
Expansion and property appreciation in the city of Itabaiana / SE

Expansão e valorização imobiliária na cidade de Itabaiana/SE (2000-2020)

Expansión y valoración inmobiliario en la ciudad de Itabaiana / SE: (2000-2020)

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Abstract

The geographical space of the city is a collective production, which becomes private, (re) produced according to the interests, needs and objectives of man. The present work analyzed the expansion and property appreciation of Itabaiana / Se urban network in the last twenty years. This is worked from an empirical-analytical perspective with a focus on qualitative and quantitative data. The growth of the Itabaiana urban space was boosted by the economic-industrial development and the opening of the BR-235. In the 21st century, Itabaiana already has a consolidated and constantly changing urban agglomeration, based on the action of real estate developers, who justify the fact that a city was born as a historical and human work, arising from needs, desires and aspirations.

Keywords: Expansion; Valorization; Real Estate Valuation

Resumo

O espaço geográfico da cidade é uma produção coletiva, que se torna privado, (re) produzido em função de interesses, necessidades e objetivos do homem. O presente trabalho analisou a expansão e valorização imobiliária da malha urbana de Itabaiana/Se nos últimos vinte anos. Esse é trabalhado numa perspectiva empírico-analítica com foco em dados qualitativos e quantitativos. O crescimento do espaço urbano de Itabaiana teve impulso, quando do desenvolvimento econômico-industrial e da abertura da BR-235. No século XXI, Itabaiana já conta com um aglomerado urbano consolidado e em constante mutação, a partir da ação de promotores imobiliários, que justificam o fato de uma cidade nascer como obra histórica e humana, advindo de necessidades, desejos e aspirações.

Palavras-chave: Expansão; Valorização; Atores Imobiliários.

Resumen

El espacio geográfico de la ciudad es una producción colectiva, que se vuelve privada, (re) producida según los intereses, necesidades y objetivos del hombre. Este trabajo analizó la expansión y valoración inmobiliaria de la red urbana Itabaiana / Se en los últimos veinte años. Se trabaja desde una perspectiva empírico-analítica con foco en datos cualitativos y cuantitativos. El crecimiento del espacio urbano de Itabaiana fue impulsado por el desarrollo económico-industrial y la apertura de la BR-235. En el siglo XXI, Itabaiana ya cuenta con una aglomeración urbana consolidada y en constante cambio, basada en la acción de los promotores inmobiliarios, quienes justifican el hecho de que una ciudad nació como una obra histórica y humana, surgida de necesidades, deseos y aspiraciones.

Palabras clave: Expansión; Apreciación; Actores inmobiliarios.

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Introduction

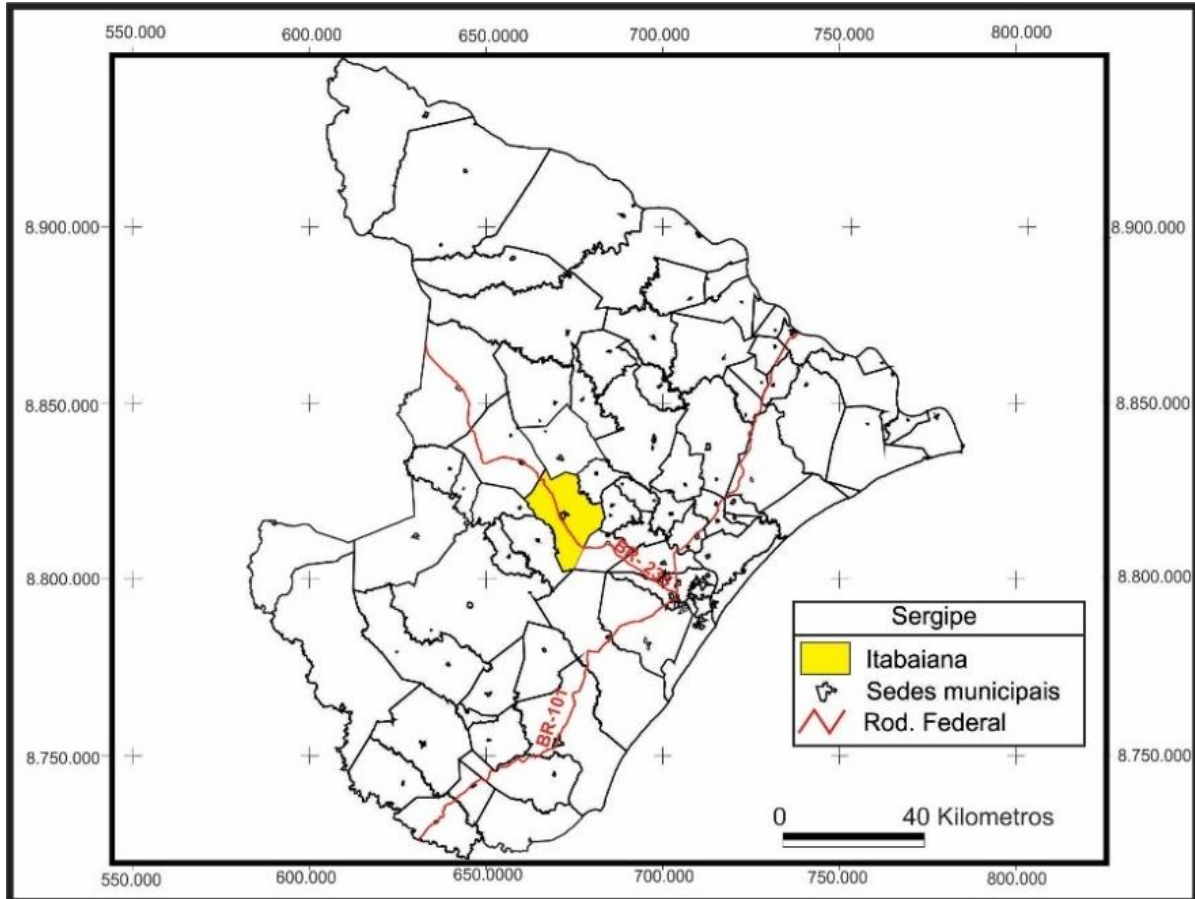
Geographic space is a product of social experience, a reflection of the relationship between man and nature. Space is understood as a place of concrete possibilities of realization. This is different in time, so much so that the city is analyzed from the materialization of the historical process of (re)production, which takes place and reproduces itself unevenly.

