

**Public policies for favelas in Osasco-SP and the production of the
peripheral city**

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this article is to analyze municipal actions in the slums of the city of Osasco, in São Paulo State, through public policies launched to face the precariousness of housing in this type of settlement, whether for removal or maintenance. It seeks to evaluate the administrative structure to understand the state organization to carry out the proposed interventions as well as legislative changes in order to make regulations more flexible, the programs created and the effectiveness of these actions. In order to carry out this study, municipal legislation from the mid-1970s to the present day, referring to the administrative structure and urban regulation, was analyzed. We also searched the literature for studies that report the experience of the city of São Paulo, considering that both cities participate in the same urbanization process. Such policies resulted in an urban design that fell short of the norms, but that characterize peripheral cities.

KEYWORDS: Slum Upgrading. Osasco. Public policies.

1 INTRODUCTION

Brazilian urbanization is marked by the presence of slums at different moments in the development of its cities. While Rio de Janeiro was already part of the landscape and public discussion in the beginning of the 20th century (VALLADARES, 2000), São Paulo became the predominant housing option for the poorest population from the 1970s on.

Until this period, the capital of São Paulo saw its urban territory expanding concentrically through standard peripheral plot divisions, in which cheap plots without infrastructure were offered but accessible to workers who fled the insecurity caused by the rent policy in the 1940s (BONDUKI, 2017; BONDUKI; ROLNIK, 1982). Thus, a logic of urban structuring was created in which the center of the city, endowed with services and equipment, is more valued, while the periphery remained the discontinuous, precarious, and self-constructed occupation of working-class housing (MEYER; GROSTEIN; BIDERMAN, 2004).

It is worth mentioning, however, that the slum nuclei already existed for those who could not afford the costs of transportation, land, and/or the self-construction of their own homes and were generally present in the most central areas of the city. These nuclei represented the backwardness in the face of the economic progress that São Paulo was experiencing and, still in the 1940s, the first public intervention appeared in reaction to this type of precarious settlement. According to Bonduki (2017, p. 271): "The estrangement of Paulistanos with the slum lasted more than three decades, in which the issue was treated under the optics of repression, re-education, and removal. This practice originated in 1946 when Mayor Abraão Ribeiro implanted the first temporary lodgings or "lungs" known in São Paulo."

Furthermore, it can be said that some slums occupied lands that aroused market interest. As a result, removals were justified, and they did not involve the solution to the problem of granting access to housing to the poorest people. Thus, the "problem" was only transferred to another place, often without improvement of living conditions, as Flock (2020, p. 2) evidences in his study on the Glicério slum: "(...) the slums of the 1930s until the mid-1960s often tended to disappear, but they had links among themselves: they were removed from one place, and went to another - sometimes through the mediation of the city government itself and with similar conditions."

When the growth of São Paulo's slums reached a faster rate than the city itself, at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, there was a change in the perception of these settlements. It was understood that they did not represent temporary housing options for migrants arriving in the city but rather for established workers due to the economic crisis, high inflation, low wages, rising land prices, and a centralized housing policy that did not serve the low-income population.

Together with the pressure from social movements, which clamored for improvements in the slums, the government began to act in these spaces through urbanization policies that, over the years, encompassed sanitation policies, urban improvements, housing provision through embryos, incentives for self-construction, self-management and joint effort, verticalization, and land regularization (ZUQUIM, 2012).

Even to the present day, these can be considered public policies aimed at maintaining the slum population in the territory already occupied, improving living conditions and access to the city, and creating the notions of right to housing and the city. It should be noted, however, that these were not policies whose evolution occurred homogeneously, depending on the discourse and ideology behind each management. Zuquim (2012, p. 11), when reporting the process that happened in the city of São Paulo, demonstrates that "the alternation of municipal administrations - expressed by different programmatic orientation and institutional arrangement - results in the rupture and/or discontinuity of programs and projects in progress and, moreover, in the permanent movement of advances and setbacks of the urban intervention in precarious settlements."

The advanced process of the slums and the application of public policies, either of removal or improvement and maintenance through urbanization, is not only present in the capital city of São Paulo. The spreading of peripheral urban occupation expands beyond the municipal limits, structuring the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo from the railway and highway axes with the same center-periphery logic, in which the worker started to look for more accessible plots in the neighboring cities.

