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NFRASTRUCTURE, HOUSING AND REAL ESTATE PRODUCTION MARKET IN THE REMODELED METROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the relationship between the development of real estate market production and public infrastructure. The study deals with the case of the city of Curitiba during the period from 1971 to 1983, a time marked by the accomplishment of large urban remodeling projects, as well as the definition of new and rigid parameters of land use and occupation. In this context, the real estate sector reorganizes and innovates its production, highlighting the improvement of sales techniques, the search for new strategies for the presentation and the diffusion of the projects to the consumers; As well as the creation of cultural values and social "needs" in tune with the market.

KEYWORDS

Housing. Space production. Urban infrastructure. Public space.



<HTTP://DX.DOI.ORG/10.11606/ISSN.2317-2762.POSFAU.2019.123685>

Pós, Rev. Programa Pós-Grad. Arquit. Urban. FAUUSP. São Paulo, v. 26, n. 48, e123685, 2019.

INFRAESTRUTURA, HABITAÇÃO E PRODUÇÃO IMOBILIÁRIA DE MERCADO NA METRÓPOLE REMODELADA

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa relações entre desenvolvimento da produção imobiliária de mercado e infraestrutura pública. Aborda o caso da cidade de Curitiba durante o período de 1971 a 1983, momento marcado pela realização de grandes projetos de remodelação urbana, bem como pela definição de novos e rígidos parâmetros de uso e ocupação do solo. Nesse contexto, o setor imobiliário reorganiza e inova sua produção, destacando-se o aprimoramento das técnicas de venda, a busca de novas estratégias para apresentação e divulgação dos empreendimentos aos consumidores e a criação de valores culturais e “necessidades” sociais sintonizadas com o mercado.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Habitação. Produção do espaço. Infraestrutura urbana. Espaço público.

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to analyze the relation between public infrastructure and the development of the real estate market production from the case of the city of Curitiba (1971-1983), noted as an "example" of intervention in large centers and referenced as an expression of "vanguard" in urban planning. The premise is that this recognition occurred because the plan prevents the "disordered" and "spontaneous" urban growth of the metropolis, defining and applying guidelines and proposals, and articulating matters such as development and prediction of urban expansion, mass transportation, environment, public space valorization, urban identity, historical heritage, respect to the pedestrian scale and improvement of the quality of life for city users and residents. It should be noted that, during this same period, the city also witnessed a significant real estate "boom", exemplified by the significant increase in the number of new private enterprises. The process of urban transformation reverberated in the dynamics of the construction industry, a fact that led the industry itself to characterize the moment as a "real estate boom", evidenced by the significant increase in the number of new private enterprises. Considering the context marked by the changes defined by urban planning, how did the real estate market behave in Curitiba? Is the idea of "success" conferred on Curitiba's urban planning correlated with the lavish development of real estate production for the purpose of accumulating capital through differentiated space?

For the development of the proposed discussion, several sources of research are used for the present article including the local press, such as the newspapers *Gazeta do Povo* and *O Estado do Paraná*, and documentation related to IPPUC - Curitiba Urban Planning and Research Institute and City Hall of Curitiba. The institutional documentation includes master plan, land use and occupation legislation, municipal decrees and specific urban projects carried out in the period. Construction permits and construction completion certificates were also consulted, allowing the verification of the real estate growth and the location of the enterprises in the period of implementation of the projects in which they were. Regarding the methodological procedures, the research simultaneously analyzed the documentary aspects related to the various projects carried out in the period of 1970 a 1983 and, at the same time, sought to verify, through the press, the expectations and the positioning of the real estate sector in relation to urban proposals.

The reflection on the proposed theme of this article finds theoretical support in authors dedicated to the analysis of space production. In this perspective, the proposed approach, besides recognizing the importance of the space for the accumulation of capital (MARX, 1985; LEFEBVRE, 2002 e 2008; HARVEY, 1980 e 2011; GOTTDIENER, 2010; PEREIRA, 1988), seeks to understand social, political, economic and cultural relations that involve the production of these new spaces (POLANYI, 2000; JAPPE, 2013). Considering the context of a society organized under the principles of the market, the space acquires particular importance of the construction of the city itself, because, as Lefebvre emphasizes (2008, p. 118, griffin of the author) "the construction (private or public) has provided and still provides more than average profits [...] in it and through it, through mediation - space - money produces money".

It is emphasized here the importance of considering urban planning, intervention projects, "revitalization", urban expansion or availability of infrastructure, the interests that are at stake, particularly those related to land ownership (space), relatively organized and articulated, both politically and ideologically, with the objective of maximizing land use, promoting development according to its economic objectives, in other words, profit from the growth of the city (MOLOTCH and LOGAN, 1987).