The city is a collective production of space, which becomes private, (re)produced according to man's interests, needs and objectives, and more, based on the capital-labor paradox. Furthermore, the geographical space of the city is not continuous, allowing the landscape to manifest concentration and differentiation, that is, the formation and articulation of the urban through agglomeration points and in the function of land uses.

The city of Itabaiana is one of these “nodal” points in the urban network of Sergipe, exercising central functions in terms of the country-city relationship, commercialization, provision of services and industrial products. These aspects contributed to the municipality of Itabaiana having such expressive urban growth in the last 20 years. The city is located at an altitude of 188 meters, being the seat of

the municipality of the same name, located in the central-western range of the state of Sergipe (Map 1).

Map 1 - Location of the Municipality of Itabaiana, 2018.



Source: Atlas SEPLANTEC, 2004.

According to the importance in Sergipe's urban network and given the growth and valuation defined in Itabaiana, this article will analyze, in a geographical perspective, the contradictions and modifications of this urban space, evaluating the growth, valuation and speculation in recent years, through the observation of prices and incomes that generate socio-spatial segregation. Through this, the contradictions of the urban structure in this city will be evaluated, from the urban agents: capitalist landowners, real estate developers, municipal government and the excluded, as well as the importance of the main builders in the city of Itabaiana.

The work is a reflection of the historical observation of the development of urban space in this city, which had its seed planted in scientific initiation research, carried out in 2005/2006/UFS. For its development, research and reading of historical and geographic materials related to the theme were carried out in state and municipal public bodies, such as: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE, Planning Secretary - SEPLAN, Historical and Geographical Institute, Secretary of Works and Planning and Libraries of Itabaiana.

In addition, fieldwork was carried out, in which growing areas were recognized and interviews were carried out with social actors who, directly or indirectly, work in the individual construction of the real estate segment in Itabaiana. The application of interviews took place at random, but segmented by the different neighborhoods in its urban area. Subsequently, the mapping of information was carried out through georeferencing programs, locating the points of greatest real estate value.

In this perspective, the present work will analyze the modifications and contradictions of the urban space of Itabaiana in the last twenty years, through its structure, form and function. Remembering that this city was born from the rural needs of Sergipe's rural areas of having a product distribution center, due to the church's role, as well as the characterization of the headquarters as a regional node of agricultural and commercial production. The city of Itabaiana thus proves Carlos' (1997) idea that a city is born as a historical and human work, constituting a universe of needs, aspirations and desires.

Brief Theoretical Approach on Urban Space

The geographic space is a reflection of human yearnings, whether for abode, for survival or even for the accumulative rhetoric of capital. In this sense, the urban geographic space endorses the transformation of the first nature into the second, based on the need for habitat, but also a location close to work, leisure and consumption. The geographic space becomes like this, according to Santos (2012)

[...] an inseparable set in which, on the one hand, a certain arrangement of geographical objects, natural objects and social objects participate, and, on the other, the life that fills them and animates them, whether society in motion. The content (of society) is not independent of the form (the geographic objects), and each form contains a fraction of the content. Space, therefore, is this: a set of forms each containing fractions of society in motion. Forms, as they have a role in social achievement (SANTOS, 2012, p.30-31). (Our Translation)

For Carlos (2001, p. 11), geographic space “is a condition, means and product of the reality of human society in all its multiplicity”. Man's space is understood as a place of concrete possibilities of realization, being differential in time and space.

Despite the different perspective of analysis, both authors agree that geographic space is the materialization of human action on nature. In terms of urban space, both treat space as a place of practice, proposition and uses, injected by the interaction between subjects and objects. From this perspective, the city is analyzed

from the materialization of the historical process of (re)production, which takes place and reproduces itself unequally in space. Such space is thus an artificial environment, historically produced by human action, driven by the evolution of the technical-scientific-informational environment, which makes the space, “[...] increasingly instrumentalized, culturalized, technified [...] ” (SANTOS, 2012, p. 47) and guided by the dictates of science and market laws.

Notably, both the geographic space and the urban space are produced at varied and distinct moments for political domination, capital accumulation and the realization of human life, since the materialization of space is given by the consolidation of social relations that produce the place. These relationships are established in the urban landscape, from the articulation between the new and the old, from the relationships between independence and essence, as well as through order and chaos, at the level of the apparent and the immediate. The urban landscape becomes human, historical and social, justified by the incorporation of

elements, style, architecture and geometry, reflecting the density of occupation, that is, the transformation of nature into action objects.

The city is thus a collective production of space, which becomes private, (re)produced in function of society's interests, needs and objectives and, more based on the capital-labor paradox. Still, the geographical space of the city is not continuous, the landscape merges in concentration and differentiation, that is, in the formation and articulation of the urban through agglomeration points and in the function of land uses.

The urban endorses the opposition to the rural. The first with a sense of modernity and the second, seen as synonymous with backwardness, but which at the present time tend to complement each other, from agribusiness and even from the daily migratory flow. However, the idea of urbanization arises from “[...] urbis in the Middle Ages, around the 11th-14th centuries, with the increase in population and, consequently, with the need to rethink the inhabited space” (LEFEBVRE, 1999, p. 15). The respective author explains that the term is a reflection of industrial society, which bureaucratically directs consumption and imposes continuous and discontinuous transformations, by subjugating the countryside. Thus, urbanization reveals itself in the organization of the city built by individuals.

In Brazil, according to Santos (2005), the urban space will add a certain importance in the 18th century, when the planter or farmer will reside in the town house, imposing political and economic opulence on his fellow countrymen. Urbanization, however, will really gain momentum in the country, after the 1940s, with the industrialization process.

This time, the urbanization process only takes place through the development of productive forces. This imprints dynamics on the landscape, since there is a rush to transform nature in favor of capital, through the generation of merchandise. Therefore, the landscape reveals movement, historicity, social nature and the way in which capital continuously reproduces the urban. Since this reproduction is delimited in its central nucleus and transposed into social contrasts, arising from

the characterization of the urban and the rural and the emergence of isolated neighborhoods linked to state or private attractions.