In this context, there is Osasco, west of São Paulo, of which it was a district until 1962, becoming an emancipated city due to the dissatisfaction of its population with the lack of municipal investments in the region. Considered an "industrial suburb" (LANGENBUCH, 1971), it still suffers today with the influence of the centrality of its neighbor and headquarters of the metropolis, facing the problems of an urban occupation without planning, constituted based on disconnected standard lots joined as the buildings were built.

Taken as a whole, the Osasco region presents an inorganic structure that tends to become chaotic, as it happens with the Capital of São Paulo - a fact that can be explained by the way the settlement was processed (with isolated nuclei that ended up merging), as well as by the inexistence of a pre-established plan that would guide its development and regulate its contacts (PENTEADO; PETRONE, 1958, p. 103).

Considering that the "periphery is indeed a place where poor people live, that is socially segregated, and that land prices are low, but at the same time it is a changing place, always reproduced in new land extensions, while old peripheries are gradually incorporated into the city, occupied by new residents and reorganized by the capital" (MAUTNER, 2015, p. 254), that is, if the urbanization pattern always produces a new periphery, more and more distant,

reaching other municipalities, so it also happens with slums. While São Paulo already counted 525 settlements in 1973, Osasco identified only two nuclei in this decade. But as its demographic participation increased in the metropolitan region, the number of precarious settlements increased, with higher growth in the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, it is implicit that public policies for the slums in Osasco are influenced by the actions carried out in São Paulo, and the studies on São Paulo's interventions are the basis for this work and enable parallel analysis of the choices of the proposed actions.

Some of the consolidation proposals seen in Osasco transformed the space in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish where the urbanized slum ends and where the standard plot division begins. Nevertheless, the fact is that these interventions resulted in a type of settlement that no longer presents the precariousness of slums but also does not come close to the formal city, despite the advances of land regularization and urbanization programs after the City Statute.

Marques (2017) indicates the need for the study of "urban policies," that is, "the actions of the State that affect the urban fabric, its territories, and urban life. It is said, then, that in this paper, the cut will be the urban policies concerning slums, regarding when and how the State, represented by municipal management, organizes itself to face these precarious settlements, the proposals for action, and what was effectively accomplished. Finally, it opens for reflection on the results of these interventions, what the peripheral city is, and the perspectives for its regulation.

2 PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

This paper aims to analyze municipal actions in the slums of Osasco, in São Paulo state, through public policies launched to face the precariousness of housing in this settlement, whether for removal or maintenance. Furthermore, it seeks to evaluate the administrative structure to understand the state organization to carry out the proposed interventions as well as legislative changes in order to make regulations more flexible, the programs created and the effectiveness of these actions. Since Osasco is a relatively young city, recognized as an autonomous unit since 1962, the study covers the period from the turn of the 1970s and 1980s to the present day.

In order to carry out this study, the municipal legislations of the indicated period were analyzed regarding the administrative structure and the urban regulation laws. It was observed that some programs were consolidated in the form of laws and/or decrees, which will also be presented in this paper. To support this study, we consulted the literature on the experience of São Paulo since, in addition to being part of the same municipality until recently, they are part of the same urban structure resulting from the metropolization process, considering the influence of the city of São Paulo not only in terms of space production but also in the elaboration of urban public policies.

3 PUBLIC POLICIES FOR THE SLUMS OF OSASCO - SP

3.1 OSASCO IN THE CONTEXT OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF SÃO PAULO

Until 1962, Osasco was a district belonging to São Paulo, located in the western part. In Langenbuch's (1971) study, it was considered an industrial suburb because its development was due to the presence of the small railroad station from 1895 that carries its name. The railroad brought with it the installation of industries such as "Eternit do Brasil" and "Cobrasma." In the author's words:

Yet railroads play a remarkable role as a direct instrument of suburban development. [...] It is only along the railroads that suburban nuclei appear more than 25 kilometers from the city center. As far as industrialization is concerned, one of the most significant facts is the great industrial development of Osasco, Sorocabana "suburb-station." Although the town already had some factories, it is in the last two decades that Osasco has become one of the main suburban industrial centers. (LANGENBUCH, 1971, p. 180)

The success of the urban agglomeration is also due to the military installation in the Quitaúna district, which together with the industrial operation attracted the implantation of commerce and services in the vicinity of the station. Such applications preceded the residential one, as observed by the same author:

