

# PUBLIC POLICIES, URBAN PLANNING AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN BOA VISTA-RR

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS, PLANEJAMENTO URBANO E A PRODUÇÃO DO ESPAÇO EM BOA VISTA-RR

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS, PLANEAMIENTO URBANO Y LA PRODUCCIÓN DEL ESPACIO EN BUENA VISTA-RR

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## Abstract

Concerning the process of production of its urban space Boa Vista, capital of the state of Roraima, does not escape the rule and expresses what occurs in the Brazilian Amazon, which can be analyzed as a reflection of the action of the producers of space in the proposal and implementation of public policies. This article discusses the production of the urban space in Boa Vista from the insertion of urban public policies in the period of 1988, the year the State of Roraima was created. The text addresses theoretical and empirical aspects, constitutive elements of the research that includes Planning, Public Policies and the Production of Space. The option of the analytical-synthetic method enabled the reflection on the urban, based on bibliographical and documentary research and fieldwork, as well as visits to different management bodies. The question motivating the research asked which were the main agents of the urban space, as well as the public policies implemented since 1988. In order to close the period studied, the aim was to understand how the public policies interfered in the organization of the process of production of the city's urban space.

Keywords: Management, production of space, public policies, Boa Vista.

## Resumo

Boa Vista, capital do estado de Roraima, no que tange ao processo de produção de seu espaço urbano, não foge à regra e expressa o que ocorre na Amazônia brasileira, que pode ser analisado como reflexo da ação dos agentes produtores do espaço na proposição e na implementação de políticas públicas. O presente artigo discute a produção do espaço urbano de Boa Vista a partir da inserção de políticas públicas urbanas no período de 1988, ano da criação do estado de Roraima. O texto aborda aspectos teóricos e empíricos, elementos constitutivos da pesquisa realizada, tais como planejamento, políticas públicas e produção do espaço. A opção pelo método analítico-sintético possibilitou a reflexão sobre o urbano, tendo como base de apoio pesquisas bibliográficas, documentais e trabalho de campo, além de visitas a diferentes órgãos de gestão. A indagação motivadora da pesquisa perguntava quais eram os principais agentes promotores do espaço urbano, bem como quais eram as políticas públicas implantadas a partir de 1988. Para dar fecho ao período pesquisado, buscou-se compreender como as políticas públicas interferiram na organização do processo de produção do espaço urbano da cidade.

Palavras-chave: Gestão, produção do espaço, políticas públicas, Boa Vista.

## Resumen

Sobre el proceso de producción de su espacio urbano Boa Vista, capital del estado de Roraima, no escapa a la regla y expresa lo que ocurre en la Amazonía brasileña, que puede ser analizado como un reflejo de la acción de los productores de espacio en la propuesta y la implementación de las políticas públicas. Este artículo discute la producción del espacio urbano en Boa Vista desde el inserción de políticas públicas urbanas en el período de 1988, año en que se creó el Estado de Roraima. El texto aborda aspectos teóricos y empíricos, elementos constitutivos de la investigación que Incluye Planificación, Políticas Públicas y Producción de Espacio. La opción del método analítico sintético permitió la reflexión sobre lo urbano, en base bibliográfica y documental investigación y trabajo de campo, así como visitas a diferentes órganos de gestión. La pregunta motivadora la investigación preguntó cuáles eran los principales agentes del espacio urbano, así como las políticas públicas implementado desde 1988. Para cerrar el período estudiado, el objetivo era comprender cómo las políticas públicas interfirieron en la organización del proceso de producción del espacio urbano de la ciudad. Palabras clave: gestión, producción de espacio, políticas públicas, Boa Vista.

## Urban management and planning and the production of space

Management and Urban Planning are essential aspects for comprehending the organization of a city. They contribute to the understanding of how policies are or have been oriented to a given space and allow analyzes of recurrent processes of the production of urban space at a given time. According to Silva (2008, p. 84):

Urban planning emerges as a solution to all the city's problems. Elaborated and perfected from the advance of science and the new technological achievements of the eighteenth century, from the outset, it took on an unparalleled role in the process of planning and managing the territory, becoming a true disciplinary instrument of the government in the exercise of urban management.

In the Brazilian case, the understanding of management and urban planning required a greater reflection and analysis of the historical bases explaining the constituent elements of the urbanization process of the country, especially from the 1950s. In this sense, one must consider the moment of transition from the agro-exporting economy to the industrial one, when planning was conceived and practiced as a technocratic resource of social and economic development and public policies were implemented as a vector of progress.

The elaboration of public policies of a given administration is driven by intentionality, and in this process the classes that benefit the most are those that hold political-administrative control, usually the owners of capital. Thus, management and planning are not random actions, but are directed by those who hold the power of capital and who control the state, Souza (2006).

It is evident that public policies, far from being neutral, become tools of spatial, social and economic control in different spatial contexts, be it a small location, a neighborhood, a zone or a region. Through them, the participation of excluded social groups may require rights and guarantees in line with the legal apparatus provided in the Constitution.

Planning conceived as public policy becomes a fundamental instrument in the regulation of the process of production of space. In turn, it shows that the traditional model of planning, based on rules, regulations, hierarchies, centralization and authoritarianism, does not permit the participation of the different social agents. It is controversial to consider that the State is the only public body capable of conceiving and executing public policies because this feeds the assumption of the inability to meet all demands Souza (2004).