The city is thus, the place for the reproduction of life, capital, concrete social work, the materialization of social, economic, political and legal relations. It is the place where the work reveals the contradiction between the production, reproduction of space and its capitalization, in use value and exchange value. This urban space is organized in a bureaucratic order, with the process of appropriation of space. This action points to a new spatial hierarchy and, consequently, to the fragmentation of space and its identification.

The production of urban space is subjugated to the sense of habitat, place and identity as a condition of possibilities and fulfillment of life. Human space is confronted with the so-called modern, designed and monumental space, whose identity is abstract, but supports economic and political enjoyment; sometimes, opposing the social, synonymous with backward, without style and without love, being just a space for use by millions of people (CARLOS, 1994). This clash, between the capital and the individual, results a city with modified and conflicting landscape, in constant effervescence, involving social, economic, political and cultural relations.

The changes that impose spatial reproduction bring together divergent interests, both from the population and from the entrepreneurial and financial side, as well as from the State. The State, through public policies, expropriates areas, creates and installs infrastructure that will serve other purposes, mainly economic, since the commodification of space mobilizes capital through the performance of real estate developers, who act by deteriorating or destroying old real estate spaces in function of possible profits. This dynamics of capital ends up giving other purposes to the place, producing new centralities, resulting in a controlled space, appropriated by the establishment of new uses (LEFEBVRE, 1993, p. 132).

The State also acts in the legitimization of changes in land use, through the renewal of the master plan and through the intensification of a certain business-

commercial axis. The hand of the State in the urban area, as a management instrument, interposes the social need, depending on the level of reproduction of the space, integrated not only with the purchase and sale of urban land in the real estate market, but also with the addition of institutionalized thinking as a political instrument, which legitimizes the real estate space.

The consolidation and recreation of urban spaces result from operations imposed by real estate companies, which, by defining themselves as dynamic and as an extension of financial capitalism, include civil construction in the modern industrial circuit. These transformations stem from the set of political, real estate and financial strategies that threaten urban life, reorienting uses, structures and functions of the city's place, as well as social daily life, constituting a landscape in deep metamorphosis by the spatial division of labor. From this, it is demarcated that the (re)production of space is manifested in the value attributed to urban land, which comes from the process of reproduction of space, as capital subjugates it, attributing income to portions of the land and causing social contradictions to from the type of housing and distances (CARLOS, 2001).

This constant is due to urban concentration and the process of land valuation, which is acquired by the real estate sector as rural land, which is then parceled out and valued with infrastructure to serve the interests of urban entrepreneurs. However, these lands have a value determined by work, which appears to materialize mainly in the form of private property, due to the value of use and exchange.

From this assumption, it appears that the spatial production takes place in the man-nature dualism. However, with differences, land, nature and man's place of residence are not merchandise; while the space built by man, geographic space, which is supported by location, infrastructure and range of services, has values. Materially, the spaces of the city are distinguished between what is visible concrete, characterizing heterogeneity; and what are images, forms and appearance, tending to homogenization of society.

Therefore, the city is a space of movement, construction and transformation in a fragmented, continuous and discontinuous way that, by superimposing time, marks a differentiated and unequal temporality in the urban renewal process. It is in the city and its straight lines that “[...] individual and collective are mixed in a game of multiple impressions and meanings, revealing the content of life in the big city” (CARLOS, 2001, p.56).

Brief History of Urban Housing Policies in Brazil

The fragmentation of the urban results from the role that each space will play in the city's organization. In this sense, planned neighborhoods, housing complexes, subdivisions and streets appear, which end up working as a defining element for the evolution of cities. This process is historic, reflecting the migration process driven by demand from the industrial sector. In Brazil, actions in favor of subsidizing urban housing took place through State intervention, in 1923, with the creation of Retirement and Pension Funds, which operated housing complexes and workers' villages. These were collective dwellings, surrounded by a certain urban infrastructure, such as collective facilities, green and leisure areas (BONDUKI, 1998).

Later, in the Dutra government, the Popular House Foundation is created (Decree Law nº 9.218/1946) was established, which was not established due to the setback of the nascent real estate segment and also the fact that the program has centralized management, requiring permanent resources and seek to reconcile housing with urban development. However, the growth of the urban population located in the Southeast region of the country became very intense from 1950 onwards, contributing to the culmination, in 1964, of the National Housing Plan and the National Housing Bank – BNH, which corroborated for the determination of the characteristics economic, political and ideological aspects of the dictatorship.

The respective housing policy, which took place between 1964 and 1986, established itself as the only real housing policy in Brazil. This was structured with

resources from the Employment Compensation Fund (FGTS) and the Brazilian Savings and Loan System (SBPE) and became one of the main financial institutions in the country and the largest institution in the world focused on the housing problem. According to Rufin and Bolfe (2014, p. 208), during the term of the Plan, “[...] 4.8 million houses were financed, around 25% of the houses built in the country between 1964 and 1986”.

However, this plan was extinguished in the Government of José Sarney (1985-1990), as a result of the severe inflationary crisis suffered in the country, which reached rates of 100% per year, and caused a drop in the purchasing power of salaries of the Brazilian middle class, and, therefore, default in order to comply with the obligation to pay the financing. The plan ended up being incorporated by Caixa Econômica Federal, becoming a mere sectorial policy for this institution, which had no tradition in relation to the subject (BOTEGA, 2007).

During the period of redemocratization in Brazil, the housing issue came to be addressed by the Federal Constitution of 1988. However, it was only in 1995, in the Government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), according to the realities of the cities, housing financing was instituted for those who had incomes of up to three minimum wages, based on resources from the Guarantee Fund for Length of Service (FGTS). In Lula's government (2003-2010) this policy undergoes institutional improvements and is directed at the inclusion of sectors historically excluded from housing programs.

The Urban Definition of Itabaiana and Housing Policies

In the municipality of Itabaiana, before entering into housing policies, it is necessary to endorse some points in the urban history of the municipal headquarters, which began to be established in the 16th century, as “Caatinga de Ayres da Rocha”. From that moment forward, through donations, those awarded with land grants will found the Arraial de Santo Antônio, on the site known today as Old Church.

