
Public Housing Policies and the implementation of the My House My Life Program in the city of Caetité, Bahia

Políticas Públicas de Vivienda e implementación del Programa Mi Casa Mi Vida en la ciudad de Caetité, Bahia

Políticas Públicas de Habitação e a implantação do Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida na cidade de Caetité, Bahia

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Abstract

The issue of housing can be considered one of the main urban social problems in Brazil. From a perspective that conceives the housing problem integrated to the issue of the right to the city, it is possible to perceive that the Brazilian public housing policies, which should be created with the aim of supplying the numbers referring to the housing deficit, often do not effectively solve this problematic. In addition, there is the role of space-producing agents who configure the city according to their particular interests. Thus, the objective of this research is to verify how these actions influence decisions regarding public housing policies, having as object of study the implantation of the PMCMV in the city of Caetité, Bahia.

Keywords: Housing. Agents. Public policy.

Resumen

El tema de la vivienda puede considerarse uno de los principales problemas sociales urbanos de Brasil. Desde una perspectiva que concibe el problema de la vivienda integrado al tema del derecho a la ciudad, es posible percibir que las políticas públicas de vivienda brasileñas, que deben crearse para suplir las cifras referentes al déficit habitacional, muchas veces no lo hacen. resolver eficazmente este problema. Además, está el papel de los agentes productores de espacio que

configuran la ciudad según sus intereses particulares. Así, el objetivo de esta investigación es verificar cómo estas acciones influyen en las decisiones sobre políticas públicas de vivienda, teniendo como objeto de estudio la implantación del PMCMV en la ciudad de Caetité, Bahia.

Palabras clave: Alojamiento. Agentes. Política pública.

Resumo

A questão da habitação pode ser considerada um dos principais problemas sociais urbanos do Brasil. Numa perspectiva que concebe o problema da moradia integrado à questão do direito à cidade, é possível perceber que as políticas públicas habitacionais brasileiras, que deveriam ser criadas com o intuito de suprir os números referentes ao déficit habitacional, muitas vezes não solucionam de maneira efetiva tal problemática. Somado a isso têm-se a atuação dos agentes produtores do espaço que configuram a cidade de acordo com seus interesses particulares. Assim, o objetivo desta pesquisa é verificar o modo como essas atuações influenciam nas decisões relativas às políticas públicas habitacionais, tendo como objeto de estudo a implantação do PMCMV na cidade de Caetité, Bahia.

Palavras-chave: Habitação. Agentes. Política Pública.

Introduction

With the accelerated advance of the urbanization process in Brazil, the high demand for housing boosted problems related to housing issues. In a historical conception, the Brazilian State has been acting in the provision of public housing policies in order to meet the demands related to the housing deficit. However, these were always insufficient given the large demand and the high precariousness of housing conditions, especially among the poorest layers of the population. In this way, the housing issue is configured as a relevant aspect for the increase of the country's social issue.

As one of the promoting agents involved in housing production, the State is responsible for ensuring access to housing and quality of life for all individuals, as established by Art. 6 of the 1988 Constitution. Osório (2002) argues that it is It is the

State's duty to ensure that all people have the right to safe and comfortable housing that is well located and provides quality of life.

Therefore, the Brazilian State has an obligation to adopt public housing policies that ensure the effectiveness of the right to housing. It is also responsible for preventing the continuation of programs and actions that exclude the lower-income population from accessing adequate housing. The dimension of Brazilian urban problems contains the housing issue as an essential component of the performance of the Brazilian State as a promoter of policies aimed at eradicating poverty, reducing inequalities and social justice (OSÓRIO, 2002, p. 9).

In this sense, there is State intervention with the implementation of public housing policies, with economic and political intentions and also to provide means for access to housing. With regard to decent housing, it is the State's duty to adopt a national strategy that defines objectives for improving the sector, identifying available resources and the most efficient way to use them (UN-Habitat, 2010).

In addition to the right to housing, in order to regulate the use of urban property in favor of the collective good, security and well-being of citizens, as well as environmental balance, Law 10,257/2001, known as the Statute of City, which is considered one of the most advanced urban laws on the planet (MARICATO, 2009). However, even though it is a right guaranteed by the Constitution and even with the various instruments created in order to meet the fundamental right to housing for human beings, the implementation of these instruments of territorial ordering has weaknesses in its execution. For, if on the one hand there is a need for human beings to obtain housing, on the other hand, there is the State that serves the capitalist market that transforms urban land and housing into merchandise and stimulates the economy.