In this sense, urban planning is a force that goes beyond simple empirical definitions of the location of areas, streets and landscaping. It should be an instrument of social guarantees as stated in the Statute of the City that for Silva (2011) “is the most appropriate way to respond to social demands. To achieve this, it is fundamental to ensure the fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of the urbanization process. Its implementation depends on several factors, among which the broad engagement of society with social interest stands out. The Statute of the City is a fundamental instrument in establishing public policies and in the process of production of space.

Santos (2002, p. 63), explains that geographic space is “formed by an indissociable, solidary and also contradictory set of systems of objects and systems of actions, not considered in isolation, but as the unique framework in which history takes place”. In the process of producing space, nature provides the ‘things’, which are transformed into objects by the action of man through techniques and processes.

Space analyzed as a product contains in its process an articulated movement between political and ideological forces in a contingent process, with contentious results involving structure and action, which are “engendered by agents who produce and consume space”, as stated by Gottidiener (1993). For Corrêa (2000, p.11) “They are concrete social agents, not an invisible market or random processes acting on an abstract space.”

Thus, if urban space is considered as a social product, it is recognized that it is the result of the production of the actors who produce

and consume it intentionally. The action of these agents derives from the dynamics of capital accumulation, the reproduction needs of the relations of production, and the class conflicts that emerge from it. At the same time, it is related to the interplay of power and interests between the different agents, and the result of the relationships between them, which results in objects that may not attend to all and, consequently, generate segregation and deterioration of areas in the process of occupation.

### The history of the occupation of urban Amazonian planning

Batista (2013, p.60) argues that “the production of the Amazonian space, in which Boa Vista is inserted, has historically been marked by land expropriation, authoritarianism in the management of public policies and the prominence of the State as the main promoter of space, environmental degradation and ethnic-racial conflicts, among others”.

Furthermore “it is fundamental to know the historical and spatial processes that were produced to capture those elements that influenced the Amazonian dynamic and that will influence the structuring of cities” (Table 1).

Table 1 - Evolution of the urban structure in the Amazon (1850-2005)

PERIOD	CONDITIONER	RESULTING URBAN STRUCTURE
XVIII Century 1850	Missions	Formation of villages on the floodplains of the Amazon and tributaries by missionaries, Indians and settlers.
1851-1891	Exploitation of rubber	Dendritic form of the Proto-Amazonian network.
1892-1912	Apogee of rubber	Primaz-Belém Urban Structure.
1913-1965	Decline of rubber	Local stagnation and the primacy of Manaus.
1966-1985	State intervention	Major projects of regional occupation.
1991 -1996	Localized and not very expressive migrations.	Regional Macro-zoning.
1997-2000	Decentralization of the State.	Interconnection of cities with the national and international urban network.
2001–2005	Intervention of private capital.	Growth of cities.
2006-2015	New cycles of national and international migration. Commercial expansion and expansion of jobs.	Urban Sprawl.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2016) and adapted from Batista, Amarildo Nogueira, Public Policies and production of the urban space of Boa Vista, (1988/2011), PPG Geography of UFRR, Master’s dissertation, p. 61, 2013 and MTC data (2000).

Batista (2013, p. 61) states that “throughout the history of spatial production in the Amazon, it is evident that one of the strategies used by the Brazilian government for the development of the region was the concession of the use of navigation to private investors for the transport of goods in 1850”.

From the mid-twentieth century onward, with the definition of the frontier boundaries of the Brazilian Amazon, there was also the “March to the West”, which represented the integration of the insular Amazon to the southeast. This process represented the realization of the occupation of the region and, at the same time, the degradation of man and of the social and natural environment in the search for regional economic growth (Huerta, 2009).

The occupation process intensified in the mid-1960s, with the big projects developed by the military governments, which influenced the urbanization of the Amazon. In the following decade, a series of actions were carried out aimed at integrating the Amazon to the southeast. These policies had the goal of implementing infrastructure, transportation, communication and urban centers to ensure economic consolidation, national security and resolve agrarian tensions in the Northeast. Thus, the State is notable for operating in the territorial domain (Table 2).

Table 2 - Process of formation of the city of Boa Vista-RR (1890-2011)

PERIOD	CONDITIONER	CHARACTERIZATION
1890-1920.	Formation	Formation of the Parish, Villages and Settlements.
1921-1940	Consolidation	Consolidation of Boa Vista as a central, macrocephalic city.
1941-1960	The Urbanist Plan	Implantation of the Urbanist Plan (Radial-concentric).
1961-1980	The Expansion	The Expansion beyond the Urbanist Plan.
1981-2000	The New Expansion	The Expansion in the West sector of the city.
2001-2011	Re-urbanization	Development of urbanization policies.
2012 ~ 2015	Migrations and business.	New urban expansion with housing complexes, public tenders and commercial and agricultural enterprises.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2016) and adapted from Batista, Amarildo Nogueira, Public Policies and production of the urban space of Boa Vista, (1988/2011), PPG Geography of UFRR, Master's dissertation, p. 61, 2013 and MTC data (2000). (2013)

Batista (2013, p.65) recovers relevant aspects regarding the bases of Roraima's settlement, origin and growth. It was Federal Decree - Law n°. 5812, promulgated on September 13, 1943 and rectified by Decree-

Law n°. 5839 of the same month and year that created the Federal Territory of Rio Branco, which subsequently, according to Decree - Law 4,182, dated September 13, 1962, had its name changed to the Federal Territory of Roraima, due to the constant confusion and misdirection of correspondence and goods that were sent to the city of Rio Branco, capital of Acre.