[...] in the central industrial suburbs [...] the factories preceded the massive residential establishment. But the workers were gradually attracted to the place by the convenience offered by the relatively low cost of land and the proximity of the factories. [...] in the end, a considerable demographic contingent settled in the industrial suburbs, who only lived there and had professional activities elsewhere: in another suburb, or - in a more significant number - in São Paulo. Thus, the industrial suburbs gradually accumulate the secondary but still expressive function of dormitory suburbs. (LANGENBUCH, 1971, p. 147)

In 1930, the Sara Brasil map represented the city center's occupations and the neighborhoods Presidente Altino, Continental, Vila dos Remédios, and Vila Militar in Quitaúna. There were the streets of the plot divisions like Jd. Piratininga, Quitaúna (Km18), and Jd. Monte Belo, which was still unoccupied. They were agglomerations around the railroad and the Tietê River floodplain but disconnected from each other. The same happened with the standard plot divisions that appeared in the following years, facilitated by the presence of buses that complemented the public transportation, forming part of the so-called outskirts of São Paulo since it was still part of the administrative unit of this municipality.

As a peripheral district, it received little attention from São Paulo, increasing the dissatisfaction of its population. It then began the movement for administrative emancipation (LANGENBUCH, 1971; PENTEADO; PETRONE, 1958; RUBIO, 2017). In 1958, Law No. 5.121/1958 was sanctioned, creating the Municipality of Osasco. However, only in 1962 the division actually occurred. That year, the city's first mayor was sworn in (RUBIO, 2017). Langenbuch (1971) describes the process of emancipation that occurs in the region as paradoxical: at the moment when, physically, the nuclei become conglomerates, there is the pulverization of public administrations. As the emancipations, in fact, represented local improvements for the new municipalities, it was difficult - and still is a problem to be overcome - to establish regional planning.

If in 1940 Osasco counted 15,258 inhabitants, this number increased to 114,828 in 1960 and represented the most considerable growth period of the urban agglomeration. However, according to the table below, it can be observed that while the population growth

started to decrease as of 1970, it was as of this decade that Osasco's demographic participation increased before the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (MRSP), representing a movement of the population towards the peripheral municipalities.

Table 1: Population Evolution MRSP and Osasco

YEAR CENSUS	POPULATION MRSP	OSASCO POPULATION	AGGR (%)	PARTICIPATION OSASCO/MRSP
1940	1,568,045	15,258	3.95	0.97
1950	2,622,786	41,326	10.48	1.58
1960	4,739,730	114,828	10.76	2.42
1970	8,139,730	283,073	9.44	3.48
1980	12,588,725	474,543	5.3	3.77
1991	15,444,941	568,225	1.81	3.68
2000	17,878,703	652,593	1.55	3.65
2010	20,309,647	666,740	0.23	3.28

Source: (OSASCO. SECRETARIA DE HABITAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO, 2012)

Currently, Osasco has approximately 700 thousand inhabitants, distributed over 64.954 km² of 100% urban land, resulting in a demographic density of 10,264.80 inhabitants/km². For comparison purposes, this density is 39% higher than the capital's¹. It borders São Paulo to the north, northeast, and southeast, Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba to the northwest, Carapicuíba to the west, Cotia to the southwest, and Taboão da Serra and Embu to the south. The physical elements represented by the CPTM - Companhia Paulista de Trens Metropolitanos line (former Sorocabana Railroad), the Castelo Branco Highway, and the Tietê River cut the city transversally and divide it into northern and southern zones.

Osasco also has the Anhanguera and Raposo Tavares Highways, besides being cut from north to south by the Rodoanel Mário Covas. Such important highways have attracted large logistics companies, and in the economic field, the city has the 2nd largest GDP in the state and 8th in Brazil (IBGE, 2017). However, the high GDP does not hide the social inequality of the past or that of the present.

3.2 THE EVOLUTION OF SLUMS IN OSASCO

As previously presented, the influence exerted by São Paulo made Osasco attractive for providing housing to the population that needed to settle in cheaper areas. While from 1930 to 1940, industrial neighborhoods arose near the railroad tracks, the following decades saw an increase in the development of mostly dispersed residential plots with precarious infrastructure.

Even though in the 1950s the first cheap housing complex emerged through the extinct Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Industriários (Institute of Retirement and Pensions for Industrial Workers - IAPI), followed by other examples, this type of housing provision did not, in fact, serve the poorest strata of the population, i.e., those who most needed help to achieve decent housing.