The article is organized in two stages. Initially, characterization of the process of spatial transformation and presents the main projects implemented in the period of 1970 to 1980. It then examines interests related to real estate market production, and the efforts to try to influence urban growth and development, during the context of the implementation of large urban projects. The analysis addresses the positioning of the real estate sector in relation to large urban projects, the strategies applied to influence the production of the space, considering the political ideological dynamics.

THE URBAN REMODELING OF CURITIBA

From 1971 to 1983, large urban interventions were carried out, making the city a real "construction site", changing the landscape and defining the future growth and expansion of the principal city of Paraná. Of particular note are the implementation of the structural axes and the mass transportation system, opening of new avenues, improvements in squares and roads, urban afforestation program, creation of exclusives pedestrian areas, "revitalization" of the city center, institution of the "Historical Sector", implantation of the CIC - Industrial City of Curitiba, inauguration of large public parks and green areas for leisure and environmental preservation; as well as to this, are added the definition of new and rigid parameters of use and occupation of the soil, stimulating the expansion and the densification along the structural axes; expansion of the water supply system and the sewage network, amog other projects.

The spatial transformations were also denominated and presented to the society as a process of "humanization" of the city (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/18/1979) providing functional and aesthetic qualities "indispensable" to the "orderly" development of a future metropolis. This, the predominant discourse in the administrations of the mayors Jaime Lerner (1971-1975 and 1979-1983) and Saul Raiz (1975-1979), period in which the implementation of large urban projects took place.

Among the most important infrastructure works carried out, stood out the structural axes (Image 01). The Master Plan of 1966 refers to two large and extensive avenues to be deployed in the city, the North Structural Avenue and the South Structural Avenue, justified in order to "seek a development of the city in the northeast-southwest direction" (IPPUC, 1966, p. 52). Along these axes "should be the linear shopping center, that is, trade will expand to neighborhoods because modern planning no longer conceives a compact center as in São Paulo, for example" (O ESTADO DO PARANÁ, 07/16/1972). The new

