of sub-centers, as the immediate effect of the urban expansion that started back in the 1960s and remains in progress. This expansion process has already surpassed the municipal limits and expanded the effects of socio-spatial segregation, mainly in a context of monofunctional centralities (commercial, financial and institutional, among others).

It is clear that the logic of the center-centrality-periphery relationships taking place in Goiânia does not follow the pattern investigated by Villaça (2001) in São Paulo and in other Brazilian capitals. It likely happens due to the political and economic dynamics inducing the production of fragmented urban spaces, rather than to the contiguity of new centralities, which often derive from the expansion of the original central area. Thus, the role played by planned centralities is questioned, as well as their effects on the urban structuring of Brazilian metropolises, mainly on “peripheralization” processes. Likewise, the impacts of “new centralities” on the daily life of low-income classes are evident and dictate the local trends to offer services, employment, housing and urban equipment.

The analysis of the triad comprising the essential conditions for Goiânia’s urban structuring – i.e., “unplanned” urban expansion, multiple urban development axes, and apparently disconnected and fragmented centralities – enabled broadening our perception about the urban land appropriation process taking place in this city. Therefore, the production logic of “new centralities” is based on a capitalist accumulation process that has been reflected in the growing influence of real estate agents on the urban planning of the investigated city, mainly in the 21st century. Thus, new centralities are successful examples of this urban space production strategy.

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