INNOVATIONS IN REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEW DEVELOPMENT POLES OF RECIFE METROPOLIS

Maria Angela de Almeida Souza¹
Bárbara Góes Biúm Ferragut²
Janaina Aparecida Gomes de Lima³

ABSTRACT

Purpose: This article aims to characterize the innovations introduced in real estate projects implemented in new centers of development in the metropolis of Recife, attracted by changes arising from the economic dynamization encouraged by means of large industrial and real estate projects by the state government in municipalities located farther from its central hub - Recife.

Theoretical framework: The text bases itself on research on real estate dynamics based on broader studies on housing provision, characterizing changes in the real estate development adopted by the private business sector through its linkage to financial capital.

Method: In addition to the bibliographic review, it highlights the impact of the expansion of the real estate sector to the peripheral municipalities in the new development poles of the Recife Metropolitan Region, based on the typological and innovation survey. It also proceeded to the geoprocessing of the referred enterprises, systematized in quantitative tables.

Results and conclusion: It highlights, as a result, the implications caused by these developments, either by the expansion of the housing supply caused, or by the socio-spatial changes caused, especially in its surroundings, resulting from the proposed innovations.

Research implications: The findings of this research points to greater pressure on municipal public authorities to change their territorial planning instruments, transforming rural and peri-urban areas into new areas of urban expansion.

Originality/value: This study presents advances in understanding the process of expansion of real estate investments in peripheral metropolitan centers through the diffusion of new housing standards, especially planned neighborhoods/cities.

Keywords: Real Estate Expansion, Innovations in the Real Estate Product, Development Poles, Metropolitan Dynamics, Recife Metropolitan Region.
Referring to real estate enterprises in the new development hubs of the metropolis of Recife

Referencial teórico: O texto se pauta em pesquisas da dinâmica imobiliária, a partir de estudos mais amplos sobre as formas de provisão de moradias, caracterizando mudanças no processo de incorporação imobiliária adotadas pelo setor empresarial privado, mediante a sua vinculação ao capital financeiro.

Método: Em complemento à revisão bibliográfica, destaca o impacto da expansão do setor imobiliário para os municípios periféricos nos novos polos de desenvolvimento da Região Metropolitana do Recife, tendo por base o levantamento tipológico e de inovações. Também se procedeu ao geoprocessamento dos referidos empreendimentos, sistematizados em tabelas quantitativas.

Resultados e conclusão: Evidencia, como resultado, as implicações provocadas por esses empreendimentos, seja pela ocasionada ampliação da oferta de moradias, seja pelas resultantes mudanças socioespaciais, em especial no seu entorno, decorrentes das inovações propostas.

Implicações da pesquisa: Os achados desta pesquisa apontam para uma maior pressão sobre o poder público municipal para alterar instrumentos de ordenamento territorial, transformando as áreas rurais e periurbanas em novas áreas de expansão urbana.

Originalidade/valor: Este estudo apresenta avanços na compreensão do processo de expansão de investimentos imobiliários em polos periféricos metropolitanos com a difusão de novos padrões habitacionais, especialmente os bairros/cidades planejadas.

Palavras-chave: Expansão Imobiliária, Inovações no Produto Imobiliário, Polos de Desenvolvimento, Dinâmica Metropolitana, Região Metropolitana do Recife.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The neo-developmentalist discourse initiated by the Federal Government in 2006 had as its greatest symbol the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC). Launched in 2007, this program set as a priority the realization of large-scale investments oriented towards the construction and the rehabilitation of the infrastructure, with the prospect that it would be possible to reconcile economic growth with sustainability and social equity. This idea was in line with the inaugural speech of the then Governor of Pernambuco, Eduardo Campos, during his first term of office, which began in 2007, when he defended the idea of "building a new time and the need to correct social distortions" (Diário de Pernambuco, 2014).

The economic decisions of the Federal Government to implant strategic enterprises in the Northeast, especially in Pernambuco, to boost the advance of the local industrial sector aligned themselves with those of the Government of Pernambuco, bringing about changes in the role of the State, which assumed itself as an inducer of economic activities, with the prospect of attracting external investments by means of large structuring projects with a view to obtaining greater competitiveness and to overcoming the relatively long situation of economic stagnation, aggravated by the more competitive context of globalization.

From the mid-2000s, changes in the metropolitan economic dynamics of Recife started to be expressed by means of large industrial and real estate enterprises in areas distant from the Recife pole: the Port Industrial Complex of Suape, to the south (Cabo de Santo Agostinho and Ipojuca), the assembly plant of Fiat, a glass industry and a center for the production of blood byproducts, to the north (Goiana, recently integrated into the instituted limits of the Metropolitan Region, with impacts on the metropolitan municipalities of Igarassu and Itapissuma) and, to a lesser degree, the Arena Pernambuco and the City of the to the west (São...
Lourenço da Mata). New urban structures of a higher economic standard than those installed in these municipalities started to be implanted by the real estate market, attracted by the economic dynamization that was to be announced.

