

**Dispersed urban development and the formation of urban voids in Bauru
(SP) in the second half of the 20th century**

Ana Luiza Favarin de Camargo

Master's Degree in Architecture and Urbanism, PPGARQ/Unesp, Brazil
al.camargo@unesp.com.br

Jefferson Oliveira Goulart

Professor Doctor, PPGARQ/Unesp, Brazil.
Jefferson.goulart@unesp.br

SUMMARY

This paper examines the urbanization process in the municipality of Bauru (SP), focusing the analysis on the phenomenon of urban voids and taking as a time frame the second half of the 20th century. Urban voids are urban remainders, idle or underutilized areas, products of urban dispersion and real estate speculation that enhance the discontinuous, dispersed, fragmented and sparse urbanization, a pattern that has also come to characterize medium-sized cities in São Paulo. Based on the general characterization of Brazilian urbanization in this period, the preliminary analysis of the study object allows us to infer that, in Bauru, at the peak of the development cycle in Brazil, the dissemination of urban voids is directly related, on the one hand, to the action of the real estate market and, on the other hand, to the permissiveness of urban planning and the incentives provided by public authorities, including the significant state provision of housing on the fringes of the urban territory.

KEYWORDS: Urban Voids. Bauru. Urban Dispersion.

1 INTRODUCTION

Urban dispersion, sprawling cities, fragmentation of the urban fabric, real estate speculation and formation of urban voids have been recurrent themes in studies on the urbanizing process (LOPES JR., 2007; MAIA, 2019; MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020; PORTAS, 2000), especially in the period of accelerated urbanization of the second half of the twentieth century, whose reorganization of space was marked by territorial fragmentation in the Brazilian case (SANTOS, 2005). Themes originally associated with metropolitan regions and large cities, soon began to appear in other urban scales, notably in medium-sized cities in São Paulo, which benefited from policies stimulating industrial deconcentration and the development's interiorization from the 1970s on (CANO, 1988; NEGRI, 1996; TARTAGLIA and OLIVEIRA, 1988).

Stimulated by the development model with consequent dissemination of the industrial economy concentrated in the center-south region, the dispersed urbanization was proportionally higher, thus verifying the dissemination of large voids in the urban perimeter, breaking the continuity of the urban fabric and increasing the socio-spatial differentiation (MAIA, 2020). This pattern of urban expansion dates back to the 1950s, when the state provision of housing - due to its erratic character - already signaled the propensity to center-periphery cleavage (BONDUKI, 2017), a trend that intensified in the following period.

Starting from this phenomenon of urban dispersion, the contemporary urbanization tendency configured the intra-urban space with a completely different form of distribution, giving the territory a sprawling and discontinuous morphology, which consequently formed urban voids.

The concept of urban voids refers to the existence of idle or underutilized areas that are products of the dispersion of urban perimeter and promote the discontinuity of its design. The term can have several meanings and can refer to the absence of construction on the gleba or lot and also to the disoccupation, abandonment or disuse of the building (MAIA, 2019).

Therefore, the conceptualization of urban voids is broad, since they can be formed by several phenomena of territorial organization, or even with a combination of them. In the first case, urban voids can be the result of sprawling urbanization, due to a lack of rigor from the public authorities regarding territorial organization and the establishment of urban development policies, so that the city starts to expand in an uncontrolled way in search of devalued land, while the real estate market retains central or intermediate areas between these

and the new urbanization fronts. In general, these are areas where the provision of infrastructure increases their value.

The urban sprawl of Brazilian cities intensified in the second half of the 20th century when a new international conjuncture opened and domestic development policies were consolidated. Initially, industrialization was concentrated in the center-south region, especially in the state of São Paulo, due to the available infrastructure (railway network, financial and banking system, etc.) and the remaining capital from the coffee economy.

The 1950s were remarkable in this developmental trajectory, and it is enough to mention the creation of Petrobras, the installation of the automotive hub in the ABC region of São Paulo, and, during Juscelino Kubitschek's government, the development of Brasília's construction project.