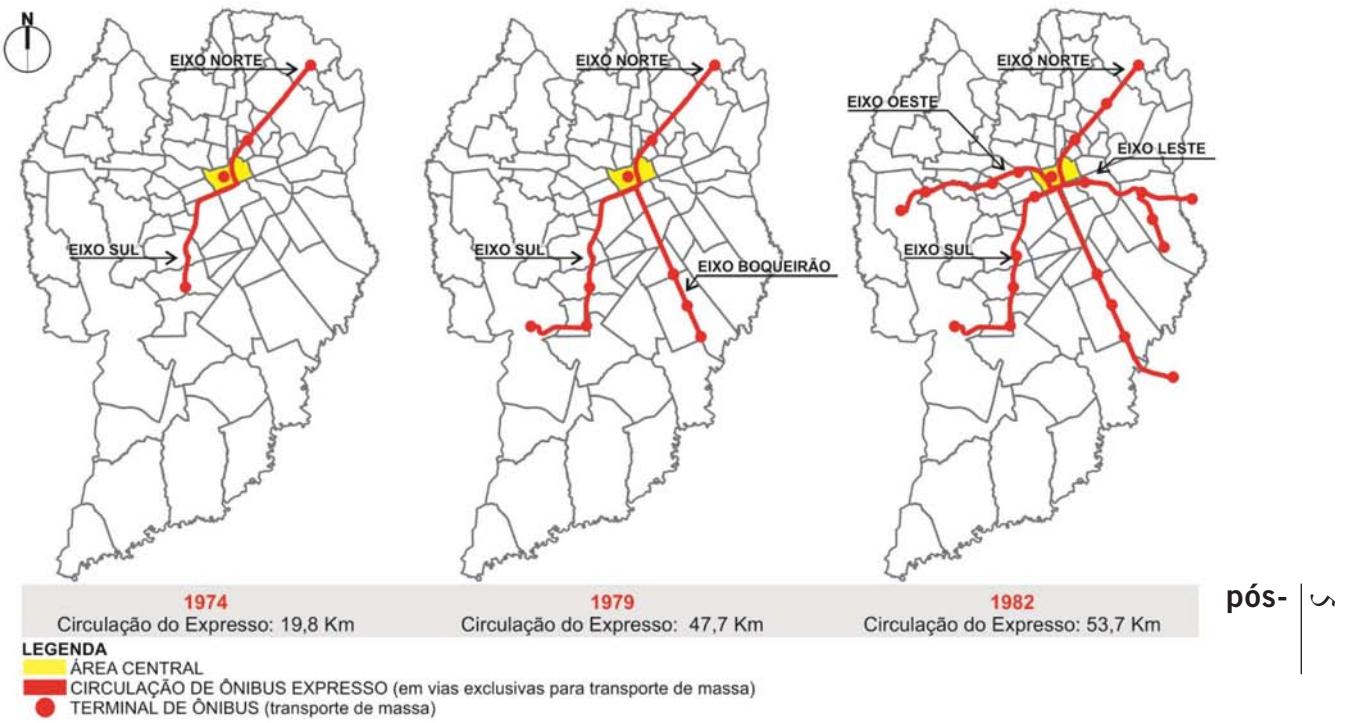


Image 01 - Structural Axes and expansion of the Integrated Transport Network (1974 to 1982).
Source: IPPUC, 1989, p. 65. (Data edited by the author).

routes would allow center-neighborhood connections and direct circulation between neighborhoods, without the need to go through the central core, decongesting the traffic in that area.

The North and South structural axes were opened in the period of 1971 to 1974. Subsequently, studies and projects were developed for the implementation of the other axes with mass transportation system, such as the Eastern Axis and the Western Axis, both inaugurated in 1980 (IPPUC, 2009, p. 233).

The implementation of the structural axes and the Structural Sectors - areas with specific legislation to boost the densification - represented the expansion of the city and a new pattern of urban development - convenient to the construction industry -, promoting, along those avenues, new constructions and enterprises, the establishment of services and housing, conciliating them with the mass transportation and the circulation facilities.

With the new urban planning guidelines, the real estate sector reorganizes its production. In addition to issues such as availability and acquisition of land, location and the process of building construction stands out the improvement of sales techniques, new strategies for the presentation and dissemination of entrepreneurship to consumers, as well as the creation of cultural values and social "needs" attuned to the market.

INFRASTRUCTURE BOOSTS REAL ESTATE MARKET PRODUCTION

With the new urban planning guidelines, the real estate sector reorganizes its production. In addition to issues such as availability and acquisition of land, location and the process of building construction stands out the improvement of sales techniques, new strategies for the presentation and dissemination of entrepreneurship to consumers, as well as the creation of cultural values and social "needs" attuned to the market.

In a medium to long-term perspective, the idea of coordinating the growth of the city represented advantages to the real estate production of the market and to the construction industry. The structural axes and the new urban infrastructure provided new fonts for the expansion of the sector, as well as commercial activities and services; appropriation of new spaces by private initiative, indispensable for the realization of the enterprises; and the opportunity to diversify the real estate product, which, due to the proximity or insertion of new equipment, differed from other existing spaces.

The "valorisation" of capital, according to its particular insertion in the dynamics of real estate production, is closely related to the production of the city, since urban expansion and infrastructure deployment influence prices in the real estate market and collaborate directly to increase the assumed value of space (PEREIRA, 1988, p. 15).

As Lefebvre points out (2002, p. 142), the space is no longer just the place where the productive work is carried out, whether of an industrial, extractive or land tenure, to become a true "artifact" of capitalist product. The appropriation of space by the dominant groups has always occurred throughout history as a dispute over its production, but the new and current aspect would be in the production of social space, because in it contemporary capitalism "found an encouragement in the conquest of space, in trivial terms, in real estate speculation, in major works (inside and outside cities), in the purchase and sale of space" (LEFEBVRE, 2002, p. 143).

The media played a significant role in the rise of real estate market production, influencing key issues for the sector, such as the legitimacy of private interests over collective space, the fetishization of products, the stimulation of social "needs", and symbolic representations consistent with this segment of the market.

The press attaches significant importance to the "private initiative" (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/25/1973, p. 6), in several areas as services, commerce, industry, housing and urbanization. It is noteworthy that such relations, concerning the private initiative, have generally been approached as indispensable to "progress", social and economic development. These arguments and pretexts gradually strengthened the idea of the "duty" of the State to make available, with the endorsement and knowledge of society, the infrastructure to the so-called "productive sectors". Although the considerable incentives granted by the State do not constitute themselves as "productive", ideologically this "development takes place under the sign of growth" (GOTTDIENER, 2010, p.

260), that is, they present such concessions and incentives as beneficial to the improvement of the quality of life of the entire population.

The success in the transformation of the city and the configuration of a new urban aesthetic, from 1971, characterized by the new residential, service or commercial buildings, as well as by the new public spaces was also attributed to the participation of the private sector, notably the benefits provided by the construction industry, even as the role estate consortia, credit institutions and insurance companies responsible for providing financial conditions to companies, besides financing and credit for consumers to gain access to real estate.