The creation of the federal territory was fundamental in the process of occupying this northern portion of Brazil. The creation of new jobs and the expansion of agricultural and livestock areas led to the transfer of settlers from other regions of the country who were seeking new opportunities.

As for the dynamics of the new territory's capital, Batista (2013, p. 67), is emphatic in stating that "The process of formation of Boa Vista-RR has its particularities, but must be understood within the production of regional Amazonian space that followed the strategy of integrating national and international capitalism initiated in the region with the rubber cycle (1850-1911)". The author, supported by Barros (1995) and Freitas (1997), shows that "this activity was the main source of capital generation and attraction for the first migrants from the Northeast. To understand the historical and spatial aspects present in the city".

The demographic dynamics of the former territory converted into a state of the federation in 1988, and especially the growth of its capital, is explained by Silva (2007, p.57) who says "it is necessary to understand the processes that preceded what became the city of Boa Vista-Roraima, starting with the construction of the Fort of São Joaquim between 1775 and 1778, the establishment of the Indigenous Villages and the Royal Farms: São Bento, São José and São Marcos, at the end of the eighteenth century, the creation of the Fazenda Boa Vista in 1830, and the parish of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in 1858, through Provincial Law N°. 092, which was historically one of the first moments in the administrative-political construction of the region.

Emancipated in 1890, the village of Boa Vista do Rio Branco, a small, seemingly inexpressive cluster, laid the foundations for what was to become the future city. Clay and straw were the dominant construction materials, revealing the precarious living conditions of those who ventured into that part of the Brazilian territory and engaged in activities linked to

the primary sector, the main activity being cattle raising and subsistence agriculture.

Showing the rapid dynamics of the city with a new configuration of its plant, Batista (2013, p. 66) says that “In the 1920s, when a primary process of urban dimensioning of what would become the capital of Roraima began, new urban arrangements were evident with the construction of streets, public and private buildings and houses, organized into an octagonal chessboard model which was perfected 20 years later for the radial-concentric model”. (Figure 1).

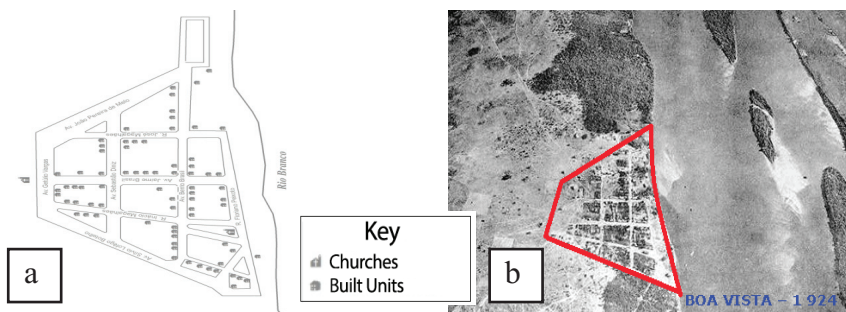


Figure 1 - Sketch of the city of Boa Vista (1924) and aerial photo of Boa Vista in 1924

Source: (a) Federal Territory of Roraima (1987) (b) Modified by the author in 2012 from RICE (1978)

Expanding the explanation of the production process of the Amazonian space Batista (2013, p.67) shows that “President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) and the military governments (1966-1985), worried about the long borders and the idea of a “Geographic vacuum”, implemented a set of strategies to promote economic growth and the physical occupation of the Amazon region.

Another aspect was urbanist change, with the chessboard format in 1924. Twenty years later it changed to the fan format, according to the project of the Civil Engineer Darcy Aleixo Derenusson. The proposed model was based on the City of Belo Horizonte in Minas Gerais and the works were executed by the Rio de Janeiro company Riobras owned by the aforementioned engineer (Figures 2).

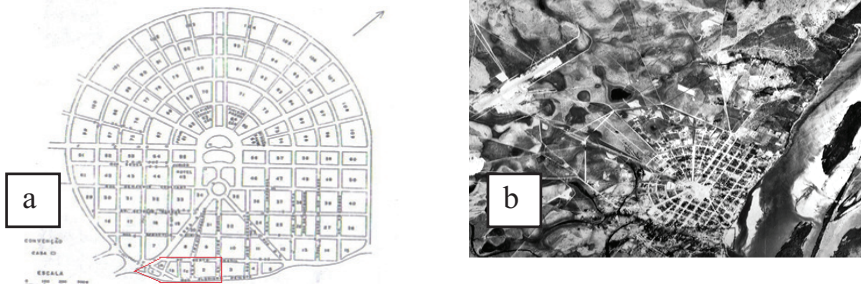


Figure 2 - Boa Vista's Radial-concentric Plan (1946) and Image of Boa Vista (1969)

Source: (a) and (b) Modified by the author in 2012 from VERAS (2011).

This radial-concentric urban model, in the 1940s, was implemented shortly after the creation of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco, when the Federal Government began to define urban development policies for the Amazon. It represented the ideology of the modernization of the territory.