Between the 17th and 18th centuries, the process of colonization and distribution of land grants continued, with land measuring three leagues in length by one in width. During this period, Itabaiana had demarcated lands from the Vaza-Barris River to the village of Lagarto, from the Sergipe River to the village of Santo Amaro and in the hinterland with Jeremoabo (CARVALHO, 1973).

On August 28, 1888, by Provincial Resolution nº 1331 and under the presidency of Francisco Paula Preste Pimentel, the Village was elevated to the status of a city. This will arise based on the rural needs of having a center that redistributes its products and on the role of the Church, which through religious and cultural festivities, attracted the population of Itabaian to its center.

In the mid-1950s, the city consolidates the urban aspect. This was initially governed by Euclides Paes Mendonça, who increased the number of streets and determined wider dimensions for them (CARVALHO, 2000). Added to this situation of progress is the construction of the substation of the São Francisco Hydroelectric Company (CHESF), the Marcela Dam and the CIBRAZEM warehouse, which, together with the existing tanneries, contributed to the opening of avenues, such as: Otoniel Dórea, Engineer Carlos Reis, Ivo Carvalho, Valter Franco, Luiz Magalhães. These favored the valorization of the urban fabric and the city's growth in several directions.

In historical terms, the urban growth of Itabaiana also collides with housing programs. The growth in the number of streets, in the number of subdivisions and closed condominiums makes the city an expression of urban growth. This process is validated in the urban landscape by the presence of new streets, sometimes with or without infrastructure, and even by vacant lots in neighborhoods that become the focus of real estate valuation due to the area already built.

The urban evolution of Itabaiana gained momentum with the definition of the figure of the real estate entrepreneur, who started to acquire large plots of rural land, located in peri-urban areas, which according to Spósito (2006, p.159) represented a “[...] process shredding and transforming land use”. This process

does not happen in isolation. It follows the high economic development that took place in Itabaiana after the 1970s, through its establishment as a center of agricultural production and distribution, in addition to the development of secondary and tertiary sectors, all stimulated by the opening of BR-235, which facilitated the interconnection of the country-city relationship and with other locations in the state and outside it.

Itabaian landowners sought to convert rural land into urban land, that is, they have interests in expanding the city's space as urban land is more valued than rural land. Itabaiana's landowners allot their land as means of extracting income. Subdivisions are defined, far from the central area of the city, with prior infrastructure, regarding the definition of the lot and pavement, whose purpose is to be marketed to those who wish to make an investment. Currently, such lots, upon acquisition, can no longer remain open, requiring their owner, even if he does not want to build, to wall them up, in order to avoid problems with the creation of animal nurseries and garbage disposal.

The subdivisions, initially, may appear illegally. But, in a short time, they are legalized and, due to popular pressure, they get a few infrastructure services from the State. This process has been observed in Itabaiana since the implementation, by the Popular Housing Company (COHAB), of the General João Pereira housing complexes, with 100 units, and the Euclides Paes Mendonça complex, with 242 units, in the 1970s. 1980 saw the construction of the Dr. Luiz Conceição housing complex and the Maria do Carmo Alves housing complex (popularly known as Invasão), in the São Cristóvão neighborhood.

The implementation of these projects by the State favors the valorization of land in the intermediary spaces between the central part of the city of Itabaiana and the new popular complexes, as these, at the time of construction, were relatively far from the center, forcing the implementation of services of infrastructure such as - circulation roads, running water, energy - valuing the entire area.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the municipality of Itabaiana began to follow the trend of large urban centers, with the consolidation of closed condominiums. In 2005/2006, the first of these condominiums appeared, Residencial Fernando Peixoto, a project conceived by a local merchant, which works with several apartments in the same space. In addition to this, other condominiums are launched in Itabaiana (Table 1). Such condominiums emphasize the power of urban land monopoly, concentrated in the hands of urban landowners, who define themselves as real estate developers, and end up, through marketing logic, determining the values of real estate in the city and, so to speak, urban rent.

Table 1- Houses in Itabaiana.

Residential	Year	Property developer	Number of lots
Jardim Santo Antônio	2007/2008	Jupiá Empreendimentos	128
Chiara	2008	Ethos Incorporadora	109
Zilda Arns	2014		179
Oscar Niemeyer	2015		528
Clube Heitor Villa-lobos	2017		214
Leonardo da Vinci	2017/2018		286