Particularly in Bauru, the 1960s were marked by the propagation of urban fragments in distant territories to the consolidated network, followed by the 1970s with the same expansionist logic, with the implementation of allotments in various sectors of the city (LOSNAK, 2004). From 1980 on, some urban centers were installed far from the consolidated mesh, mainly in the east of the municipality, and from 1990 on, it is finally possible to observe the beginning of a consolidation of the urban perimeter space, with a lower rate of territorial expansion.

In this context, the article analyzes the urban evolution of Bauru from the second half of the twentieth century, interpreting how this trajectory occurred and what factors fostered the dispersed urbanization common feature to several medium-sized cities in São Paulo (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020). This is a qualitative study, which combines a review of the urbanistic bibliography with data collection from institutional sources (PMB, COHAB-Bauru, IBGE and others)¹.

Besides this Introduction, the article is structured in three other parts. The next section ("Urbanization and the problem of urban voids") addresses issues related to urbanization in Brazil since 1950, the characteristics of the formation of sprawling cities that result in the formation of urban voids, real estate speculation as a perverse mechanism of maintenance and reproduction of these voids, and a brief synopsis of the consequences of this spatial formation.

The third section ("Urban expansion and urban voids in Bauru") is aimed at the city that is the object of the study, Bauru, in which it evaluates punctually urbanistic, economic, political and even communication actions that led the city to urban dispersion. The survey comprises urban policy issues as much as data on the spatiality of allotments over the years (in the form of maps and texts), social housing, and socio-spatial disparity, including the spread of gated allotments as of the 1990s.

The final section outlines some preliminary explanatory hypotheses on the phenomenon of urban voids in Bauru.

2 URBANIZATION AND THE PROBLEM OF URBAN VOIDS

¹ *NR 1 - The data and analyses hereby presented result from an ongoing research project, "Urban voids and urban expansion: a study about Bauru (SP)"(free translation), developed for a Master's degree at the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at FAAC/UNESP.

The second half of the twentieth century in Brazil was marked by rapid and intense urbanization, with the urban population increasing from 44.7% of the total population in 1960 to 55.9% in 1970 and 81.2% in 2000. The numbers become even more expressive when we consider the population increase that accompanied this transformation, since between 1960 and 1996 the urban population went from 31 million to 137 million (BRASIL, 2001).

Throughout this period, academic studies built a new interpretation of the urban, with attention focused on precarious housing and on the spoliatory characteristics of labor force reproduction, which were in accordance with the dictatorship (1964-1985), that is, "the logic of accumulation that presides over Brazilian development is based precisely on the dilapidation of the labor force" (KOWARICK, 1979, p. 45).

The military coup of 1964 interrupted a period of struggles for basic reforms, whose platform included urban reform. Originally, the social struggle of this movement was associated with the demand for housing, but "with the end of the military regime, it began to incorporate the idea of everyone, housing beyond the house, the house with asphalt, with public services, with schooling, with transportation, with the right to a social life" (SAULE JR.; UZZO, 2010, p. 262). Upon its reorganization in the 1980s, "the urban reform banner is consolidated through an urban platform beyond local issues, incorporating national issues, but also in the criticism of spatial inequality, the dual city" (Idem, 2010, p. 263). With the end of the dictatorship, these banners were recovered around the National Movement for Urban Reform (MNRU), which would later be decisive in presenting the popular initiative amendment that resulted in the Urban Reform chapter of the 1988 constitution.

Simultaneously, innovative experiences emerged in municipal governments, renewing the vision of urbanism with greater popular participation in urban management, recovery of high-risk areas, and initiatives even more relevant to this study as slum urbanization, requalification of degraded areas, urban and land regularization and the new legal apparatus of urban planning that includes mechanisms of "created ground", special zoning (PREZEIS) with a social purpose (MARICATO, 2014).

The fact is that the production of urban space in the second half of the twentieth century was characterized by a significant process of urban dispersion, with urbanization extending over vast territories, without limitations and with a large presence of urban voids between urban centers. Such pattern of urbanization was further intensified after 1990, with clearer changes, growing the number of regional projects, commercial and cultural complexes and social housing developments, while increasing the demands for accessibility, mobility, infrastructure, and urban equipment (REIS, 2017).

