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O PROGRAMA MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA E SUA REPERCUSSÃO NO REGIONAL: UM ESTUDO SOBRE O DELTA DO RIO AMAZONAS

MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA PROGRAM AND ITS REPERCUSSION IN A REGIONAL SCALE: A STUDY ABOUT THE AMAZON RIVER DELTA

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Resumo

O objetivo do presente artigo é apresentar um breve panorama das políticas habitacionais federais e analisar o papel do Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV), como macropolítica habitacional aplicada na escala local, fazendo um recorte espacial sobre os cinquenta municípios localizados no Delta do Rio Amazonas. A metodologia adotada para desenvolver o presente artigo consistiu em realizar um breve levantamento teórico-bibliográfico acerca da questão habitacional no País, além de ter-se efetuado um levantamento de dados por meio de consulta ao Ministério das Cidades sobre o PMCMV, para o Delta. A partir desses dados, mapas de localização do Programa foram elaborados, utilizando recursos de geotecnologias. Foi possível compreender que o programa Minha Casa Minha Vida desempenhou expressivo papel no combate do déficit habitacional no Delta. Observou-se, também, que há uma forte dependência desses municípios em relação às macropolíticas elaboradas nas esferas federais.

Palavras-Chaves: Minha Casa Minha Vida, déficit habitacional, Delta do rio Amazonas.

Abstract

This article aims to present a brief overview of federal housing policies analyzing the leading role of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV) as a housing macro-policy applied at the local scale, focusing on the fifty municipalities located in the Amazon River Delta. The methodology to develop

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this paper consisted in a bibliographical review about the national housing issue; data were collected through requests to the Ministry of Cities related to the PMCMV regarding the Delta. Geotechnology resources were used to elaborate maps of the Delta focusing the Program. As a result, it was possible to understand that the PMCMV played a significant role lowering the housing deficit in the Delta. We also observed that these municipalities are highly dependent on the macropolicies elaborated in federal spheres.

Keywords: Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, housing deficit, Delta of Amazon river

Introduction

The Brazilian Federal Constitution (BRAZIL, 1988) states in its 6th article that housing is a social right for all citizens among other aspects and it is a duty of the State to elaborate, promote, implement and apply public housing policies allowing the homeless population to have a roof in order to guarantee them better quality of life standards.

Home ownership is considered a dream for most of the Brazilian population. Its achievement is one of the main goals in many families for whom the house is not only a tangible object to obtain, but also the security and especially the dignity of their families as well. Housing is understood as the product of a fundamental human need, and the shortage of homes is one of the problems that the Brazilian state has faced in recent decades.

According to data provided by the João Pinheiro Foundation (2015), the housing deficit⁶ in Brazil was estimated at 6,355 million households, with 87.7% of this total referring to the demand of urban areas and 12.3% of the rural area.

Maricato (1996) stated that the troubled level of access to housing intensifies with real estate and land speculation. Thus, in the uneven process of occupation of cities it is observed that the interests of speculative capital overlap with the social function of urban land.

According to Lima (2007), the State has as one of its functions the promotion of the wellbeing of urban and rural life; however, a more careful look allows us to realize that the government fails to fulfill its function of promoting social rights, including access to housing.

Housing programs proposed by the governments in their various levels, have been trying to combat the housing shortage for decades. The formulation, implementation and applicability of housing policies must be understood as the responsibility of all powers, at Federal, state or municipal levels, and all levels of governance should assume this commitment.

The lack of housing has affected many Brazilian municipalities (FJP, 2015) and this problem should not be considered privative to large cities and metropolitan regions. Currently, there are worrying housing deficit indicators in the Brazilian medium and small cities, demanding precise actions that can soften the problem of non-access to housing. The social pressure promoted by institutions that struggle for the right to housing, such as universities, research institutes and international agencies specialized in housing, have been alerting regarding the substantial increase in the national housing deficit, across the national territory. The Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV), established in 2009, based on the National Housing Program was proposed with the aim of reducing the housing deficit. Some authors have criticized the Program, in an attempt to avoid that the process of implementation of the subdivisions may lead to socio-spatial segregation. The Minha Casa Minha Vida program has, since its inception, aroused the risk of social segregation. Some researchers (AMORE et al., 2015b, MARICATO, 2009, BONDUKI, 2009, ARANTES ET AL., 2009, ROLNIK, 2015a, 2015b, RUFINO, 2015) point out impacts of PMCMV related to location, showing that the right to the city is not guaranteed because accessibility to infrastructure and services is non-existent or precarious.

Spatial segregation is a striking feature of cities as a consequence of the logic of the exclusionary urbanization process, according to which the discrepancy of location and social conditions transforms the building space in a material expression of social inequalities. In Villaça's view (2012, p. 44), segregation is the most important spatial-urban manifestation of the inequality that prevails in our society.

⁶ The concept "housing deficit" as used by the João Pinheiro Foundation refers to deficiencies in housing stock, encompassing those not fit to dwelling due to precariousness of building structure or physical wear and tear.