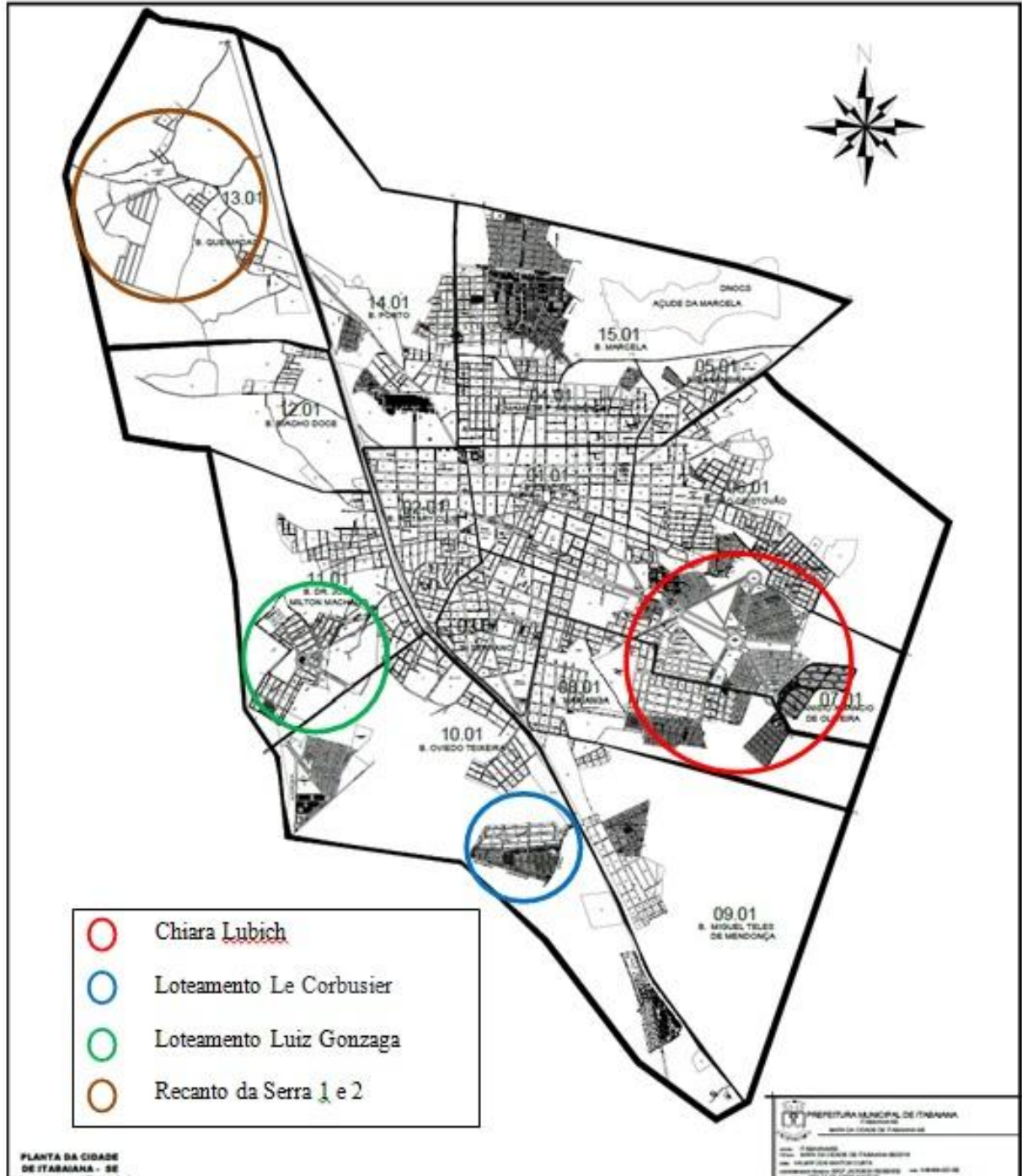
Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

The respective projects are just a sample of how the city's headquarters is growing in urban terms. Added to them, individual and family businesses are integrated, which through the division of inheritance, numerous lots are opened; in addition to the action of real estate developers, such as Ethos Incorporadora itself. This opened an immense subdivision, incorporating the former Batula village – Chiara Lubich, in the Anísio Amâncio de Oliveira neighborhood; in addition to having 18 other developments, such as the Luiz Gonzaga allotment, with 919 lots and the Le Corbusier allotment, both located in the Ôviedo Texeira neighborhood (Plan 1).

In addition to this contractor, others are active in Itabaiana, such as Construtora e Incorporadora Santa Mônica, which annexed periurban areas of Bairro Porto and consolidated Bairro Macela, moving new stages of Loteamento Santa Mônica to the vicinity of the Macela Dam. ENGEB, even though it is not a

local company, played a strong role in the opening of the Recanto da Serra 1 and 2 residential properties, located in Bairro Queimadas, building properties for the Minha Casa Minha Vida program (Plan 1). In the last two years, new closed condominiums were opened in expansion areas towards the village of Lagamar.

Plan 1 - Plan of the city of Itabaiana and urban growth zones, 2008-2018.



Source: Itabaiana City Hall, 2016.

In this sense, the growth process of the city of Itabaiana produces form, movement and content that give rise to its spatial organization. Such processes are

characterized by extremely differentiated uses, possession and legalization of land. They are regular, sometimes also irregular, subdivisions that, in addition to consolidating new areas, can materialize other forms of survival in peripheral portions. The action of landowners in Itabaiana is large and mostly carried out by Itabaianenses themselves.

It is a fact that subdivisions and housing complexes have become drivers of the production of urban space in Itabaiana. However, to have a subdivision, it is necessary to open or extend public places, including streets, with the installation of infrastructure. A final fact that has been worked on by developers in consonance with the government, in order to make the lots attractive for sale and also meet the demands of the local market.

The urban morphology of Itabaiana, in terms of streets, is historically diverse. The central portion of the city, as a colonial heritage, aggregates narrow streets, due to economic activity and the absence of a more dynamic social life in the period of elevation to the category of city, serving mainly as a place of contact between neighbors or access to church. These are being interconnected with parallel avenues, opened to make new areas integrated with the urban portion viable, with the creation of subdivisions. The streets, therefore, are a fundamental element for understanding the process of evolution and expansion of the city and its subdivisions.