¹ Source: IBGE Cidades, retrieve from <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/sp/osasco/panorama> for Osasco and <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/sp/sao-paulo/panorama> for São Paulo data, Accessed on July 1st 2021.

Thus, aside from regular housing production, “the population relies on its own resources and produces housing as it can” (MARICATO, 2000, p. 32). In other words, the first step was the implementation of clandestine plot divisions, and as the stock of irregular plots was depleted, the occupation of public and environmentally protected areas came.

In the 1970s, there were two slums; in the 1980s, this number increased to 40; 94 in 1985, according to the Plano Estrutural do Município de Osasco (OSASCO, 1986a). After a survey conducted by the Secretariat of Housing and Urban Development (SPINAZZOLA, 2008), they were 158 in 2005. The 2012 Local Plan for Housing of Social Interest of Osasco (PLHIS in the Portuguese acronym) updates the number to 166 slums in the municipality, distributed between the northern and southern zones. As a result, most of the irregular territory is classified as slums, and these mostly occupy public areas that were demarcated in the plot-division approval projects. Despite being occupied by housing, as they were often called “free areas” in the projects, the slums are recognized as such by both the public authorities and the population. This is not different from the pattern of slum occupation in São Paulo, as stated by Pasternak (2006) and complemented by Sampaio and Pereira (2003):

The size of the agglomerations depends directly on the city’s topography and the type of land available for invasion. In São Paulo, slums generally occupy the land for common use in plot divisions, small parcels compared to Rio de Janeiro, where the slums climb up the hills, or Salvador, where they reach the sea. (PASTERNAK, 2006, p. 182)

It is important to emphasize that irregular and clandestine divisions are also home to slums, generally located in the worst areas of the plot division, with uneven terrain or near streams, and therefore subject to flooding. These areas are the ones that the division developers designate for “common use,” usually the worst areas of the plot division. (SAMPAIO; PEREIRA, 2003, p. 177)

Table 2: The evolution of slums in Osasco

	1970	1980	1985	2005	2012
Nº of slums	2	40	94	158	166
Houses	-	3,936	6,554	16,479	33,703

Source: (OSASCO. SECRETARIA DE HABITAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO, 2012; SPINAZZOLA, 2008)

The table above shows the evolution of slums in quantitative terms of the number of nuclei and the number of households surveyed. These data corroborate Bonduki’s (2017) thesis that, until the 1970s, the lower-income population preferred to consume housing in peripheral plot divisions. They were made “for a population subjected to live in a neighborhood lacking any services, except for relatively nearby public transportation,” whose price of the plot is calculated by the buyer’s monthly payment capacity: “The resident is not primarily concerned with the total price of the plot nor the number of installments, but rather how much he or she will spend per month” (BONDUKI; ROLNIK, 1982, p. 121).

From then on, the increase of settlements classified as slums is exponential, representing 135% in only five years when analyzing the data between 1980 and 1985. On the other hand, it is also observed that from 2005 to 2012, the increase in the number of slum nuclei is not so much. Nevertheless, there is a trend of densification of the nuclei. While the average in 2005 is around 104.29 households per nucleus, in 2012, this number rises to 203.03 households per nucleus.

As a result of the exponential growth of the slums, there was a reaction from the public authorities to intervene in these spaces. In the 1980s, the municipal government became concerned with the issue and implemented programs for the slum population. The administrative reorganization was also carried out to establish the city agencies responsible for executing the proposed actions.

3.3 PUBLIC (RE)ACTION

In São Paulo, until the mid-1960s, slums were understood as temporary lodging for the migrant population recently arriving in the city and criminals. It was understood that it was basically a social concern and, for this, the actions involved the removal of the settlement with the transfer of its residents to more distant housing or incentive to return to their place of origin (FRANÇA, 2009; ZUQUIM, 2012).

When the possibilities of removing the slums, of transferring the misery further away from the city center, ran out, when it was realized that the slum did not have a temporary character, the eyes of the people of São Paulo turned to the problem. This happened in the 1970s when the peripheral plot-division depletion also began. The crisis of the 1980s, unemployment, lower wages, and high inflation are also pointed out as factors in the process of slumization in São Paulo and the region. In addition, the increase of people's pressure to improve housing conditions, through the emergence of several urban social movements, contributed to a change in the perception of slums.