In general, the Brazilian cities of the twentieth century showed a pattern of urbanization that, alongside effective economic development, social inequalities and injustices were reproduced in a proportional way. Spatially, this reproduction was clear in the great differences between central and peripheral areas of metropolitan regions, that is, a paradoxical pattern between "legal cities" and "illegal cities" (MARICATO, 2014). Consequently, cities divided between the legal portion (structured and rich) and the illegal portion (precarious, poor and without infrastructure) have caused the population that was in an unfavorable situation to be deprived of basic rights (housing, infrastructure, social facilities) and deprived of access to work,

culture, and leisure. This socio-spatial paradox has gained expressiveness in the center-periphery cleavage.

As a consequence, the best opportunities were restricted to the environment of the better-off, while the poorest population was increasingly treated in a segregated and excluding way. This pattern underlying the 20th century city has stimulated even more the undefined extension of urban space, since the spaces in central areas (which could be occupied because they had all the necessary infrastructure and urban equipment) ended up being characterized by high costs (including the price of land and housing), which thus became inaccessible to the vast majority of the low-income population. In general, this vulnerable population was limited to occupying peripheral lands, often susceptible to floods, landslides, erosion and other precarious situations (BRASIL, 2001).

Even when large public programs were implemented - as in the period of the National Housing Bank (BNH) housing policies from 1964 to 1986 -, state intervention did not ensure priority for low-income strata when it came to access to credit (MARICATO, 1987), nor did it curb social and territorial inequalities. Moreover, these initiatives contributed decisively to the implementation of low-income housing developments in the peripheral areas of the cities, reinforcing socio-spatial segregation and the center-periphery cleavage.

The real estate market took advantage of a particular method to value specific areas, which basically consisted in building successive lots - the following ones always further away -, leaving empty areas between them that would be valued after the implementation of infrastructure and urban equipment by the public authorities. Thus was consummated the most usual mode of speculative retention of urban land. In this way, private agents sold at much higher prices using public investments (KOWARICK, 1979), capturing for themselves the value of land income.

Real estate speculation, however, is not only expressed by the retention of intermediate land, but also takes advantage of devalued or decaying central areas through investments in services or basic infrastructure such as the installation of equipment and various public services (such as channeling a stream, implementing a highway, and so forth), made by the public authorities and that have repercussions in real estate and land valuation. For this reason, investments that should be made for the benefit of vulnerable social strata often end up becoming an instrument of interest for the privileged strata, with the tendency to drive the poor population to increasingly more distant territories (KOWARICK, 1979).

In this context, there is a type of urban void that is hardly acknowledged, which are the voids present in devalued areas, incomplete and fragmented peripheries, in which the use of land is essential for the urbanization of the informal city, which needs urban equipment and infrastructure. The permanence of idle land in the urban perimeter and the non-utilization of its environmental, social and economic renewal potentialities generate serious impacts on the city, regardless of its origin (PORTAS, 2000).

This dynamic occurs and is reinforced both by private agents (such as the real estate market) as well as by the public authorities, when they seek, for example, distant lands for the construction of housing developments due to the lower cost of land, taking the poor population further away from the access to services and increasing socio-spatial segregation. Thus, it is configured as an unlimited horizontal expansion that, aside from often advancing into

preservation areas, characterizing wild and high-risk urbanization, also promotes real estate speculation of areas that are valued through major improvements made by the government through tax collection and allocation of construction works, goods, and services.

The inherent problem in urban planning, especially when it comes to zoning, is the definition of land use patterns based mostly on market investment logic for the middle and upper classes, defining a large supply of built space for a minority while generating scarcity of location for the low-income strata, who have their existence and demands ignored. An urban dynamic is then perpetuated in which regulated areas, provided with the proper infrastructure, produce the so-called urban voids and underutilized areas, at the same time as there is an uncontrolled production of architecturally and urbanistically precarious popular settlements (BRASIL, 2001).

By definition, urban voids are glebas, land, lots, or buildings that are unused, unoccupied or underutilized, most often located on urban land provided with infrastructure and that, consequently, do not fulfill their social function. In general, they are a phenomenon produced by urban sprawl, dispersion and fragmentation, and entail significant investments for the municipality. The real estate market is one of the largest producers of urban voids because the retention of idle and underutilized land in the urban perimeter has the effect of raising the price of areas provided with infrastructure, which also induces the sprawling city and the uneven development of space, increasing socio-spatial segregation, since the low-income population is induced to occupy the urban fringes (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020).

