

Ana Carla de Lira
Bottura

t

THE PLACE OF CONFLICT AND
NATURALIZATION OF POVERTY: A
READING OF THE STRUGGLE FOR
HOUSING IN THE SUBURBS OF
PALMAS-TO

102

pós-

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this article is to contribute to the discussion about the formation of suburbs in Brazil and its unfolding, bringing it closer to the context of Palmas city, capital of Tocantins, with an emphasis on the movements of the struggle for housing understood as subjects peripheral politicians. A compendium of analytical concepts and dimensions is presented, which is understood as key to the interpretation of the periphery in the contemporary city, followed by the presentation of a brief viewpoint about the creation of the Palmas city and the instantaneity of its periphery. As an arrival point, it is proposed an interpretation of the main aspects that underlie the predominance and persistence of the model of exclusionary urbanization under which it is constructed, based on the discourses found in field work and interviews with different agents of the production of the urban space, including representatives of local struggles for housing, subjects of urban conflicts involving the suburbs of the city.

KEYWORDS

Suburb. Palmas - TO. Struggle for housing. Conflict.

DOI: [HTTP://DX.DOI.ORG/10.11606/ISSN.2317-2762.v25i46p102-117](http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/ISSN.2317-2762.v25i46p102-117)

Pós, Rev. Programa Pós-Grad. Arquit. Urban. FAUUSP. São Paulo, v. 25, n. 46, p. 102-117, maio-ago 2018

O LUGAR DO CONFLITO E DA
NATURALIZAÇÃO DA POBREZA:
UMA LEITURA DA LUTA POR
MORADIA NA PERIFERIA DE
PALMAS-TO

RESUMO

O presente artigo tem como objetivo principal contribuir com o debate acerca da formação das periferias no Brasil e seus desdobramentos, aproximando-o do contexto da cidade de Palmas, capital do Tocantins e com ênfase na atuação dos movimentos de luta pela moradia, entendidos enquanto sujeitos políticos periféricos. Apresenta-se, inicialmente, um compêndio de conceitos e dimensões analíticas que se entende como chave para a interpretação da periferização na cidade contemporânea, seguido pela apresentação de um breve panorama acerca da criação da cidade de Palmas e a instantaneidade da sua periferia. Como ponto de chegada, propõe-se uma interpretação dos principais aspectos que fundamentam a predominância e persistência do modelo de urbanização excludente sob o qual a mesma se constrói, tomando como base discursos encontrados em trabalho de campo e entrevistas realizadas com diferentes agentes da produção do espaço urbano, incluindo representantes de movimentos de luta por moradia locais, sujeitos de conflitos urbanos envolvendo as zonas periféricas da cidade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Periferia. Palmas - TO. Luta por moradia. Conflito

INTRODUCTION

The peripheral expansion of the Brazilian cities is a phenomenon that has been the subject of studies for several decades in the most diverse areas of knowledge, in a collective effort to problematize and propose solutions to the problems surfacing from the poorer areas of the city. From the point of view of the urban space production, the poor peripheral outskirts, which are understood as the locus of the proletariat and sub proletariat, present itself as a constitutive and necessary element for the reproduction of capital through the expansion of the capitalist city. In addition to the urban space, the notion of periphery extends to the conformation of a peripheral society, with a population that lives on the margins of the economy, being both a product and a necessary condition for the capitalist accumulation system.

This article, which is the product of a current doctoral research¹ under the guidance of Cibele Rizek (IAU/USP), has the main purpose of contributing with the debate about the formation of peripheral outskirts in Brazil and its consequences, in the context of the city of Palmas, capital of the State of Tocantins, with emphasis on the work of fight for housing movements, which are understood as peripheral political subjects.

¹In the context of this research, up to the present moment, 20 interviews were performed contemplating the production agents of the urban space, with the goal to understand the role of each one of them in the reproduction, in the local scope, of the socio-spatial inequalities present in the other Brazilian cities.

A compendium of analytical concepts and dimensions is presented, which is understood as the key for the interpretation of the formation of peripheral outskirts in the contemporary cities, followed by the presentation of a brief panorama about the creation of the city of Palmas and the instantaneity of its peripheral outskirts. As a destination point, it is proposed an interpretation of the main aspects that underlie the predominance and persistence of the model of exclusionary urbanization under which it is constructed, based on the discourses found in field work and interviews with different agents of the production of the urban space, including local representatives of struggles for housing, subjects of urban conflicts involving the peripheral outskirts of the city.

I. THE PHERIPHERAL OUTSKIRTS ROLE IN THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE CAPITALIST CITY

"There is not the urban for everyone", with this sentence, Damiani (2004, p. 30) synthetizes his lecture of the excluding urbanization model, historically developed in the industrialization process of Brazil and other Latin American countries.

We have in evidence the contradictions and limits inherent to the production mode and social reproduction that are the foundation and feeding source of the entire constitution and expansion process of Latin-American cities, especially in the major cities, and it is in the peripheral outskirts of these cities that the expansion, in increasingly higher levels, of the conditions of primitive accumulation, feeds the production of space through poverty, misery and violence, which must be understood as structural in the current economy. Critical urbanization is therefore based on unequal development, which denies

to the largest portion of a population free access to the product resulting from their own workforce.