By the end of the 1970s, removal and de-slumization policies, based on the idea of the temporality of the slum, had come to an end. From then on, public policies for the slums began to consider them an urban phenomenon, part of the city's landscape. Such perception was consistent with the first mobilizations of movements representing people living in slums, which demanded access to minimal improvements in opposition to the idea of removing them from those places. (FRANÇA, 2009, p. 30)

In the 1980s, there was a new approach to slums that, unlike previous periods, aimed at improving precariousness and, consequently, maintaining the population in the slum areas through sanitation programs, urban improvements, and housing provision with the construction of embryonic units and incentives for self-construction of housing.

Between advances and setbacks in previous years, slum upgrading was consolidated as a public policy for such spaces in the 1990s. In this period, with the administration of Mayor Luiza Erundina, an important debate on occupations in risk areas and on the recognition of real-estate property emerged (FRANÇA, 2009).

The 2000s began with an important milestone for Brazilian urbanism with the publication of the City Statute, regulating the general guidelines of the urban policy outlined in Articles 182 and 183 of the 1988 Federal Constitution and institutionalizing, at the national level, policies for land regularization and urbanization of precarious areas. (BRASIL, 2001)

With a progressive government taking over the federal sphere and the creation of the Ministry of Cities in 2003, the municipalities were granted large amounts of investments to consolidate major urbanization programs, effectively transforming the slum areas. The development of a federal housing policy, which started in the 1990s with Programa Habitar

Brasil, later called Habitar Brasil BID (HBB) - from a loan with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) - culminates with Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento, Modalidade Urbanização de Assentamentos Precários (PAC).

PAC investments in slum urbanization, counting on expressive resources - and exempted from the usual budget contingencies, which significantly reduced the flow of resources aiming at balancing public accounts - became the largest housing program for slum urbanization in the country's history. (CARDOSO; DENALDI, 2018, p. 11)

The housing policy instituted by the federal government suffered a setback with the inflection occasioned by the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016. At that same moment, new federal legislation for land regularization was instituted (Federal Law No. 13,465/2017), in which the importance of social and urbanistic actions in the so-called informal urban nuclei was reduced before the recognition of property. Likewise, Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida was also ended and replaced by the Programa Casa Verde e Amarela.

3.3.1 THE INTERVENTIONS IN SLUMS IN OSASCO-SP

Although only two slum nuclei were identified in Osasco in 1970, the great growth of this type of settlement from this decade onwards resulted in the fact that in 1974, Decree No. 3004/1974, referring to the internal regulation of the Municipal Government, established as a competence of the bodies making up the Secretariat of Social Promotion the execution of social interest housing programs, from which it is possible to see that the understanding referring to "poor-quality housing" was a social assistance problem to be eradicated:

ART. 142º [...]

VIII - Promote the execution of social interest housing programs, especially for low-income groups, aiming at the eradication of poor-quality housing agglomerations;

ART 144 [...]

V - Elaborate, control, and enforce the application of housing improvement programs aimed at the least favored groups

VI - Survey problems related to housing conditions in order to develop, when necessary, social housing programs. (OSASCO, 1974)

The ineffectiveness of this policy is demonstrated by the increase in the number of slums that reached the 1980s, going from 2 to 40 identified nuclei. As a result, the "OSASTERRA" program was launched through the publication of Decree No. 4.586/1982. The objectives were described in Article 2:

I - define the municipal support policy for the population living in urban poor-quality housing;

II - coordinate, integrate, and execute the actions of the municipal public power regarding the population living in urban poor-quality housing;

III - inform, make aware, motivate, and organize the population in urban poor-quality housing aiming at improving their living conditions;

IV - promote the legitimation related to the occupation of land in areas where there are poor-quality housing nuclei;

V - adapt the poor-quality housing nucleus to public health and hygiene norms;

VI - promote the agrarian regularization of the poor-quality housing nucleus, as well as their urbanization, assuring their inhabitants, the properties of the areas, according to the implemented Program. (OSASCO, 1982)

Therefore, we can see an attempt to consolidate a public policy for the slum population. Although the goals also include issues related to housing quality and recognition of real estate property, the subject of the proposed actions is still the inhabitant, and the execution of this policy remains under the responsibility of the Secretariat of Social Promotion. As a result of this program, 14 decrees were issued for housing use permission for several lots in an area located in the northern part of the city on a precarious basis. Furthermore, the decree imposed conditions regarding the construction of the house that should be built according to the sketch provided by the City Hall. No documents were found to prove the municipal action in other areas of the city through this program.