Urban projects and real estate production received generous coverage of the media, contributing to "the projection of the image of our principal city" (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/25/1973). The newspapers of local circulation, besides the national press, published in their pages reports allusive to the development of the city, to projects carried out or in progress, usually accompanied by illustrative material such as photographs, images and drawings:

Today Curitiba occupies a prominent place in the national urban scenario. [...] The projection of the image of our principal city was treated with care by those in charge of the publicity, who, in some cases, surpassed the image of the State itself: this in various sectors, such as tourism, culture, artistic promotions and landscape infrastructure works. (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/25/1973)

In addition to the infrastructure available and the new criteria of occupation and use of the soil, the real estate market production also benefited from the projection of the image of the "humanized city", the "new" way of life and its adjacent cultural values. Accompanying the realization of urban projects, the real estate sector acted to differentiate its products, articulating discourses directly related to or referring to the idea of "humanization" of urban space, differentiating the "new" enterprises from the so-called "monstrous agglomerates" (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/29/1974).

The marketing adopted by the builders and developers, in addition to the distinguish presentation of their residential and commercial spaces, using images, photos and perspectives of the architectural projects, also sought to influence and "guide the public's taste", elaborating and stimulating values and social relations compatible with the interests of the market:

*RESPONSIBILITY OF WHO BUILDS AND WHO BUYS
Curitiba is a city still young, in the middle of growth. But already with a definite personality, a style proper, reflecting the way of life its population. To make it continue or, still better, become more and more beautiful and human, without losing its characteristics, it is the task of each one of its inhabitants. But the greatest responsibility undoubtedly belongs to those who, in one way or another, can influence the matter, either by their decision-making power or by their influence with the public they can hold.
In this role we can logically include municipal administration and the disclosure parts. But we can not forget the companies that are dedicated to the industry or commerce of the construction industry. Through a good selection of*

projects, from the choice of facades to the areas to which they are destined and many other items within their reach, they can decisively influence the beautification of the city. Or, on the contrary, for the depersonalization of its streets, adorned by massively suchlike constructions.

AESTHETICS AND COMFORT

"Real estate developers and real estate sellers can even guide public's taste by showing people that a house that is beautiful and suited to the personality of its owners and to the physiognomy of the area of the city where it is located can cost the same as a house of common aspect, even vulgar, although endowed with comfort". (GAZETA DO POVO, 06/20/1976)

The ideological strategies, besides collaborating to legitimize the political or economic power of a particular group or social organization that drives urban growth policies (MOLOTCH; LOGAN, 1987), also act to stimulate "needs", "desires" and symbolic representations in the members of a society, imposing a model of life or pattern of a social relation:

What is the place of culture in a market society, where everything is subject to supply and demand, competition and the will to buy? [...] Alongside the production of goods and services, through which a society tries to satisfy the vital and bodily needs of its members, this same society also creates numerous symbolic constructions. In these, society elaborates its representation of itself and of the world in which is inserted and proposes, or imposes, to its members, identities and modes of behaviour. The production of meaning may, depending on the circumstances, play as great role - if not greater - than that of satisfying primary needs. (JAPPE, 2013, p. 206)

The creation of social identities and behaviors contributes to legitimize the appropriation and monopoly of space and the production of the metropolitan space, characterized by the weight of the relationships of urban, real estate and financial spoliation, in which "whole space enters into production as a product through purchase, sale and exchange" (LEFEBVRE, 2002, p. 143). Under the principles of the market, productive activities, including the construction industry, are determined by exchange values and "profit motivation substitutes the motivation for subsistence" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 60). Natural resources, instruments of labor, means of production, the human labor force, housing and the construction of the city are converted into commodities, where the purpose is to accumulate capital.

The advertisement of the new real estate developments stated the promotion of improvements in the quality of life, especially regarding to housing. The image of the "humanized city" was used by real estate interests in various aspects: the real estate product incorporating material, functional and aesthetic differentials (living spaces, contact with nature, internal and external decorative elements, thermal and acoustic comfort, accessibility, among others), and the real estate product as part of the city, that is, when it differs precisely because of the proximity to the area with urban equipment or infrastructures, as, for example, parks, squares, leisure areas, mass transportation services, major roadways, sewage systems, among others:

The growth that Curitiba has been experiencing in recent months is causing the city's own to change rapidly.

This has led the Curitiba citizens to a reformulations of the mentality, that is being made notice even in the business area..

An example is the business sector, where the succession of launches built in identical patterns was leading the population of Curitiba to a lack of real estate option.

With the expansion of the city, the construction companies themselves have tried to refine their launches, including some news to rekindle consumer interest.. (GAZETA DO POVO, 08/31/1975).