For Amore et al. (2015b, p.60, 67), the Program's developments are built on cheaper land, far from the urban nucleus, allowing greater gains to the private sector in exchange for making lower-income families more distant from the city centers, urban facilities, public facilities, employment, commerce and therefore harming mobility over long distances. Maricato (2009) states that the Program is in fault by not interacting with urban and social policies and, since the National Bank for Housing (BNH) inception, the housing issue in Brazil has always been treated using a quantitative lens, evaluated only by numbers.

Bonduki (2009) points out that National Housing Plan (PLANHAB) strategies, combined with municipal master and housing plans, could ensure more appropriate locations for PMCMV projects if municipalities were willing to do so. The problem of location coupled with the absence of urban infrastructure and public facilities strengthens socio-spatial segregation, as it does not ensure the right to the city.

In the Amazon region, climatic factors are crucial for improving the quality of life, because they dictate the dynamics of cities and the daily routine of residents. The housing particularities of the small Amazonian municipalities need to be taken into account by the PMCMV, which needs to understand regional diversities in order to create a policy according to each specific situation, avoiding standardizing local differences. The region has specific physical characteristics; the movement of rivers dictates the dynamics of cities, the transportation of construction materials is carried out through complex logistics, making the cost of works more expensive than in other regions. Thus, the implementation of PMCMV subdivisions presents difficulties to be implemented in Amazonian riverside territory, due to the specific difficulties of the region.

Holanda (2011 p.111) affirms that national policies, in particular housing policies, do not considerate the specificities of the Amazon region and, on the other hand, local policies did not prioritize or were unable to cope with the serious housing problem of this region.

It is against this background that this article presents a discussion about the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV), which began in 2009. It applies a spatial focus in the municipalities of the Amazon River Delta, especially those with less than twenty thousand urban dwellers. Its objective is to understand how this housing program of the Federal Government was territorialized in the municipalities of the Amazon River Delta. The approach adopted is to explain the territorial situation, i.e. to relate the urban categories of the Program to the different cities of the Delta, in a multi-temporal analysis of the implementation of the Program in the Region.

These municipalities have small urban centers, with scarce transformational economies, high dependence on federal government resources, concentration of formal employment in the public sector, intense informal trade, and low capacity to provide basic services such as access to infrastructure, education, health and public safety to their populations (GUEDES; COSTA; BRONDIZIO, 2009). These are characteristics that need to be considered when implementing public policies.

Methodology

The research was of the exploratory, quantitative and descriptive type, aiming to present a territorialization of the PMCMV implementation process in the Amazon River Delta. The methodology adopted to develop this discussion was in a first step, to conduct a theoretical bibliographical survey about the housing issue in the country, opening a discussion regarding the inputs of different authors who have discussed the Program under the logic of space production.

To understand the issue, quantitative data were obtained from the Ministry of Cities (2018), related to the approval of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program projects, related to the municipalities of the Amazon River Delta, between 2009 and 2014. The Ministry data was made available through Excel® tables, and the dataset was related to the Program and its different modalities, approved for the fifty municipalities of the Delta during this period.

These tables refer to these different modalities that are classified by income brackets. For this article we used information on modalities: Residential Lease Fund (FAR), Public Offering, Entities and Rural. These data allowed the elaboration of maps, graphs and tables by using Arc-Map® geographic information system, facilitating the reading of the territory, understanding and interpretation of the PMCMV housing program in different municipalities of the Amazon River Delta.

A Brief Historical Overview of Housing Policy in Brazil and the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program

Brazil has changed in the last four decades. Its traditional agrarian economic profile gave way to a new industrial reality, producing urban densification in several municipalities. In this process the country was marked by serious problems arising from these changes. Among these problems, the emergence of the need to discuss the problem related to housing deficit and to establish public housing policies.

It was the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), during the Vargas Government, when the first housing policies emerged as a political mechanism with the purpose of affirming its image among the poorest population of the country (LIMA, 2007). The first initiative of this period was the IAP - Institute of Retirement and Pensions, which invested in the construction of housing for its members.

The Casa Popular Foundation (FCP) was created under the Eurico Gaspar Dutra government, through Decree-Law no. 9,218, of May 1, 1946. The purpose of this agency was to finance urban infrastructure works, as well as building materials industries, in order to lower housing costs. The FCP was solely responsible for the housing policies, which at that time were important public opinion matters (AZEVEDO and ANDRADE, 1983).

The National Bank for Housing (BNH), created in 1964, functioned until 1986, when it was extinguished. This Bank was connected to the Housing and Sanitation Financing Systems (SFH) and had an essential role in establishing and financing housing policies for the country (AZEVEDO and ANDRADE, 1983).

According to Azevedo (1988), and contrary to popular belief, BNH has not become a pro-business institution. In 1984, nearing the close of the BNH, the program JOÃO-DE-BARRO, Pró-Morar and the National Community Mutirão (collective work) were built, which, according to Sachs (1999), were self-construction programs targeting families with incomes up to a minimum wage and a half, living in small towns in the interior.