In this sense, the process of urban growth of the city occurred slowly, since local investment policies were scarce, that is, the absence of a local territorial order was apparent, to be precise, an urban infrastructure that contributed to the quality of life of city dwellers (VERAS 2009).

However, in the 1970s, given the urban growth beyond the old central area planned in 1946, it could no longer respond to changes in the urban morphology of the city, through which the formalist, radial-concentric model can be perceived. Another amorphous onewas added, whichwas the basis of irregular occupations and real estate speculation.

It is important to emphasize that the population and urban growth that occurred in the 1970s was influenced by mining activities, construction, the implantation of new organs of public and military administration and agricultural enterprises, emanating from the Amazon's occupation and development projects.

Silva (2007) and Becker (1998, p. 46), affirm that “the present frontier was born urban, as a strategy of occupation used by the State.” They show that the planning of Boa Vista-RR, implemented since the 1950s, was present in the geopolitical national project of occupation of the Amazon that was intended to occupy and populate this region.

From 1985, urban sprawl was influenced by the welfare policies of the governments of Ottomar de Souza Pinto (1979 -1983) and (1991-



1995) and Romero Jucá Filho (1987-1989) that stimulated the emergence of new neighborhoods through migration policies to rural and urban areas through the distribution of urban plots (SILVA, 2007; VERAS, 2009).

Batista *apud* Silva (2007) points out that, in 1988, this capital already had a total of twenty-five (25) districts and was in full growth, influenced by mining, vacancies in administrative sectors in the newly created State and by the expansion of commercial and agricultural activities, actions leveraged by Amazonian development projects. It can be considered that the mobility provoked by these projects caused changes in the urban and regional configuration.

Luckmann (1989), criticizes the occupation model, saying that it was responsible for the disorderly growth, especially beyond the area covered by the urban plan. He emphasizes the problems of urban infrastructure, since the neighborhoods were created from political arguments, through a disordered distribution of lots, following the logic of first occupying and then structuring (VERAS, 2009).

Encouraged by government and electoral actions the norms established by planned urban policies were not obeyed. The city grew without planning in spite of the urban parameters traced in its plans. This urban growth, notably between 1980 and 1990, gave rise to the formation of new neighborhoods (Figure 3).

The *garimpo* (mining) attracted thousands of outsiders to Roraima. Arriving at Boa Vista airport, they looked for the areas of exploration and used the city as the support base for their activities. According to Barbosa (1993, p.187) the discovery of gold and diamonds caused “a flow of *garimpeiros* from the gold mining areas to the city who, without a reason to return to their native regions or completely lacking the capital to do so, join the ranks of poverty on the outskirts of the city.”

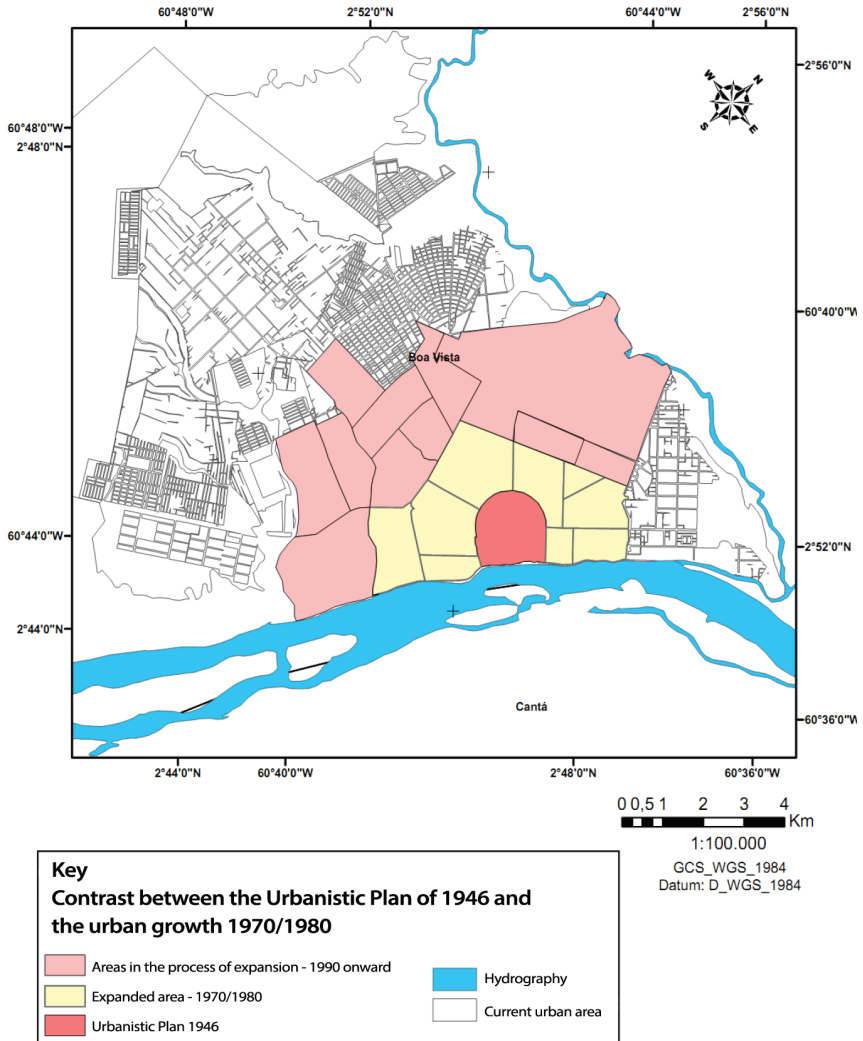


Figure 3 - Contrast between the Urban Plan of 1946 and urban growth

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Regarding the *garimpo*, it should be pointed out that in the same way that *garimpeiros* came to the urban area of Boa Vista in 1990, causing an increase in the population, there was also an opposite movement since mining activities had been prohibited in Roraima and many outsiders returned to their home states. (BARROS, 1995)

