

Questions in the production of vertical living and the public space: a look at the Marista Sector in Goiânia

Questões da produção do morar vertical e o espaço público: um olhar ao setor Marista, em Goiânia

Questiones en la producción de la vivienda vertical y el espacio público: una mirada al sector Marista en Goiânia

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Abstract

In contemporary times, we witness the dissemination of certain urban phenomena that pose significant implications for public space, resulting in its instrumentalization, depreciation of its value, and reduction of social interactions. The current increase in



residential vertical urbanism, driven by new ways of living, as constantly labeled by the real estate market, has exerted visible impacts on the city as a public good to be experienced because it not only offers exclusivities within the walls to the residents, but also influences the ways public space and the city are used and appropriated. Consequently, it reconfigures, to varying degrees, socio-spatial practices and social interactions. This article analyzes some of those implications through strategies and tactics adopted by real estate companies that promote the new ways of living in the Marista sector of Goiânia. Field research methods combined with a literature review identified the production of privatized spatialities associated with certain appropriations from both verticalization processes and sales of new housing typologies, challenging the concept of public space and contributing to the reduction of urban life.

Keywords: Vertical residential; Socio-spatial practices; Public space; Private spatialities.

Resumo

Na contemporaneidade, presencia-se a disseminação de certos fenômenos urbanos que possuem implicações significativas no espaço público, resultando em sua instrumentalização, na diminuição das interações sociais e na depreciação de seu valor. Nesse contexto, o atual aumento do urbanismo vertical residencial, orientado pelo que o mercado imobiliário constantemente rotula como “novas formas de morar”, tem apresentado desdobramentos visíveis na cidade enquanto bem público a ser vivenciado. Isso não apenas porque oferece “exclusividades” intra-muros aos moradores, mas também porque influencia nas formas de uso e de apropriação do espaço público e da cidade, reconfigurando, em maior ou menor grau, as práticas socioespaciais e as sociabilizações. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar algumas dessas implicações por meio das estratégias e táticas adotadas pelas empresas imobiliárias que promovem as “novas formas de morar” no setor Marista, em Goiânia. Com o método pesquisa de campo, em conjunto com a revisão bibliográfica, foi possível verificar a produção de “espacialidades do privado” que estão vinculadas à certas apropriações decorrentes de processos de verticalização e da venda de novas tipologias habitacionais, desafiando o sentido de espaço público e contribuindo com a redução da vida urbana.

Palavras-chave: Verticalização residencial; Práticas socioespaciais; Espaço público; Espacialidades privadas.

Resumen

En la contemporaneidad, se presencia la difusión de ciertos fenómenos urbanos que tienen implicaciones significativas en el espacio público, resultando en su instrumentalización, en la disminución de las interacciones sociales y en la devaluación de su valor. El aumento actual del urbanismo vertical residencial, orientado por lo que el mercado inmobiliario constantemente etiqueta como “nuevas formas de vivir”, ha



presentado desarrollos visibles en la ciudad como un bien público a ser experimentado. Esto no solo porque ofrece “exclusividades” intra-muros a los residentes, sino también porque influye en las formas de uso y apropiación del espacio público y de la ciudad, reconfigurando las prácticas socioespaciales y las sociabilizaciones. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar algunas de estas implicaciones a través de las estrategias y tácticas adoptadas por las empresas inmobiliarias que promueven las “nuevas formas de vivir” en el sector Marista, en Goiânia. Con el método de investigación de campo, junto con la revisión bibliográfica, fue posible verificar la producción de “espacialidades privadas” que están vinculadas a ciertas apropiaciones derivadas de los procesos de verticalización y de la venta de nuevas tipologías habitacionales, desafiando el sentido de espacio público y contribuyendo a la reducción de la vida urbana.

Palabras clave: Verticalización residencial; Prácticas socioespaciales; Espacio público; Espacialidades privadas.

INTRODUCTION¹

In contemporary cities, transformations in urban space are conditioned by the social, cultural, political, technological, and economic dynamics that govern the present time. In this context, the advance of capital within urban structures, under the neoliberal configuration, transforms cities into real financial assets, where the socio-spatial forms resulting from this process – from buildings, built environment, land use systems, production, and exchange networks to metropolitan infrastructure arrangements – are shaped so as to ensure the necessary expansion of profits (Brenner; Marcuse; Mayer, 2012; Simoni; Carvalho, 2024).