In parallel to this process, the local corporate real estate sector, strengthened with the support of the changes in regulations introduced in the Real Estate Financial System (SFI) in the late 1990s, presented significant changes in its mode of operation and in the real estate product offered. As described by Lima and Souza (2023, p. 146), the innovations introduced in the real estate product arise in the style of condominium club, "which are characterized as sets of various buildings that share a common infrastructure, above all linked to leisure, such as, for example, water park, gyms, cafes, among other items". With regard to housing units, for Cavalcanti (2010), there are no significant changes in the needs program nor in relation to the spatial arrangement.

This article discusses the expansion of the real estate sector in the peripheral metropolitan municipalities, seeking to characterize the changes in the standard of living spaces brought about by this sector, through the implementation of innovative real estate products, which confront the traditional forms and marked by the simplicity that characterize the cities around these enterprises.

Thus, understanding that "development produces impacts, displacements, changes, and puts in focus questions of political, social and cultural order of a society and the very choice of development to follow" (Cavalcanti; Souza & Oliveira, 2018, p. 22), are highlighted, in this article: the emergence of large urban movable enterprises, in the context of the advance of neoliberalism, in the world scenario; the repercussions (without further deepening) of the induction of development occurred in Pernambuco, especially concentrated in the Metropolitan Region of Recife (RMR.), whose dynamization in the peripheral municipalities of the region, attracts interests of the sector real estate; and, finally, the results of the new real estate products of the business sector, characterizing them according to the innovations introduced, as well as the impacts of these innovative forms of housing that confront the simplicity of the traditional forms of their surroundings.

2 THEORETICAL FRAME

The understanding of the problem addressed is based on a reflection on the dynamics of real estate, specifically in the design of large real estate developments, in a neoliberal context in which there is a growing link between real estate and financial capital. This reading starts from a global perspective and is close to the metropolis of Recife, in order to outline its specificities.

2.1 The Emergence of Large Real Estate Enterprises in the Context of the Advancement of Neoliberalism

In the last decades of the 20th century, major projects emerged in the context of a neoliberalist idealism that influenced the Reform of the State in several countries, including Brazil, changing the way the State related to civil society and the market. These projects are guided by a discourse of promoting urban development, due to their structuring role in cities, and were fostered by the creation of new institutions that allowed a greater participation of civil society in public policy decision-making bodies and facilitated the realization of partnerships with the private sector for the implementation of these state initiatives.

Changes of this nature are already taking place in England and the United States, in the 1970s and 1980s, when the city came to be seen as the space for the enterprise. The conventional planning of the plans and regulations for the use of the land, which seemed to be discredited,
gives space to the project, and, accordingly, the entrepreneur assumes the role of the planner and the city as merchandise assumes the role of the city as a social space. According to Hall (2009), the United States, without the tradition of strong regulatory planning, records the origin of this process of promoting the growth of cities instead of controlling it, in the spatial and territorial sense, under the predominance of free enterprise.

Experiments such as those in Boston, Baltimore and San Francisco, in the USA, as well as those in London and Glasgow, in Great Britain, have multiplied in other cities in the world, in projects for renovating central areas of the cities - amongst which, one can highlight the interest in former port areas, which, after undergoing a process of degradation, have once again taken on a strategic role.1 In Brazil, several urban renewal projects have started to be implemented in central areas of cities2, characterizing a new mode of planning and management of cities. In the last decade, the international event of the World Cup 2014, evidenced the attraction of investors and the realization of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) to make possible the implementation of large enterprises and the execution of structuring works.

As Leal (2015, p. 161) states, the dynamics of capitalist accumulation have changed in recent years, and one of the consequences of the global financial crisis has been "the productive restructuring and the rearrangement in the organizational format of economic actors", where the State ceases to play the role of financing agent, to strengthen "the role of the market and private investments" in cities, giving rise to the "new cycle of urban accumulation". As the author says, within the Brazilian real estate market, there is the creation of shareholder companies that often involve various branches "of the capitalist market, such as financial, industrial, commercial and service capital", especially for the execution of "Master Project" with the aim of "increasing and guaranteeing investments and faster realization of profit", as well as to expand the importance of monopoly power over the urban space, retracting the management capacity and governability of the State" (Leal, 2015, p. 162).

The municipalities that make up the Brazilian metropolitan regions, under the justification of "attracting investments for actions of a structuring nature", end up making possible a true "entrepreneurship" of the city. As a consequence of this reality, Leal (2015) highlights: "The strengthening and dizzying growth of urban accumulation in Brazilian cities; the intensification of the actions of real estate agents in defiance of state planning and the growing privatization of the State in the context of megaprojects and urban mega-events (Leal, 2015, p. 163-164).