Between 1985 and 2003, federal government actions aimed at combating the housing deficit were minimal. One consequence was the increase in this deficit. The Individual Credit Card Program (PCCI), despite serving thousands of people, proposed between 1998 and 1999, was not the most appropriate solution to address the housing shortage problem (BATISTA, 2005, p.61).

Thus, the housing deficit became a major problem and challenge to be overcome by the Brazilian state. In 2000, the national housing deficit was 7,222,645 housing units, according to FJP (2015) data. In 2005, the National Housing Plan was proposed, including a discussion on the problem of social housing in the country, pointing out the need for a program that would lead the country towards reducing the housing deficit. With this plan, the federal government committed itself to developing and implementing a set of political actions capable of building a path to universalize access to decent housing for the Brazilian population by 2023.

In spite of this, the proposition of a national housing policy only materialized in 2008. The Senate approved the Conversion Bill (PLV) 11/09, related to Provisional Measure (MP) 459/2009, which established the My Casa Minha Vida Program and regularized settlements located in urban areas as well as addressing the housing deficit of families with incomes of three to ten minimum wages. The purpose of the program is to serve capitals, their metropolitan regions, and municipalities with more than 100.000 inhabitants, as well as to include under specific conditions, municipalities with between 50 and 100.000 inhabitants, according to their housing deficit. Since its creation in 2009, the PMCMV has undergone some adaptations, among them: the creation of PMCMV-Rural Modality and Entity Modality, both designed to minimize the national housing deficit.

The PNHR - National Rural Housing Program was proposed by the Federal Government within the scope of the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, with the objective of providing access to decent housing in the countryside to family farmers, rural workers and traditional communities, through building new homes or renovating existing ones (MOREIRA et al., 2017). PMCMV-Entity Modality is intended for granting of financing to individuals, contracts in the associative form for the construction of urban housing units. The target audience for this modality is families whose gross monthly income is limited to R\$ 1,800.00 (one thousand and eight hundred reais), with an income of up to R\$ 2,350.00 for up to 10% of the families included in each development, organized in associative forms (MOREIRA et al., 2017). In 2019, the PMCMV completed a decade of existence and, according to data from the Ministry of Cities (2018), to date 5.5 million housing units have been contracted,

with approximately 3.8 million housing units delivered. Despite the advances, the PMCMV has so far failed to stop the widening housing deficit in Brazil (FJP, 2015).

Although the results may be considered quantitatively expressive, they emerge in the midst of a number of specific difficulties and problems related to infrastructure and location, as the program is openly criticized for fueling urban land valorization and the construction of complexes that are in distant regions of the urban area (ARANTES et al., 2009, ROLNIK, 2015a; 2015b, RUFINO, 2015). Despite the pertinence of the criticisms to the program it is essential to emphasize that, due to constitutional responsibility, it is up to the municipalities to implement land regulation mechanisms that could minimize land appreciation, but these public administrations are not willing to confront real estate and financial capital powers.

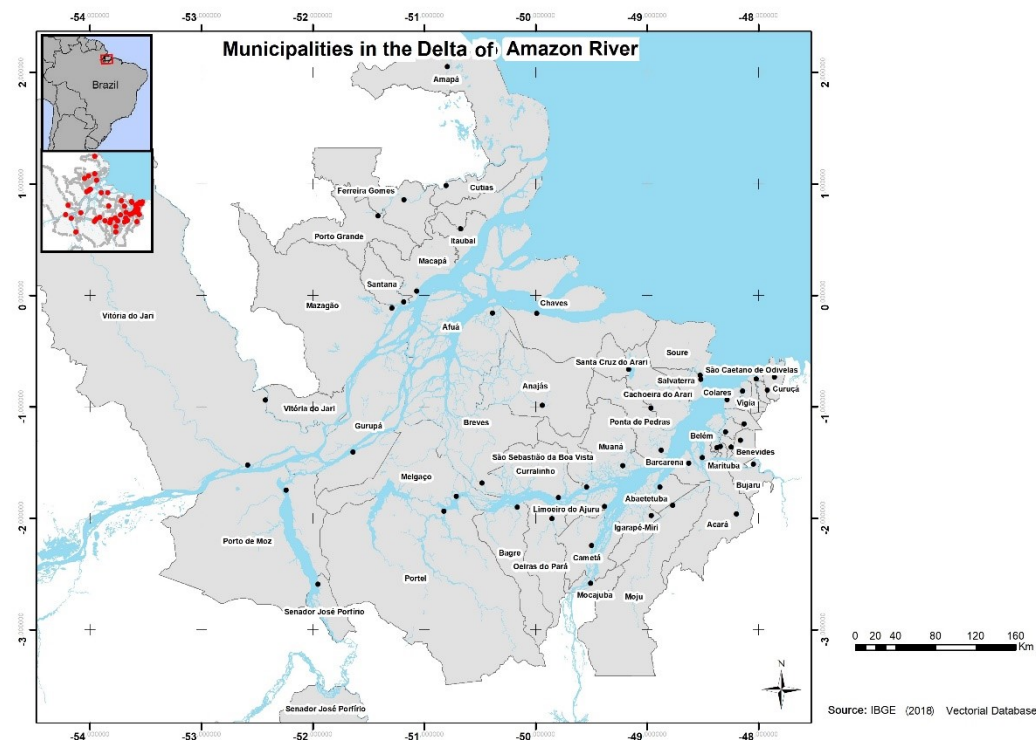
Considering these aspects, it is understood that there are distortions as well as quite positive results related to the implementation of PMCMV in different Brazilian municipalities. Many studies have addressed these issues in metropolitan spaces, including Lima et al. (2015), Rolnik (2015), Bonduki (2009). Regarding the small cities of the Amazon region, some authors have studied these issues, such as Rangel (2011), Santana and Holanda (2012), Sakatauskas (2015) and Costa and Santana (2017).