Seeking to "streamline the launches", the real estate ads highlighted their differentials, from the internal furnishing of the apartments, the exclusive leisure equipment for the residents, to the advantages of "location". For many construction companies, "advantages" and "novelties" represented "new marketing concepts that have revolutionized our sales" (GAZETA DO POVO, 08/31/1975), fundamental to avoid "endless marasm" and to attract potential residents and investors. In the case of the residents, the differentials conferred exclusivity in relation to the other residential buildings, while for investors, or those who acquired properties for the purpose of renting or subsequently selling, such characteristics would justify prices above the average of the local real estate market, representing an excellent source of income :

[...] a real estate operation is a very good deal for the investors because it is super-guaranteed and solid, with right valuation. Some time ago the investors was reluctant to buy a property at a point farther from the city and did not believe much in the words of the broker, on the grounds that the business would be bad there, etc. The vertiginous growth of Curitiba made this mentality change and today the investor fully believes in the real estate company. (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/08/1974).

A number of enterprises have resorted to a similar strategy, highlighting particularities and advantages of new spaces for housing, work or services, as well as the relationship of buildings with urban equipment and existing public infrastructure in the area where they were located. The ads stands out, through images, illustrations, photos and drawings, the proximity of the property with public squares, parks, leisure areas, mass transportation terminals and other services, suggesting advantages and exclusivity to reside in the vicinity of the spaces, inserted in a neighborhood with infrastructure, which represented a differential in relation to locations without equipment, and therefore constituted a factor that influenced the capitalization of income.

The visualization of companies and new ventures was indispensable for success in the thriving, but fierce, real estate market of Curitiba. Aware of the competition inherent to the sector itself, as well as the need to continually conquer consumers, whether they are future residents or investors, companies have implemented innovations in the area of marketing.

The diversity present in these strategies was related to the perspectives, objectives and experience of each company, even as to the particularities of each property, whether the time available for sale, the target social layer in the negotiations, type of financing, location, capitalization expectations and others.

The reference to the mass media as the most appropriate and advantageous resource for the disclosure of real estate developments, was evidenced in reports and news articles :

Analyzing market behavior in advance and basing its studies on concrete data [...] makes the launches of its ventures though safe and well-founded marketing plans. This marketing program aims to offer to the purchasing market a package of products that really come to the interests of future users, as well as the places of implementation of the projects and the type of housing.. (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/14/1977, p. 12)

The work in the marketing area was not limited to the creative presentation of the new real estate products to the potentially consumer public but involved the development and elaboration of more complex plans and studies, among which, the early analysis of market behavior. This analysis sought to consider the "interests of future users", the needs, the disposition and the economic conditions of the buyers, making it possible to launch in the market ventures tuned with such longings.

To this purpose, symbolic, aesthetic and functional elements were incorporated into real estate, distancing them from existing mass standards, offering the possibility of customizing the project according to the expectations of the client, providing private and exclusive equipment, as well as proximity to the public infrastructure. These factors and procedures directly influenced the improvement of the quality of life of the residents and, at the same time, also considerably increased the sales probabilities, making the process more advantageous and profitable for the construction industry. The marketing strategies reinforced the demand and the persistence of the realization of the monopoly price, as Marx points out (1985), is determined by the willingness and ability of interested buyers. The monopoly price is independent of the "general price of production or product values" and, in build, given the need to pay the price of land becomes intrinsic to real estate production, which demands a supplementary profit, which can pay the income of the land. This supplementary profit is converted, in turn, into rent, both of the builders and of those who have invested in the real estate sector, and can also be disputed by the financier.

With the impulse of the great urban interventions and the policies of urban growth ordered by the strict control of occupation and use of the soil; of the stimulus to linear expansion and densification along the structural axes, matters as availability of land, location of the enterprise and construction of the building are being considered as a result of the capitalization provided by the new Master Plan and the corresponding infrastructure. And the real estate sector also conjures future expectations, as prices of new and upcoming developments change, not only as a result of existing urban improvements but due to the capitalization boosted by the public infrastructure that will be realized in the following years and decades. Hence, one of the reasons for the construction industry's concern to integrate into its private entrepreneurship program "what to build on demand" (GAZETA DO POVO, 08/31/1975), where to build, for whom to build, the economic profile of buyers to pay for the products, as well as attention to urban legislation, marketing and campaigns

aimed at "guiding the taste of the public" (GAZETA DO POVO, 06/20/1976) which respond to the need for a monopoly price level and which is held high by the capitalization of future revenues.

Many of these questions were constantly exposed in the press, allowing the public to follow the evolution of the complexity and problems experienced by companies and construction companies. On September 29, 1974, a report linked to the local newspaper entitled "Technicians see how to take advantage of the real estate market", presents an analysis of the best options to take advantage of the real estate boom in Curitiba:

How to take advantage of the current stage of the real estate market, using the "boom" in the sales industry it crosses, although many people say that it is transition?