For Chesnais (2010, p. 16), financial accumulation is at the center of contemporary capitalism and in this reality financial assets are accumulated in quite large amounts so that they can generate income to be earned by their owners. Such rents can exist in various ways, such as ‘profits on government debt, on corporate bonds’ and even on ‘mortgage loans’. Income can also be generated from "dividends on the property titles of firms" and "profits resulting from successful speculations, among which is the real estate sector" (Chesnais, 2010, p. 16).

Harvey (2014, p. 92), for its part, states that financial accumulation is also present in the process of urbanization, because urbanization is used to absorb "capital and labor surpluses throughout the history of capitalism". It also appears that ‘the production of space and space monopolies becomes an integral part of the dynamics of accumulation’ (Harvey, 2014, p. 92), especially in the recent phase. According to the author, the transformation of the city then becomes a necessity for the reproduction of capital, and in this context real estate capital starts to assume a central role in the reproduction of the new economic order.

Leal and Borges (2012) consider that the urban area is now of enormous importance for the accumulation of capital, since it is in this area that the majority are located "the large industrial companies responsible for the production and valorization of capital, like the production and sale of energy, infrastructure and technological-information services, besides
activities linked to the financial market and real estate corporations” (Leal e Borges, 2012, p. 41).

Mariana Fix (2011, p. 12) states that in Brazil, the real estate sector has proven to be very selective in cities to live up to the imposition of financial capital growth. This growth was facilitated by a series of regulations introduced in the late 1990s, when some instruments were instituted in the context of the SFI, to raise funds in a secondary market of securities receivable real estate, with the aim of improving financial instruments that connect the real estate sector and the capital market. The SFI has thus enabled the creation of real estate-based assets, with the aim of linking institutions that demand long-term assets to individuals seeking credit and furniture3.

At the local level, the strengthening of the real estate sector takes place, from then on, through the formation of corporations that result from the merger of real estate groups among themselves or with groups linked to industrial capital, or to tourist capital, or to land capital, among others, all linked to national and international financial capital (Leal, 2015). With the predominance of free initiative and partnerships with the private sector for the implementation of large urban projects, the real estate groups acquire strength before the public authorities - state and municipal, as well as exert pressure for measures that benefit them, whether in the established partnership contracts, or in the change of instruments of spatial planning and in the creation of new special zones with parameters of greater density and verticalization, for example. Aspects of these processes in the metropolis of Recife are objects of unfolding in the following items.

2.2 Dynamization of Development Poles in the Metropolis of Recife Attracting Real Estate Interests

The major economic projects that have emerged since the 20th century threshold for the 21st century are seen as an opportunity for redemption for MRR, which, from the 20th century onwards, has been characterized by the poverty of a large part of its population, excluded from access to land and urban benefits. The historical processes and structural condition of the metropolis of Recife, inseparable and consolidated over time, contribute to today it is characterized as the third most unequal in the country, with Gini coefficient of 0.654 (Salata & Ribeiro, 2022). This inequality is most evident in the metropolitan pole - the city of Recife, which concentrates 42.4% of the precarious settlements of the region, which share the territory of the city with residential settlements of high and medium construction standards, sometimes generating socially unequal neighborhoods, within walking distance of each other (Souza, 2008).

The implantation of large enterprises to the south, west and north of the MRR, as well as the urban infrastructure that support them, stems from the insertion of Brazil in the process of globalization of the economy and undertakes differentiated territorial dynamics, depending on their location in the interior of the metropolis. At the first signs of a possible economic dynamism, which has manifested itself in a more evident way since the end of the 2000s, the local real estate sector is responding with pretensions for investments in the peripheral municipalities of the metropolis, where these dynamic enterprises are located. This is aided by changes in the policy of the Federal Government, with the implementation of the My Home My Life Program (PMCMV)5, which brought in itself the function of supporting the economy, by means of dynamizing the real estate sector, and, on the other hand, of meeting a demand for housing for people without access to the financing structures that had existed up until then6.

The expansion of real estate investments to the edges of the urban network and to the peri-urban areas, as well as the emptying of old central areas, is not a process experienced only by the metropolis of Recife. It has been shown as a common process, also, in other Brazilian
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and Latin American metropolises, with urban expansion pressing in aspects such as consumption, energy demand, landscape fragmentation, among others (AbdelJawad & Nagy, 2023). In these localities, irregular urbanization is still related to potential environmental disasters (da Silva, Lafayette & Silva, 2023).