In the present article, our interest is directed towards understanding this policy in the regional dynamics of the Amazon River Delta. For this end, we present an overview of the Program in the municipalities of the Delta, to contextualize it in the regional aspect, differentiating the Urban, Rural and Entities modalities.

The Minha Casa Minha Vida Program and the Amazon river Delta municipalities

The Amazon river delta encompasses the North Channel of the Amazon river while the Marajó Bay conforms the South Channel (Figure 1). This tropical delta is dominated by tides and is characterized by a series of tributary rivers and islands between the states of Amapá and Pará in northern Brazil (MANSUR ET AL., 2016). According to the DELTAS project (2014), this area consists of 50 municipalities, of which forty-one are located in the state of Pará and nine in the state of Amapá.

Figure 1 – Amazon River Delta location



Source: Elaborated by the Authors, using IBGE (2019) data.

Difficulties in access to land (MARICATO, 2011, BLAY, 1978), especially for the poorer Brazilian population is reflected in a housing deficit, concentrated in higher percentages among the classes ranging from zero to five minimum wages. According to Maricato (2009), housing is a differentiated commodity, due to its relationship with the land. Each dwelling needs a piece of land for its realization. And bare land will not suffice, as there is a need of urbanized land, with connection to water, energy, sewage, drainage, quality public transport, and proximity to education, health and the supply chain.

The importance of the PMCMV in the context of diminishing the housing deficit for all regions of the Brazilian territory is well known. For the Delta, between 2010 and 2014, housing units related to different PMCMV modalities were delivered, and 46 (92%) administrative headquarters cities of the Delta municipalities were awarded projects of Track One Program. Track Two was predominantly targeted at Delta cities with more than twenty thousand inhabitants, totaling 32 cities (64%) and, for Track Three, 36 cities (72%) that received the projects had more than twenty thousand inhabitants.

Figure 2 shows the Program data for the modalities of social interest, linked to Track One. The modalities FAR (Residential Lease Fund), housing policy for municipalities with population below 50 thousand inhabitants, PNHR - National Rural Housing Program (Minha Casa, Minha Vida Rural), the public offering, related to investments destined to the low-income population, and the Entities modality were observed in the Delta Region.

Looking at the graph, there is predominance in the Delta of investments in the FAR category, responsible for 82.5% of the built units, which includes the Track One projects.

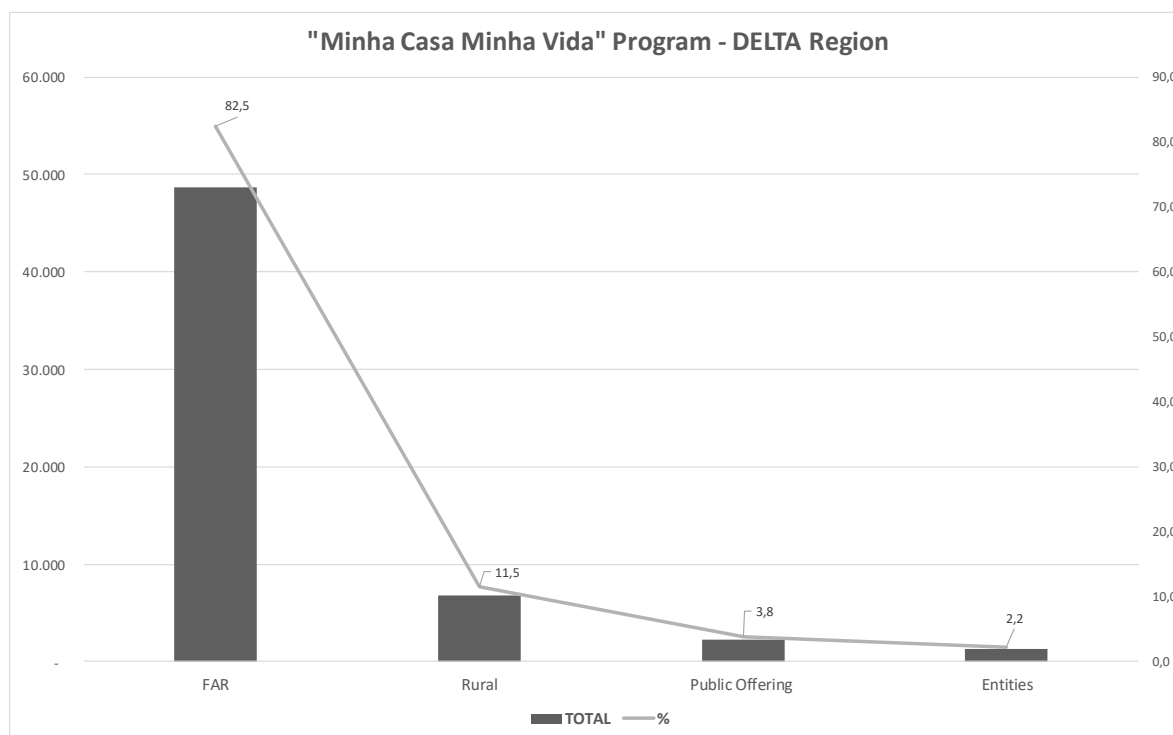
The rural modality accounted for 11.5% of the resources allocated to the housing sector. It is important to highlight that the PNHR - National Rural Housing Program was created through an initiative of the Federal Government under the PMCMV, with the purpose of assisting family farmers to build housing in the countryside.