In such a scenario where the production of space is generally guided by the logic of capital circulation and dominance, certain urban phenomena proliferate, significantly affecting the meaning of public space, thus leading to its instrumentalization, weakening of social interactions, and reduction of its value (Alves; Tapia, 2014; Alves, 2020). Thus, this article investigates some issues related to residential vertical urbanism and public space in contemporary times.

According to data from from Empresa Brasileira de Estudos de Patrimônio (Embraesp, 2020), since the 2000s, 9,344 towers have been built in Brazil, of which 8,510 were residential, a figure nearly triple that of the period between 1980 and 2000. Authors such as Alves, Camargo, and Cardozo (2020) and Alves, Appert, and Montès (2024) emphasized while corporate buildings are representative of that verticalization, contemporary residential high-rises are more than architectural

¹ This article is part of a master's thesis entitled *Verticalization in the planned city: transformations of/in the urban space and socio-spatial dynamics in Goiânia*, and supported by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Brasil (Capes) – Funding Code 001. The main objective was to understand the forms of use, appropriation, and socio-spatial practices in certain public spaces of the city, specifically within the empirical segments chosen, namely, Jardim Goiás and Marista sectors.



solutions; becoming commodities² in a global market. They are, therefore, essential elements for the generation of capital flows, targeted by developers and municipalities as part of a specific strategy for the reproduction of urban space (Alves; Camargo; Cardozo, 2020; Alves; Appert; Montès, 2024).

In that process, the vertical real estate market often labels that production as 'new ways of living', since such architectural typologies, especially targeted at middle and upper classes, offer the resident-consumer a range of 'exclusive' amenities related to leisure, services, and security within gated spaces³.

As early as the 2000s, Teresa Caldeira (2000) observed a similar process related to the emergence of privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work in the city of São Paulo, which she referred to as 'fortified enclaves'. Although the author placed greater emphasis on gated communities and enclosed horizontal condominiums, her interpretation remains relevant for a global understanding of this process: the logic of the condominium – or enclave – in establishing the ideal version of the 'new concept of living', serves as a central reference to be replicated in other typologies. In these, the predominant trend is the exclusivity of having 'everything in the place of residence,' the excessive pursuit of security, and the valorization of living among 'equals,' away from the social heterogeneity that composes public life (Caldeira, 2000).

More recently, Alves, Appert, and Montès (2024) have also contributed to the debate on the new market strategies of residential verticalization and their socio-spatial implications. The authors discuss the way the current vertical real estate production is involved in the process of relocating certain uses and practices into the interior of buildings and promoting both privatization and transformation of public space, leading to a socio-spatial fragmentation in several cities.

In this sense, while the 'new ways of living' are currently considered commodities resulting from the convergence of neoliberal urban policies and financial structures (Alves; Appert; Montès, 2024; Simoni; Carvalho, 2024), their (re)production has raised new questions on the dominance of capital in the cities and its implications for the uses and forms of appropriation of public space. Therefore, if public space can be understood as the place where collective experiences, interaction with differences (alterity), civility, and democratic exercise are performed, to what extent can the production of 'new ways of living' affect urban life?

2 Traditionally seen as a basic necessity and a human right, housing has been increasingly treated as a financial asset. Individuals purchase properties not only for personal use, but also as an investment, expecting their constant appreciation. Housing is therefore transformed into a commodity that can be bought and sold in the market, similarly to other commodities (typically, primary products traded globally).

3 In terms of leisure and service facilities, the highlights include gourmet spaces, playgrounds, multi-sport courts, gyms, playrooms, party halls, spas, game rooms, delivery spaces, internal markets, coworking spaces, and many other amenities. Regarding security strategies, noteworthy features include biometric and facial recognition systems, guardhouses with social and service entrance vestibules, cameras and micro-cameras placed at strategic points, perimeter monitoring and sensor installation at strategic locations, and even the use of Artificial Intelligence in security projects (see, for example, the Casa Conceito development by Terral Incorporadora, which will be built in Goiânia. Available at: <https://www.terralincorporadora.com.br/lancamento/casa-conceito---praca-do-sol/69>).



This article analyzes certain uses and forms of appropriation that manifest in the city and its public space, particularly related to the production and sales of 'new ways of living' in contemporary Goiânia. The focus is on the tactics and strategies adopted by real estate companies in the Marista sector, a neighborhood from the 1970s, composed of middle and upper classes of Goiânia, which has recently been the target of verticalization processes.