When the *garimpos* were closed in Roraima, the state government's interference in the public policies adopted for the capital was very strong. In this period, in the face of the expressive number of families that remained in Boa Vista, the government adopted a policy of donating urban lots, expanding the city's urban fabric. Bonatto (2002) and Barros (1995) point out that one example of this were welfare-based policies distributing basic food parcels and the hasty distribution of urban plots in peripheral areas, without adequate infrastructure.

According to Batista (2013, p. 73) "These actions actually had electoral purposes. Barbosa (1993a, p.33) states that the first governor-elect of the State of Roraima, Brigadier Ottomar de Souza Pinto (1991-1994) declared 'the desire to settle 50,000 families throughout the State [...] the news became an indirect incentive for [...] migration towards Roraima', in the hope of receiving a piece of agricultural land". This kind of government policy contributed to population growth and the urban growth of Boa Vista, the city that concentrates a high percentage of the state's population.

### 3. Public urban policies of Boa Vista-Roraima (1988-2011)

Boa Vista, capital of the State of Roraima, the object of the present research is located on the right bank of the River Branco in the northern hemisphere, under the following geographic coordinates: Latitude 2° 45 ' 11 "N and Longitude 60° 39 ' 0" West of Greenwich. The city incorporates the northern Amazon and its municipal area is located totally in the northern hemisphere. The Municipality covers an area of 5,687 km<sup>2</sup> and has no border with the neighboring countries of Venezuela and Guyana (IBGE, 2010) (Figure 4).

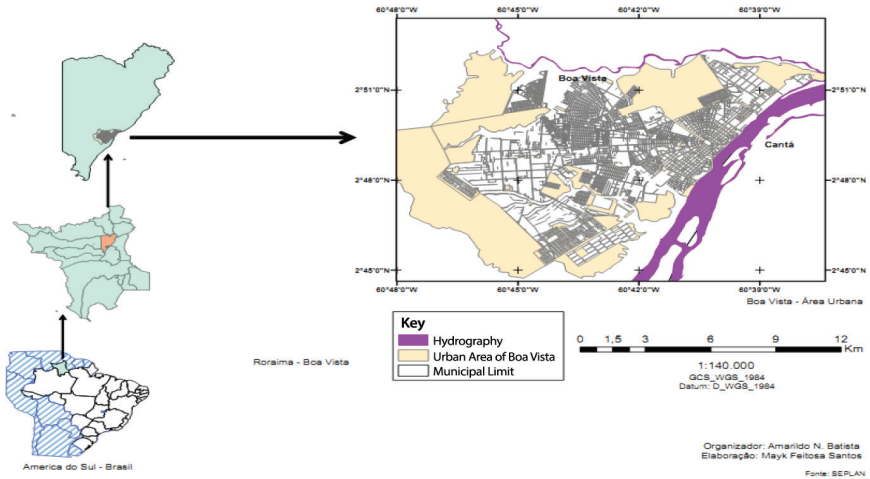


Figure 4 Map of the location of the city of Boa Vista

Source: Batista (2013).

Barac da Silva Bento, henceforth Barac Bento, implemented the administration of the City Hall creating several bodies, as formerly the government of the territory had controlled the urban policy of the capital's municipality. In 1989, he signed a contract with the City of Curitiba through the Urban Research Institute of Curitiba to prepare a Master Plan for the city of Boa Vista (VERAS, 2009, p.164).

During the 1990s, Boa Vista was not unlike other Brazilian cities of its size although it exerted a significant functional weight as capital of the new state of Roraima. It is important to highlight its importance, considering its location in this part of the Northern Amazon where it extended its actions to meet the demands of industrial and commercial capital. The guidelines for its urban growth were established during this period with the elaboration and implementation of the Urban Development Master Plan / Boa Vista-RR, Law N°. 244, of September 6, 1991. This instrument's proposals to guide and organize the city's urban space were fundamental in the control and urban organization of the capital. It established the boundaries of existing neighborhoods and new neighborhoods were added; a total of eighteen (18). In the plan, these changes were fundamental for the adoption of public policies that

considered the alteration of the urban network with guidelines for the road system, consolidating denser areas and creating conditions, even on a small scale, to organize the other areas capable of expansion.

However, contrary to its propositions and despite the studies and preliminary surveys, the plan was not able to order the city's growth, especially in newly expanding urban areas. Failure to comply with the norms established by the Master Plan in relation to the proper use and occupation of urban spaces contributed to a deterioration in the living conditions of the populations of the new neighborhoods located in peripheral areas of the capital.

Batista (2013, p.86) describes this moment of urban planning in Boa Vista "The space of power is observed, properly considered within the liberal conceptions of the use and consumption of space, as the areas of expansion induced for the West sector, which currently has the largest number of inhabitants, and consequently of workers". This is confirmed by several authors, among them Maricato (1997), who is emphatic when referring to the plans produced within liberal practice, saying that they are built to meet and maintain the needs of capital.