[...] this is not difficult, but it requires a greater coordination of efforts and also the use of clear marketing techniques, which consist of monitoring the property from the purchase of the land to the construction and sale of the finished product, evaluating characteristics of the possible buyer and, according to them, to the property.

- Generally, the building is constructed and only it is thought of in the buyer; that is to say, the construction company finishes the work and the delivers to the real estate, so they can sell, looking for the buyer according to the characteristics of the property. The right, however, is the reverse; that is, designing the building knowing in advance the type of buyer, the price he can afford and how he wants his property.. (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/29/1974)

The guidelines on how to take advantage of the opportunities of the real estate market of Curitiba in 1974 evidenced the positioning and improvement of the sector, directed to the manufacture of products more and more qualified and differentiated, in relation to the common massification in the other metropolis, which in time have come to be characterized as "inhuman" and "disorderly". This dynamic demanded the systematization and innovation of the planning of the property, and not only to consider the immediate reality, but to follow future trends and constraints related to the new 1965 Master Plan and the Institute of Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba - IPPUC major projects. Therefore production aimed at obtaining results in the medium and long term:

[...] the real estate marketing is booming, requiring more incorporators and developers. For this, the planning and the research enter, in a detailed technical process, with zoning studies, infrastructure for the region and determining exactly the range that needs a certain type of property [...]

In Curitiba, besides the topography, a fundamental point of the growth of the real estate market, and that also facilitates the programming on the part of constructors and incorporators, is the works of organs such as the Research and Urban Planning Institute of Curitiba, Company of Curitiba and City Hall.

The planning devised by these organs determines organized growth and avoids "monstrous clusters", buildings without conditions of sale. Structural routes made distances smaller, and residential neighborhoods receive all the necessary infrastructure, valuing the real estate market, while guaranteeing investors and developers a safe return of their money. (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/29/1974).

¹Real estate developments include uses: multifamily residential, commercial, services and institutional.

Grounded on the “tripod of physical integration - between Land Use, Road System and Collective Transport (IPPUC, 2004, p. 41), urban planning gradually changed the urban configuration, providing new infrastructure and improvements, ordering the growth of the city. If, on one hand, the new zoning established rigid control over land use and occupation, imposing limits on the actual production of the market, on the other hand, also provided, for part of the same sector, extremely favorable general conditions, enabling a successful “programming” starting from the trends of “infrastructure foreseen for the region” and, thus, “determining exactly the range that needs a certain type of property” (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/29/1974).

From the research on the location of real estate developments¹ with more than four floors (Image 02 - Map 07) and that obtained a “Certificate of Completion Inspection Certificate”, between 1971 and 1984, it is noticed that a significant part of these buildings was implanted nearby or in the areas that received improvements and public infrastructure in the period of 1971 to 1983. The following stand out: central area; North Axis, involving neighborhoods such as Centro Cívico, Alto da Glória, Ahú, Juvevê and Cabral; South Axis, at the height of the Animação Axis of Wenceslau Braz Avenue toward the City Center, including the neighborhoods Água Verde, Batel, Vila Izabel and Portão; West Axis, near the Barigui Park towards the City Center, including the Bigorrilho and Mercês neighborhoods; and neighborhoods located between the North and East Axis, such as Alto da Rua XV, Cristo Rei and Hugo Lange.

As Gottdiener points out (2010), the process of capitalization of space, including the real estate product, does not occur spontaneously and independently, but is the result of social creations. In a society organized under the principles of the market economy, economic, political and cultural institutions related to the production of space influence and manipulate, according to their interests, in order to realize the accumulation of capital:

[...] the law of value in space is structured and manipulated by the capitalist class and its social relations to produce absolute income and monopoly income within the metropolis. The social basis of this law of value means that urban land values can be creations of either cultural or political as well as economic factors. (GOTTDIENER, 2010, p. 178)

Harvey (1980, p. 141) emphasizes that the construction industry, in addition to acting in the stages of production of the property, from the purchase of the land, to the preparation of the project and execution of the work, is also concerned with the creation of “new use values” related to its products; values ??that are indispensable to stimulate and attract consumers, allowing to stand out in relation to the other competitors.