Goiânia was founded in 1933 to be the planned capital of the state of Goiás. A symbol of a new era, the original plan by Atílio Corrêa Lima⁴ represented an attempt to break with the colonial past and pursue the modernization of a part of rural Brazil. Its verticalization process began in the 1960s when a few vertical buildings started to appear timidly in the central neighborhoods. Such timidity contrasts with the present day, when Goiânia stands out as the capital with greatest potential for real estate growth in the country, with 200 construction sites, including 120 buildings with more than 25 floors and a significant portion of the projects being in the luxury segment (Branco, 2023)⁵.

According to data from Associação das Empresas do Mercado Imobiliário de Goiás (Ademi-GO), in 2022, 11,550 units were launched in the city, covering the vertical residential market, houses, hotels, and commercial buildings. Of these, 11,047 were apartments. The Marista sector is one of the most valued neighborhoods in the capital, with the square meter priced above R\$ 9,000. Additionally, it is one of the sectors that witnessed the greatest growth in 2022, with 1,352 new residential units (Associação das Empresas do Mercado Imobiliário de Goiás, 2022).

Therefore, what are the implications of that production on the public spaces of the neighborhood? An empirical investigation on verticalized areas, including an analysis of forms of appropriation and other dynamics representative of that process was conducted. Using field research methods⁶ and a literature review related to public space, residential verticalization, and aspects of urban and contemporary societal transformation (in books, articles, theses, and dissertations), it aimed to highlight how housing processes in the context of high-rise buildings, intended for middle and upper classes, influenced social and spatial dynamics in and with the city.

4 Atílio Corrêa Lima (1901-1943) was a Brazilian architect, urban planner, engineer, and one of the pioneers of modernist principles in Brazil. He graduated from Escola Nacional de Belas Artes, in Rio de Janeiro, in 1926, and studied Urbanism at the Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris (IUUP) from 1927 to 1930, during which he worked at Alfred Agache's office, one of the leading urban planners of that time, contributing to plans for the renovation and beautification of Rio de Janeiro (Diniz, 2021). The plan for Goiânia, developed by Atílio, is particularly celebrated as an example of urban planning that aimed to balance development and quality of life.

5 Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2023/11/mercado-imobiliario-de-goiania-cresce-no-embalo-do-agronegocio.shtml>

6 This is a method of investigation based on empirical realities, using a qualitative approach to understand a particular social phenomenon, and involves a variety of tactics such as observations, interviews, field diaries, and mapping. Additionally, it requires a complex process of coding and analyzing the reality in which the researcher is immersed (Wang; Groat, 2013). It is worth noting that classics such as 'The Concise Townscape' by Gordon Cullen and 'The Image of the City' by Kevin Lynch are also readings that can assist in field methodologies and subsequent analyses. However, in the dissertation proposal and, consequently, in this article, other approaches were selected, particularly from anthropological authors such as José Magnani, Alessia de Biase, and Tim Ingold, for constructing the research process and for analyzing the results found. The introduction to ethnographic research methods provided an interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary approach to understanding certain issues that are typically urban and specific social behaviors.



Some tensions on contemporary public space issues

Discussing public space in contemporary times is recognizing the broad and diverse range of definitions and concepts associated with it, reflecting the inherent complexity of the subject. According to Alves (2014; 2020), public space is the place of human achievements, social heterogeneity, free individual or collective expression, highlighting its importance for democracy and urban life. It not only mediates encounters among diverse individuals, but also accommodates conflict, strengthening relationships, and social interactions by providing a space for debate and negotiation of differences (Alves, 2014; 2020). The space is public insofar as it promotes the coexistence of diversity, controversies, unpredictability, and engagement with alterity – the nature or condition of what is ‘other,’ what is distinct.

Arroyo (2011) argued that the city is both conceptually and factually a public event. For the author, the public is a constitutive category of the urban, where intersubjective relationships of political, social, and cultural nature are developed. It is in that place the articulation between the physical dimension (related to materiality) and the political dimension occurs, establishing space-time practices that define daily experiences in the city through a system of forms-activities-meanings. In other words, the physical form aligns with socio-spatial practices developed in public space, triggering a process of social significance that affects its value.