Discussing the period of Barac Bento's administration, Batista (2013, 86) says that "due to the housing financing policy, there was an outbreak of housing complexes, initially built by contractors. These groups were part of the Federal Government's policy, as a way of overcoming the housing *deficit*".

In Boa Vista, the use of this policy for election purposes considerably altered the West and South of the city. The new neighborhoods that emerged in the West and South sectors were characterized by irregular occupations that were deprived and lacked physical infrastructure, facilities and essential services (water, electricity, telecommunication, sanitation, paving, garbage collection, transportation), social services (education, health, safety, leisure) and were environmental degraded. The city's dynamism revealed a contradictory picture. Demographic growth, an increase in the urban network and insufficient urban policies capable of meeting the popular demands of this growth. There was an evident dissonance between the practice of urban management and the assumptions of planning, which proved incapable of responding to the social demands of the neediest sectors of the city.

During her periods as mayor of Boa Vista, Maria Teresa Saenz Surita, henceforth referred to as Teresa Surita, directed her administration's urban policy to urbanization works, drainage, street lighting, the production of city diagnostics and social projects. She governed the capital from 1993 to 1996, from 2001 to 2004 and from 2005 to 2008. In the last period of her administration, she gave up her position to run for a seat in the Federal Senate.

During Teresa Surita's first administration as mayor (1993/1996), the city had 32 districts. Observing the urban fabric of this period, it is evident that the expansion to the West sector, the one most lacking in infrastructure, facilities and services, was already occurring when compared to the quality of services concentrated in the central area of the city. Following the direction of urban planning in several Brazilian cities, Teresa Surita began the creation of a new plan, now conceived as strategic, aiming to improve the city's physical infrastructure, although the existing Urban Master Plan, developed in the previous administration, was still in force.

This process of urbanization promoted urban beautification not only in the central areas, but also in the periphery, contributing to real estate speculation in the surrounding areas of some peripheral neighborhoods through subdivisions. The actions aimed to embellish public roads and construct squares and sidewalks, actions that modified the urban landscape of the city, *igarapés* (streams in the Amazon) were channeled giving way to squares, (Figure 3).



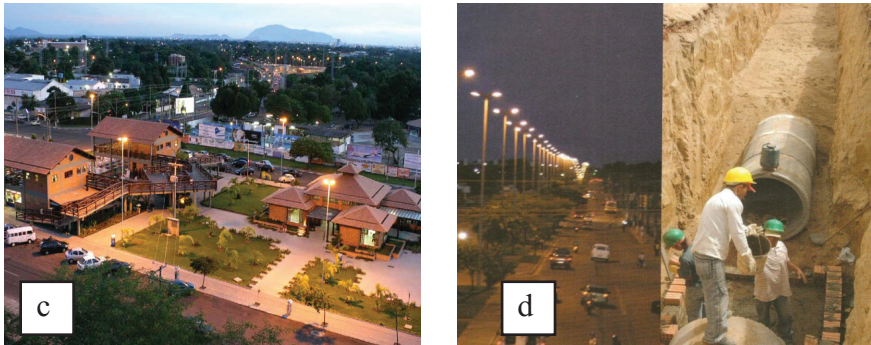


Figure 3 - Urbanization actions in the city

Source: (a) Veras (2009) (b) Batista (2013) / (c) Orihuela (2006) and (d) Teresa (2012).

The City Hall's urban improvement actions represented a way for the public administration to promote economic and social development seeking to attract private investments, mainly in the tourism and commercial sector

This redistributive public policy aimed at greater control of territorial space through state intervention in management and planning and reveals that production was strictly related to the promotion of urban space. However, it promoted social division through the emergence of districts destined to salaried workers.

Ottomar de Souza Pinto, henceforth Ottomar Pinto, led the municipal administration from 1997 to 2000, adopting the same policy as when he was governor of Roraima, developing government policies based on welfarism, incrementalism and unconcerned with planning within the national urban policy guidelines.

Staying true to the populist model, the policy of donating urban lots continued, encouraging irregular occupations. These occupations occurred in environmental protection areas, mainly in the West sector. The occupation of urban areas did not proceed at the same speed as urbanization. This practice was justified by the tactic of occupying first and then urbanizing. In the 1991-2000 administration, the population of Boa Vista had an average annual growth rate of 4.35%, rising from 138,687 in 1991 to 200,568 in 2000. The rate of urbanization [...] increased by 25.92, from 78.04 in 1991 to 98.27 in 2000" (Cohre, 2005-2006, p.23).

This expansion further increased the need for urban facilities and physical and social infrastructure, which should have been anticipated in the occupation incentives of these new neighborhoods. However, this was not what created the precariousness of these services. Land donation policies expanded the city, conversely there was a lack of policies that directed this growth more appropriately.

Ottomar Pinto initiated a series of actions to encourage the population's occupation of peripheral areas. It is important to emphasize that these occupations did not obey the technical criteria that directed such processes, but only social criteria, such as the need for housing, and thus maintained forms of segregation.

For Trindade Jr. (1997, p. 17) "the imposed segregation engenders residential areas of lower income social groups. [...] whose options of how and where to live are [...] null, being left to accept the spaces reserved for them", which results in occupations in unfavorable areas, distant from the center.

