ARCHITECTURE AND CITY IN SOCIAL HOUSING PLANNING IN BRAZIL POST-1964. A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN THE PRODUCTION OF BNH/COHAB AND CEF/PAR IN CITIES OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO.

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ABSTRACT

By understanding social housing as State promotion, this article proposes to present a comparative study between federal housing policies in Brazil, particularly during 1964-1986 (through BNH/COHAB) and since 1999 (through CEF/PAR – Programa de Arrendamento Residencial). The study has as object the components of urban and architectural design and the public management in housing policies.

The research universe is the state of São Paulo, at municipalities in which COHAB was created in the 1960’s. Today three of them are centers of metropolitan areas (São Paulo, 1973; Santos, 1996; Campinas, 2002), and two of them (Ribeirão Preto and Bauru) are centers of administrative areas.

The study is based on mapping housing ventures promoted in two phases: (1) from 1964, when the national planning system was rearranged, inside the housing finance system (SFH) with centralized State management, resources managed by Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH) through Companhias de Habitação (COHAB), until 1986 with the assumption of the patrimony of BNH by Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF); (2) since 1999, the PAR ventures, with another land and urban logic and with joint management between the Union, municipalities and private entrepreneurs.

In the 1980’s and 1990’s, focusing on the period from 1986 to 1999, it has been functional the construction of a frame of references with a series of ruptures and experimentations of architectural and urban design from the criticism of the Modern Movement and the state model of extensive social housing production. These are our first results, after one year of research with the support of FAPESP, and three years working with five student’s researches with the support of several sources of scholarships for scientific initiation.

THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We search for establishing parameters for comparing the production of BNH (through COHAB) and CEF (through PAR), in the state of São Paulo – São Paulo, Santos, Campinas, Ribeirão Preto and Bauru - where the structuring of the housing

1 Residential leasing program operating by CEF – the national bank which finances housing and sanitation.
2 National Housing Bank (BNH) and operative local housing companies (COHAB).
financial system (SFH) from 1964, with the installation of the military regime in the country, and the foundation of BNH, settled the COHAB as promoters of the system. In these cities we study the social housing production process with State intervention and private action of builders from 1964, going through the three following periods:

(a) Massive housing and production of the peripheral city – through housing policy operated from 1964, when it took place the reorganization of the national planning system, the centralized State management with SFH resources managed by BNH and local operation, until 1986 when it was assumed by CEF.

(b) Experimentalism and the criticism of the modern project – in the 1980/90 ruptures and experimentations occurred in architecture and urbanism (Arantes, 1998), supported on criticism of the modern project and city and of the extensive housing production model in housing constructed by the State; we take as a milestone experience the municipal government of São Paulo city from 1989 to 1992, with a municipal housing policy based on diversity of project, right to architecture and the city (Bonduki, 1993), new practices of relationship between the State and social movements. This experience is here considered as a rupture with the disseminating massive character of social housing, whereas popular settlements as privileged places for the urban and contemporary design, architectural construction and adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1988 which incorporated proposals of urban reform in urban policy.

(c) Consolidation of contextualism in urban projects - from the milestone experience of São Paulo city, the following initiatives have been operating programs of intervention in popular settlements and new social housing, with contextualized characteristics and valorization of the place, consolidating the idea of "right to architecture". In 1999, CEF launches PAR with joint management between the federal government and private entrepreneurs; in 2001, the National Congress approves The City Statute regulating the constitutional chapter on urban policy. The technical-productive restructuring process is intensified in order to decrease the size of the State, by promoting the reuse of old industrial devolution land with new uses.

In this perspective, the central proposal of the investigative process is to study and compare the morphological characteristics of social housing venture of BNH/COHAB (considered here as a modern sign and producer of real cities in the periphery) and of CEF/PAR, because this program (which reasons interests us to examine) incorporated the format of controlled and segregated spaces, with few housing units and small plot of land within the urban plot. This format can be the result of both transformations of social participation processes of the years 1980 and the so-called "new economy"; while the housing of BNH were characterized by the deployment of new peripheral neighborhoods in large plots with a large number of dwelling units.