However, in contemporary times, Arroyo (2011) asserted the existence of a symbolic devaluation of the values of civility that compose that place. With the production of cities increasingly regulated by market logic and in light of certain society transformations, there is a proliferation of urban phenomena that turn space into a highly commercial environment, constantly mediated by surveillance devices that, with the exacerbated increase in physical barriers, strain the city as a public and cultural asset to be experienced (Alves, 2014; 2020).

Bauman (2005) highlighted those phenomena were associated with transformations in liquid-modern society. According to the author, the increase in the sense of insecurity, given the instability of the present time, leads to the spread of fear and, towards mitigating it, individuals contribute to the reproduction of market logic by consuming walled and regulated spaces, where the price paid is always the distance from collective life, interpersonal relationships, dialogue, and ability to coexist with strangers (Bauman, 2005). The author also claimed the pursuit of security translates into a desire to establish a ‘common’ identity among people who consider themselves ‘equal’ to each other, implying territorial separation through ‘defensible spaces.’ Besides the tendencies for societal retreat into private life, forms of socialization and appropriation are also conditioned by consumption and immediacy (Alves, Appert, Montès, 2024). However, Arroyo (2011) demonstrated it does not imply the absence of urban life in public spaces. On the other hand, the socio-spatial practices that materialize there reflect a domain of contingent encounter, a place merely reduced to the circulation and concentration of people, goods, and information, challenging its democratic potential.



In function of the aforementioned considerations, the importance of investigating the implications of certain architectural typologies (for example, the 'new ways of living') on public space becomes evident. Whereas structures that enclose themselves and contribute to redirecting practices towards private collective spaces in the vertical plane are one aspect, other nuances permeate and condition urban experiences in the city. In light of the advancement of those typologies in Goiânia, specifically in the Marista sector, such social and spatial manifestations present in the public spaces of the neighbourhood must be observed.

Private uses and appropriations in the Marista sector

Unlike other neighborhoods in the capital, Marista was not planned; it emerged from an illegal occupation of part of the area donated by the State to the Marist Congregation (Paula, 2003). For this reason, its history is intrinsically associated with the creation of the Marist School, established in 1962 in a region that, at the time, was part of the adjacent sector of Pedro Ludovico. With the arrival of the school, the surrounding area became highly valued, leading to the construction of luxurious mansions that contrasted with the illegal settlements established along the Areião creek. According to Paula (2003), that scenario triggered significant pressure from the residents of those mansions and the Congregation to separate from the Pedro Ludovico sector and establish their own area. Consequently, Marista was officially founded in 1971 (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Map of the Marista sector in Goiânia showing the vertical condominiums that have been built, are under construction, or are in the launching phase. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2024.



The neighborhood is considerably consolidated and fully urbanized. Despite the ongoing process of verticalization, the horizontal pattern is still predominant, although the presence of construction companies and developers along Alameda Ricardo Paranhos is notable, reflecting in new buildings. It is also characterized by a concentration of medical and hospital services, retail shops, traditional restaurants, and, more recently, arrival of more sophisticated restaurants in former houses converted for that use, which enhances its centrality and contributes to making the sector one of the most desired areas to live in.

Regarding the empirical focus chosen for the field research, the presence of well-designed public spaces was considered. Examples include Areião Park and the central median of Alameda Ricardo Paranhos (Figure 1), which are potential sites for urban sociability and analyses of socio-spatial practices⁷. The present article focuses on analyses of the forms of appropriation associated with the processes of verticalization and the sale of 'new ways of living'. Such uses reflect strategies and tactics adopted by real estate companies; however, they carry significant implications for urban life.

Along with those issues and in function of an "immersion" in the field, both physical and symbolic elements resulting from residential verticalization also require attention, since they impact the individual's experience in the city. Firstly, field visits revealed despite the 'new ways of living' in the Marista sector showing some visual permeability in their front setbacks, whether through the distance of the gatehouse, or through translucent barriers, they feature technological security devices at their entrances and perimeters (Figure 2).