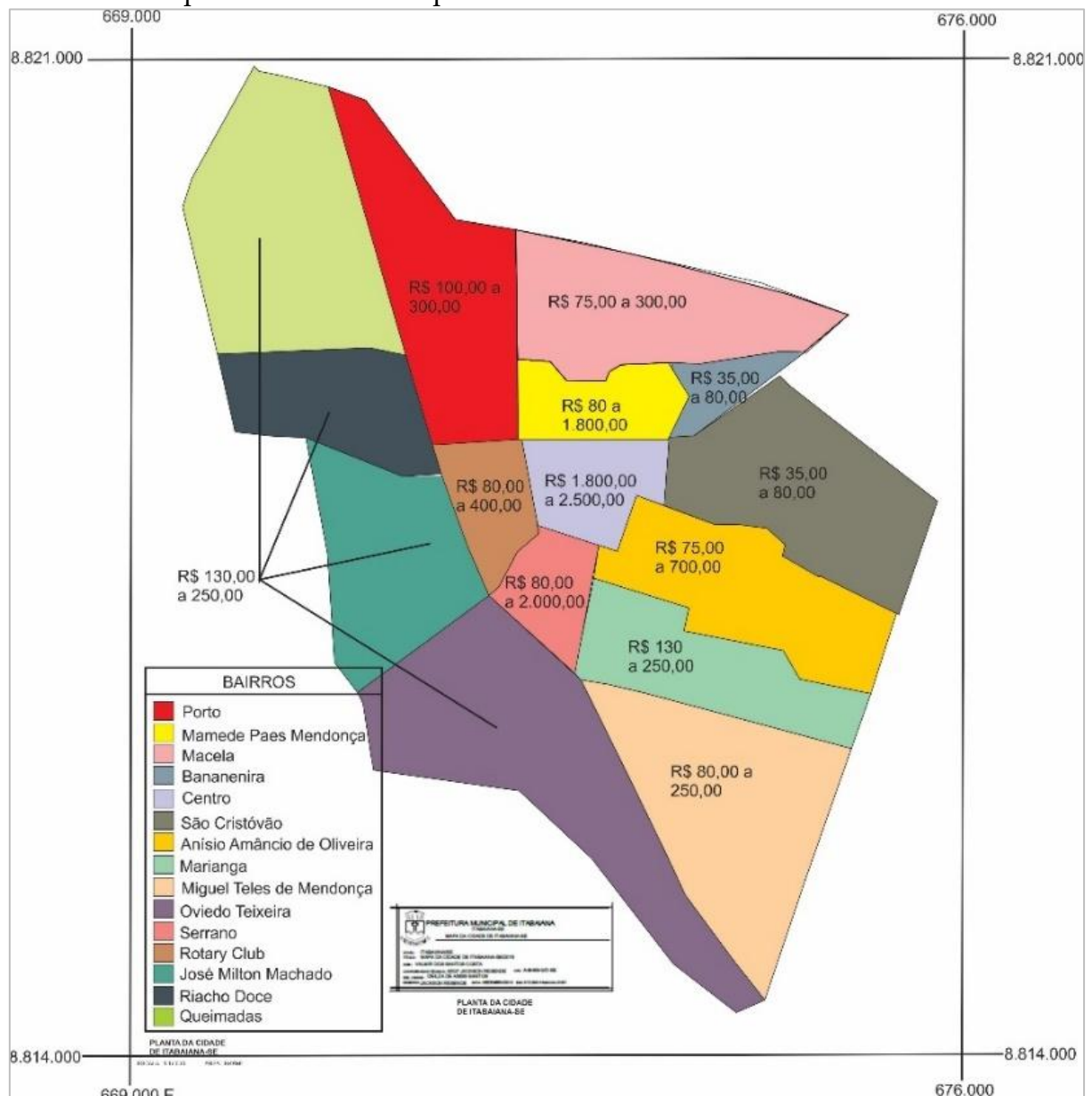
These transformations place the performance of social agents such as the owners of the means of production, landowners, real estate developers, the State and even the excluded social groups, as possessors of complex action in the city. Such action determines different types of income generation, which start from monopoly income, through the action of individual agents; absolute income, when the process of capitalist production of spaces built on urban land with a specific purpose, such as housing; and differential income, by creating sub-profits with the construction of an asset. This complexity, according to Corrêa (1989, p.11) results "from the dynamics of capital accumulation, from the changing needs of

reproduction of production relations, and from the class conflicts that emerge from it”.

Appreciation and real estate speculation in Itabaianense soil

The municipality of Itabaiana has, according to IBGE estimates (2020), with 96,142 inhabitants, which defines an increase of approximately 9.5% in relation to the 2010 Census (86,967 inhabitants). According to the Census (IBGE, 2010), the urban population was already 67,709 inhabitants, that is, 77.85% of the total population of the municipality already lived in its headquarters. From 1970 (41,635 inhab.) to 2010, the increase in the municipal population was of the order of 109%, while in urban terms the increase was 312% (25,210 inhab. in 1970). In this sense, it is worth mentioning that, in 2010, 29,660 households were cataloged, of which 20,444 were urban, representing an increase of almost 40% compared to 2000, or even 620% compared to urban households in 1970 (when households buildings totaled 2,836 properties).

The respective data are increasing for 2020 and are justified by the significant improvements achieved by the municipality in social, economic and cultural terms, expressed for example, in agricultural production, previously a subsistence activity and now an item of national recognition; and in the commercial appreciation and truck culture that promote the trade and distribution of products to/from the city. It is also necessary to include the attractiveness of the city, with the establishment in the first decade of the 21st century, of the Tiradentes Universities and the Federal University of Sergipe, which have helped in the city's growth, through the establishment of infrastructure and real estate. In addition, the characteristics of the neighborhoods and the way in which these variables contribute to their growth should also be considered, a case initially exemplified by the downtown neighborhood, where the commercial portion is located.

Plan 2- Prices per m² and their respective locations in 2018.

Source: Plan of the City Hall of Itabaiana, 2016 Organization: CARVALHO, 2020.

Through this improvement and even with the real estate-financial crisis suffered in the country, values in the urban area of Itabaiana increased or remained, contrary to the trend of the national real estate market. This fact is expressed in the comparative analysis of some spaces visualized in 2008 and consolidated today. In this way, the value of the square meter justifies real estate speculation, based on the aggregation of new spaces, such as subdivisions and the characteristics of neighborhoods (Plan 02). Despite this persistence in the value of m², a constant to be delimited is the lack of financial resources to move the real estate circuit, as it has

been difficult to negotiate properties already established based on the construction value, even those well located. Most of the real estate negotiations have been established with financing from Caixa Econômica Federal.

The commercial center of Itabaiana has in its urban infrastructure and the prices of goods an attraction for many visitors. The streets are paved, fact given in the last decade by government action and the interest of merchants who saw in this innovation a greater facility for automobile circulation and, consequently, for the distribution of their products.

On commercial streets, such as Rua São Paulo, the price per square meter changed, reaching values between R\$1.800,00 to R\$2.500,00, since many of the properties have multiple uses. Many of the merchants are individual urban developers, build their houses with residential and commercial function and, in this way, ensure their assets, maintaining a monopoly income on the property. There is also an incentive to invest in real estate in other areas for leasing purposes.

However, in the Center neighborhood (the largest neighborhood located within the city) there is not only the economic “heart” of the city, there are also important traffic routes, such as avenues Dr. Luiz Magalhães and Manuel Francisco Teles (which is paved at under 30), squares and a leisure area. In this neighborhood there are paved streets with good urban infrastructure, as well as good real estate structure. The land still varies from R\$2500,00 per m², in the economic center, to around R\$1.800,00 in areas bordering other neighborhoods.