PARTIAL RESULTS LINKED TO SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

(1) The first research goal is to map the sets of SFH/BNH/COHAB and PAR/CEF in 5 selected cities, in the period April 1964 - March 2009 (beginning of the federal
operation with PMCMV – *Minha Casa Minha Vida* Program). The production of the period 1986-1999 will be essential to locate it within the context of the previous period and breaks in a new legal mark from the construction of the current Federal Constitution (1986-1988), when there is the strengthening of municipal autonomy and the popular urban reform movement, since the adoption of regulation of The City Statute (2001) and with large public investments retraction from the imposition of fiscal austerity in Fiscal Accountability Act. These transformations were accompanied by innovations in land management strategies made both within the mark of the reform of the State and the State-Society Relations reconstruction during the process of democratization. The research also aims to seize these new strategies in its correlation with the social housing establishment (for PAR). One of the important milestones in this strategic conformation by the State was the creation of the Ministry of Cities in 2003, relating directly to CEF through national secretariats – housing, environmental sanitation, mobility and urban programs.

(2) **The second objective** is to insert the research on social housing from the understanding of a context of economic transformations, around what has been understood as "productive restructuring", pressed by the so-called process of internationalization of economy, as well as from a new demographic dynamics, differentiated in relation to the period of intense national interregional migratory movements characteristic of the decades of 1960 and 1970, replaced mainly by intra-regional migration flows.

In this research the axis focuses in the defining hypothesis: If new territorial, social and economic processes are underway, new forms of social housing could be identified (housing deployed as closed residential condominiums), funded by the federal government through CEF, consistent with new patterns of use, occupation and securitization of defendants by the "new economy" and the ideology of denying the city. Therefore, the housing system promoted by BNH/COHAB - considered at the stage of collapse with the modern city, as massive, with low level of identity in the social fabric and promoters of an extensive urban sprawl - were also promoters of inclusion of huge amount of workers to the federal housing policy.

Furthermore, BNH sets, the so called "cohabs", had their projects linked to the idea of a modern city, with open public space and in direct relation to the buildings and dwelling units, without walls or physical boundaries. Another part of the hypothesis, after the break with this model of housing production, in early 1980s, coinciding with the country's democratization process and with the productive restructuring process intensified in the late 1990s, participatory processes of experimentation and project construction by mutual help took place and a new model of living to all social classes was spread, based on securitization of residential condominiums and closed blends, even spread within the "cohabs".

The production of PAR would be linked to this physical-territorial and public-private management model, which takes the form of "gated communities" for lower income strata of the population. These sets are located in less valued portions of the territory, since it concerns to the private promoter who accesses public funding, to take greater profitability of the enterprise, regardless of its popular nature. We could recognize that these new developments in urban fringes may have greater impact on municipalities in the interior of the state, while in São Paulo city it is more significant a "seam" of consolidated urban fabric interstices, due to acute lack of
new land throughout the city, by reorganizing the default value of the land in this municipality and counting on peripheral municipalities in the metropolitan area as a store of lower value for popular housing products.

This specific goal is the center of our research formulations, because it links political and economic system, national and international levels, with architectural and urban typologies in housing production promoted by State with private agent’s operators.

For this reflection it matters the correlation between modern city projects and social housing projects in the prior period to our exploration period (1930-1964) through the beginning of State action in housing production. The period 1930-1964 is a grant to our reflections on the modern design in the production of the BNH, incorporated into the formulation of typological promoted housing, which has its origin in the period immediately preceding with public promotion strongly marked by social housing development of modern precepts in housing complexes according to Bonduki (1996). By including the comparison between the production of the Retirement and Pension Institutes (IAP)/Founding of the Popular House (FCP)3 system, from 1930 to 1964, and what is produced by COHAB with resources from BNH, we see especial need to deepen this reflection.

The incorporation of components of modern ideas in the production of IAP / FCP was important, as stated Bonduki (1996) referring to the book "O Problema das Casas Operárias e os Institutos de Aposentadoria e Pensões" (1938) by Rubens Porto, "technical authority by the Ministry [of Labour, which was technical advisor to the National Council] to advise on the standardization of rules of action of IAPs." The modern ideas, primarily defended by Porto, includes the following eight components that should be present in the housing then promoted by the State:

- the construction of residential sets segregated from the existing city;
- the choice of building blocks;
- the limit to the height of the blocks;
- the use of Piloti;
- the adoption of the [apartment] duplex;
- the streamlined construction processes and the building of sets owned by autarchy groups;
- the articulation of the construction of housing with urban plans;
- the delivering of rationally furnished home."

(Bonduki, 1996, in Guerra, 2010, 97; our version).