This type of program allows citizens to be able to build a new house or even renovate the house they already own allowing them to get the financing to expand the house. According to data provided by the Ministry of Cities (2018), from 2009 to 2018, twenty-four of the fifty municipalities (48%) located in the Amazon River Delta, received PMCMV Rural resources, with a total of 6802 families.

The modalities of the social interest range are characterized by their source of funding and target audience, namely:

- (a) the Residential Lease Fund (FAR), for municipalities with a population of less than 50,000;
- (b) the Social Development Fund (FDS), for families in housing complexes or mixed cooperatives, associations and / or other non-profit private entities;
- (c) the Public Offering of Resources (OPR), which operates the Program's economic grants in municipalities with populations up to 50,000;
- (d) and the rural modality, for building or renovation of residential properties located in rural areas (MINISTRY OF CITIES, 2016).

According to data from the Ministry of Cities (2018), 2,256 new homes were built for this modality (3.8% of the total units built). It is important to highlight that this modality included twenty-nine of the fifty municipalities located in the Amazon River Delta, 58% of the total, being the municipalities of Soure, Ponta de Pedras, Almeirim and Porto de Moz, all of them in the State of Pará that were awarded by this modality. Each of the above-mentioned municipalities received 170 housing units.

Figure 2 – Main modalities of the Social Interest Track of the PMCMV in the Delta municipalities.

Source: Elaborated by the Authors, using data from the Ministry of Cities (2018).

The municipalities of Soure⁷ and Ponta de Pedras are located on the island of Marajó, near the state capital, Belem. The municipalities of Almeirim and Porto de Moz are 454 and 418 kilometers respectively distant in a straight line from the capital. Belem, as the largest city, also concentrates the largest housing deficit in the entire state⁸.

For the municipalities of the Delta, the Entities modality accounted for 2.2% of investments. For this modality, four municipalities located in the Delta were able, through the EO's to obtain funds from the federal government for housing building, namely: Barcarena, Belém, Cametá and Marituba, all located in the State of Pará. There were 1294 units built by PMCMV Entities for these four municipalities. In quantitative terms, the city of Barcarena was the largest beneficiary and received funds through the Entities modality that led the construction of 56% of the total units of this type, approved for the Delta, followed by the city of Belem, with 25%, while Cametá received 12% of the total units, and Marituba, 7%. It is important to highlight that the municipalities of Barcarena and Marituba are part of the metropolitan region of Belem (RMBelem), besides Belem itself, meaning that three of the seven municipalities of RMBelem received 83% of the total units delivered to the municipalities of the Delta under this modality. Table 1 presents these results aggregated by number of urban population.

Table 1 - Modalities of Social Interest, according to the urban population of the recipient cities of the Delta.

Urban Population	FAR	%	Rural	%	Public Offering	%	Entities	%
Less than 20 thousand pop.	521	1.1	2851	41.9	1860	82.4	0	0.0
From 20,1 to 100 thousand pop.	11875	24.4	3480	51.1	396	17.6	874	67.5
From 100,1 to 500 thousand pop.	26266	54.0	283	4.2	0	0.0	96	7.4
> 500 thousand pop.	9998	20.5	188	2.8	0	0.0	324	25.0

⁷ Soure is distant from Belém 84 km and Ponta de Pedras distant 40 km from Belem; the municipality of Almeirim is distant from Belem 455 km and Porto de Moz 418 km distant from Belem.

⁸ According to the João Pinheiro Foundation (2015), the housing deficit of the Belem RM is 101,835 housing units.

Source: Ministry of Cities (2018)

The FAR category was predominant (78.4%) in cities with 20.1 to 500 thousand inhabitants, with a peak for medium-sized cities with 100 to 500 thousand inhabitants. This category includes the cities of Ananindeua, Marituba, located in RMBelem, and Macapá, capital of the state of Amapá. The cities of Abaetetuba and Santa Isabel do Pará, also belonging to the RMBelém, as well as Santana, from the RMMacapá are among the cities of 50 to 100 thousand inhabitants.