The media play a decisive role in the dissemination of these usage values ??that create exchange values, using a series of strategies, such as the use of images and speeches related to a way of life, for example, and, simultaneously linking them with a specific real estate product. But the support of government institutions is indispensable, and the State also contributes to the elaboration of market-use values, as well as providing general conditions for the production of real estate on the market:

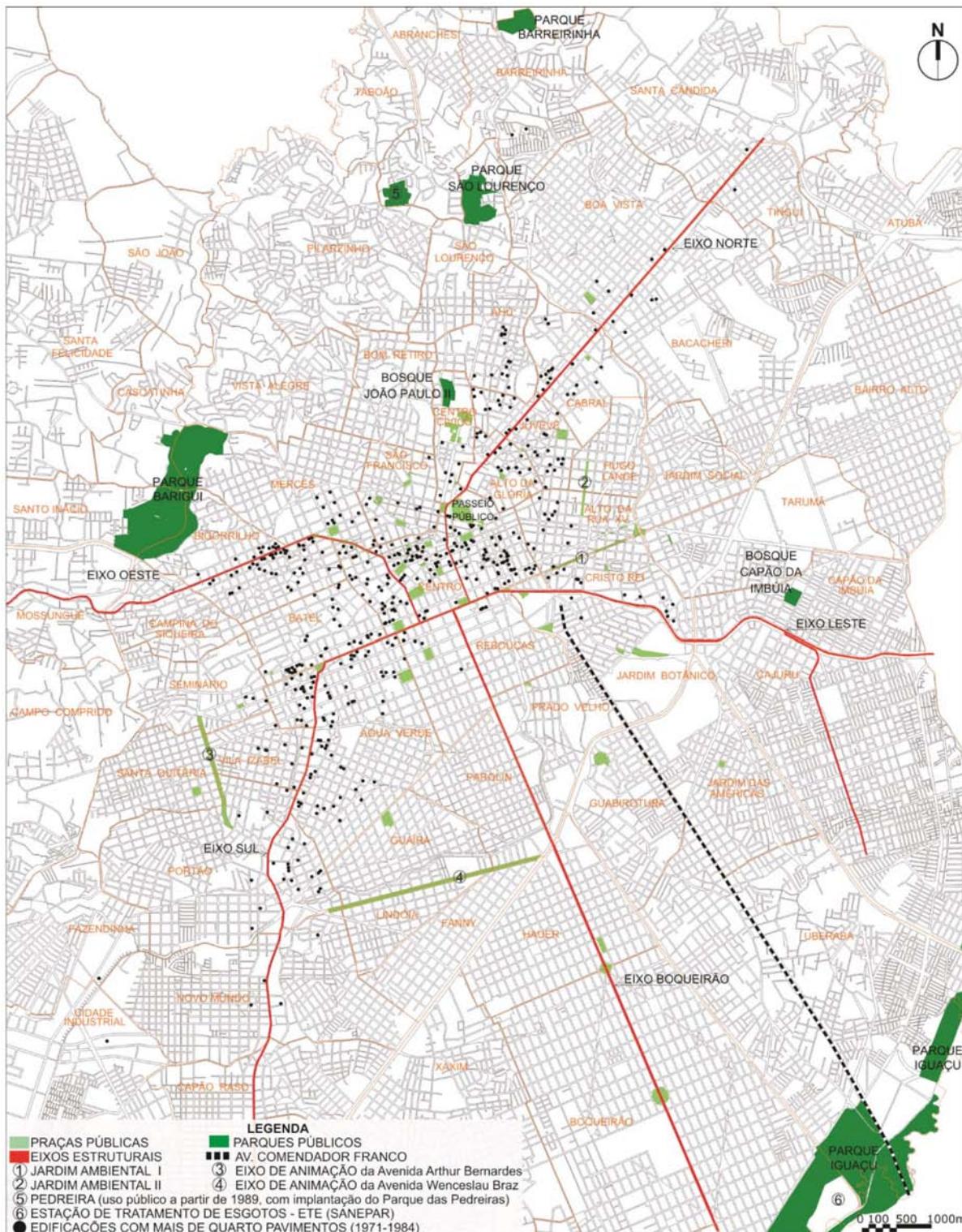


Figura 02 - Location of the infrastructure (1971 to 1983) and the enterprises with more than four floors that obtained "Certificate of Inspection of Completion of Work" (1971 a 1984).

Sources: IPPUC. *Mapa de arruamento de Curitiba*. Curitiba: IPPUC, 2012; PMC. *Relatório mensal, alvarás de construção e certificados de vistoria de conclusão de obra*. Curitiba: PMC, 2015. (Data edited by the author).

The government also imposes and administers a variety of institutional restrictions on the operation of the housing market (zoning and land use planning controls being the most conspicuous). As much as the government allocates many services, facilities and access routes, it also indirectly contributes to the value of housing use by modifying the surrounding environment. (HARVEY, 1980, p. 142)

In Curitiba, the “planning devised by the organs” (GAZETA DO POVO, 09/29/1974) configured a distinct city, in relation to the other metropolitan centers, since it reconciled urban expansion with the provision of infrastructure. But who, in fact, had access to new ventures and spaces, driven by a construction industry based on the premise of “safe return of money” and driven by “conditions of sale”?