Giving continuity to the urbanization and revitalization actions instituted by Law N°. 483, of December 9, 1999, Ottomar Pinto modified the devices promoting urban development, zoning, use and occupation, redefining the boundary of some neighborhoods and increasing others. Boa Vista gained new limits between neighborhoods.

This fact contributed to the consolidation of urban spatial segregation, which drove low and middle-income populations to less privileged peripheral areas, almost always without the ideal urban equipment for a good quality of life, or with low physical and social infrastructure.

In 2001, Teresa Surita's second administration began with an electoral platform that would guarantee the continuation of the urban works developed in her first administration and extend the social projects. She implemented the "Open Arms" program that aimed to urbanize neighborhoods in the city that lacked physical and urban infrastructure. This modernization of the city, present in the discourse and the policy proposals that took place in Brazil from 2001 onward, favored the commercialization of planning, reinforcing the ideology that modernity is synonymous with social guarantees (Maricato, 2011; SOUZA, 2006).

The Open Arms Program aimed to implement participatory management and modernize Boa Vista. This program carried out a



technical diagnosis, the tendering process was won by the company Diagonal Urbana Consultoria S / C Ltda, with headquarters in São Paulo; this activity cost R\$ 1,523,000.00. (Salgado, 2003).

The growth of the urban grid towards the periphery was caused by the closure of the *garimpos*, the impoverishment of the population due to the scarcity of jobs, the cost-free nature of some spaces that the state and municipal rulers made available to the population and also the urban speculation that arose in areas close to the distributed lots and popular groups (Diagonal, 2001; Boa Vista, 2002).

These factors identified in the diagnosis demonstrated the need for public policies and urban planning that could respond effectively to the problems of flooding, garbage collection and paving and bring the municipal administration closer to the population's real needs to improve housing, transportation, leisure, health, safety and education.

Faced with this situation, several public hearings, technical meetings, and study groups were held with neighborhood communities and public institutions as a way to introduce participatory management. These policies of city modernization favored large business groups in the construction sector, for whom public works were a field to commercialize their products and provided alternatives for governments to generate employment and income.

This program aimed at the material conditions that allowed the production and reproduction of capital and space favoring urban entrepreneurship, which, according to Havery (2012), requires space to be opened for new real estate developments, a climate for negotiations, real estate valuation strategies and urban *marketing*. Tactics with a view to tax collection and sale of the city.

The City Hall's action aimed to overcome the problems produced by irregular occupations by investing in urban structuring. This strategy was an alternative to the circulation of capital. These changes represented the deterioration of the urban fabric, due to noncompliance with legal guidelines.

In 2005, Teresa Surita returned to the municipal government, during which time urban renewal actions were implemented, leading to a series of re-significations of public spaces, such as the Historic Center, in the sense of valuing the city's tourist potential. These strategies intended

to produce urban *marketing* and promote commercial development, as was the case of Orla Taumanan (Figures 45).

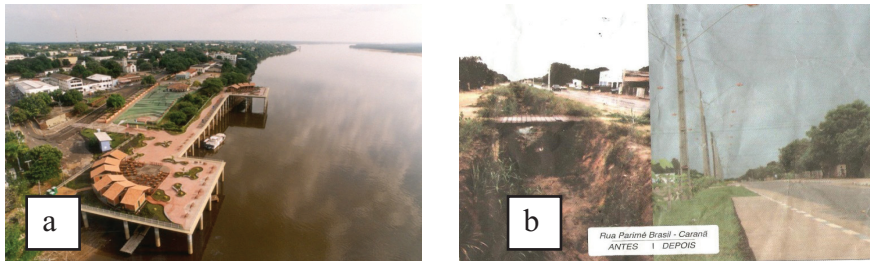


Figure 4 - Orla Taumanan (2008) infrastructure works west zone (2001-2006)

Source: (a) Orihuela (2008) (b) Jornal Agora é 15 (2012).

The spatial changes established new social relations between man and space, such as real estate valuation, the escape of residents to other spaces, real estate speculation on the part of private real estate agents who perceived this activity as a form of income generation as well as new uses of it.

These actions developed in this administration were not yet marked by a definitive Master Plan or even a plan capable of meeting the needs of the urban growth, a fact that according to Veras (2011, p. 97) contributed to “the precariousness of the living conditions of significant portions of urban population.”

In November 28, 2006 Complementary Law 924 was promulgated, which established the new Master plan. In this new scenario, the Master Plan appeared as a fundamental instrument under the idea that “[...] autonomy for the choice [...] that best meets its urban development. [...] should be in line with the urban reality of each city, ensuring that the plan correctly maps its planning strategies” (Mancini, 2009, p.46)

The new Master Plan, according to the Evaluation and Training Network for the Implementation of the Participative Director Plans of the Ministry of Cities, was that the way in which the work was conducted broke off the involvement of popular participation and reflects that the plan “[...] does not present a systematic concern with low-income housing and access to urbanized land for housing of social interest. [...], the plan only provided land regularization programs, in which the focus was only to “remedy” what has already been produced (Brasil, 2012, p.14).

According to the diagnosis, the Urban Structure of Boa Vista presents a high spatial segregation, due to the implantation of housing complexes and unplanned settlements that encouraged expansion in environmentally fragile areas and, therefore, were unsuitable for occupation (Brasil, 2012) and pointed to a marked concentration of urban facilities in the central area of the city, which indicated that accessibility to essential services for residents of peripheral regions was poor.