The regional metropolis, Belem, received 21% of the units built by the FAR and Macapá and Ananindeua received 10,639 and 5,807 housing units, 20% and 22%, respectively, 42% of the total units built by this category. These two municipalities are part of the RMBelem.

Within the PMCMV RURAL category, there is a correspondence with the predominance of investments in municipalities that have a larger rural population than the those predominantly urban according to 2010 Census data (IBGE, 2018). However, it is noteworthy that Barcarena, located in RMBelem, an industrial-economy, based on alumina production, received 47% of investments in this category, among the municipalities with cities between 20.1 and 100 thousand inhabitants. It is important to highlight that among the municipalities that received most PMCMV funds under the rural modality, the municipality of Barcarena is the one with the largest rural population, according to IBGE (2018), as from its 99,859 inhabitants, 63,562 residents reside in the rural area. Carmo e Costa (2016), studying the characteristics of Barcarena's urban area, observed that there are two urban areas in Barcarena, following the discussion by Trindade Jr (2010): the municipality's administrative headquarters, Barcarena Velha, considered a forest city, and Vila dos Cabanos, a city in the forest, connected to the international market. This information explains another paradox in this article, because Barcarena, although not in fact a municipality with a predominance of rural population, received the largest investments of this modality from PMCMV.

The municipality of Curuçá, PA, was the second largest beneficiary of rural modality among the fifty municipalities located in the Amazon River Delta. Curuçá was awarded with funds for the construction of 708 housing units in the rural area of its rural domain. According to IBGE data (2018), the total population of Curuçá is 34,294 inhabitants, of which 22,120 inhabitants (65%) are rural residents, i.e. Curuçá is a municipality with a predominantly rural population. Santo Antônio do Tauá (PA) stands out as the municipality that received the third largest number of housing units of PMCMV Rural modality, having benefited 480 families. The total population of Santo Antônio do Tauá, according to the IBGE (2018), is 26,674 inhabitants, with 55% of the inhabitants residing in the urban area and 45% in the rural area of the municipality.

Considering the Public Offering category, a modality intended to direct resources for the construction of houses for individuals in municipalities with a population of up to fifty thousand inhabitants, 82.4% of the units were built in cities of up to twenty thousand inhabitants. Of the fifty municipalities located in the Amazon River Delta, 68% have a population of less than twenty thousand inhabitants and 74% have less than fifty thousand inhabitants. According to these data, there is a coherent rationale behind the distribution of these investments in the Delta, as the small cities in terms of population, predominant in the Delta, received the largest share of the resources destined for this modality. Among the fifty municipalities of the Delta, Itaubal (AP) is considered to have the smallest population, according to IBGE data (2018), with 4,265 inhabitants and predominantly rural population.

According to the data presented in Table 1, municipalities with a population between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants were granted 17.6% of the resources offered by the public offering. Twenty-nine municipalities (58%) received houses from the PMCMV public offer modality program, and the cities of Almeirim and Ponta de Pedras, located in the state of Pará, were the largest beneficiaries, each receiving 170 housing units.

From the data shown in table 1, it is possible to observe that municipalities between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants, and those with population over 500,000 inhabitants did not obtain resources of this modality. In this regard, the PMCMV Public Offering was targeted to the most deprived populations in need of this investment in the Delta region.

In the PMCMV-Entities category, 67.5% of the housing units were destined to cities with 20 to 100 thousand inhabitants. Among the cities of the Delta, thirty (60%) were in this category.

PMCMV-Entities included four municipalities belonging to the Delta between 2009 and 2018. They are: Barcarena, Belem, Marituba and Cametá. As mentioned, Barcarena and Marituba are

municipalities belonging to the RMBelem and they are inserted in the logic of the urban dynamics of the capital.

The municipality of Barcarena received 58% of the housing units delivered for this modality. The city of Belem appears in second place, with 26%, followed by Cametá, with 12% of the total housing units delivered. The municipality of Cametá is located 652 kilometers away in a straight line, from the city of Belem. The last of the list is the municipality of Marituba, with 8% of the units. Municipalities with population smaller than 20,000 inhabitants were not covered by PMCMV-Entities. Figure 3 shows the location of units built and delivered to the fifty municipalities located in the Amazon River Delta between 2010 and 2014.

According to the figure, in 2010, both capitals, Belem and Macapá were awarded the largest number of housing units. There is a greater concentration of units delivered in these cities, as well as in their surroundings. For the portion of the Delta in the State of Pará, it is noteworthy that the city of Belem was prioritized in addition to the municipalities that are part of its metropolitan region, such as the city of Ananindeua, which is integrated in a conurbation with the city of Belem.

It is possible to identify in 2010 that the number of housing units delivered for the distant areas of the Belem and Macapá Metropolitan Regions was lower than those delivered to the more central municipalities of the RM's. This fact appears even more striking when analyzing the municipalities of the Amapá Delta.