The world of the dispossessed masses is the critical urbanization [...]. The world of money, of equivalence, which, in its foundations and underground, moves as relations of non-equivalence, exploitation of labor, expropriation of means of life and production, clashes between the forms of money - that of money as a measure of value and as a means of circulation, synthesized in the form of money as capital - is the critical urbanization. The shallow board of history, its sweep process, the production of early obsolescence of several products, including the city, to reaffirm new products, is the critical urbanization (DAMIANI, 2004, p. 39).

The sub proletariat (SINGER, 1981) is the mass of precarious workers resulting from the critical urbanization, for whom the lack of minimum guarantees of adequate working conditions and incomes that are well below the necessary for family support, are the primary elements of its strategic location within the process of capitalist accumulation, but on the margins of the benefits derived from it. The production of suburbs and poor peripheral outskirts in the city is thus a materialized expression of this peripheral society in urban space, which reproduces social precariousness in the form of improvised and self-built housing; lack of urban infrastructure (public water supply networks, sanitary sewage, electric power, asphalt paving); equipment and services. In addition to the geographic (or geometric) reference that delimits them as edges of the urban network, far from the centers, the notion of peripheral regions is directly linked to the physical precariousness, together with the real estate devaluation that makes it possible to keep the low incoming population in those limits.

According to Corrêa (1986, p. 73), the urban periphery is the target of territorial practices that are inserted in the process of accumulation of capital, as well as the reproduction of socio-spatial segregation, in an interdependent relationship. In this context, it makes a distinction between the popular periphery and the elite periphery (as in the coastal areas of large cities and the proliferation of private condominiums in the urban fringes), "*spatially opposed but both inserted in the organization of a class society: they are the places of reproduction of the reserve army and of the leaders*" (CORRÊA, 1986, p. 76).

The discontinuous and peripheral expansion of the major cities and other Brazilian cities is attributed by Bolaffi (1982), not only for the high contingents of poor population, but also, and mainly, for the induced process of emptying and degradation of central urban areas for real estate speculation and actual wealth generation. As such, real estate agents rely on the direct intervention of the State, both in the creation of mechanisms for the peripheral displacement of populations, and in the subsequent valorization of the same sectors emptied through public investments. Such dynamics prioritize the economic function of urban land to the detriment of its utility, with the prevalence of the exchange value over the usage value.

The most direct consequence of the peripheral growth process is the degradation of urban habitat through the "*low density of urban soil occupation, a distance increase, inefficiency of transportation, elevation of social and private costs in*

the urbanization and an irreversible compromise of the public administration efficiency". Besides the "unbalance and transience of the urban functions and locational advantages of the urban space sectors" (BOLAFFI, 1982, p. 60).

Maricato (1982) draws attention to the high number of self-built houses in the urban peripheries, associating the fact with the ideology of the home ownership (also addressed by Bolaffi, 1982), intrinsic to the general laws of the system, excessive rent and insufficient supply of rentals to meet the demand in large cities. Understanding self-construction as the possible architecture for the poor and peripheral populations, the author makes a reading of the limitations and constraints of this process that goes from the dimensions of the lot to the quality of the materials; lack of specialization of labor; the rudimentary quality of the technique and the performance of the work in several steps. However, the most interesting point to note here is the direct link between this practice and real estate speculation and the expropriation of the proletariat's labor force.

For Oliveira (1981), the self-construction process, made possible through unpaid labor, is configured as super work:

Although this good is apparently not expropriated by the private sector of production, it contributes to increasing the rate of exploitation of the labor force, since its result - the household - is reflected in an apparent lowering of the labor reproduction cost - of which housing spending is an important component - and to depress real wages paid by companies. Thus, an operation that is, in appearance, a survival of "natural economy" practices within cities, marries admirably well with a process of capitalist expansion, which has as its bases and dynamism the intense exploitation of the labor force (OLIVEIRA, 1981, p. 35-36).

The aspects discussed above form, in general terms, a panorama resulting from the radical transition represented by the process of the Brazilian industrialization, whose structural conditions are based on the persistence of primitive accumulation by ingrained spoliation within the society in the midst of modernization, shaping itself as a precarious modernization. In the words of Oliveira (1981, p. 36), in Brazil "*the expansion of capitalism occurs by introducing new relations in the archaic and reproducing archaic relations in the new, which is a way of making global accumulation compatible*".

The coexistence between the archaic and the modern and the multiple faces of this relation are, therefore, in the heart of the matter of income, propriety and power concentration, characteristics of the Brazilian capitalism, which can be understood as peripheral to the global capitalism, giving its specificities.

In the contemporary city, the periphery is perhaps the place where this coexistence is showed in a more flagrant way. As a visible reflection, it is possible to observe the coexistence of self-built houses, with structural problems and lack of plastering, in which are found state-of-the-art sound and TV sets, closed channel TV antennas, imported cars, iPhones and all kinds of cutting edge objects. At the other extreme, veiled but no less present: drug trafficking, prostitution, violence and its tragic developments. All fruits of a system that reproduces them daily to the same extent that battles them with indignation and repulsion.