If they have their potential (re)utilized by the public authorities, urban voids can be the center of production of urban projects strategically useful for urban regeneration. This is the normative perspective that intends to overcome the "dispersed city" and affirm the advantages of the "compact city", whose rationality should be subordinated to the public interest.

The dispersed city has created new perceptions, needs, and dynamics, through which the very concept of city has been put in check. The new means of transportation and even mass communication have enabled the intensification of the dispersion of territory, since people and products move within the urban space with great ease. In the recent period, another consequence has been the creation of an indistinguishable blur between the city and the "non-city" - juxtaposing lower, middle, and upper classes - through the use of sophisticated urban security systems that offer other forms of separation such as the creation of closed and walled residential spaces for high-income segments (REIS, 2017), a phenomenon that originated in large cities like São Paulo (CALDEIRA, 1997) and then spread to medium-sized cities in São Paulo's inland (SPOSITO; GOES, 2013).

As the city expands, it creates new peripheral centers, so that demographic growth and the retention of land for valuation promote the emergence of increasingly distant neighborhoods whose infrastructure supply costs increase proportionally (sanitation, social facilities, public transportation).

Most of the interventions carried out in recent years are the result of changes in urban planning and management that focused on the city's requalification, initiatives promoted through guidelines and legal and urbanistic instruments prescribed in the Federal Constitution of 1988 and in the City Statute (Federal Law no. 10.257/2001). Yet, despite these institutional advances and innovations, many obstacles still hinder the application of the instruments

provided in the City Statute, such as the differences in realities among Brazilian municipalities, the diversity of situations in which urban voids are found, the default of property owners who often do not have the conditions to promote the social function of their land, or even the delay of the process that causes the property to continue in its idle situation for up to 20 years, since the owner has ten years to use the property, plus other ten to be able to recover it.

The innovations introduced by the Constitution and the City Statute were intended to alter previous patterns of urbanization characterized by intra-urban imbalance:

The City Statute stands as an important legal landmark in the scope of urban planning, precisely because it regularizes and details the instruments of urban policy, among them, the Parceling, Building and compulsory use, the progressive Property Tax (IPTU) and the Expropriation with payment through public debt titles (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020, s/p).

Despite these normative advances, resistance and obstacles are not few, both from private agents of the real estate market and from the public authorities, especially with regard to compliance with the principle of the social function of property and the city, the limitation of forms of urban expansion based on new lots, the reversion of urban voids and the effective application of these instruments.

3 URBAN EXPANSION AND URBAN VOIDS IN BAURU

Generally speaking, the subliminal definition of urban voids refers to areas enclosed in the consolidated city, a perception that causes some forgetting of existing voids in devalued areas, incomplete and fragmented peripheries. These voids have great relevance when it comes to their reuse, which can be decisive for the urbanization of the "informal city", since in both peripheral and central areas one of its characteristics is the presence of infrastructure provided by the public power, which makes these areas reasonably ready for occupation at the same time that the urban perimeter does not stop expanding.

The presence of urban voids in cities occurs due to several factors, among them changes in transportation modes, logistics and economic dynamics. This is the case of cities that contain old railroad yards that have fallen into disuse, old factories, and warehouses, whose permanence in the urban perimeter can cause perverse effects if their potential for environmental, social, and economic renewal is not used as a strategic element for restructuring the territory (PORTAS, 2000).

In the case of medium-sized cities in the interior of São Paulo state, urban horizontal expansion has become common due to the availability of rural land to be occupied. The low cost of these peripheral or originally rural lands (compared to the better located ones), the action of the real estate market and the ease of transportation by car due to calmer traffic compared to big cities stimulated the urban expansion towards the peripheries (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020).

The city of Bauru, located in the central-western part of the state (Figure 1), is one of the medium-sized cities of São Paulo of great relevance for its region, serving as a polarizer of flows of services, jobs, people, and goods to other municipalities of its regional surroundings

and its administrative region. Its economic importance fostered the territorial expansion (CATELAN, 2008).