The inaugural booklet of PMCMV clarifies that the initial intention of the federal program was to serve the major capitals. It was only after the first PMCMV experiments in large cities that the federal government approved popular housing projects for small municipalities in the countryside (MINISTRY OF CITIES, 2009).

In 2011, the Federal Government delivered more intensive PMCMV units to the Belem metropolitan region compared to 2010. Data for this year show a higher number of housing units delivered in the metropolitan region. In contrast, for the region of Marajó Island, only one municipality was awarded with buildings by the federal program.

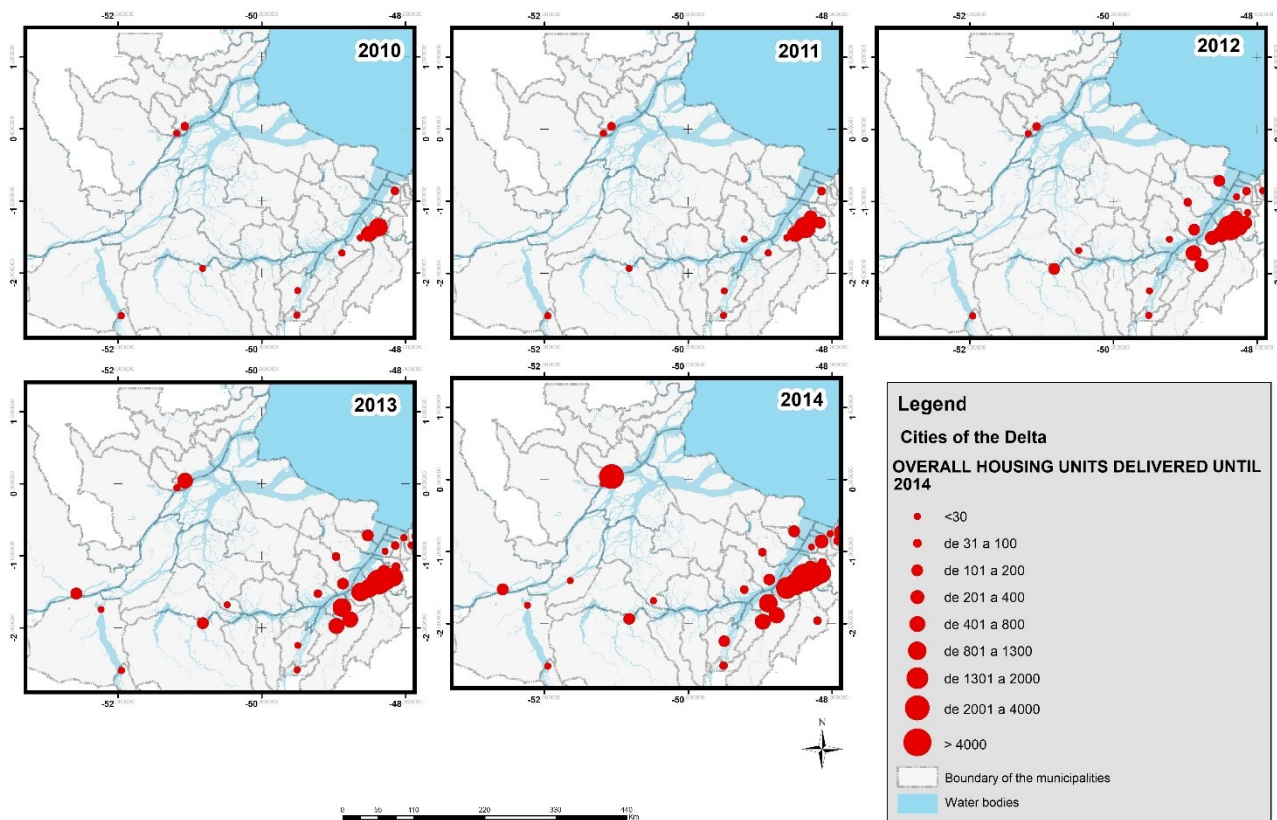
It is therefore understood that the concern of the Brazilian government was to intensify PMCMV's actions in the metropolitan region of the capital of the state of Para. In the state of Amapá, only the capital was awarded with the delivery of homes from PMCMV, while other municipalities of the State Delta were not prioritized.

In 2012, the PMCMV had already three years of activities, enabling the construction of houses throughout the Brazilian states and regions. This was a strategic year for the federal political sphere, due to the fact that it was an election year. Figure 3 shows that the municipalities of the Metropolitan Regions, which in 2010 added 80% of the Delta's urban population, benefited in terms of investment volume. In 2012, PMCMV was present in the metropolitan regions of Belem and Macapá, as well as in the other municipalities of Pará outside the metropolitan region, reaffirming Rolnik's observations (2015b). The federal government policy was able to reach the municipalities far from the capitals Belem and Macapá (on Marajó Island and those located in the coastal area of Pará and inland Amapá).

In the next year (2013) it was possible to notice a decrease in the number of municipalities covered by the PMCMV. It is noteworthy that the intensity of houses delivered to the cities of the metropolitan region of Belem and Macapá continued at the same pace, but this fact did not apply to the other municipalities of the Amazon River Delta.