However, the government has been favoring the transfer of property in housing policies for a number of factors, but mainly as a way to stimulate the economy and the growth of the real estate market. This ends up having a perverse effect for lower-income residents, who may default or be compelled to move quickly due to the higher cost

of living in the areas covered by the programs (SANTOS; LUFT; MEDEIROS, 2015, p. 236).

Among the Brazilian public housing policies, the highlights are Hygienism (1889-1930), the Retirement and Pension Institutes – IAP (1930-1964), the House Popular Foundation- FCP (1946-1964), Bank National of Housing- BNH (1964-1986), My House My Life Program (PMCMV) (2009-2020) and currently House Green and Yellow sanctioned by Law 14.118/21.

The my House My Life Program stands out among the other public housing policies, given that, unlike the previous ones, it started to include families that had no income, with the goal of building one million houses, totaling R\$ 34 billion of subsidies to serve families with incomes between 0 and 10 minimum wages. In addition, the PMCMV sought to establish partnerships with city halls, also from smaller and countryside towns, which often lack public housing policies, as in the case of Caetité.

Influence of Space Producing Agents in the implementation of Public Housing Policies

In the production of urban space, the soil (urban land) is a variable that deserves to be highlighted, as pointed out by Harvey (1980), as this is a means of access to the city and its services and benefits. Soil becomes a commodity that has use and exchange value.

As the use value is subordinated to the exchange value, and the commodity is generalized in the urban, the city and the urban reality tend to be destroyed, as the city is not experienced in its entirety, but fragmentedly, and through increasing constraints on its inhabitants (BOTELHO, 2007, p. 17).

In the particular case of Caetité, it is possible to observe this discrepancy in the space dating from the first urban transformations that occurred in the 1990s, where spaces were defined according to different social classes, in which on the one hand

the poorest families were consolidated and on the other those with greater purchasing power. This contrast defined in Caetité's expansion process reveals that:

(...) while the city expanded towards the hills where mansions were built, it similarly extended to flatter areas, through the construction of very poor housing, both by the government and by the initiative of the city itself. population, who needed housing (JESUS, 2019, p. 119).

These territorial configurations are articulated by agents that produce urban space that shape cities according to their particular interests. According to Côrrea (2000) these are:

[...] concrete social agents, and not an invisible market or random processes acting on an abstract space. The action of these agents is complex, deriving from the dynamics of capital accumulation, the changing needs of reproduction of production relations, and the class conflicts that emerge from it (CORRÊA, 2000, p. 11).

In housing production, the real estate market and the State stand out and play fundamental roles in the development of this sector. The real estate sector is one of the main responsible for a large part of the urban transformations that take place in cities. Thus, they can promote an increase in segregation and spatial fragmentation, as pointed out by Botelho (2007) when stressing that "Segregation can be understood as an ecological process, but this would ignore the contradictory differentiation of groups. Real estate financing thus emerges as an element that reinforces the imbalance, both social and spatial." According to Corrêa (2003), real estate developers are part of what he calls a "key operation". They have the function of transforming capital (money) into merchandise, which would be, in this case, real estate.

The State acts, as Barbosa (2014) points out, as a "ground producer" through infrastructure works and implementation of public equipment that generate land appreciation, in addition to acting as a soil mediator, modifying municipal zoning and use laws and land occupation. When it regulates the use of land and public space and directs investments in the construction of infrastructure and equipment, it

also actively interferes in the price of land and, therefore, in the valuation of capital invested in the real estate sector (BOTELHO, 2007).

In this way, the State has the power to allocate public investments in the production of urban space, through the benefits it can provide for the enterprise. Thus, it is the main agent responsible for urban land valuation.

In this perspective, the State organizes and reorganizes social and production relations, reveals itself in the rational planning of space, organizing the territory of production. Thus, the contradictions of appropriation for the realization of human life come into conflict with those of social groups that explore space as a condition for the reproduction of capital. Within this conception, the State would also be an arbiter between the needs of each social class (SILVA, 2007, p. 22).