In the neighborhoods further away from the central area of the city, such as: Miguel Teles, Ôviedo Texeira, José Milton Machado, Riacho Doce, Queimadas, Luiz Conceição, Bananeira, São Cristóvão, Rotary Club, Porto, Mandeme Paes Mendonça, Marianga and Moita Formosa, it is observed a more modest real estate structure compared to the city center, but not like that of large urban centers with very poor houses. There are simple masonry houses, even in the poorest neighborhoods, such as Moita Formosa (northeast of the city) and neighborhood

José Milton Machado with the “Corujinha” (west portion), as well as buildings with modern architecture and sophisticated finishes.

In these areas, spaces suffer little from real estate speculation. Normally, the property adds a small value compared to those in the center, the m² can vary from R\$80,00 to approximately R\$300,00. A property of 225m², for example, can be negotiated for values between R\$10.000,00 and R\$15.000,00 in the Bananeira neighborhood, depending on the structure and beautification imposed on the property.

However, the structural situation of the neighborhoods should be considered, as it is from this fact that the variation in real estate values will be observed, for example: Miguel Teles, located in the southern portion of the city, consists of three streets: Avenue José Amâncio Bispo, street do Meio and street of the wire, being the same sidewalks and possessing good infrastructure. Added to this is the consolidation of Peixoto Shopping Center, which gave the area a survival, making real estate values approximately R\$180,00 per square meter, considering that, for the purchase of a house with 150m², the property it can be purchased for around R\$25.000,00 at values above R\$100.000,00.

Neighborhoods along BR-235 have low real estate values and no great variation within the neighborhood. Despite the high commercial value added at BR's margin, it has established points, such as: dealerships, truck and auto parts dealerships. On the margins of this BR are the neighborhoods in the western portion of the city, such as Ôviedo Teixeira, José Milton Machado, Riacho Doce and Queimadas; in the opposite portion to BR (east), the Porto, Rotary Clube and Serrano neighborhoods are limited, with simple urban infrastructure, but with some well-defined economic activities, such as bodywork industries, distributors, restaurants and Assaí wholesaler (2018). Since 2010, the marginal areas of BR-235 have been adding more value through government action with the construction of streets and consolidation of economic fixed areas.

The Ôviedo Texeira and José Milton Machado neighborhoods have shown great urban growth, through the opening of popular subdivisions. In 2008, a rural plot of land had been opened in the José Milton Machado neighborhood, which had yielded 500 lots, of which, in less than two months, 350 were sold at prices ranging from R\$17.000,00 to R\$25.000,00. This expressive commercialization is due to the acquisition of several lots by a single real estate developer who acquires them for speculation. In 2010, such land was not resold for less than R\$30.000,00 and in 2020, some of these lands were sold at values from R\$25 to 35 thousand reais. A fact that proves the small price variation in real estate terms, justified by the economic crisis experienced in recent years, especially now, with the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The Porto neighborhood was one of the poorest, with no infrastructure and little real estate speculation before 2008, with the m² being sold for up to R\$35.00. The opening of new subdivisions, the installation of physical infrastructure and the consolidation of landlines caused the values per m² to exceed R\$100,00 by a lot, and a land measuring 150m² can be acquired for values between R\$25.000,00 and R\$45.000,00 and properties built with a marketing bias can be purchased through Federal Savings Bank programs, with values ranging from R\$95 thousand to 120 thousand. These spatial changes were mainly due to the installation of the Federal University of Sergipe (UFS) and Tiradentes University (UNIT), the State intervention with paving infrastructure and the presence of administrative bodies of the local government, such as the Municipal Secretariat of health.

Within the city are the Serrano, Centro, Rotary Clube and Mandeme Paes Mendonça neighborhoods. The Serrano neighborhood is characterized by having the oldest complex in Itabaiana, Conjunto João Pereira, with limits to Avenue Dr. Luiz Magalhães and Avenue Manuel Francisco Teles. It has good infrastructure, being close to the city's hospital and with a teaching network. There are expensive properties, close to R\$1.000.000,00, along Avenue Dr. Luiz Magalhães, as well as properties up to R\$35.000,00. The Rotary Club neighborhood also has a group, the Euclides Paes Mendonça. This is the Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto Church. Area

with good infrastructure and simple and medium properties, with values from R\$25.000,00 to R\$250.000,00.

The Mandeme Paes Mendonça neighborhood, located in the northern part of the city, also has good infrastructure, both in the area closer to the city center and in the São João Lot area, where, in recent years, the municipal government has imposed infrastructure and sanitary sewage. In this neighborhood, the real estate value varies from R\$15.000,00 to R\$700.000,00, with cases of greater appreciation due to fixed points, such as large distributors.

In the eastern portion of the city, there are five neighborhoods, among them: The Marianga neighborhood, where the Judiciary and Legislative powers are currently concentrated. This is the first neighborhood in Itabaiana to be paved, with good infrastructure and having Avenue Dr. Luiz Magalhães as the main access road. The first closed condominium in Itabaiana, “Residencial Jardim Santo Antônio”, with 128 lots, started at R\$30.000,00. In 2008, lots in this residential were sold at amounts above R\$35.000,00; in 2010, the values exceeded R\$90.000,00, having declined in terms of value after the opening of condominiums in the Anízio Amâncio neighborhood, such as Chiara Lubich. The respective values were justified in the infrastructure imposed by the owners of the lots and in function of the buildings already built, usually houses, with modern architectural molds.

The São Cristóvão neighborhood, the oldest, is the most closed in Itabaiana, as it is predominantly made up of local people. Its infrastructure is similar to the others, with shoes and sewage in most streets. In this area the local government built the Youth Square, with the installation of sports equipment. The neighborhood includes the Dr^o. Luiz Conceição and the Maria do Carmo Alves Housing Complex or invasion. Humble space, where people live in a disorderly way. In this location are the Lar Cidade de Deus, which takes care of the elderly in the city, and the Nossa Senhora da Conceição Church (both institutions belonging to the Church). In addition to these, there is the Moita Formosa complex, considered the poorest neighborhood in the city, as it still lacks basic sanitation infrastructure and the

houses, even though they are made of masonry, many are unfinished and are almost always next to farms.