The administrative region of Bauru stands out mainly for its agro-industrial activity, as a large producer of sugar and alcohol, and cocoa derivatives. The sectors of biofuels, clean energy generation and technologies also have strength, generating opportunities for the region (SÃO PAULO, 2022); however, the municipality's economic profile stands out for the leadership of the tertiary sector (GOULART; TERCI; OTERO, 2017). Bauru has an estimated population of 381,706 inhabitants and a territorial unit area corresponding to 667,684 square kilometers, which gives its demographic density of 515.12 hab/km². Its GDP in 2019 is R\$40,668.00 and the municipal HDI is 0.801 according to the 2010 census (IBGE, 2022).

Figure 1: Administrative region of Bauru and its main road connections.



Source: <<http://www.sp-turismo.com/mapas/bauru.htm>>. Acess: Jun. 12, 2022.

Until the 1950s, Bauru was limited by the natural barriers of the streams Água da Ressaca and Flores, together with the Railway line parallel to the Bauru River. After 1960 the scenario began to be altered at the moment the municipality started to integrate relevant road axes for the state, with the urban spot growing 171% in the 1960s, 93% in the 1970s, and 50% in the 1980s.

Between 1956 and 2018 there were 45 laws to expand the urban perimeter, 10 attempts arising from the approval of the Participatory Master Plan of Bauru, of which 5 were considered ineffective and unconstitutional since they did not comply with Article 182 of the Constitution regarding the fulfillment of the social functions of the city and popular participation in decisions (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020).

From 1950 to early 1970 - a period still marked by the populist legacy in political relations, by the developmentalist strategies and by the authoritarian regime -, the number of allotments implemented in the city increased significantly, along with the urban industrialization campaigns and large-scale works such as the construction of major avenues. The public power sought to conduct the city's urban development under the ideals of monumentality and progress (CATELAN, 2008).

Bauru was considered in this period a city with great potential for industrialization and development, including the interest of the City Hall in attracting industries to the city and the existence of an attractive infrastructure to the eyes of entrepreneurs and businessmen. Another relevant comparative advantage is its privileged location in the central area of São Paulo State, as a road-rail junction, a prerogative that was even more significant with the implementation of the automobile industry and the diffusion of highways culture in the 1950s, which consequently allowed all the highways that reached Bauru to be paved (LOSNAK, 2004).

Between 1950 and 1980, Brazil went through great economic transformations, and the Brazilian State inserted itself decisively in productive and fostering spaces; the most visible modality of this participation in the economy was the state-owned enterprises (PETROBRAS, ELETROBRAS, BNDES, Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, among others). The basic characteristics of this developmentalist state were: the dissemination of industrial development through import substitution; integration of the national economy through this industrial system; key role of the state through the regulatory presence of state enterprises in strategic segments; developmentalist ideology to consolidate this process through the idea of power; corporate structure of the state (SALLUM JR., 1995).

Bauru was part of this national scenario, with management and urban planning initiatives that sought to reflect Brazilian politics on the local scene, trying to turn the city into a "building site".

These transformations became more visible mainly after the administrations of the mayors Nicola Avalone Junior (1956-1959) and Alcides Franciscato (1969-1973), the first associated with the production of urban settlements and the second, a businessman in the transportation sector and owner of the newspaper "Jornal da Cidade" (LOSNAK, 2004). In this period the desire for rapid industrialization of the city intensified, creating many neighborhoods such as Parque Vista Alegre, Jardim Eldorado, Jardim Marambá, Jardim Tangarás and Jardim Industrial Manchester. The creation of industrial districts to attract new enterprises through tax incentives and other stimuli, with the discourse that the industrialization of the city would be accelerated, with consequent profitability for investors, was ostensibly stimulated. In short, the dream of the local elites was to transform Bauru into an industrial hub of the state's western region; however, this ambition was never consummated and the city followed a course that consolidated its vocation as a regional hub of the economy's tertiary sector (GOULART; TERCI; OTERO, 2017).

Following the trend started in the 1930s, the urban mesh was discontinuously expanded; the allotments implemented during this period expanded in several directions, forming large urban voids, reinforcing the idea that the public power acted according to private interests in the real estate field (CATELAN, 2008).