The dramatic increase in the number of precarious settlements in the early 1980s led to the creation of the Slum Dwellers Assistance Fund (Law no. 1881/1986) and the Program “Casa Para Todos” (Law no. 1927/1986). The first one had the purpose of “helping in the construction of houses for the population with income of up to 2 minimum wages”. Other objectives were purchasing construction materials, contracting topography and urbanization services, and making the population aware of the “poor-quality housing problems” (OSASCO, 1986b). The management of the fund fell, as well as the public policies previously launched, to the Secretariat of Social Promotion, with an indication of the constitution of its revenues coming, for instance, from the “sale and/or Concession of Real Right of Use of public areas to slum inhabitants” (OSASCO, 1986b).

The “Programa Casa Para Todos,” also directed to the communities of the 94 identified slums, instituted as objective in its first article, “the achievement of permanent and decent housing” (OSASCO, 1986c). This program proposed either the maintenance of the population in the area with urbanization actions or in new places through housing provision. The innovation also occurred in establishing a multidisciplinary team to act in the program, with the participation of the Secretariat of Social Promotion, the Osasco Integral Planning Office (EPO), and the Secretariat of Works and Transportation. In addition, the law instituted the possibility of disallocation of public areas, the authorization to sell such areas, and the rules for the Concession of Real Right of Use (CDRU).

This program remained in force until the mid-2000s and represented the physical change of many slum nuclei in Osasco. However, as for the legitimation of property ownership, there is no knowledge of successful cases of CDRU issuance or any other title that would assure housing to the population of urbanized slums. The legislative data show a preference for decrees of use permits.

It is essential to highlight that, along with the institution of an urbanization and permanence policy, there were still removals whose residents were resettled in irregular plots promoted by the public administration itself, both in the North and South zones, besides the construction of two housing complexes, built in the 1990s.

It was in this decade that the urbanizations of the Program Casa para Todos (House for All) took off. The nuclei were not only provided with water and electricity infrastructure but were also reorganized along the lines of the social housing developments in the surrounding area. These actions involved channeling creeks, opening new roads, and delimiting plots of land with an area of approximately 60 m².

Regarding the plot size, it is important to point out that Osasco has had specific legislation for social interest plot division since 1979, which allowed the implementation of smaller plots than the one established by Federal Law 6766/1979. The latter aims to regulate the division of urban plots, proposing 125m² as the minimum area. At the time of its publication, the municipal law allowed for plots of 80 m². Nonetheless, the article was altered in 1992, instituting the possibility of 60 m² plots (OSASCO, 1979). Such change was used for the countless urbanization plans made by the Municipality in that period, confirming the urban design of the city of Osasco, whose standard is lower than the one established by the federal legislation.

Regarding recognition of property ownership, the decrees of use permit continued. Vio (2016) observed that, in mid-1996, on the eve of municipal elections, there was a great legislative movement involving revocation, updating, and publication of new decrees of use permits:

The use permits for two housing complexes and several public plot divisions, issued in previous administrations, were revoked so that, later, new decrees of use permit were published, updating names of residents who no longer resided in the areas, and issuing rules for irregular areas. Between June 7th and September 2nd of that year, on the eve of the municipal election, 33 decrees were issued for more than 20 areas in the city. The regularization process experienced until 2004 was only administrative. That is, it was an attempt to implement a mechanism of social and political control over the areas through registration, publication of a decree, and delivery of a “diploma” that “assured” regularity of property ownership. (VIO, 2016, p. 63)

Probably the management of that time experienced the status once enjoyed by Mayor Abraão Ribeiro when he pioneered actions in slums in São Paulo in the 1940s (BONDUKI, 2017). To this day, the agents involved in slum urbanization between the 1990s and 2000s enjoy a positive reputation among the population due to the actions carried out in the city’s precarious spaces.

In spite of the strong performance in these settlements, it should be noted that there was little publication of generalized studies about the city conditions or systematization of surveys and diagnoses by the municipality in this period. The data and projects are scattered throughout the administrative processes, as well as observed through the various administrative acts published via decrees. In any case, the consequences of rapid urbanization and municipal interventions are perceived through aerophotogrammetry.