The State has the power to allocate public investments in the production of urban space, through the infrastructure it can provide for the enterprise in its various public works, such as the supply of public equipment, soil drainage, landfills, dismantling , in addition to other mechanisms, such as mortgage credit for its control. The actions mentioned are reflected in urban public policies, in the decision-making process of public planning and in the establishment of legislation related to urban land. In this same perspective, housing needs to be recognized as a fundamental right by the State and integrated into urban planning and housing policies, at all levels of government (ROLNIK, 2009, p. 41). And that this right is not four walls and a roof, but the right to a place to live in safety, peace and dignity. In this sense, public housing policies must follow these aspects in order to guarantee the right to the city equally.

Urban Expansion Process and Housing Policies in Caetité-BA

Caetité is a municipality in Bahia located between the Central Plateau - on the eastern slope of the Serra do Espinhaço - and the São Francisco depression, southwest of the state of Bahia, integrating the Serra Geral Physiographic Zone. With an altitude of 825 meters, it is characterized by a semi-arid and sub-humid to dry

climate (BAHIA, 2018, p. 1), with a predominance of the Caatinga biome (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 2).

It is 757 kilometers from the capital Salvador and stands out in the national context for being the main uranium production area in Brazil. Based on information from IBGE (2020), the total area of Caetité corresponds to 2,835 km², which includes the districts of Maniaçu, Pajeú dos Ventos, Caldeiras and Brejinhos das Ametistas. These are interconnected by highways and municipal roads that allow the movement of people, goods and goods.

Inserted in the Sertão Baiano, Caetité was configured when the Bandeiras Paulistas, in the context of the mineralogical economic cycle in the interior, boosted its first human agglomerations, mainly as a result of the discovery of riches found in the region such as amethyst, gold and silver. The population of the primitive nucleus was formed by the conquests of the Portuguese who sacked the colony and established monocultures. With this exploration there was the emergence of large latifundia in Brazil and the creation of the first commercial and residential nucleus. They settled on the then site of Caitatés, an agricultural and cattle ranching latifundium, owned by Captain Estevam Pinho. This site served as a landing place for travelers, sertanistas and explorers who were looking for gold and working in the cattle trade (PMC, 2014).

Bandeirantes, in the beginning of the 18th century, crossed the region and established themselves, giving rise to the small village, whose occupation was promoted from 1740 onwards, by the Catholic family of Carvalhos, according to data from the IBGE (1958). Religiosity was another relevant differential. Donor of land near the Alegre river, this family built the Sant'Ana chapel and donated land for the foundation of the parish, in 1754, by Alvará Régio, which transformed the village into a parish identified as Sant'Ana do Caeteté (SANTOS, 1995).

The Provision of the Overseas Council, on July 12, 1803, determined the creation of the village. The establishment of the village is closely related to the progress of the parish, which generated the need for local operationalization of

political and legal demands. However, it only took effect on February 26, 1810, at the time it was renamed Vila Nova do Príncipe and Sant'Ana do Caetité. These denominations were created in honor of the Prince Regent of the time, D. João and Our Lady Sant'Ana. The village had rich merchants from Minas Gerais who traded in slaves, French jewelers, political persecutors and the local population (APMC, 2013).

Gradually, traditional families, according to their particular interests, formed the urban space. As a city, several types of services were installed with a view to its modernization: creation of the first Municipal Market (1897), creation of the Cemetery (1890), Centenary Theater (1922), schools, including the first Normal School of the Alto Sertão, which in 1955 became the Anísio Teixeira Education Institute, having as its precursor Anísio Teixeira, General Director of Public Education in Bahia and one of the greatest educators in the history of Brazil (MARCELO, NEVES and TEIXEIRA, 2012). Santos (1995) states that with the creation of the Institute it was possible to achieve the goals of expanding quality public education for teacher training.

In 1908, the first meteorological observatory in Brazil was installed in Caetité (photo 1), created with the aim of recording climate change in the Alto Sertão region of Bahia.

Photo 1- Caetité Meteorological Observatory – BA, 2019



Source: Sudoeste Bahia (2019). Photograph: Willian Silva

Until the first half of the 20th century, Caetité had barely changed its territorial configuration. The population was concentrated around its historic center of population around the Cathedral Square Senhora Sant'Ana. The construction of an architectural complex in the main square formed the first commercial center of the city. The configuration of the urban space was characterized, according to Mendes (1996, p.24), “[...] with long and narrow streets, low and spacious houses covered with tiles, all more or less fallen”.