In advertisements and real estate marketing campaigns, this problematic contradiction appeared simplified, as a mere question of “choice”, involving State, builders and consumers. In this perspective, the public administrations would be responsible for the urban planning adopted, while the builders would contribute by offering buildings with “aesthetics and comfort”. Consumers, in turn, “oriented” to “good taste” by “real estate developers, developers and sellers” and also by the “municipal administrations and the publicity organs” (GAZETA DO POVO, 06/20/1976), could, then, distinguish the advantages that exist between the custom housing project and the mass project, between “healthy” space and unhealthy space, between efficient public transport and the use of cars in “chaotic” traffic, between the neighborhood with “great location” and the neighborhood devoid of improvements and equipment, between the wooded area and an area devoid of landscaped care etc. However, as “goods, in the case - real estate” (GAZETA DO POVO, 08/31/1975), these options concerning the better quality of life were available only those willing or able to pay for the monopoly price:

The quality of urban life has become a commodity for those with money, as well as the city itself [...] The postmodern tendency for the formation of market niches – in urban lifestyle choices, consumption habits, and cultural norms – permeates the contemporary urban experience, with an aura of freedom of choice, as long as one has the money. (HARVEY, 2011, p. 143)

“Urban development” and “progress”, exemplified by the realization of infrastructure and new real estate developments, contrasted with the “pitiful” situation of poor neighborhoods and favelas. Through the journalistic section of the reader, published daily by the *Gazeta do Povo*, throughout the decades of 1970 and 1980, city users and residents of areas excluded from urban improvements have continually reported the neglect of municipal and state administrations, lack of water supply network, lack of sewage system, lack of paving, of green and leisure areas, as well as the precariousness of cleaning services, collective transportation and electric energy, among others (GAZETA DO POVO, 1971-1983).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

There was a notable growth in real estate developments, with Curitiba being described as "a metropolis in great real estate development" and with a "very auspicious future" (GAZETA DO POVO, 03/29/1979, p. 04).

Considering the reports of the press itself, the "real estate boom" was boosted "due to urban improvements, asphalt and illumination, in addition to what, in the specific case of land, its value revolves according to the Master Plan of the Municipality and IPPUC, with their conditioning" (GAZETA DO POVO, 06/24/1973, p. 04, section 3).

But even in the real estate sector and in the construction industry, divergent opinions and perceptions are perceived about the new urban planning guidelines. While some fractions of capital have encountered an extremely advantageous and promising situation, especially those owners of land, real estate or enterprises located in areas near the infrastructure, or inserted in areas of future expansion, that is, that in the next years or decades they would receive public investments; others were in a less advantageous situation, either because they were affected by the new zoning parameters, either because the expansion planned by the master plan did not include the location of its properties or investments. As Gottdiener points out (2010), the production of space involves the continuous renegotiation between beneficiaries and those who bear the costs of urban growth driven by the dominant interests. However, as the real estate production of the market is focused on capital accumulation and its realization requires the monopoly of space and exploitation of the workforce, only certain parts of the society are benefited.

For the more organized fractions of the real estate sector, urban planning in the medium and long term allowed to organize and to schedule in advance its production, predicting areas and neighborhoods that can be capitalized and, therefore, to define with greater accuracy strategic areas for new ventures, the type of property, forms of investment, clientele and the elaboration of values consistent with the said public consumer.

The research starts from the hypothesis that the urban plans and projects developed during the 1970s and the early 1980s did succeed, since they provided infrastructure and new differentiated spaces, which contributed to the improvement of the quality of life of the population. This process, however, was developed within the scope of real estate market production, with a view to economic potentialization of the commodity space, a fact that, in itself, made it impossible to alleviate spatial and social differences, besides opposing the right to space as a use value.

From this perspective, the public infrastructure provided represented the implementation of the general conditions necessary for real estate production, aiming at the accumulation of capital and, at the same time, the imposition of a model of dissimilar space to be consumed, accessible only to those who are willing and able to pay for their usufruct.

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Acknowledgments

This article is part of a PhD theses developed at FAUUSP - São Paulo's Architecture and Urbanism College (2013-2016). The present work was carried out with the support of CAPES - Coordination of Personal Improvement of Higher Education, from July 2013 to August 2015.

Editor's note

Submitted: 03/12/2016

Acceptance: 05/06/2019

Translation: Nadja Elora Choueri e Prado

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