The official production of the IAP/FCP system majorly incorporated all of these modern components for the formation of "modern city", bench by the State, through the establishment of the citizen in sets with a complete life's character in the neighborhood. To do this, a ninth "modern city" component should be indicated, says Bonduki (1996), since Porto defended the idea of these housing as "neighborhood units", with all public services and entities of the social life of the neighborhood. Some of these components remained in production of COHAB, despite the severe criticism built since the early 1980s, by a large group of architects, we included, together with Bonduki.

3 IAP – Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões; FCP – Fundação da Casa Popular.
Is our intention to “untangle” this criticism, as well as the urban and architectural composition of “BNH sets”, as Comas (1986) who is an important landmark and material to revisits to our research. Comas (1986) indicates a path to the criticism of these sets, including in the light of a modern ideal that was introduced in the country in the period immediately before and that, with the production of the military period would have been “bastard”. This vision of the bastard production in our studies appears as “reduction” of the modern movement in the COHAB/BNH. To Comas (1986, 127; our version), whose text articulates the reflection on housing and "project of the city", the modern project would be:

“The format of the ‘ideal modern city’ can be described as the accumulation of objects constructed in a continuous treated as a basically undifferentiated park, cut by highways and paths.”

Immediately prior to this conceptualization, he registers his understanding of – as he calls - "Brazilian architectural intelligentsia" criticism to the

“(…) BNH apartments sets, that would not be more than a “bastard” version, by speculative economic injunctions, of the ideal type of housing that their training recommended and that the residential [superblock] of Brasilia symbolizes." (Comas, 1986, 127).

Bringing together Bonduki (1996) and Comas (1986) as sources of "revisits" for our research, we sought to study the housing production of the military period also linked to the analysis of the construction industry in Brazil as counter-cyclical investment of the national economy. In this sense, we will be able to contribute to the understanding of this housing policy that ourselves, agreeing with Bonduki (2007), consider as the most comprehensive that the country has so far. Still, we think it is necessary to articulate these analyses for an understanding of the processes of rationalization, industrialization of construction and expansion of popular housing supply, by a large amount of fetched scholars and technicians, including during the period BNH, according to Koury (2003 and 2005).

Two important references still need to be displayed at this moment of partial advance registration of our reflections. The first is Vaz (2002, 145), directly relating "Modernity and Habitat", that gives us the articulation of the reflection of modernity “in the city and housing”, indicating how the apartment building is one of the components of a modern city.

The other reference, linked to the relationship “town/modernity” we found in Gorelik (1996), first when he relates the city as “motor of modernity” and introduces a periodization for Latin America, of the “expansive cycle of modernity”, in three phases: the first, at the end of the 19th century, liberal-conservative; then, the Vanguards, from the years 1920s, referring, among other intellectuals, to Le Corbusier; and the third refers to the revision of the Vanguards currently practices, post-Brasilia. The third moment of the cycle of modernity in expansion concerns us greatly, since it is the first milestone of our periodization:

“The third moment of the expansive cycle is already, as shown in the mention of Brasilia, contained in this revision of the Vanguards: the development moment. (…) the State will gather all the constructive tradition, incorporating in their midst the avant-garde instinct: the State becomes institutionally modern Vanguard and the city, her pick of modernization.” (Gorelik, 1996, without page; our version).

From there, his reflection is:
“...the rebuttal of that figure of "planning" as the last derivation of modernist normative, that will be born, very shortly afterwards, in Europe and the United States, the claim of the city actually existent through a variety of readings that would be gathered, so later, under the name of "Postmodernism". I am referring to the beginning of the sixties, the emergence of movements of reaction against "the alchemical promise of modernism". (Gorelik, 1996, without page; our version).

Precisely in this "rebuttal of planning", that takes place in Brazil in terms of resistance to military dictatorship, in which, in the continuity of periods in this research at the beginning of the decade of 1980, it took place the struggle for democratization, the weakening of the military government project and the extinction of the BNH ("poorly explained" according to Maricato, 2009). On this denial to the previous period, it took place a new organization of a set of new proposals for housing production, with participation of future residents, in smaller sets, the contextualized design for the neighborhood and in the light of the demand, which is being assumed by technicians who make the criticism to the production of "BNH sets". Conversely, in historical terms, this period (of "return to town" after Gorelik, 1996), is rich in terms of architectural and urban propositions – including social, with proposals of collectivization of urban land, one of the points in the original modern project – is also an intense reorganization of the contemporary productive base, or productive restructuring.