The number of BNH and Caixa Econômica Federal housing developments, implemented between 1960 and 1980, were significant. The first housing development implemented with the creation of the Popular Housing Company (COHAB-Bauru) occurred in 1966, followed by other developments in a discontinuous manner, intensifying the problem of urban voids and expanding the needs of residents for means of collective consumption, urban equipment and infrastructure. In other words, the public power action (albeit the legal figure of COHAB-Bauru was that of a mixed economy company) was determinant for the fragmented urban expansion in the municipality, instituting growth vectors in peripheral areas still with precarious supply of infrastructure.

The location of such housing developments is directly related to the formation of voids located along the way and around the allotments, since after the government took to distant places the resources needed for the population, the previously empty land ended up being valued and sold for much higher values by the real estate market (CATELAN, 2008).

Even in São Paulo's inland, the discourse of politicians, businessmen, and journalists of the time was tuned to relevant projects and discussions at a national level. The 1950s, especially after 1956 with the election of Juscelino Kubitschek (JK), articulated with the post-war period, were marked by intense economic growth, industrialization and development encouraged by the State, with emphasis on major construction works of highways and expansion of mass media (LOSNAK, 2000).

Still on the subject of the local political elites' role, it is important to highlight the management and legacy of the mayor Alcides Franciscato, whose prestige was crucial for the election of his successors: Luiz Edmundo Coube (1973-1977) and Oswaldo Sbeghen (1977-1983). This period was important due to Franciscato's discourse, inspired in the industrialization and construction of a rich, modern and beautiful city, besides being a period of implementation of collective consumption means, such as municipal pre-schools, soccer fields, rainwater galleries, water and sewage networks and paving of large areas in Bauru; those were initiatives little carried out in Avalone Jr. government, which prioritized the spreading of lots without infrastructure, equipment and necessary urban services.

It is important to mention that Municipal Law No. 2.118/79 was an attempt to move the real estate market through the occupation of the lots that had a large amount of idle land due to the absence of means of collective consumption, which, until this moment, were not requirements of the municipal public power.

However, also in the same period, the approval of the Federal Law No. 6.766/1979 - about land parceling, regulation of allotments and establishment of requirements and counterparts from the allottees (LEONELLI, 2020) - instituted certain obligations that previously were not applicable to the allottees, such as reserving parcels of land for leisure, education and health, serving as a form of supervision by the public authorities. In Bauru's case, many lots were built irregularly due to the interests of speculators (CATELAN, 2008) and even to the government's negligence.

Beyond the allotments and housing developments of the central areas in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, the verticalization from the 1980s and 1990s became a housing pattern that had great growth inside the middle and upper classes in Bauru's South Zone, with great part of the constructions counting with ten or more floors. Due to the first closed

allotments in the 1980-1990s, the next period brought a conformation of the urban network focused on the production of infrastructure and urban equipment for this new housing pattern, with prioritization of middle and upper class settlements (CATELAN, 2008).

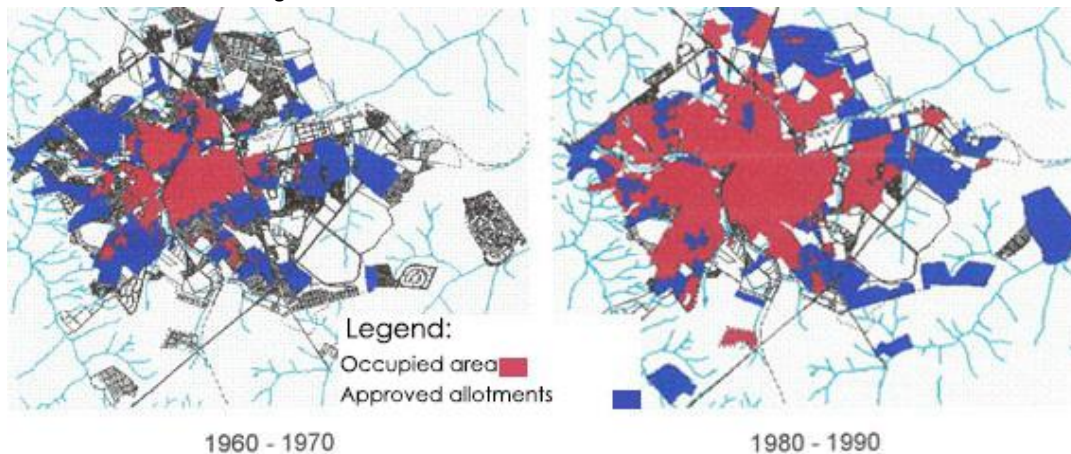
The period from 1980 to 2000 had as its first relevant institutional apparatus the approval of the Municipal Law No. 2.339/82, which provides for the regulation of the Federal Law No. 6.766/79 on parcelling, use and occupation of the land, establishing criteria for the preparation and approval of allotments, ensuring the execution of infrastructure works and required improvements, in addition to provoking more judicious actions from the developers regarding the choice of public areas and the layout of the settlements. Thus, in the 1980s, there was a significant decrease in the number of lots approved in relation to previous years (figure 2), with 40 approvals between 1981 and 1990, of which 21 were for private projects and 19 for housing developments (LOPES JR., 2007).