2. PALMAS AND ITS PHERIPHERAL OUTSKIRTS

The foundation of Palmas is directly linked to the creation of the State of Tocantins and to the figure of a Brazilian politician: José Wilson Siqueira Campos. The lands on which the city was erected were expropriated from local ranchers by the state, paying derisory sums for them. Purchased as rural land - and naturally evaluated according to parameters compatible with this condition - and transformed by the State into urban lots and sold as such, in a maneuver that, while at the same time hurting the former owners, generated revenue for the public coffers. (TEIXEIRA; FILHO, 1991).

Thus, Palmas was born with the peculiar characteristic of having the State simultaneously as owner of the urban land and its first speculator, in charge of sales, acting in consortium with big businessmen from all over the country and private real estate development companies. Therefore, it has contributed to the occupation of urban land being always connected to the real estate market.

"Palmas was presented to international capital and/or nationalized as the 'new place' of neoliberalism, where this 'new' model of territorial re-occupation of private capital could be engendered in the Legal Amazon [...]" (LIRA, 2011, p. 26, emphasis added).

The city was projected by a team headed by the architects Luiz Fernando Cruvinel and Walfredo Antunes de Oliveira Filho, partners in the Grupo Quatro office, which had its location in the State of Goiás. The initial Urbanistic Project, frequently mistaken as being the Master Plan, presents guidelines for the implantation and occupation of the lots, recommending densities and the adoption of steps for the gradual growth of the city.

Created to accommodate political-administrative functions, Palmas began to be built in the next day of the launching of the foundation stone (May 20, 1989). The construction of state and municipal facilities was the focus in the beginning. It is worth mentioning that Siqueira Campos' first government in the state of Tocantins was an interim management of two (2) years until the following elections and was marked by the motto *"twenty years in two"*, in an explicit reference to Juscelino Kubitschek's speech about the construction of Brasília (*"fifty years out of five"*). This entailed the imposition of an unreasonably fast pace on all decisions, projects and constructions. Efforts focused mainly on consolidating Tocantins through the creation of the new capital as the administrative headquarters and ensuring that Palmas developed and continued to be built and populated in the way he idealized it (LIRA, 2011).

The beginning of the occupation was developed through the sale of lots, donations and auctions of public areas. The state, as owner of the urban land, provided the creation of the mixed capital company CODETINS - Tocantins State Development Company, currently called Terra Palmas, with the objective of advising the state government on development policies, as manager and in charge of sales of lots (CARVALHO FILHO, 2018). However, the viability of the city was only possible with the intense participation of partnerships between public and private capital, through incorporating companies, responsible for allocating land for residential use, directly influencing the urban occupation guidelines.

The direct responsibility of the public authorities in the process of occupation of Palmas and its consequent socio-spatial segregation has permeated, exhaustively, discussions in the academic scope. It is a consensus in this agenda the acknowledgment of the determinant character that the first strategies assumed in their socio-territorial configuration. According to these interpretations, the threat of discontinuity of the first Siqueira Campos administration in the 1990 elections is said to be the main cause of the total lack of control in the occupation of blocks that were supposed to be inhabited in very advanced phases of the urbanization of the city. Before handing over the government to his successor, Moses Avelino, the then governor distributed thousands of lots to civil servants, following a segregationist logic of implanting more affluent and influential classes in the central region of the city (1st level of civil servants), followed by smaller employees in a decreasing vector in the south direction. "*Poor families who came to the city in search of jobs and opportunities were allocated in lots in the expansion areas, outside the planned urban network, in the Taquaralto and Aurenys lots*" (SILVA, 2010, p. 99).

The results came pretty fast and with irreversible consequences: in just two (2) years, Palmas had become a fragmented, dispersed city, full of urban voids (since most of the donated lots became areas of real estate speculation), built without any type of effective control, clearly segregated, with serious problems of urban infrastructure and lack of public equipment in the poorest areas. Questions that were established almost instantaneously in the urban space, which are common to any contemporary Brazilian metropolis, whose process of dispersion and urban fragmentation has occurred gradually.

However, there are controversies regarding this interpretation of the uncontrolled urban occupation, that point to issues directly related to the model of production of space from which Palmas was conceived. Among the interviews conducted in the scope of the ongoing research, the fact that the city had its construction self-financed through the commercialization of urban land was identified as the main reason for deregulation. Information that shifts the focus of the discussion, focused primarily on the person of the governor, to the principles upon which the construction of the city was projected.

They say the city built itself up. [...] They understand that the capital would self-finance through the capital that revolves around it, which in a way that is it [...] to open capital. That's why poor people will not live there. It only lives rich and who has the money to follow the dynamics of the price, the value of the urban lot, the urban soil (LIRA, 2017, Verbal information).

Thus, the supposed neutrality of an initial urban project, which was victim of political arbitrariness, was then questioned, since its own viability is based on the management of most of the territory by private initiative and in the absence of state control over the project, construction and occupation process of these areas.

Also, according to interviewees, the donations made in the first years of construction of the city covered entire blocks, which were given as payment to

the constructors, developers and several companies that were active during this period, acting since the beginning of the city as important agents in the local land issues and in the dynamics of urban space production. The interference of the State, associated with the real estate market, in the urbanization of Palmas presents, therefore, a direct influence on the fragmented and discontinuous occupation of the urban network.