This productive restructuring is not just in industry, trade and services, but also in the form of production of the city increasingly expanded horizontally, with condominium housing in the urban sprawl. This production of city is "fragmented and dispersed" (Reis Filho, 2006 and Reis Filho; Tanaka, 2007), including the standard "gated as satellites of the cities". It would be in this fragmented and dispersed pattern of city, which in the late 1990, when PAR is finally released by CEF, we analyze it compared to the period of SFH/BNH/COHAB, and we notice that its production is contextualized, but now by the private initiative of the construction business that designs the condos, either vertical or horizontal, in standard form-condominium, or, in other words, new small housing, segregated by walls.

From urban point of view, most of these sets are mid-sized cities in peripherals and, in São Paulo, its location is quite different due to the conformation of the real estate market: the absence of large peripheral areas, reconstruction in central land previously used by industries, among other features. This observation should be deepened since certainly provides us dissonant elements as our wording on research project indicates at the beginning of this section.

Our studies linked to this research have broadened to the understanding of the process of horizontal growth of cities and in fragmentary form. At the same time, we notice that, from the point of view of the real estate and of the proposition of housing projects for low-income lower classes, much remains the same, owing to the maintenance of the land price relationship commuting peripheral x central. Maricato (2009) indicates the absence or low incidence of labour issues and conditions in housing production and construction; the general determinations of the capitalist mode of production is a gap in the development of studies on housing, or rather about the housing shortage that after Maricato (2009, 39), is produced as a determinant of the capitalist system.
(3) The third objective in our studies is to address the aspect of management, housing production in both territories linked to modern/modernist ideals represented by "cohabs" and in exclusionary and segregated territories, promoted with public financing of CEF, considering the following reflections:

- The emergence of new territorial configurations in the form of "gated community" took place at the time of the country's institutional redevelopment, with the strengthening of local authorities from the new Federal Constitution of 1988, along with the dismantling of the structures of financing and regulation of urban development, which were concentrated on SFH/BNH/COHAB.
- In urban field, the management was very driven by the agenda of urban reform, with strong influence of tariff provision of social housing and recognition of the rights of possession that spawned the concept of "living in the center" (initial concept of PAR) absorbed by municipal administrations and federal programs.
- We are investigating whether new social housing sets produced in the marquee and financed with resources from the CEF, could provide a significant sampling of projects that meet the criteria for assessing a quality architectural production.

This specific objective links with the deepening on the trajectory of each municipality studied within the production of social housing, as well as on the own production of the city, especially in terms of the understanding of legal instruments applied during the period delimited. The aspect of management is important for our reflection to understand the differences and similarities of territorial production between metropolitan and non-metropolitan cities, between the large towns and medium-sized ones, among other factors.

ISSUES IN PERSPECTIVE

This survey is part of a research path which starts with our dissertation (1998), unfolds in PhD thesis (2005) and which extends to our joining as lecturer and researcher at USP, since 2007. In the dissertation, when comparing the State housing production in São Paulo and Madrid in the period 1976-1992, we faced the issue of housing projects in a period that was incorporating the idea of popular participation – of future residents – in the definition of the elements of the project. At the same time, both to São Paulo and Madrid, we noticed that the "modern" language of housing produced in earlier times had been rejected in favor of a language increasingly "traditional" or, in the vision of Gorelik (1996), about the "return to town". For example, for São Paulo, the village and, for Madrid, the closed court from Cerdà.

This observation became denser in our doctoral thesis which, although in urban and metropolitan planning field, with the analysis of large urban projects and its internal logic and combined in urban operations; we were able to make contact again with popular housing typologies that responded to varied languages and morphologies, including modern language.

Our hypothesis was that remained a modern attitude in the logic of the proposition of large projects analyzed, i.e. "an inclusive logic, although it arises in an exclusionary practice", which vision relates to a practice still in place of the modern
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project, one of the main conclusions of our thesis (NEGRELLOS, 2005), already had appeared in our master's degree masterminded by Villasante (1989), studying the proposition of the new social housing neighborhoods in Madrid, though contextualized and, sometimes, “traditional” design, that maintained “modern” elements as the block that releases soil and large free surfaces, supposedly for leisure and collective meeting that become in "no man's land", also referred by Comas (1986).