PMCMV's policy in 2013 focused on metropolitan regions, where the housing deficit is highest, while investments in this program for other municipalities decreased. Among other observations, it is also noted that in the state of Amapá, the capital was the only area receiving PMCMV housing construction projects, while no other municipalities in this state had projects approved by the federal government housing policy.

Later, in 2014, PMCMV projects were again approved for some cities outside the Delta metropolitan axis, especially for those municipalities located in Marajó Island, PA.

Figure 3 – Housing units delivered in the Delta cities between 2010 and 2014, MCMV Program

Source: Elaborated by the Author, using data from Ministry of Cities (2018).

The program's approval policy, which had slowed down in terms of projects for cities outside the metropolitan Belem, began to give awards to small towns once more. Between 2010 and 2014 the Federal Government directed greater investments and a larger volume of PMCMV housing units to the municipalities located in the metropolitan region of Belem and from Macapa than for the fifty municipalities of the Amazon River Delta.

It is important to understand that in addition to the dynamism of the civil construction sector, another aspect to be taken in consideration is the appreciation of urban land driven by the PMCMV projects in the most diverse Brazilian cities, as discussed by Maricato (2011). Another aspect is the significant increase in urban sprawl in the country's large, medium and small cities.

Additionally, there is a mismatch between what was proposed in terms of housing units contracted for the municipalities, and what, in fact, was delivered. For the social interest modalities, in particular the Public Offering, aimed at municipalities with less than fifty thousand inhabitants, it was observed that for the fifty municipalities of the Delta region, a little over half of the total, twenty-nine (58%) were awarded projects under this modality. However, when comparing what was contracted with what was done, according to data from DeepAsk (2019), only twelve municipalities (24%) had units built and delivered, referring to the Public Offering modality, totaling 1656 units delivered, as opposed to 2256 contracted units, i.e. 60% success. The municipalities included were: Almeirim, Colares, Curuçá, Ponta de Pedras, Port of Moz, Santo Antonio do Tauá and Vigia, in which the projects were implemented in a concentrated manner through housing developments; and Cachoeira de Arari, Gurupá, Portel, São João da Ponta and Soure, where the houses were built on the plots of the awardees, in a "pulverized" format. All of these municipalities are located in the state of Pará.

The data obtained on the website of the Ministry of Cities (2018) for the Delta region state that, under the National Rural Housing Program - PNHR (MINISTÉRIO DAS CIDADES, PROGRAMA NACIONAL DE HABITAÇÃO RURAL, 2018, p.1), 6241 families received houses in the State from Pará, while 333 families were awarded in the state of Amapá, totaling 6574 families.

Although it is not the purpose of this analysis, using Google Earth in a preliminary location of these projects we observe a greater interest on the part of the municipalities to insert the houses

of the Program into the intra-urban space, predominantly settling the projects less than two kilometers from the center of small towns. This situation contrasts with other realities studied by different authors, such as Arantes et al. (2009); Rolnik (2015a, 2015b); Rufino (2015); Krause et al. (2013) Cardoso and Aragão (2013) among others.

Final Remarks

The spatial dynamics taking place in countless Brazilian municipalities, linked to the accelerated process of extensive urbanization produced urban spaces reaching places that until a few decades ago were not imaginable. This large, dispersed and sometimes concentrated urban fabric was able to house a large number of people who believed that the best opportunities for work, housing, accessibility, health and education were available to them in areas considered urbanized.

In general, the Brazilian urbanization process is associated with the difficulty of access to urban land and, above all, the absorption of a large part of the population that, by not being able to afford the high values of urban land prices, occupy cities in precarious ways. Often, this population is forced to occupy areas unfit for housing and effectively moved to the outermost areas of cities where public services cannot be fully available.

It was possible to understand that the PMCMV played an important role in combating the housing deficit in the municipalities of the Amazon River Delta, as a consequence of a the federal government's macro-policy (since 2009) acting with the purpose of delivering new housing to the population of this region, geographically distant from the larger centers of national politics.

Among all modalities, 2256 new houses were built in the public offering modality, which included twenty-nine of the fifty municipalities located in the Delta. These are important results for these municipalities, as they lack the financial conditions to fight the housing deficit independently, that is, they do not have their own resources to be allocated to the housing sector.

The importance of the PMCMV is undeniable in the context of the reduction of the housing deficit for all regions and cities of the Brazilian territory; and this reality also applies for the cities located in the Delta. Among the municipalities of the Region under study, between 2010 and 2014, 59,012 housing units were delivered related to the different modalities of the PMCMV. Data demonstrate that 92% of the administrative headquarters cities of the Delta municipalities were included in PMCMV development, especially in Track One. However, of the total of proposals, only 24% of the municipalities actually received the promised units.

Therefore these data reaffirm the hypothesis of the total dependence that these municipalities have on the macro-policies elaborated in the federal spheres and applied in different local realities. At the same time, they demonstrate an intention to avoid creating peripheries in spaces that are considered peripheral.

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