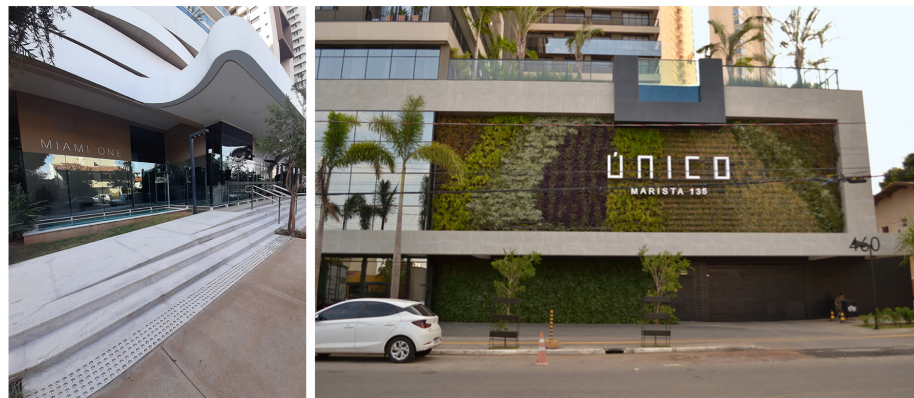


Figure 2: On the left, translucent barriers and sidewalk elevation to define what is public from what is private; On the right, elevation of the leisure area. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

Walls, electric fences, surveillance cameras, and even certain landscaping compositions are used as defensive strategies, profoundly influencing the

⁷ Field visits took place throughout July 2023, on both weekdays and weekends, covering different times of the day. The studied practices included activities related to consumption, leisure and recreation, physical and sports activities, maintenance of vertical living, and real estate dynamics. However, due to the scope of the article, only the latter are highlighted, for they also play a role in the reconfiguration of certain practices in urban space.



formation of subjectivities and the way people experience the city. Such elements create a sense of separation and isolation, increase conflicts between different social groups, and highlight a lack of social cohesion. In the same context, the elevation of common and leisure areas, intensified in developments with parking blocks on upper floors, creates real 'barrier walls' equipped with sensors and monitoring devices that span the entire pedestrian route. In turn, it not only exacerbates the distancing of 'vertical living' from public spaces (Figure 2), but also enables constant control and surveillance of individuals moving around the developments (Figure 3 - left).



Figure 3: On the left, surveillance systems and gardens at the perimeters of the developments; On the right, a planter with the name of the developer and the project. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

Moreover, the landscaping of the developments plays a strategic role in configuring vertical living, intervening in sociospatial practices. As observed by Alves (2018) in the case of the Brooklyn neighborhood in São Paulo, the strips of vegetation surrounding the front and side setbacks of the condominiums in the Marista sector define the pedestrian path and influence access control to the development. They make some areas unsuitable for social interactions and clearly define the boundaries between public and private spaces, ensuring the flow of people is restricted. In addition to serving as defensive strategies, landscaping in Goiânia is also used as a marketing tool by the companies (Figure 3 - right).

After perceiving the physical characteristics of that type of real estate production in the urban environment, in a second phase that focused on the strategies and tactics of developers and construction companies, a strong role of those companies in the appropriation of public spaces as a venue for promoting their products—the 'new ways of living'—was evident. The activity is particularly noticeable on weekends, days with higher foot traffic around Parque Areião and Alameda Ricardo

Paranhos. The tactics identified involved the private appropriation of those spaces through real estate agents and their information stands, distributing flyers and 'gifts' such as popsicles, ice creams, granola bars, water, and pet accessories to visitors (Figures 4 and 5).



Figure 4: On the left, real estate agents distributing popsicles at Parque Areião; On the right, an information stand on the running track at Alameda Ricardo Paranhos. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