However, what stands out here is the diffusion of new housing standards, which have a relationship with the model of closed residential condominiums, where residents of the middle and upper classes practice self-segregation, moving away from the urban centers. This model has been maintained in the last decades, being popularized in more peripheral localities of the MRR and destined to a medium segment of the population, whose access to housing was given by means of the PMCMV. The publicity of the ventures values the differential attributes of the "club", suggesting the consumption of the model also as a way of differentiating itself socially (Lima & Souza, 2023).

As highlighted by Souza and Bitoun (2015), these new housing patterns that proliferate in the MRR, in their various scales, besides impeding urban permeability, expand the segmentation of the territory and the sociospatial inequalities that characterize the region, increasingly affirming the logic of capital in the production and reproduction of cities. A large part of these new ventures are supported by a set of infrastructure that brings together leisure items, private security apparatuses and contact with nature, aspects that are commercialized, composing the sales arguments to attract the families.

Linked to the globalized economy, characterized by the advance of the process of financialization, the real estate sector is expanding in the unceasing quest for maximizing profits, whose strategies are based on the transformation of the use of the land, which starts to guide, in particular, the production of corporate real estate.

The strong concentration of investments, evidenced by the size of the enterprises implanted or proposed, demonstrates the expectations of profit of the private market, especially because it acquires the land in the form of plots for a much lower price than that of the land already parceled, and assume the implantation of the parceling of the soil, of the physical infrastructure, and, in the case of housing developments, of the construction of the dwellings. As Souza and Bitoun say (2015),

Big entrepreneurs become big landowners and speculation shifts from the value of building to the price of land. Rural and peri-urban areas are privileged as urban expansion areas commanded by the private sector, which pressures municipal public authorities to change their instruments of spatial planning, to create new special zones with parameters of greater density and verticalization, establishing a reversal of the valuation of land in the center-periphery relationship Souza and Bitoun (Souza & Bitoun, 2015, p. 31).

The municipal government participates in this process, on the one hand, in the expectation of raising resources with taxes derived from the new uses in its territory, and, on the other, assuming responsibility for urban planning and regulation, which suffer pressures to adapt to the new forms proposed by the real estate sector. In many cases, particularly in those enterprises that take on the scale of neighborhoods, or even cities, the transfer of the leading role in planning urban solutions from the public power to the private sector tends to arouse urban tensions. The privatization of collective spaces has a strong appeal for the target public of these enterprises, supported by a discourse linked to the notion of exclusivity and that private security is necessary in the face of the increase of urban violence, as reported by Caldeira (2003), in the so-called fortified enclaves. Moreover, such privatization practices evoke urban problems such as hygiene, exclusion and urban segregation. Ultimately, this bias of
privatization of collective spaces symbolizes a perspective that the public power is incapable of acting in the city.

**3 METHOD**

This article presents the results of research developed at the Observatoire Pernambuco/Nucleus Recife of the Observatory of the Metropolis, in the framework of the project "Study on the forms of production of the dwelling and its impacts on the spatial reconfiguration of the metropolises", within the axis of investigation aimed at the analysis of the form of business production. The project is part of a national network, with the support of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), under the National Science and Technology Institutes (INCT) program.

The spatial cutout of the research corresponds to the metropolis of Recife. The bibliographic review is based on research of real estate dynamics, from broader studies on the forms of housing provision, characterizing changes in the process of real estate incorporation adopted by the private business sector, through its linkage to financial capital.

The data presented in this article are the fruit of research by Scientific Initiation (UFPE/CNPq), developed by the second author, under the guidance of the first author. The research begins with the gathering of the raw and isolated data already existing in the PE Observatory/Recife Nucleus of the INCT/Observatory of the Metropolis, obtained through previous researches, in a single table of synthesis. To demonstrate the expansion of real estate production, these data were grouped by development pole (north, south and west), such that each line corresponds to a real estate development, and the columns refer to characteristics of these developments (such as the municipality where it is located, typology, target market range, property value, area of the development, etc.). Subsequently, the gaps left by the previous research were filled and the enterprises were geo-referenced, creating a database, whose systematization is presented in the tables of synthesis of this article.

**4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

The analyzes were structured starting from the innovations proposed by the real estate ventures in the development poles of the metropolis of Recife. Subsequently, based on some case studies, the implications of these enterprises are addressed, either by the expansion of housing supply caused by it, or by the socio-spatial changes caused, especially in its surroundings.