This central area, these central lots [...] you can notice those voids here. So, these central areas, when the state launched the sale, it has already launched the principle of real estate speculation: I sell one and leave the other empty [...] I sell one and leave the other empty. The city was planned for real estate speculation (PAZ, 2018, Verbal Information).

In a study of urban voids in Palmas, Bazolli (2012) observes the registration of entire land lots, still without parcels, located mainly in the southwest region, belonging to real estate companies and civil construction. Some of these are even located among the most valued lands of the city, close to the central region, endowed with all the urban infrastructure, with access to public services and urban equipment.

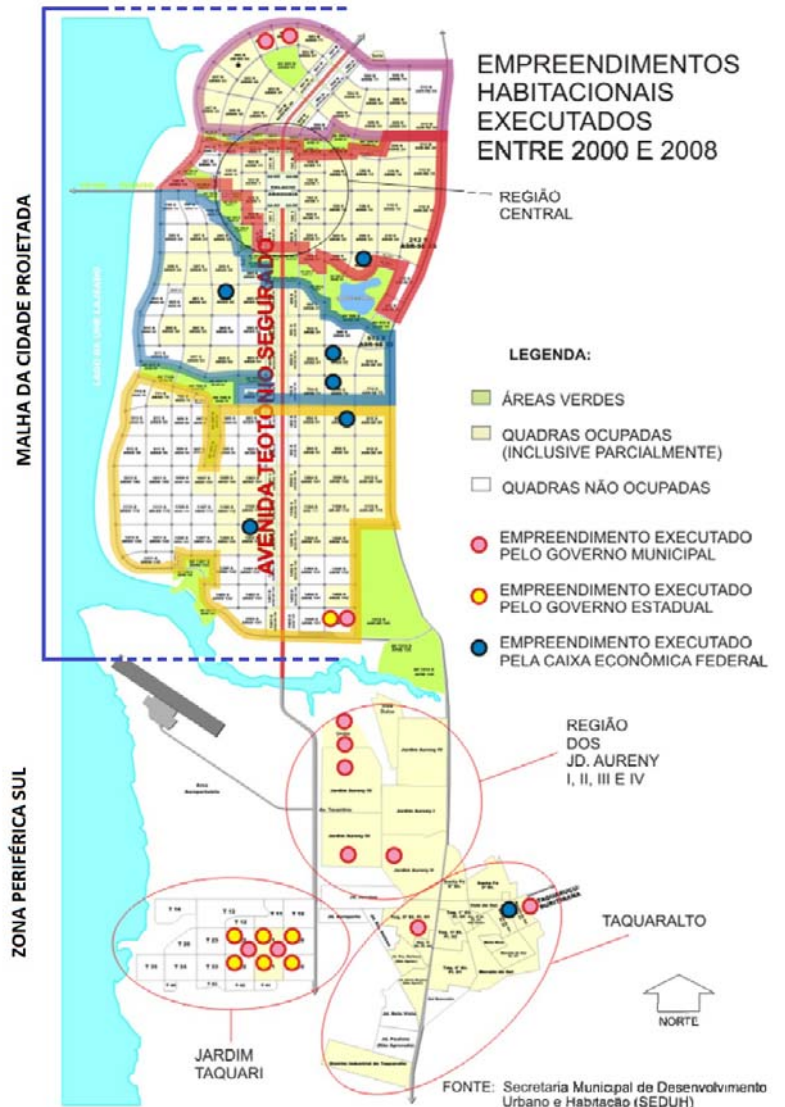
Meanwhile, the peripheral neighborhoods of Taquaralto and Aurenys continued to grow at an accelerated pace, consolidating themselves as an option for cheaper land, designated for the low-income population. In view of this dynamic, the real estate market was also organized around the popular segment, with the approval, in 1991, of 3,434 residential lots in the southern end of the city (the southern expansion area in the initial project), where popular settlements were implemented (BAZOLLI, 2007).

Melo Júnior (2008) and Amaral (2009) address the issue of social segregation in Palmas, based on readings of housing programs directed to the low income population (up to 6 minimum wages) produced by the public authority. The conclusions of both studies point to the confirmation of the State's activities to consolidate the peripherality of poverty in Palmas, reserving to the low-income population areas far from the urban center, lacking adequate urban infrastructure, public equipment and services and serious limitations in terms of public transport offer. Such position, besides for being a burden for the public coffers, increasing the demand for basic services, maintains the social exclusion that precedes it, depriving this part of the population of integrating with the rest of the city.

In addition to housing assistance through government subsidies, the alternative found by those excluded from the formal housing market is the irregular occupation, which has been increasing at an accelerated pace in recent years. According to the Plan for Sustainable Land Tenure Regularization of the Municipality of Palmas (2009), the city had 640 irregular occupations, mostly concentrated in the southern sector, with greater emphasis on the Taquaralto neighborhood. Only 3 years later, there is an increase of more than 450% in this number.

Figure 1: Housing developments executed in the period from 2000 to 2008.
Source: AMARAL, 2009 (edited by the author).