From that historical moment on, the expansion of the city not only intensified in quantitative terms, but also in activities related to commerce, economics, politics and social issues. The emergence of some services and the expansion of the open market were essential aspects for the growth of the city, which expanded in other directions, including to the higher areas (MENDES, 1996).

In later years, spatial interactions with other locations were intensified with the implementation of the Anísio Teixeira Education Institute, which took place in the second half of the 1950s and the construction of the Senhora Santana Hospital and Maternity, which belongs to the Senhora Santana Foundation, in 1962, the only one in the region (SANTOS, 1995). Due to the construction of these services, education and health facilities, the municipality of Caetité became a center of attraction for people from the surrounding regions.

In 1980, Caetité became one of the Administrative Regions of the State of Bahia and state agencies were installed, among which we can highlight: Regional Directorate of Education (DIREC 24), formed by ten municipalities (Caetité, Caculé, Guajeru, Ibiassucê, Igaporã, Jacaraci, Lagoa Real, Licínio de Almeida, Mortugaba and Rio do Antônio); Regional Health Board (DIREC 24), comprising 11 municipalities (Caculé, Caetité, Ibiassucê, Igaporã, Jacaraci, Lagoa Real, Licínio de Almeida, Mortugaba, Riacho de Santana, Rio do Antônio and Tanque Novo); Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters of Caetité (FFCLC), current University of the State of Bahia (UNEB). (MARCELO; LIMA; SILVA, 2013, p. 8)

The implementation of the Administrative Region strengthens the city's relations with the region, in which Caetité assumes the role of a regional sub-center and in addition to the implementation of the Bahian Agricultural Development Company (EBDA), of the Environmental Engineering and Water Resources Company (CERB).) (NEVES; MAGALHÃES; MARCELO, 2013).

The installation of these various institutions caused workers to settle in the city, which consequently caused the population and urban occupation in the 1980s to increase. As a result, at the time, eleven subdivisions were implemented, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1- Allotments created in the 1980s in the city of Caetité – BA

Allotment	Year of Implementation	Area (ha)
São Vicente I	1983	20,6
São João	1983	3
São José	1983	-
Santo Antônio	1985	-
Souza e Brito	1985	6
Ilha do Brás	1987	9
Bandeirantes	1987	18
Chácara	1988	3,4
Nossa Senhora da Paz	1988	-
São Luiz	1988	11,8
São Vicente II	1988	14,3

Source: SILVA, 2013; Organized by the authors(2021)

In the years 1981 to 2004, under the management of Mayor Dácio Alves de Oliveira (1989-1992), when the city expanded considerably, planning began for the concession of popular houses to the low-income population. In his second term, the aforementioned mayor introduced a policy for the acquisition of private property, where he implemented the Nossa Senhora da Paz allotment. Popularly known as “As Casinhas” (Photo 2), the Nossa Senhora da Paz allotment was due to the need for creation of a low-cost housing area in the city of Caetité. In addition, the city had the intention of removing the poor population that settled in the upper-class suburbs and the Center through the donation of land (JESUS, 2019). The land in the Barro Preto subdivision was then donated to the low-income population.

Photo 2- First Popular Housing in Caetité, Bahia, 2020



Source: Photograph: Ane Caroline Aguiar, 2020

The Barro Preto subdivision was created by the municipal power to guarantee the right to housing for the low-income population in a periphery that was formed by the government itself, which grouped this portion of the population in an isolated area of the city and far from the Center. Barro Preto was the starting point for the growth of the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood, which was enlisted by the City Hall, between 1992-2000, in which 350 popular houses were built. The objective of this so-called housing policy was to shelter families that did not have their own home (JESUS, 2019).

The houses built were very small, with only 22 square meters and the hydraulic installations were precarious and poorly made. According to data collected in interviews with beneficiaries at the time, the houses were tiny, which did not meet the needs at that time. Therefore, the property was sold to someone else, a process that one of the interviewees described as difficult due to the bureaucracy that was required in the act of selling the property. In addition, residents were dissatisfied since the houses were located in a neighborhood far from the Center, with no offer of public education, leisure and health facilities (JESUS, 2019).

The Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood grew towards the west of the city, when Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF) worked together with the municipal

government in the construction of more than 300 houses for public employees. However, initially these “little white houses” were abandoned by the target public and for many years they remained closed until they were occupied by poor people from Caetité and surrounding municipalities such as Guanambi, Igaporã, Jacaraci, among others. Most families residing in the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood have their origins in other municipalities and most moved to the city of Caetité in search of work, which increased the demand for housing in the municipality (JESUS, 2019).

Soon after the construction of these affordable housing, no other new public housing policy had been implemented in Caetité, until in 2017 the municipality was awarded 300 housing units of popular interest through the PMCMV. The lack of public housing policies prior to the implementation of the PMCMV, in Caetité, reflected the high population demand that seeks decent housing, given that according to data obtained by the 2010 Demographic Census, they point to a housing deficit of 1,144 households.

Action of the Agents Producing the Urban Space in the implementation of the Esmeralda Complex in Caetité-BA

Caetité joined the PMCMV in 2009, under the management of Mayor José Barreira de Alencar Filho, but it was only eight years later, under the management of Mayor Aldo Ricardo Cardoso Gondim, that Caetité was awarded the project implementation. Several meetings were held in Brasília and at the CEF agencies in Salvador and Vitória da Conquista for the project to be installed in the city. This decision reaffirms that the State reveals itself as the main producer agent of urban space, controlling public investments and assuming a decision-making role in “[...] in the spatial organization of the city [...]”, as pointed out by Corrêa (2000, p. 24).

The Emerald Complex is located in the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood, which is on the north axis of the city and which was structured by the need to create

a low-cost area for the city. According to Cardoso, Aragão and Araújo (2011), the projects built for the R\$0.00 to R\$1,600.00 income range (currently R\$0.00 to R\$1,800.00) tend to be concentrated in outlying areas of the city, precisely because it reduces costs for contractors who do not need to worry about selling, as the properties belong to CEF. In line with this analysis, the same occurred in Caetité, as the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood was then designated by the City Hall, together with the construction company Prates Bonfim, to host the housing units of the Emerald Complex by the PMCMV. This relationship between agents that produce and consume urban space, in this case where the State is both land owner and real estate developer, reaffirms what Corrêa (1989, p. 26) analyzes in relation to the State's performance that: “[. ..] is marked by the conflicts of interests of the different members of the class society, as well as the alliance between them. It tends to privilege the interests of that segment or segments of the ruling class that, at every moment, are in power”.

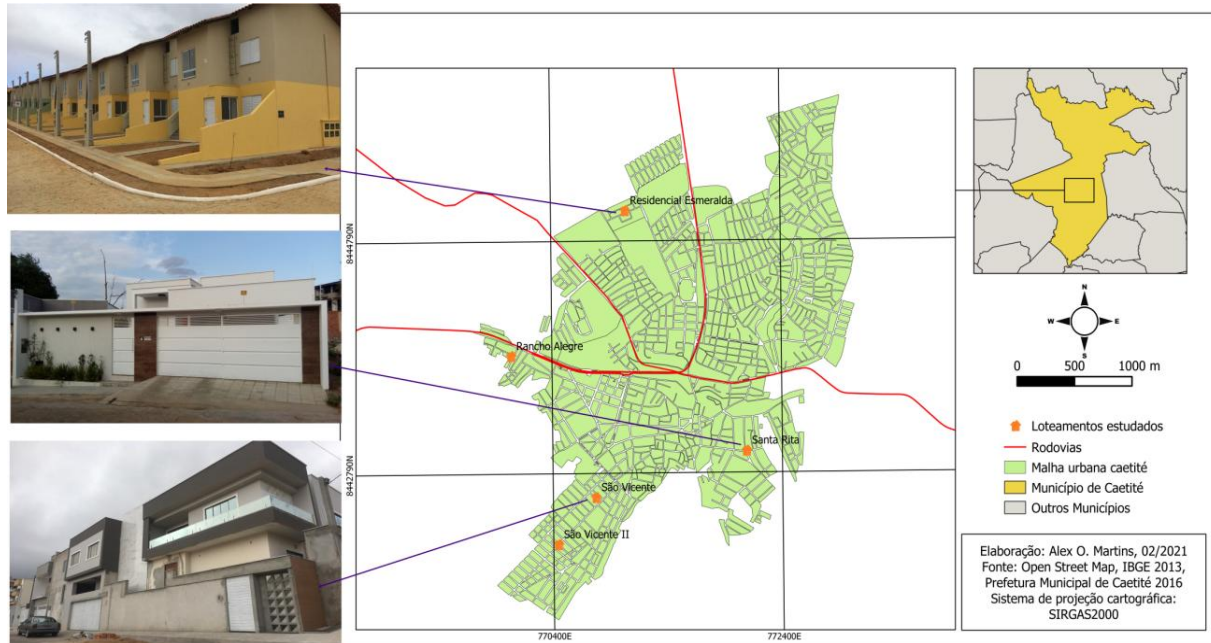
This territorial configuration reveals that the real estate market plays a role in the choice of projects and thus, strategically, occupation areas are defined for low-income families and for the middle and upper classes.