**4.1 Recent Innovations Introduced in Real Estate Enterprises in the Metropolis of Recife**

Using opportune situations, combined with advantages granted by the government, which are realized in adaptations of urban legislation, or in provision of infrastructure and services, several construction companies have launched real estate developments characterized by the population density of large housing estates and the creation of new planned cities/neighborhoods. With the survey of projects of the enterprises in the RMR., carried out in 2017, referring to the period from 2006 to 2011, a total of 64 projects were registered, seven located to the south, 23 to the west and 34 to the north. For the analysis of the data, the criterion was the identification of the type of production - public (PMCMV), corporate or mixed (Table 1); the forecast population and the relationship of this number with the population of the municipality where the enterprises are located (Table 2); and the proposed housing typologies - vertical and horizontal condominiums closed and neighborhoods and cities planned (Table 3).
The production of the enterprises has a different nature, predominating those of public promotion (58%), built by private enterprise, but contracted under the PMCMV. This predominance confirms the importance of this policy in boosting the private real estate sector, since the program has one credit system for production and another for consumption. In this system, the private entrepreneur, responsible for the production of the housing product, does not assume risk, since the buyers transfer their debts to the financing agencies or banks.

When evaluating real estate production in the areas of expansion of the MRR, it is possible to see that between 2006 and 2011, public promotion by means of the PMCMV is more accentuated in the north and west poles, which in number of enterprises surpasses business production (Table 1). According to Cavalcanti (2010), this is mainly due to the fact that this production is linked to a housing demand generated by some factors: the expectations of job opportunities generated by the arrival of large industrial enterprises to the north and the consequent attraction of the population to the urban environment; the insertion of the "C" class in the real estate market; and the emergence of a planned city to the west (the City of the Cup).

Table 1 - Quantity of new ventures launched RMR. between 2006 and 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pole</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>QUANTITY OF ENTERPRISES</th>
<th>PROMOTION TYPE</th>
<th>Allotments</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public / PMCMV</td>
<td>Private/ Corporate</td>
<td>Enterprise + PMCMV</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Goiana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Igarassu</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itapissuma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itamaracá</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal North</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>São Lourenço da Mata</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camaragibe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total West</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Cabo de Santo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agostinho</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipojuca</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total South</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the same period, the corporate real estate production, although it seems numerically less significant, especially in the south pole, is of greater expression in the scale of the enterprises, as shown in Table 2, by the forecast number of houses and population in the various projects, factors somewhat explained by the typology presented in Table 3, with greater number of planned districts and cities in the south pole.

The magnitude of some of these new patterns of residential developments would generate a large population increase in the receiving municipalities. According to the expectations of real estate entrepreneurs, this population increase in municipalities could reach very high levels (Lima, 2015), reaching an increase of more than 50%, as is the case of the planned neighborhood project Insta Suape, expected to be delivered in the year 2017 and subsequently paralyzed.

Table 2 provides a table of the representativeness of all the enterprises in the territory of the municipalities where they are located.7 According to the data obtained, the planned enterprises between 2006 and 2011 in the metropolis of Recife would increase by 41.6% the population of all the municipalities where they are located. It is important to point out that this percentage would rise, if we add up the data from the Itapissuma enterprise, as well as a few other enterprises about which the research did not obtain access.
The greatest population impact of these enterprises is in the municipality of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, once the municipal population is doubled. For this, contributes the implementation of the planned neighborhoods Paiva Reserve and Invites. Adding up the municipalities of Cabo and Ipojuca, the population increase of these enterprises would represent 88.3% in the south pole. Another municipality with a significant increase in the population would be São Lourenço da Mata, whose increase would total 43.9% of the current population, in the hypothesis of having been implanted the City of the Cup. In the northern sector, this percentage is smaller, but still significant, representing 17.2% of the current population, due to the two planned neighborhoods in Igarassu.
Table 2 - Quantity, area, dwellings, population and densities of new enterprises in the MRR (2006-2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pole</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population municipality (2010 Census)</th>
<th>Quantity of enterprises surveyed</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>% w/ Total</th>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
<th>Intended dwellings</th>
<th>Projected population</th>
<th>Density (population/ha)</th>
<th>% Population s/municipality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Goiana</td>
<td>75,644</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>232.32</td>
<td>5,050</td>
<td>20,200</td>
<td>8 694.90</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Igarassu</td>
<td>102,021</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>97.69</td>
<td>4,019</td>
<td>16,076</td>
<td>16 456.10</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itapissuma</td>
<td>23,769</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itamaracã</td>
<td>21,884</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>2,176</td>
<td>32 721.80</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal North</strong></td>
<td><strong>223,318</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>64.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>336.66</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,613</strong></td>
<td><strong>38,452</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 421.60</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>São Lourenço da Mata</td>
<td>102,895</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>295.2</td>
<td>11,298</td>
<td>45,192</td>
<td>15 308.90</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camaragibe</td>
<td>144,466</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14.65</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>6,216</td>
<td>43 017.30</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sub-total West</strong></td>
<td><strong>247,361</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>95.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>309.65</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,852</strong></td>
<td><strong>51,408</strong></td>
<td><strong>16 602.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Cabo de Santo Agostinho</td>
<td>189,222</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,545</td>
<td>36,202</td>
<td>152,808</td>
<td>9 890.50</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipojuca</td>
<td>80,637</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>342.26</td>
<td>12,120</td>
<td>85,480</td>
<td>24 975.20</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sub-total South</strong></td>
<td><strong>269,859</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 887.30</strong></td>
<td><strong>48,322</strong></td>
<td><strong>239,288</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 626.10</strong></td>
<td><strong>88.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>740,538</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>79.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 533.60</strong></td>
<td><strong>70,787</strong></td>
<td><strong>328,148</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 952.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>41.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * No data were found from the development of the municipality of Itapissuma.