- Legend: *Zona Periférica* - Peripheral zone
Malha da cidade - Grid of the city
Empreendimentos habitacionais executados entre 2000 e 2008 - Housing projects executed between 2000 and 2008
Região central - Central region
Legenda - Legend
Áreas verdes - Green áreas
Quadras ocupadas (inclusive parcialmente) - Occupied lots (even partially)
Quadras não ocupadas - Unoccupied squares
Empreendimento executado pelo governo Municipal - Development executed by the Municipal Government
Empreendimento executado pelo governo Estadual - Enterprise executed by the State Government
Empreendimento executado pela Caixa Econômica Federal - Development executed by Caixa Econômica Federal
Região dos JD Aurenny I, II, III, IV - Region of the JD Aurenny I, II, III, IV
Jardim Taquari - Taquari Garden
Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Urbano e Habitação (SEDUH) - Secretariat of Urban Development and Housing (SEDUH)



Bazolli (2012) draws attention to the growth of precarious occupations in the north side of the city, which reveals in the recent surveys a displacement of the expansion vector of this housing modality, previously concentrated mainly to the south. This means that the new occupants are looking for regions closer to the central zone of the city, with greater possibilities of achieving better housing conditions and a shorter dislocation time to the areas with greater labor supply.

Another important aspect is the issue of land irregularity on the outskirts of the city, something used as an argument for the real estate market in the defense of the expansion of urban limits, obviously seeking to expand its operation area to the detriment of improving the quality of life of the population.

The formation process of the peripheral outskirts of Palmas, in its essence, does not differ from what happened in Brasília a few decades earlier. The satellite cities, which were born even before the Pilot Plan and expanded concomitantly to its construction, formed the territory destined to the population of poor migrants, to avoid their settlement in the limits of the planned city, thus guaranteeing its non-characterization. Approximately 30 years after the creation of Brasília, also with an administrative function, but with the intention to meet regional economic demands linked to the expansion of agribusiness in the countryside, Palmas was created. Assuming the different similarities and divergences between the two cities, both from the point of view of its formal and ideological composition, we are interested here to highlight the absence of any kind of novelty in the precocity of the process of peripheralization in Palmas, fruit of the same foundation that drives the socio-spatial segregation in its neighbor Brasília: the strategic uneven development. According to the reading of Smith (1988):

The logic of unequal development derives specifically from opposing tendencies, inherent in capital, for differentiation, but with the simultaneous equalization of levels and conditions of production. The capital is continually invested in the built environment in order to produce surplus value and expansion of the capital base itself. But in the same way, capital is continually withdrawn from the built environment so that it can move elsewhere and benefit from higher rates of profit. The spatial immobilization of productive capital in its material form is no less necessary than the perpetual circulation of capital as value. Thus, it is possible to see the unequal development of capitalism as the geographical expression of the most fundamental contradiction between use-value and exchange-value (SMITH, 1988, p. 19).

The theory defended by the author reinforces the spatial character of the uneven development, understanding it as an inherent expression to the capitalist production of the urban space. From this understanding, it is possible to deconstruct, without difficulties, discourses and readings that tend to attribute to the emergence of the peripheral outskirts in projected cities the spectrum of contradiction, spontaneity and the unexpected. In both the initial interpretations of Brasília and in an important part of publications about the creation and occupation of Palmas, the phenomenon of peripheral occupation is seen as the result of a disorderly growth, contrary to the planned. The observation of the facts in a local scale, decontextualized of a global vision about the influence of the processes of accumulation of capital, in the conformation of the cities, often leads to partial readings.

In the case of Palmas, the State, in association with real estate agents, appears blatantly as a key factor in the constitution of a fragmented, dispersed and socially segregated urban fabric. From the point of capitalist production of urban space, especially in the case of neoliberal capital, it is precisely this performance that is expected of the public authorities: the role of facilitator of actions directed to the sale and management of the city-business-commodity. By understanding this dynamic as structural in the capitalist system, the discussion is depersonalized, focused on the whims and interests of political managers, redirecting the gaze to the devices under which the logic of capital is updated and establishes its own order where disorder is seen.

3. THE CONFLICT IN THE PERIPHERAL OUTSKIRTS: BETWEEN REGULARIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONALIZATIONS AND RESISTANCE

Throughout its short history, Palmas has been gradually building cores of resistance and struggle for housing, through the actions of local urban social movements, some of them linked directly to organizations on a national scale, such as the MNLM (National Movement for Struggle for Housing), the MTST (Movement of the Homeless Workers), the MNMP (National Movement for Popular Housing), the FACOM-TO (Federation of Community Associations and Residents of Tocantins), the MILM (Independent Movement for Housing), OPM (Popular Housing Organization), among others. The activities of these movements have mainly focused on the occupation of empty public lots in the region and surroundings of the 'Master Plan' and in various forms of negotiation with the public authorities regarding the donation of areas, construction of housing developments of social interest, public equipment and improvements in the urban infrastructure of peripheral neighborhoods. However, it is noted that, despite the efforts made by the leaders of the groups, these movements are still acting in a disjointed and ineffective manner, regarding the city as a whole.

²The Master Plan is understood as the area that englobes the limits of the projected city outline. The term is used in the daily life of the population, in an informal way, as a type of localization.