In this same timeframe, the Secretariat of Housing was created, which took over the activities related to the slum areas and “poor-quality housing” (OSASCO, 1987). Note the creation of the “Divisão de Moradia Econômica,” whose most intriguing development is the distribution of technical manuals to instruct the beneficiaries of urbanized plots on how to build their houses. It can be interpreted as an attempt of technical assistance to the population, but without significant consequences regarding technical follow-up and inspection.

The 2000s inaugurated the phase of large urbanization projects with “Área Y,” a dense and precarious slum settled on the banks of a creek in the southern part of the city. The project for the implantation of two housing complexes began in 2004 and totals more than 700 new housing units, which was made possible by the federal government through the Programa Habitar Brasil.

In 2005, a progressive administration began focusing on the housing issue by implementing a municipal housing policy aligned with the guidelines proposed by the federal government. Such policy included acting in precarious settlements through urbanization, land regularization, and housing provision when the population could not remain in the place due to the risk situation, respecting environmental, social, legal, and urbanistic issues. (RUBIO; ALVIM, 2018)

A scale of urbanization was determined, a gradual and integral one, in which the first complemented the missing infrastructure in nuclei that were already consolidated and well inserted in the urban network, while the integral one provided for a more complex intervention in order to eliminate environmental and risk situations, complete infrastructure, and provide housing, in addition to building public education, health, and sports facilities. (RUBIO; ALVIM, 2018)

The integral urbanizations received a federal incentive through the PAC in six large precarious nuclei of the city, namely: Alojamento Portais Campo e Menck, Colinas D'Oeste, AA-Vicentina, A-Morro do Sabão e BK-Veloso (OSASCO. SECRETARIA DE HABITAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO, 2012). As a result, these areas underwent major spatial transformations, practically causing the emergence of new neighborhoods in Osasco, as they counted on the construction of large housing complexes, in addition to the improvement of mobility, urban services, and risk containment.

The reorganization of the Secretariat of Housing, with which the competence vis-à-vis Urban Development was merged, highlighted the multidisciplinary character for executing social interest housing policies and raised the focus on land regularization, creating an exclusive department for the matter (OSASCO, 2005). Thus, regarding the recognition of property ownership, the Municipal Administration was able to regulate the settlements that did not have major land and urbanistic problems, relying on federal investments through the programs Papel Passado and Programa de Subsídio à Habitação de Interesse Social (PSH). It also promoted, with the prioritized nuclei, participative forums for the joint construction of the land regularization policy. It was during this administration, for example, that the Special Social Interest Zones (ZEIS in the Brazilian Portuguese acronym)² were regulated, and laws and programs aimed at informal settlements were instituted, such as, for example, the disallocation by decree when dealing with ZEIS and the granting of Special Use Concessions for Housing Purposes (CUEM in the Brazilian Portuguese acronym)³.

As of 2016, there has been a gradual reduction in federal investments in housing policies. Consequently, Osasco mainly concentrates on the Programa de Regularização Fundiária, whose procedures do not require so many financial resources since the notary and tax costs are free of charge by Federal Law No. 13465/2017. There is still the continuity of previously contracted programs, both from the PAC specified previously and from PAC-2 (Rochdale and Santa Rita projects, which involve infrastructure and mobility works) due to their

² See: OSASCO. **Lei nº 152 de 9 de outubro de 2006**. Regulamenta a lei complementar nº 125 de 03 de agosto de 2004, que institui o Plano Diretor, no que tange às Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social. Retrieved from <http://leismunicipa.is/rkqdb>, Accessed on June 4th 2022.

³ See: OSASCO. **Lei nº 4.059 de 13 de julho de 2006**. Autoriza o poder executivo a realizar desafetações de áreas públicas classificadas como ZEIS, bem como outorgar Concessão de Uso Especial para fins de moradia. Retrieved from <http://leismunicipa.is/rlheq>, Accessed on June 4th 2022.

complexity. Occasionally, there is housing provision through the construction of units with resources from the Municipal Urban and Housing Policy Fund⁴. However, it is clear that dismantling a federal policy has negative repercussions on the municipal possibilities of acting and intervening in precarious areas.

4 FINAL REMARKS

Osasco is involved in the same urbanization process as São Paulo since it was considered part of the latter until 1962 when it was emancipated from the capital in an attempt to have better control over its urban development. It began as an industrial district at the turn of the 20th century, promoted by the implementation of the Sorocabana Railroad, and suffered with the economic polarization of the metropolis headquarters and the consequences of the implementation of cheap plot divisions without planning and investment in urban infrastructure.