Despite the larger scale of the planned neighborhoods, as well as their greater contribution in terms of population and planned dwellings, numerically predominate, among the typologies of the housing developments, the closed, horizontal and vertical condominiums. At the west pole, vertical housing units for public promotion, financed by the PMCMV, stand out. At this center, a little more than half of the enterprises launched were handed over. Many of the contracts were canceled and even projects that had the works completed are mostly unoccupied (Table 3).

In the northern portion of the territory, the quantity of closed horizontal housing estates is significant, due to the fact that this complex is still attractive, keeping in full activity the automotive, pharmaco-chemical and glassware industrial poles.

The mega-enterprises, in the format of "planned neighborhoods", emerged in the 2010s, as a new form of housing provision undertaken by the business real estate sector in the RMR., and their occurrence is recorded in all dynamic poles of the region. These neighborhoods/cities constitute the greatest innovation of recent real estate production in the RMR. and their typology of implementation of housing expands the scale of the large horizontal and vertical condominiums, including spaces of equipment and services - especially education and supply - necessary to the consumption pattern of the population to which they are intended.

Generally speaking, real estate ventures implemented in the region's various dynamic poles aimed to meet the housing demand of middle and upper standard employees who would serve the large industries or services installed. Unlike the other expansion zones, the South Pole presents all its enterprises promoted by the business sector, thus showing the great interest of the real estate market in this area. The planned city or neighborhood-type enterprises that focused on this complex are all implemented by the business sector aiming to meet high and medium standards audiences and rely on strong investment and disclosure from the construction companies.
### Table 3 - Quantity of enterprises by promotion, typology and situation of implementation in the MRR (2006-2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pole</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>PMCMV</th>
<th>Enterprise</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PROMOTION</th>
<th>TYPELOGY</th>
<th>SITUATION</th>
<th>Delivery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Planned</td>
<td>Vertical housing</td>
<td>Vertical housing</td>
<td>Allotment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Goiana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Igarassu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itapissuma*</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal North</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>São Lourenço da Mata</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camaragibe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total West</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Cabo de Santo Agostinho</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipojuca</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total South</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * No data were found from the development of the municipality of Itapissuma.

The projects of the planned districts of the south pole came about in a scenario in which the Port Industrial Complex of Suape (CIPS) was in wide and full activity, requiring an urgency for housing. However, with the crisis that in recent years has shaken Brazil, the CIPS has lost strength and investments, such that projects aimed at the housing sector have had their works paralyzed.

With the exception of the Reserva do Paiva district, located in the municipality of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, in the south pole, which has already had many of its ventures launched, the other districts have their works ceased, not started or, at most, in extremely preliminary stages. Less than 30% of the projects planned for this complex were delivered, while the remaining 70% are under construction or without information on the progress.

In relation to the West Pole, the non-execution of the "City of the Cup" and the termination of the contract between the construction company Odebrecht and the Government of the State of Pernambuco contributed to this core of development no longer be the target of investments. Despite this, the announcement of this venture generated expectations that impacted the real estate market in the area. The volume of housing developments built there, much of it by the MCMV Program, represents a stock of dwellings that can attract population displacements from other areas. At this pole, about 65% of the enterprises launched were built, while the rest is in the works phase. Other regions, on the other hand, whose industrial activities are still active in these regions, contribute to making the region where new metropolitan centers are located, with the South Pole, more consolidated in this sense.

4.2 Innovative Forms of Housing in Contrast to the Simplicity of Traditional Forms

In order to illustrate how the innovations introduced by enterprises such as these bring about changes in urban dynamics and the rupture of the socioeconomic and spatial contexts of the studied municipalities, three enterprises were taken as examples. The analyzes show the urban characteristics and the traditional pattern of the dwellings of the affected municipalities, in comparison with the proposals for the implementation, some already carried out, of the new real estate developments, which establish an expressive social differentiation in relation to their surroundings.

For a more trustworthy representation of the dynamics addressed, the cases selected cover distinct locations and scales, being: the Invites Suape, proposed in the municipality of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, in the south development pole; the City of the Cup, in São Lourenço da Mata, in the west development pole; and the EcoLife Reserve, in Goiana, in the north development pole.