The first period Vargas (1930-1945) and the period 1946-1964, both with the IAP/FCP system, are important because there is “cohesion” between State project and technical project that made possible an aggregation analysis in the link between housing project and city project. Modern city was the city thought in its entirety to all social classes (not necessarily egalitarian) with a clear location for all uses.

The reflections of Martins (1987), about the relationship between State and Modern Architecture are keys in this sense, since he deeply analyzes that certain “cohesion” between the State and “the modern” in Vargas State, in terms of opportunities and discourses generated by each sector and leveraged by another. The city, from the break with this reflection – despite of Brasilia in populist period, that would be the pinnacle of a project of the Vanguards (Gorelik, 1996) – will suffer the untying between State project and technical project (including separated by issues of political persecution, strongly prevailing in the military regime); therefore, the BNH project for cities already considered their fragmentation, i.e., the location is the mere - and here mere isn't "anything" - link to the issue of land ownership and cost-effective, reducing to the "business rationality" the production of the city through neighborhoods of social housing, despite the appearance of a modern city due to typological use of soil releasing blocks.

The connection between social housing and architecture, a central issue since the formulation of modern ideology, follows as a vigorous theme of investigations, including by its weight on important orientation to public housing policies. So, the main means and methods to meet this challenge are referred to the confrontation of that debate, especially in terms of consideration of urban and architectural production of the BNH with modern sign production, despite his authoritarian and centralized character as public policy of military governments of 1964-1984.

The confrontation of two periods so distinct passes through the construction of a table of variables to different cities, analysis among various typologies and public policies in a timely manner and differentiated public agencies. This challenge remains, and now seems even more crucial, once searched 4 of 5 selected cities, since we were able to observe the variety of types in the predominant typologies: vertical multi-family/apartments and horizontal/isolated houses in single-family lot.

To carry out the project, we had the general idea about the sets of COHAB as spot releasing blocks arranged for soil free areas (as in Comas (1986) in terms of a "modern" project of the city) (Figures 1 and 2). When performing the field research – both in obtaining data on the technical visit, we observe a variety of sets primarily in urban situation of residential sets. Thus, peripheral locations were consistent with vertical multifamily blocks, as in the case of São Paulo, as well as the horizontal single family typology is preferential in the mid-sized cities.
On the other hand, in Ribeirão Preto and Campinas, we have the vertical multi-family typology near to the city center (Figures 3 and 4). For Santos, with a special urban forming in the insular part, the typologies occur indifferently to location.
Another issue initially formulated, regards to the correlation type/age of the residential sets. The case of Campinas (Figure 3) gives us a relative novelty, i.e., all first selected sets were deployed in horizontal single-family typology and only in 1974 the first vertical set occurred and, even then, only with more ground and one deck, practically overlapping units. In Campinas, due to this initial finding, we should include another vertical multifamily laminar block type, for example, to check with other cities in which this type was found.

With virtually all municipalities covered, we are organizing a typological/morphological framework that could enable the composition of a
comparative matrix between the municipalities not always seek to coincidence, but also the differences and contradictions.

Preliminary comparative matrix components that can be: 1. the territorial and economic equation of the 5 municipalities and their regions; 2. the physical and geographical situation – of the municipalities and their regions; 3. the location in city/in the municipality of both periods; 4. the urban and architectural typological framework found in each municipality, involving: (a) the scale of the sets, both on the surface and in number of units/families; (b) the constructive system; 5. the types of housing and neighborhoods linked in typological framework.

We want to delve in typological morphological theme (multi-family and single family in the same residential set) promoted by the politics of BNH/COHAB, strongly incident in some municipalities, especially the largest such as São Paulo and Campinas. This articulation is, preliminarily, both seeking rationalization about income from land and building on the types available in the history of popular housing promotion that, since the beginnings are linked to the private promotion by the industrial entrepreneurs, has used the "little house" twinned or isolated in the batch as a "solution" to the workers housing (Vaz, 2002). The State has assumed this typological framework since its entry into the scene, in 1930, with Vargas, even when, according to Bonduki (1996 and 1998), it gives importance to the diversification of production when typological IAP/FCP system. Recently, with Minha Casa, Minha Vida Program, this assumption of single-family houses/horizontal isolated typology at lot has been so intense and dramatic, mainly by its occurrence after so many experiences of quality architecture.

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