Even though it was not exclusively characterized as a “dormitory city,” it could be observed that, between the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increase of precarious settlements in the free areas of the land plots, in the environmental preservation areas, and the risk areas of floodplains and hills. This would happen mainly when there were no more peripheral plots due to the demographic increase as a result of the population movement beyond the municipal limits and the lack of housing alternatives for the poorest people.

It is understood that the accelerated growth of settlements classified as slums in São Paulo, as well as in the metropolitan region, caused an inflection point in the public power’s treatment facing housing issues in these places. If, until the 1960s, municipal actions were limited to policies of de-slumization, i.e., removal, these actions suffered a revolution when the slum was understood as an irreversible phenomenon, a reflection, and a product of the socioeconomic conditions imposed by the rapid urban development of the metropolis.

Just as in São Paulo, the initial reaction of the new municipality’s public authorities treated the slums as a social problem that had to be eradicated. Over time, and under the influence of the capital city, public policies evolved toward actions to improve living conditions in these settlements. In other words, policies were launched to maintain the slums within the city’s fabric.

From the point of view of administrative organization, the analysis of the legislative evolution demonstrated the effort of the executive branch in adapting itself to meet the urban demand and the social interest housing. One can also notice the development of a multidisciplinary understanding of the slum issue; after all, it is an urban “problem,” and professionals from several areas are required to act in these areas.

One can also observe an inconstancy in the follow-up of public policies, first with the substitution of the OSASTERRA Program by Programa Casa para Todos and, regarding the latter, the abandonment of the attempt to recognize property through CDRU and the preference for the precarious title of use permit via executive power decree, which implied insecurity for the slum inhabitants. It is important to remember that in this same period, the Mayor of São Paulo, Luiza Erundina, led the debate to legitimize property ownership in favor of the slum inhabitants.

⁴ Created in 2006, see: OSASCO. **Lei nº 4.011 de 16 de março de 2006**. Cria o Conselho e o Fundo Municipal de Política Urbana e dá outras providências. Retrieved from <http://leismunicipa.is/hldqr>, Accessed on June 4th 2022.

This implies the need to research which factors hindered the concession of the areas, which was foreseen in the objectives of the programs launched, whether they were related to legal, social, and economic difficulties or political options.

However, during the re-democratization, the importance of electoral promotion increased, and the urbanization policies of the 1990s positively impacted the reputation of the managers of the time, which continues to the present day. At this time, many slums were urbanized through plans that not only provided the area with water and electricity infrastructure but also changed the urban design, reorganizing the space almost in the same pattern as the standard plot divisions, with the demarcation of roads and plots with areas between 60 and 80 m². Nevertheless, even though the size of the plots complied with specific municipal legislation for social housing, the slums remained irregular settlements in urbanistic, legal, and social terms.

As of 2004, the Municipality of Osasco received important federal investments that transformed the slum urbanizations into significant works, starting with the implementation of the complexes financed by the HBB program in the Southern Zone and, after 2007, with the PAC in six (6) large precarious nuclei, serving both the Northern and Southern Zones. The PAC2 - Rochdale, and PAC2 - Santa Rita complement the integral urbanization put into practice by the municipal power in the period when the national and municipal-level policies were aligned.

Although these large projects profoundly alter the urban landscape, creating neighborhoods, it is in the urbanized slums settled on public lands determined in the land division projects, along with the irregular plot division, that the reflection on the urban characteristics of the peripheral city falls. There is the space destined for the road, but it does not reach the minimum expected for the formal city. There are also the inexistence of public areas, goods for common use by the people, in addition to the plots of land which, when created, were already half of what was expected for the legalized urban fabric and which, currently, due to the densification of the nuclei, have been subdivided into even smaller plots of land.

The comparison between the municipalities, considering the administrative and budgetary capacity, the economic importance, or even the physical dimensions and geographical conditions of the latter, is, in fact, disproportionate. While São Paulo was already structured for urban management, Osasco was still being organized as a town. However, one should consider that until recently, they were part of the same city, and it is possible to verify similarities - keeping in mind the due proportions and ideological differences of each administration - in the institutional arrangements and choices for the treatment of slums.

As exposed, the production of the peripheral city permeates the policies towards slum maintenance and urban, environmental, and legal regularization of informal nuclei, especially regarding slums, bringing into focus the need to reflect on the implications of urban design and the challenges of acting in the auto-constructed space.

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