In the municipality of Goiana, it is possible to notice that the traditional urban fabric is characterized predominantly by its irregular mesh (Figure 1 - a.1), with small lots, and by the self-construction of houses (glued on both sides of the lot) of popular pattern, aligned with the street, without the presence of walls, fences and grills (Figure 2 - a). In opposition to this traditional city, the projects proposed there are characterized by the more rigid and geometrized layout of the roads, with extensive courts, large lots and high standard houses (Figure 2 - b), supplied by various equipment, such as sauna, gourmet space, playground etc.

According to the IBGE Cities, about half of the resident population in Goiana (48.2%) has monthly income of up to half a minimum wage and only 27.2% has formal work. The EcoLife Reservation (Figure 1 - a.2), a project for a district planned for the area, on the other hand, proposes high-end residences in its enterprise, whose square meter reaches high values, incompatible with the income of the local population, inferring that they are products inaccessible to the majority of the local population. Accordingly, the inclusion of this project differs from the traditional urban network, also affecting the current socioeconomic dynamics.
Innovations in Real Estate Enterprises in the New Development Hubs of the Metropolis of Recife

According to the propaganda of the company responsible - Immobi Ventures -, the project represents “a new lifestyle proposal”.

In the municipality of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, enterprises were also launched that differ from the existing urban network, as is the case of the Invites Suape. While the municipality is characterized by single family homes of popular standard (Figure 2 - a) arranged in a parcel of land with irregular blocks (Figure 1 - b.1), the design of the Invites proposes a structured parceling from high flow roads and large blocks (Figure 1 - b.2), with the insertion of tower buildings, aimed at a public with medium and high rents, concentrating housing and work in the same space (Figure 2 - c). As in Goiana, this project, should it be handed over, will represent major changes in the local dynamics, since it alone represents an increase of almost 50% of the resident population. According to the IBGE Cities (2018), 43.8% of the local population has monthly income of up to half minimum wage and only 20.9% have formal occupation (work).

Finally, and not unlike the other cases already exposed, in São Lourenço da Mata, whose resident population, 46.1% of it, has a monthly income of up to half a minimum wage and only 9.1% have a formal occupation, several real estate innovations aimed at the public with medium and high rents were also launched, among them, the City of the Cup. In its traditional center, the parceling is similar to those of the other cities mentioned, with houses that present themselves loose in the lot, walled, with high rate of occupation of the land and characterized by its popular pattern (Figure 2 - a). However, the World Cup City project, characterized by open courts (Figure 1 - c.2) and high-rise buildings (Figure 2 - c), in addition to provoking an increase in population and the arrival of a higher income population for the municipality, has urban design proposals very different from the existing mesh.

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the parceling of the soil in the central areas of Goiana, Cabo de Santo Agostinho and São Lourenço da Mata, in comparison with the enterprises analyzed
Source: Drafting by the authors (2023).
With the scarcity of empty land in the central areas (where the infrastructure networks are predominantly located), the investors looked for new areas of interest in the metropolitan peripheries, in part stimulated by the prospect of development that was being announced, taking innovations to the environment where they implanted their ventures and consolidating distinct and conflicting patterns of urban structures. Among the three projects analyzed, Ecolife Reserve is the one that has advanced most in the implementation of the housing, with its lots being commercialized. Invites Suape launched an initial phase, but its implementation was suspended due to the local property crisis in the years 2010. Public educational equipment is being implemented in areas donated by the enterprise to the public authorities as a counterpart for its implementation. In the case of the World Cup City, the enterprise was also suspended, having been built only the Arena Pernambuco - sports equipment structuring the proposal - and the infrastructure supporting its operation (road access system and parking).

![Figure 2](image_url)

**Figure 2.** Schematic representation of the characteristic housing typologies of the central areas of Goiana, Cabo de Santo Agostinho and São Lourenço da Mata in comparison to the typologies proposed in the enterprises analyzed.

**Source:** Drafting by the authors (2023).

### 5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recent changes in the metropolis of Recife highlight the preponderance of the real estate sector in the construction of urban space and in the diffusion of new housing standards, whether in the enterprises destined to the groups of high and medium income, by means of the production of large vertical and horizontal condominiums, with their apparatuses for isolation,
or in those destined to the popular market of medium and low income, by means of housing schemes promoted by the My House My Life Program, which follow similar standards of closed condominiums. Its implementation gives priority to large areas, which are close to the poles of economic dynamization, encouraged by the Government of Pernambuco, distant from the central pole of the metropolis.