Iradilson Sampaio de Souza, henceforth Iradilson Sampaio, took over the Municipality of Boa Vista on March 31 2006, after Teresa Surita resigned the position to run for the Federal Senate. He was re-elected in the 2008 elections. The main driver of his policy was to establish the free trade area and zone, which would mobilize economic growth, favoring the economic sustainability of the municipality from the implantation of industry and commercial investments.

During his administration, he tried to continue his campaign promises, as was the case with the creation within the structure of the Export Processing Zone (ZPE), Free Trade Area (ALC) and the Slaughterhouse for small animals and the Supply Center of Agroforestry and Extractive Products of Boa Vista (Ceasa).

These projects, guided by the policies of Teresa Surita's government, mostly based on agreements and funds from the Caixa Econômica Federal and the Ministry of Cities, were fundamental for the implementation of actions such as the basic sanitation network and paving of streets in traditional areas of the West sector of the city.

It is evident that in this new urban configuration of Boa Vista, the neighborhoods started to move even further towards the West sector, into areas of flood risk and near springs of *igarapés* and the ring road. Together with them came low-income housing estates, subsidized by the *Morar bem* and *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* projects, to serve an urban population that according to IBGE (2010) data, grew from 246,732 in 2000 to 344,859 in 2010.

We agree with Silva (2007a) that space is a social product of representations and temporalities, by which the urban, the content, takes on the quality of a force that determines how places are conceived and represented. One example is a river, which in one period has an important function and in another is seen as secondary. Thus, as it is produced urban expansion modifies the content, form, and function of places.

Within the national strategies for the construction of popular houses, fomented by the *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* Project, the Caixa Econômica Federal and City Hall, Iradilson Sampaio's housing policies implemented two housing estates. Mancini (2007, p.65) states that "many of these projects and actions were installed in irregular areas, in public or private lots, and without adequate infrastructure and transportation or in areas of environmental risk".

### Final considerations

In Boa Vista-RR, according to the time scale used in this dialogue with the political and urban, it can be seen that the transformation of the Territory into a State in 1988, promoted the transfer of the infrastructure of power to the said capital, which in fact had been the loco-regional centrality since colonial years.

Thus, the new Capital inherited the preexisting public bureaucracy from the time of the territorial administration, the centralist and authoritarian model of the public policies historically found in Brazil and the urbanist paradigms of North American and European influence. Aspects based on liberal and neoliberal tendencies, but with a strong presence of state action.

This supposed modernity was an ideology disseminated by the government and technocrats over time, using it as an element to justify the implantation of architectonic mega projects, spatial redefinition, cultural enterprises, urban marketing and the fragmentation of the urban fabric. These actions were endorsed by the state and were mostly designed to cater for the production of capital, or to enhance trade with a view to increasing tax collection.

It can be considered that this lack or non-planning, which is reinforced through incremental actions, is a germ that erodes and damages the urban fabric, perceptible in the urban structure of Boa Vista, revealing the disastrous historical models imposed by Brazilian urban planning either guided by liberal and neoliberal conceptions or through state interventionism.

However, in terms of urban expansion, in the administrations since 1988, it is possible to highlight the disordered growth, which has contributed to the fact that the urban services available were out of balance with the rapid population growth.

This mismatch was a result of irregular occupations in unsuitable areas, the granting of lots without deeds, the creation of districts without any social conditions, and the lack of basic sanitation. The housing *deficit* is demonstrated by streets without paving, no transportation systems, no communication, no public lighting and insufficient running water. These occupations reveal the non-compliance with public management instruments such as the Master Plan, Municipal Code, Forest Code and the general guidelines, such as the Federal Constitution and the Statute of the City.

Still regarding the production of space in the period after the creation of the State of Roraima, it can be verified that, since 1993, there was a strong public administration action in urban structuring through public buildings, physical and social infrastructure that stimulated the formation of new neighborhoods and the expansion of others, a model that continued to be reproduced in the aftermath of the creation of the State.

These aspects have made it possible for municipal administrations to act more towards government policies than public policies, to use power for electoral purposes. It is important to understand that the paradigms of modernity, sustainable development and *marketing* which were introduced in the urban space of Boa Vista, contributed to a new urban morphology, which does not necessarily evidence planning. As a result of this, new commercial centers were formed in other areas far from the central area of the city, but without the same conditions of the city center.

The process of Boa Vista's social-spatial production consists of manifestations of games of political, economic and social interests, by which the urban organization is defined. In this dynamic spaces new contents and functionalities were produced and received, changes that developed according to the interests of capital and the determined social conditions present in the social organization.

The process of production of the urban space of Boa Vista is linked to different agents of urban production who, according to their interests, contributed to an uneven production of space, which invites us to reflect that space is still a field of power relations and of the need to use knowledge and scientific knowledge so that space, in this case urban space, is produced by planning that can overcome the difficulties erected throughout history, with public policies that meet the demands of the citizen and not simply the market.

But for this it is necessary to understand the production of space as the result of a process of capitalist accumulation, in which the State is the main agent of production and the public policies it conducts are in a way causing the differentiation of the urban space. These same policies end up contributing to social exclusion and the non-observance of technical, scientific, social and economic elements in the production of space.

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