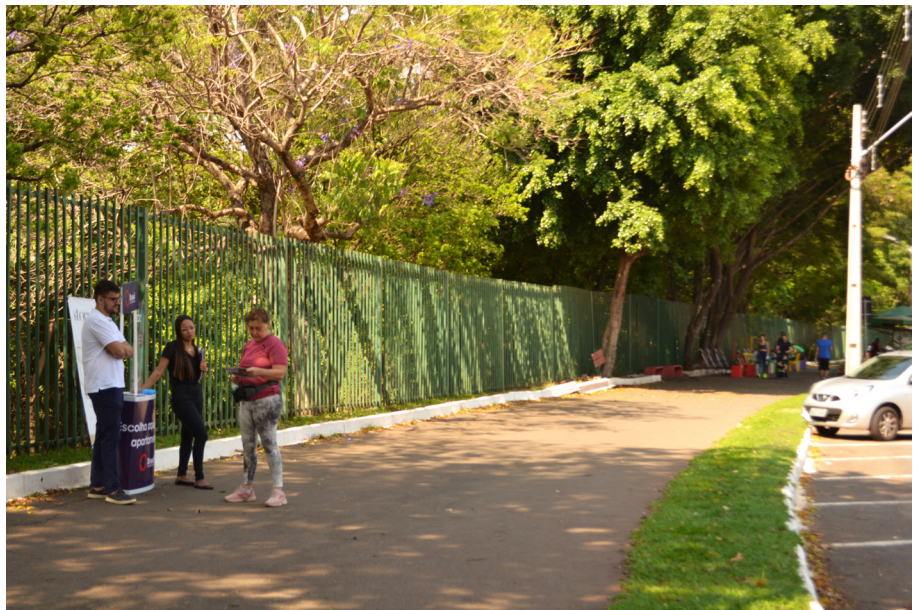


Figure 5: Interaction between visitors and real estate agents at Parque Areião. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

The activities of those companies are evidently not limited to the appropriations identified in the selected empirical objects; they are also reflected in disputes over private spaces as a means to increase profits, occurring in two distinct ways. One takes place even before the construction site begins, when spaces for consumption and leisure are created on the land where vertical condominiums will be built. The most common practice in that process is partnering with brands of temporary establishments, such as cafes and food parks, but playgrounds, pet areas, and 'contemplative' spaces are also found (Figure 6).



Figure 6: New spatial arrangements focused on consumption and leisure. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

The second form observed during the field visits is related to the physical spaces that centralize the marketing of the ‘new ways of living’ by the real estate companies themselves. In these spaces, various events are held to attract potential residents and investors. Figure 7 illustrates the process: on the left, in an advertisement for a movie session at the headquarters of EBM Incorporações and, on the right are physical activities on the sidewalk of City Soluções Imobiliárias’ space, extending to Alameda Ricardo Paranhos.



Figure 7: On the left, read ‘Cinema EBM – Summer Camp’; on the right, the sidewalk of the Azure project by City Soluções Imobiliárias. Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2023.

Given the findings presented in this article, the dynamics observed in the field add new layers to the investigations of public space and transformations in socio-spatial practices. The first layer refers to the private appropriation of public spaces, namely Areião Park and Alameda Ricardo Paranhos in the Marista sector. In that case, public space is viewed as a stage to stimulate the consumption of a specific commodity, through the vertical housing sales stands placed in the empirical objects, which interrupt various and spontaneous uses and activities in the Park and the Alameda.

The second layer is related to the private spaces of real estate companies, i.e., plots where the “new ways of living” will be implemented or those that centralize the marketing of the housing commodity. By promoting private uses activated both by consumption and various events, those strategies demonstrate the increasing privatization of urban space. They also contribute to the replacement of effectively public social interactions, since socio-spatial practices are displaced

from Areião Park and Alameda Ricardo Paranhos to locations where the real “public” atmosphere does not exist (Alves; Appert; Montès, 2024), for it is market interests that drive behaviors and forms of socialization.

In this sense, the normalization of those urban typologies paves the way for new arrangements of domination, contributing to what Alves, Appert, and Montès (2024) termed as the process of urban (and public) space perversion. According to the authors, “perversion” manifests as a process that remains under the control of political power. Besides redirecting practices to the interior of vertical condominiums, the way those buildings are produced and sanctioned by urban planning triggers other socio-spatial implications so that the dissolution of urban experiences and the instrumentalization and reduction of public life by privatized spatialities can be observed.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The discussion of residential verticalization, particularly regarding the Marista sector, contributes to ongoing debates on contemporary public space. In this article, the object of analysis is challenged by uses and appropriations of companies that produce and market vertical residential buildings, turning such spaces into stages for spectacularization to ensure commodification processes, and by the retreat of social life into enclosed and monitored spaces. Therefore, the extent to which such a mode of real estate production is expanding the presence of companies and their brands in urban space, explicitly promoting the privatization of the city, even in areas previously outside their control, is questioned.

Drawing on existing work on residential verticalization, the empirical examples provided in the article are not merely illustrative, but form the basis of the argument (Alves; Appert; Montès, 2024). The transformations observed in and of urban and public space, driven by the logic of flexible accumulation and the dynamics of real estate and financial capital, trigger what can be called privatized spatialities, which structure and promote new uses and appropriations and transform socio-spatial dynamics. The trend towards social homogenization, the instrumental use of spaces, and the increasing privatization of the urban environment challenge the full meaning of public space, where alterity, controversy, spontaneity, and unpredictability are fundamental to urban life.

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