The process of expansion of real estate investments, in the context of the economic dynamics encouraged in the region, especially in the decade of 2010, advanced to the poles of the metropolitan periphery of Recife, installing itself on the edges of the urban network and in the periurban space. As a common process in other Brazilian cities, this expansion acquires specific characteristics in the metropolis of Recife, by the diffusion of new housing standards, especially the districts and cities planned. There is a significant change in the scale of the real estate enterprise, in the light of those that were being implanted in the Recife region.

In the 2010s, mega-ventures in the format of "planned neighborhoods" stand out as the newest form of housing provision undertaken by the business real estate sector in RMR. These enterprises expand the scale of large horizontal and vertical condominiums, including spaces for equipment and services - especially education and supply - necessary to the consumption pattern of the population to which they are destined. In general, these enterprises aim to meet the housing demand of employees of medium and higher standards of the new metropolitan development poles, for example, among others at the stage of proposition, of the projects south of the metropolis of Recife, in the vicinity of the CIPS. In the metropolitan north, however, they settle in the vicinity of the automotive complex. In turn, enterprises in the metropolitan west aim to attract the population of medium and high standards to this locality (Souza & Bitoun, 2015).

At their various scales, the new housing patterns that proliferate in the MRR, including condominiums and closed lots, work as an impediment to urban fluidity, as has already been highlighted above, widening the segmentation of the territory and the sociospatial inequalities. However, those larger-scale enterprises, of which the planned neighborhoods and cities are the largest examples, represent, above all, a shift from the public to the private sector in terms of the protagonism of planning the city's spaces and regulating their use.

The strong concentration of investments, as well as the profit expectations of the private market, with the implantation of these real estate mega-ventures, calls attention. In this sense, we can see the association of companies from other sectors or the owner of the land with the real estate business that operates in the region. The rural and peri-urban areas become privileged objects of acquisition by the private real estate sector, which starts to pressure the municipal public authorities to change their instruments of spatial planning, transforming the acquired areas into new areas of urban expansion, and thus establishing a reversal of the valuation of land in the central-periphery relationship.

Currently only the Reserva do Paiva materializes this idea, which has expanded among real estate entrepreneurs, who have set themselves in search of large plots to reproduce it. In reality, the analysis presented here characterizes a process interrupted by the property crisis unleashed at the end of the 2000s, but it portrays the investments made to consolidate enterprises that still have the expectation of becoming reality. For the time being, the sums purchased function as a store of value, waiting for a favorable opportunity.
REFERENCES


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1 Examples are the works of revitalization of the ports of Genoa, Barcelona, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Liverpool, Marseille, Buenos Aires and Lisbon, some linked to the realization of major events, such as Port Vell de Barcelona, to host the Olympic Games of 1992; the revitalization of the docks on the banks of the River Tagus, with the implementation of the Park of Nations, for the realization of Expo’98, in Lisbon, among others [Portas (2003); Harvey (2004); Cuenya; Novais & Vainer (2011) and others].

2 Examples are: the Cultural Corridor Project of Rio Janeiro, in the 1980s; the Recovery Program of the Historic Center of Salvador, in the 1990s, in the framework of which the works of revitalization of Pelourinho were carried out; the Revitalization Plan of the Historic Center of Recife; the Touristic and Cultural Complex Docks Station of Belém; and, more recently, the Porto Maravilha Project in Rio de Janeiro and the Porto Novo Project, in Recife [20006 et Novais et al. (2007); Oliveira et al. (2012); and others].

3 It is important to point out here that in Brazil the same process that occurs in the United States is not identified, where there has been an effective linkage between the financial and real estate sectors. As Cano (2010) warns, it is worth reflecting on whether the construction sector in Brazil does not yet continue to present more striking characteristics of market capital. See also Cardoso & Aragão (2012).

4 The Gini coefficient measures the degree of income distribution among individuals in a population, ranging from zero to one. The value zero represents the situation of complete equality, in which all would have the same income, and the value one represents a situation of complete inequality, in which only one person would hold all the income. In this way, it is possible to compare the income inequality between two moments or locations starting from this coefficient (Salata & Ribeiro, 2022, p. 10).

5 The PMCMV operated from 2009 to 2020, being replaced by the Green and Yellow House program (2020-2023). In 2023, with the new government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the PMCMV was resumed with reformulations.

6 Until the mid-2010s, due to the consolidation of the financialization of the housing by the opening of the capital of the construction companies on the stock exchanges, the real estate production throughout the country was characterized by self-financing, in general directed towards the medium and high standard audiences. In the government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), the National Housing System (NHS) is created, which expands the range of the population contemplated by the private housing market. This program stimulates the market's activity towards the middle class and starts to attract large developers who, going beyond their territorial limits, adopt a land storage strategy (Cavalcanti, 2010).

7 It is important to point out that it was only possible to have access to the location and the area data and number of dwellings offered in about 80% of the enterprises surveyed, which can be considered as a significant sample.