The Bananeira neighborhood, with good infrastructure, is close to the access road to other municipalities in Sergipe, such as Moita Bonita, on Rua Francisco Bragança, which gives access to the SE-170 highway.

In a condition contrary to the previous is the neighborhood Araújo Amâncio de Oliveira neighborhood, which unites the modern with the simple, wealth and poverty, because in this location, the “Morumbi” (rich portion) and also the “Mutirão” (poor area) coexist. known as the Old Dam). Both spaces are undergoing transformations with regard to infrastructure. This neighborhood has very different values, one end has the m² being sold for values above R\$500.00, at the other end the m² does not cost more than R\$75.00; in the residential sector, these variations are also felt, for example, in Morumbi, the value of a property can reach R\$1.000.000,00, due to the good structure, compartmentalization and embellishment of the property, while in Mutirão the property could be purchased for up to 10.000,00 (minimum value). In 2006, the local government implemented new infrastructure in both portions, paving and building squares throughout the neighborhood, a fact that enabled an increase in real estate values.

In addition to the above, it should be noted that the Itabaiana elite appropriates various spaces in the city, which are presented in comfortable houses, as well as in the endowment of cottages and beach houses. This item brings the idea of a powerful class that occupies the best spaces in the city. In this sense, the area itself, located in the Anízio Amâncio de Oliveira neighborhood, known as Morumbi, which refers to the most elite areas of São Paulo, is also associated with the best homes in the city in Itabaiana.

The Morumbi, as well as spaces on Avenue Dr. Luiz Magalhães and Square Fausto Cardoso, brings the intrinsic need of a large part of the society of Itabaianense to own unique architectural models, glimpsed in the desire to live well. This fact can be proven once again with the opening of Morumbi 2, with land

value in 2008 of R\$36.000,00, with the m² being R\$240,00; in 2020, land is being negotiated for values above R\$100.000,00, with a square meter being negotiated for approximately R\$700,00. This area has been described as the new rich area of the city, as, in addition to infrastructure, there is already a purpose for the construction of some fixed by the government and also by the private sector.

In terms of verticalization, the city is apparently without a vocation. However, in recent years, verticalization has gained scope and the city has been gaining mini buildings with up to two floors, in addition to the ground floor. These are observable in the city center, on avenues Dr. Luiz Magalhães and Manuel Francisco Teles. Many of these mini buildings are for rental purposes, as can be seen in the buildings in the commercial center of Itabaiana. The respective action has been common on street São Paulo, where businessmen, who have a monopoly on land, build their buildings with a triple commercial purpose, renting the garage for commerce and small rooms on the two upper floors for professionals and service providers.

In terms of residential real estate rental, a very usual practice in Itabaiana, the segment is guided by large retailers in the housewares, games, gas and cereal industries, in addition to liberal professionals. This action is taken as a guarantee of economic survival, i.e., of reserve values and retirement accrual.

In the city there is no specific neighborhood for lease, as well as construction companies for this purpose. The builders are the Itabaianenses themselves who build with a view to a permanent home and others with the objective of leasing, as a way to generate differential income, with use value and exchange value.

The absolute income through land use is not great, but through leasing, it has served as a complementary income for the family, especially for the middle class, since lease values vary from 0,3 to 1% , according to the value of the property. In addition, their values were readjusted according to the correction of the salary value.

From some examples, it was possible to verify that, from 2005 to 2010, the readjustment in the rental segment varied by around 25%. Subsequent to that, the political and financial crisis that took hold in the country caused the readjustments in this segment to be set back, due, first, to the surge in housing programs, such as Minha Casa, Minha Vida; 2-The offer of properties for rental purposes has grown a lot; and 3- The increase in the value of salaries no longer justifies the payment of rent. Thus, many real estate developers have kept their properties without lease, as the lease process is not feasible without the “fair” charging of the use and exchange value.

Final Considerations

The city of Itabaiana is a reference in the consolidation of architectural standards, aggregation of values and investments in the real estate segment in the state of Sergipe. Even though it is a medium-sized municipality, it has, in many ways, greater real estate speculation than the capital itself, Aracaju, due to the various economic activities it undertakes and Itabaian individualism, in terms of architectural standard and dissemination of well-being Social.

The urban space of Itabaiana is a continuous process of material construction of society, established by the flow of people and transport, resulting from commercial determination, which manipulates the location of regions in the logic of capital reproduction. This fact is very much observed in Itabaiana, in the commercial center, on the avenues and, mainly, in the Anízio Amâncio de Oliveira neighborhood, where fabulous constructions and the action of real estate developers lead to the expansion of expressive prices in their vicinity.

The expropriation carried out for the capital in Itabaiana/SE can be observed from the social and spatial segregation as a space of stagnation, (re)valuation and roughness. The use and exchange value, as the city is the mirror of social classes, defines in Itabaiana who the agents promoting the city's growth are. The

demonstration of this expansion has taken place with the process of production and (re)production in the city's temporality, since it begins with the donation of land grants, in which, previously, the strength of the Catholic Church, the agrarian production, is added and commerce, spanning more than two centuries of occupation.

The transformation undertaken in the urban fabric of Itabaiana demonstrates the role of social agents such as the owners of the means of production, landowners, real estate developers, the State and even excluded social groups as agents of complex action in the city. Complexity results “from the dynamics of capital accumulation, from the changing needs of reproduction of production relations, and from the class conflicts that emerge from it” (CORRÊA, 1989, p.11). In Itabaiana, the performance of these agents is observed through real estate speculation and the growth of subdivisions, being two of the factors that contribute to the articulation and fragmentation of the urban space.

Itabaiana's urban growth is also reflected in Carlos' (1997) analysis, that a city is born as a historical and human work, constituting a universe of needs, aspirations and desires. Furthermore, in Itabaiana, the land monopoly is perfectly evident, the creation of absolute and differential rents, according to the form of use that one wishes to implement in the created and acquired spaces-lots. Therefore, the interests that build the urban space of Itabaiana outline actions that make it a valued capitalist commodity.

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