From the approach of this theme, which is still little studied in Palmas, three essential questions are briefly discussed below:

a) *Peripheral location of the conflict* - In studying the activities of three movements of fight for housing in the city, Suzuki (2016) reports in detail the history of occupations, negotiations, achievements and frustrations of these social agents, in order to prove the importance of recognizing and value their presence in the production of the local urban space. However, is not necessary to perform a deep analysis to realize that urban areas targeted or conquered by social movements are located almost entirely in peripheral areas of the "Master Plan"² region or even outside it. Regarding this fact, what deserves a more careful observation is not the intention of the public authorities to yield to the popular pressures for the regularization of certain occupations, but rather the identification of a tendency of the movements to dispute spaces located in distant zones of the center of the city, mostly lacking infrastructure and urban equipment and of little real estate interest. While it is recognized that such strategy is more likely to be successful from the point of view of the housing conquest, it is assumed that this behavior tends to reinforce the sovereignty of the real estate market, while restricting the potential of social movements as agents of transformation.

In interviews with leaders of local movements, it was possible to identify some elements that help in the understanding of this dynamic.

[...] the government created a repressive apparatus to control the people. It set up the Urban Soil Surveillance Agency [...] which was a very repressive apparatus, organized by the police. [...] All the occupations they had here in the central region were evicted. Including violent eviction, of playing family literally in the middle of the street. We had to even change a library to our community center that the town hall built, because we had to shelter elderly

people here, wheelchairs [...] because the city hall dumped and took the furniture of the families and left them literally in the middle of the street (MIRANDA, 2016, Verbal Information).

Bismarque Miranda, or Moviment Bismarque, is one of the main local actors among the struggle for housing movements. MNLM leader in the city has a history of 22 years of militancy in Palmas ahead of various occupations and some of the main episodes of confrontation and negotiations with the public power.

He states that during the early years of the city's creation there was a certain ease on the part of the movement to promote occupations in any region, since the state did not yet have a sufficiently structured "repressor apparatus" to avoid them. Thus, negotiation between the public power and the occupants was the most commonly used alternative for the removal of families, which invariably were (and still are) resettled outside the boundaries of the projected urban network. From the creation of a public institution with police power dedicated to the control and surveillance of urban land and given the violence with which the attempts of occupations of central areas were treated, it would then be a possible cause for the peripheral occupancies nowadays observed in the urban space.

It's important to note the tendency towards the naturalization of inequality as a probable component of this behavior. In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of sub-citizenship in peripheral countries, Souza (2003) proposes a interpretation that brings, among other authors, Florestan Fernandes's approach to the issue of the integration of freed slaves into class societies. These researchers built an argument that seeks in the lack of adaptation of the black population into their new conditions and the complete incapacity of insertion in the parameters of competitiveness of the city, in the modernization routes, the key arguments for the perpetuation of social marginality and economic inequality in Brazil.

[...] Naturalization of peripheral inequality does not come to the consciousness of its victims, precisely because it is constructed in impersonal and peculiarly opaque and non-transparent forms due to the action, also within peripheral capitalism, of a spontaneous ideology of capitalism. universal and neutral, which is contingent and particular (SOUZA, 2003, p. 179).

Through the contact with other leadership groups it was possible to identify a second factor. The interview conducted with one of the leaders of an occupation linked to the MTST and located in the Jardim Taquari sector, in the far south side of Palmas, reveals that the justification of the choice for the location of the occupation comes from the understanding that the city's growth vector today is that particular neighborhood, expressing a statement that meets and originates in the principles of the real estate market in the production of space. It is not a question of opposing this logic, but rather of adapting to it, by incorporating discourses that reinforce it.

Researching the map, we saw this area here [...] because if today we see that Palmas tends to expand for the South area. So, we moved here because most of the people already lived here in this area, we like this southern region and the expansion of Palmas is happening here, the development, everything [...] (MARTINS, 2017, Verbal Information).

b) *Demobilization through institutionalization* - Another important aspect concerns the mechanisms used by the government to weaken the struggle for housing. Some identified strategies refer to the cooptation of leaders to take positions in public agencies of the city, criminalization and delegitimization of occupations as organizations or the fragmentation of these through ownership repossession actions.

[...] We continue to try to mobilize the community, but people are afraid of the repressive apparatus of the state, but trust that the state will solve the housing problem. [...] Their strategy was to buy our base [...] to offer a job (the staff was unemployed), to register in the city hall saying that he was going to distribute lots and trying to demoralize the leaderships, saying that our movement did not have moral to build the houses [...] There were leaders of ours who even got a job in the Palace, to work there [...] I know they ended up demobilizing the occupation (MIRANDA, 2016, Verbal Information).

In the narrative of the MNLM leader, in addition to the strategies already expected, the register in the public agencies appears as an important element in the sense of coercing the families to change the struggle for the expectation of the formalized demand service.

This behavior presents itself as a direct reflection of the phenomenon that Singer (2009) identifies as Lulism, which would be the electoral realignment that took place in the 2006 elections and which resulted in the articulation of the very low incoming population, the subproletariat, as a new base of support to the according to the government of Luiz Inácio da Silva. Among the harmful effects of this alliance are the depoliticization and weakening of social movements, based on the dependence of public policies aimed at fighting poverty and inequality, together with a conciliatory and conflict-relieving attitude, based on the charisma of the former President Lula. As a consequence, there is a generalized demobilization of organized social groups in the country (or a redirection of actions, as in the case of the My House My Life Entities Program), conforming what Oliveira (2007) announced as a new form of domination, unlike any other one ever lived in our country.