Despite the implantation of popular housing developments, from the 1990s on, the type of housing that proliferated the most were the closed allotments, being one of the periods in which the socioeconomic and spatial differences between most of the South Zone (with the exception of neighborhoods like Parque das Nações and Jardim Nicéia that have a low-income population) and the rest of the city became more accentuated. It is, therefore, the period with the greatest expression of the production form of urban space in relation to previous years, with the register of many neighborhoods implanted in previous periods lacking basic infrastructure such as paving, rainwater drainage and public facilities such as schools, day care centers, healthcare posts and leisure areas.

The rise of allotments in the 1980s remained in the 1990s, especially in the South Zone; this sector is where the actions of urban planning and management, and the actions of the real estate market lead to landscape improvements and supply of trade and services, with high-standard stores, nightlife entertainment, bars and restaurants (CATELAN, 2008).

The real estate production was marked by a large production of social housing with COHAB-Bauru and the Instituto de Orientação às Cooperativas Habitacionais* (Institute of Orientation to Housing Cooperatives*) (Inocoop), among others. Between 1966 and 1979, approximately 6,400 units were produced, followed by a production of 8,149 in the 80s, 11,541 in the 1990s, and finally 1,533 in the 2000s, totaling 27,416 social housing units in less than 50 years. This mass production strongly impacted the urban design, with most of the social housing developments produced and implemented in peripheral regions.

Figure 2 - Bauru's urban evolution between 1960 and 1990



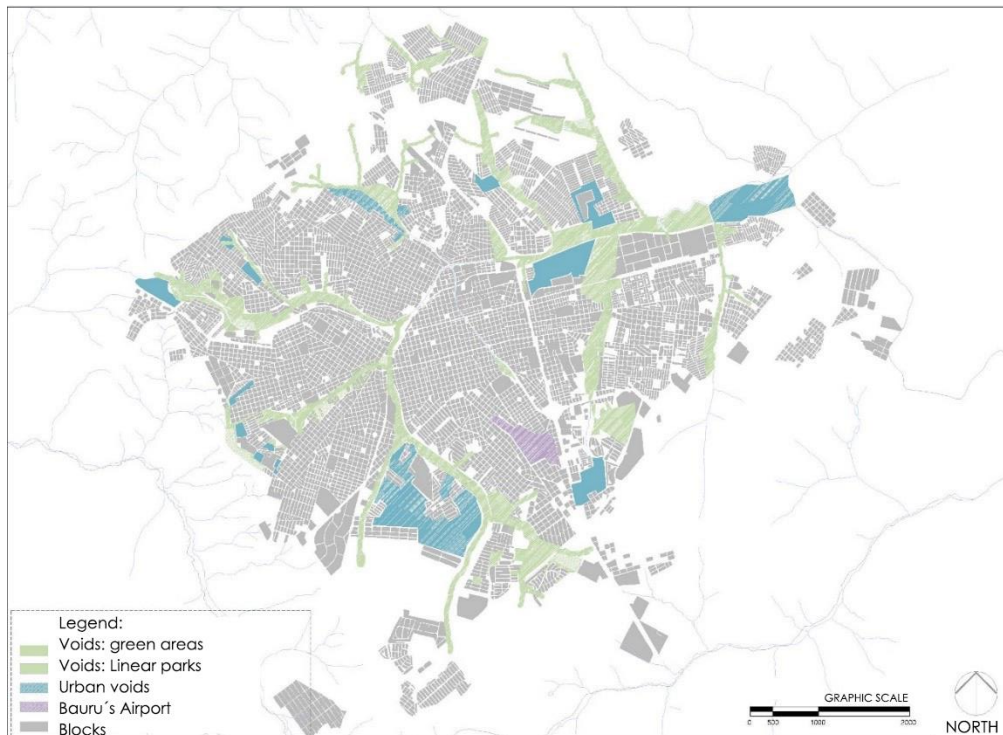
Source: Bauru (1996).