As pointed out by Shimbo (2010), the valorization of urban space carried out by contractors serves as a qualification of the city's areas based on its target audience, the middle class or the C class.

The choice of land for the implantation of the Emerald Complex follows this capitalist logic when allocating the construction of housing units in more peripheral areas. The choice of land is linked to the low value, justified by its location. In this way, cheaper areas of the city are destined for the implantation of low-income housing. As analyzed by Harvey (1980), urban land presents itself as a key element of access to the city, where aspects related to location and infrastructure directly interfere in the exchange value of land. Through Map 1, it is observed that in Caetité this aspect is revealed through the antagonistic locations of the projects, in which the high standard subdivisions, implemented in more expensive land, are found in

neighborhoods considered "noble", such as the São Subdivision Vicente and the Santa Rita Allotment. In contrast, there is the Emerald Complex, located in the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood, characterized as a poor periphery.

Map 1 Emerald Complex and main subdivisions in Caetité-BA, 2020



Prepared by: Alex O. Martins. Organized by the author

Despite the short opening time, the implementation of Emerald Complex in an expansion area of the neighborhood, generated new possibilities for the real estate market, as can be seen in photo 3, where some lots close to the development are for sale.

Photo 3- Land for sale near the Emerald Complex in Caetité-BA, 2021



Photograph: Ane Caroline Aguiar (2021).

In this sense, it is considered that the implementation of the same boosted the local real estate dynamic, which seeks the most varied forms of action, regardless of the types of projects, as explained by Santiago:

Housing has become a product for the real estate market, even for the lower income classes, as a result of the creation of a housing program that makes a housing demand (low-cost housing) solvable before solvable, thus attracting the interest of the real estate market for a type of housing production that for a long time was not in its interest. This fact does not mean that production for higher income population strata has ceased to be interesting, in fact, the real estate market has diversified to serve consumers from different social strata (SANTIAGO, 2019, p. 49).

It appears that the way real estate agents have had a direct impact on the production of urban space materialized through its territorial configuration. The vast performance of the real estate market demonstrates that it has appropriated public housing policies, especially through the PMCMV, to reproduce capitalism.

Final Considerations

Understanding public housing policies and aspects that involve them has always been of paramount importance given that, through this element, the human being obtains the right to claim for actions aimed at the development of society. In this context, the State presents itself as the agent that promotes and implements public policies for the common good, whose purpose is the social interest. However, the materialization of urban spaces has been marked, above all, by the contradiction, where the State, together with other producing agents, promote the configuration of spaces based on particular interests. In the case of public housing policies, these actions directly impact the decision-making process of urban planning and the implementation of laws related to urban land.

Despite not being a federal public housing policy, the implementation of the Nossa Senhora da Paz allotment, in the 1990s, was a strategy of the municipal government to segregate the classes with lower purchasing power, excluding them in

an area further away from the nucleus central. When understanding this process, it becomes noticeable that the materialization of the PMCMV follows this spatial logic, where the choice of location of the housing estates in Band 1 are directly linked to the price of land, since construction and real estate agents obtain control of the choices of location of developments. The choice of the location of Emerald Complex in the Nossa Senhora da Paz neighborhood reaffirmed the role that this area plays in the urban context of the city, in which the less favored classes are inserted. In this context, the separation of social classes in Caetité becomes clear, according to the spatial and morphological characteristics of the neighborhoods.

In addition, even with a short time since its inauguration, real estate agents are already operating strongly in the vicinity of the Complex through the sales of lots that obtained a significant appreciation after the arrival of the housing units.

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