In Palmas, the institutionalization of the struggle also involves the identified concentration of efforts of local movements to fight for housing, nowadays around the My House, My Life Program, Entities modality (PMCMV-E), in enterprises invariably located on the peripheral outskirts of the "Master Plan": among them the MNLM, which has been working for the approval of 900 housing units in Palmas and the Federation of Community Associations and Residents of Tocantins (FACOM-TO), which delivered 160 units last year and has been working in six areas of the city to attend the needs of a total of 2 (two) thousand families³ Among the local movements, the MNLM's performance in Palmas is highlighted as being the one that has always presented the greatest coping capacity, and with its resistance force displaced in recent years exclusively for the housing production through the Program.

For Rizek et al. (2014), the PMCMV-E represents a new paradigm in the relations between the State and the popular classes, constituting, in principle, as a promise to the self-managed housing production in Brazil, nevertheless revealing a real field of consensus between government and social movements.

³ Available at <http://terrapalmas.to.gov.br/noticia/2016/6/30/apartamentos-do-minha-casa-minha-vida-entidades-sera-lancados-nesta-sexta/>

The program thus promotes the production of social interest housing with the same characteristics of market housing and through popular movements, configuring the fight against poverty as a business mediated by these social agents. The functionality of this device in the redirection and reconfigurations in multiple dimensions of the work of social movements can be clearly identified as a strategy of pacification of conflicts.

c) *Tendency of the proliferation of autonomous movements* –The most recent and expressive conflict in Palmas is in the Taquari Garden, headed by the self-styled independent movement “Promised Houses Movement”. It concerns the occupation, in October 2016, of 300 housing units built by the state government through Pro Housing Program resources, with the works beginning in 2011 and suspended ever since 2014, before completion. After 9 (nine) months of resistance, the occupiers suffered a reintegration process in August of this year and have since negotiated with the government an alternative for 60 remaining families.

Ever since the first contacts with the leaders of the movement, one of the aspects that attracted the most attention was their refusal of building political ties with any type of pre-existing organized social movement⁴. When asked about the reasons that lead to this positioning, the answer is not clear, but a certain disbelief can be perceived in the power of political struggle of the consolidated movements, by virtue of previous alliances and cooptation. A key to the reading of this behavior can be in the reaction to the lulism that was verified in a more incisive way in the days of June 2013⁵. The weakening of social struggles stemming from their engrossment and containment within the field of institutions is one of the driving forces behind new forms of social organization for the defense of rights.

We defend that the social movements are not partisan, that do not serve as transmission belt for political parties, organizations or even political groups and groups. This type of practice that subordinates the social movement to the political interests of one or another political grouping, removes the autonomy of the movement, limits the movement to those who adhere to the politics of the hegemonic sector causing an emptying of the same (LUTA LIBERTÁRIA, s.d., p. 1).

Considering this interpretation as valid, it would also be necessary to seek theoretical subsidies for the understanding of the insertion of the autonomous movements of struggle for housing in a broader context of struggle for rights, since the fulfillment of the demands placed by them is a sufficient condition for their dissolution. The survival of movements as political actors and agents of transformation, therefore, would inevitably be compromised. In this sense, we risk an interpretation that recognizes the coexistence of rejection of institutionalization and everything that represents the Lulism with the collective incorporation of the neoliberal discourse centered on the individual. The collective struggle would therefore be permeated by the presence of neoliberal subjects (Dardot and Laval, 2013); however, they would be dispossessed of minimum conditions of competitiveness and differentiation in the labor market, temporarily united by the satisfaction of individual basic needs. Presented preliminarily, it is accepted that such formulation needs to be further deepened and incorporate new analytical dimensions.

⁴This pattern of behavior had previously been identified by Suzuki (2016).

⁵For more, see VAINER et al., 2013.

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Keeping in mind everything that was presented, the vision of the emergence of the periphery is a simple consequence of population swelling or its precariousness because of the accelerated, disordered urbanization or the low purchasing power of its residents. The interpretative key is the one that recognizes its structural character in the countries of dependent economy and its intrinsic relation with the conditions of reproduction of capital. From a social and economic point of view, the peripheral outskirts meet the demands of the production of urban space, absorbing not only the marginal/peripheral population of the capitalist accumulation system, but also reproducing the economic and socio-spatial dynamics necessary to maintain it.

The peripheral outskirts of Palmas, constituted as a naturalized area of urban poverty, reflects the structural precariousness of the Brazilian urban centers, self-built, lacking infrastructure, lacking public services and equipment, and abundant violence.

The local panorama of the struggle for housing is also peripheral: there is a weakness of conflicts that are effectively representative of the class struggle, and whose consensus, constructed from the dialogue with the other agents of urban space production, consist in an important contribution to the maintenance of socio-spatial inequalities existing since the first years of its foundation.