As shown in the map represented by figure 2, Bauru's largest demographic growth took place in the 1980s, going from 120,178 inhabitants (in the 1970s) to 180,761. In this case, it is important to mention that the production of lots and built houses does not mean their effective occupation. Estimates show that in 1995, for example, approximately 40% of the properties located in the urban perimeter, be they lots or plots, were empty; such an impactful quantity that it would take approximately 30 years of population growth for all these lots to be occupied (MAIA, 2019). Therefore, the real estate production was not directed toward meeting the needs of the lower social strata, nor did it translate into the supply of social-interest housing.

In summary, the conjunction of all these factors - the action of the real estate market, the permissiveness in urban planning and even the stimulus of the public authorities, including the significant state provision of housing through COHAB-Bauru, in addition to the dynamism of the local economy amid the peak of the country's development cycle - led to the formation of a significant amount of urban voids in the city (Figure 2), not by chance located mostly on the territory's fringes.

It is noteworthy that the map does not include small urban voids, represented by lots or smaller glebas scattered around the city or buildings that are not occupied. On the map, the voids are classified as: green areas, linear parks, which are remainders with the potential to be used to create areas for leisure and social interaction, and urban voids, which are largely found in the 2008 Participatory Master Plan as places for possible application of instruments present in the City Statute such as Compulsory Land Development, Compulsory Occupation and Construction, Progressive IPTU, ZEIS, Pre-emption Right and Onerous Grant.

Figure 3: Urban voids in Bauru city 2008



Source: Prepared by the author, based on the Bauru Participative Master Plan (2008)

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As the research is in progress and there is still a long way ahead in data collection and systematization, any conclusions have a provisional character. Nevertheless, the available information offers promising explanatory clues about the urban voids in Bauru.

Bauru's urbanization pattern has characteristics relatively common to other medium-sized cities in the inland of São Paulo State, whose formation was marked by urban voids due to disperse, fragmented and sprawling urbanization. The horizontal expansion was reaffirmed by the great offer and low cost of the distant lands (rural) in relation to the land stock of the central areas, adding to this the diffusion of the transport by car from the second half of the XX century (MAIA; LEONELLI, 2020).

The urban voids can be noticed in the city since the 50s, when the lack of control by the public authorities allowed the uncontrolled expansion of the urban perimeter. Between 1950 and 1970 the number of allotments in the city increased significantly, although with low consolidation of infrastructure and public equipment, especially for the lower social strata. Until then, the population moving from the central areas to the periphery was mostly of low income.

The 1980s, unlike the previous decades, were marked by intense verticalization, which became the standard of housing for the middle and upper classes in the South Zone of Bauru. The verticalization and the production of closed lots (mainly from 1990 on) configured a new pattern of territoriality for the city, since this region became a commerce and services spotlight for the middle and upper classes.

Finally, from 1990 on, the consolidation of the urban perimeter (despite the large amount of urban voids) and the intensification of socioeconomic and socio-spatial disparities of

the South Zone in relation to the rest of the city began. While the South Zone prospered, many neighborhoods implanted in previous periods continued to lack basic infrastructure such as paving, rainwater drainage and public facilities such as schools, day care centers, healthcare posts and leisure areas.

Under these conditions, the emergence of urban voids and the inability of the government to curb them and give social purpose to the property and city contributed decisively to deepen socio-territorial inequalities, sealing huge differences between social groups.

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