REFERENCES

- AMARAL, Francisco O.M. *Especulação imobiliária e segregação social em Palmas do Tocantins: uma análise a partir dos Programas Habitacionais executados no período de 2000 a 2008*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Arquitetura e Urbanismo) Universidade de Brasília – UnB, 2009.
- BAZOLLI, João Aparecido. *Os Efeitos dos vazios urbanos no custo de urbanização da Cidade de Palmas – TO*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Ciência do Ambiente). Universidade Federal do Tocantins - UFT. Palmas, 2007.
- BAZOLLI, João Aparecido. *Dispersão Urbana e instrumentos de gestão: dilemas do poder local e da sociedade em Palmas/ TO*. Tese (Doutorado em Geografia) – Universidade Federal de Uberlândia – UFU, Minas Gerais, 2012.
- BOLAFFI, Gabriel. *Habitação e Urbanismo: o problema e o falso problema*. In: MARICATO, H. *A produção capitalista da casa (e da cidade) no Brasil industrial*. São Paulo: Alfa-ômega, 1982. pp. 37-70.
- CARVALHO Filho, José. Entrevista concedida a Ana Carla de Lira Bottura. Palmas, 19 de Janeiro de 2018.
- CORRÊA, Roberto L. A Periferia Urbana. In: *Revista GEOSUL*, v.1, n.2, Florianópolis, 1986.
- DAMIANI, Amélia L. Urbanização crítica e situação geográfica. In: CARLOS, A.F.; OLIVEIRA, A.U. (orgs.). *Geografia de São Paulo: representação e crise da metrópole*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2004. pp. 19-58.
- DARDOT, Pierre; LAVAL, Christian. *La nueva razón del mundo*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2013.
- LIRA, ELIZEU R. *Entrevista concedida a Ana Carla Bottura*. Porto Nacional, 02 fev. 2017.
- LIRA, ELIZEU R. *A Gênese de Palmas-Tocantins*. A Geopolítica de (Re) Ocupação Territorial na Amazônia Legal. Goiânia: Kelps, 2011.
- LUTA LIBERTÁRIA. *Movimentos sociais autônomos e combativos*. Manifesto disponível em: < <https://quebrandomuros.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/movimentos-sociais-autc3b4nomos-e-combativos-luta-libertc3a1ria.pdf>>. Acesso em: 11 de jun. 2017.
- MARICATO, Ermínia. *A produção capitalista da casa (e da cidade) no Brasil industrial*. São Paulo: Alfa-ômega, 1982.
- MARTINS, Rogério. *Entrevista concedida a Ana Carla Bottura*. Palmas, 25 jan. 2017.

- MELO JÚNIOR, Luiz Gomes de. *Co yoy ore retama: de quem é esta terra?* Uma avaliação da segregação a partir dos programas de habitação e ordenamento territorial de Palmas. Dissertação (Mestrado em Planejamento Urbano). Universidade de Brasília - Minter UnB-UFT. Brasília, 2008.
- MIRANDA, Bismarque. *Entrevista concedida a Ana Carla Bottura*. Palmas, 29 nov. 2016.
- OLIVEIRA, Franciso. Hegemonia às avessas. In: *Revista Piauí*, n. 7, jan 2007.
- OLIVEIRA, Franciso. *Economia Brasileira: crítica à razão dualista*. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, CEBRAP, 4 ed., 1981.
- PAZ, Luís Hildebrando F. *Entrevista concedida a Ana Carla Bottura*. Palmas, 16 jan. 2018.
- RIZEK, Cibele. S.; CARVALHO, C.S.; CAMARGO, C.M. *Política social, gestão e negócio na produção das cidades: o Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida Entidades*. In: Caderno CRH, Salvador, v.27, n.72, 2014, pp.531-546.
- SINGER, André. Raízes Sociais e ideológicas do Lulismo. In: *Revista Novos Estudos*, CEBRAP, n.85, nov. 2009, pp. 83-102.
- SINGER, Paul. *Dominação e desigualdade*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1981.
- SMITH, Neil. *Desenvolvimento Desigual*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1988.
- SILVA, Valéria C.P. *Palmas, a última capital planejada do século XX: uma cidade em busca do tempo*. São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica, 2010.
- SOUZA, Jesse. *A construção social da subcidadania: para uma sociologia política da modernidade periférica*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG; Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 2003.
- SUZUKI, Flávia H. *As ocupações dos movimentos de moradia em Palmas e a disputa pelo espaço urbano*. 2016. Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso do curso de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Federal do Tocantins, 2016.
- TEIXEIRA, Luiz F. C.; FILHO, Walfredo A. O. O ideal e o real. Entrevista a Hugo Segawa. In: *Revista Projeto*, n. 146. São Paulo: Projeto Editores Associados Ltda., 1991. pp. 103-108.
- VAINER, Carlos; HARVEY, D.; MARICATO, E. et al. *Cidades Rebeldes: passe livre e as manifestações que tomaram as ruas do Brasil*. São Paulo: Boitempo, Carta Maior, 2013.

Acknowledgments

This article is the result of the post-graduation discipline “FLG5145 – The Periphery Outskirts on Debate: Contemporary Dimensions”, taught at the College of Philosophy, Literature and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo by Professors Cibele Rizek and César Simoni

Editor’s note

Submitted: 10/10/2017

Acceptance: 05/25/2018

English revision: Tatiana de Oliveira Gomes

Ana Carla de Lira Bottura

Instituto de Arquitetura e Urbanismo. Universidade de São Paulo. São Carlos, SP.
acclira@gmail.com