



SUBNORMAL AGGLOMERATES AND THE MUNICIPAL MASTER PLAN OF THE CITY OF ITABUNA

Agglomerados subnormais e o plano diretor municipal da cidade de Itabuna

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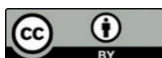
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ABSTRACT

Disorderly urban growth has built invisible walls, dividing the population between those who can enjoy the goods and services that the urban system provides, and the other part of society that lives on the margins of this process. As a result, there are residences located in precarious regions and with very little access to basic services, called subnormal agglomerations by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). To guide the administrators, the City Statute discussed the Master Plan, and the function of this instrument for the organization and management of the city, especially in the residential allocation of the population. In this context, we entered the reality of Itabuna, a municipality located in southern Bahia, which in the lapse of 10 years experienced a growth of neighborhoods considered subnormal settlements, a situation aggravated by the current Municipal Master Plan that does not represent the reality faced by the population. In this way, this research seeks to discuss how coherent and up-to-date municipal legislation resonates with social and economic issues, and when this correspondence does not occur, the law merely fulfills a legal formality and fails to attend to what is most important in the city, which are the people and the way they live in the urban centers.

Keywords: cities, subnormal agglomerates, master plan, right to the city.

RESUMO

O desordenado crescimento urbano construiu muros invisíveis, dividindo a população entre aquela que pode usufruir dos bens e serviços que o sistema urbano dispõe, e a outra parcela da sociedade que vive à margem deste processo. A partir disso, surgiram as residências alocadas em regiões precárias e com ínfimo acesso a serviços básicos, denominada pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) de aglomerados subnormais. Para orientar os gestores, o Estatuto da Cidade discorreu sobre o Plano Diretor, e a função deste instrumento para a organização e gestão da cidade, principalmente na alocação residencial da população. Nesse contexto, adentramos na realidade de Itabuna, município localizado na região sul da Bahia, que no lapso temporal de 10 anos vivenciou um crescimento dos bairros considerados aglomerados subnormais, situação agravada pelo Plano Diretor Municipal vigente que não representa a realidade enfrentada pela população. Dessa forma, a presente pesquisa busca discutir como uma legislação municipal coerente e atualizada ecoa nas temáticas sociais e econômicas e, quando essa correspondência não ocorre, a lei apenas cumpre uma mera formalidade legal e deixa de atender o que há de mais importante na cidade, que são as pessoas e a forma como estão residindo nos centros urbanos.

Palavras-chave: cidades, aglomerados subnormais, plano diretor, direito à cidade.



1. INTRODUCTION

The chaotic process in which Brazil's urbanization took place reflects the reality regarding issues relating to the projections of cities in their structural and social sense. In this way, urban public policies find guidance in the Cities Statute, however, just the emergence of new legislative parameters was not enough to execute and resolve the needs. In this sense, it is not enough to have legal support if there is no implementation of these in order to make this reality palpable.

As a consequence of accelerated urbanization and the lack of management of urban public policies, urban centers began to portray their inequalities, especially in areas where the population has established residence. From this, subnormal agglomerations arise, characterized by: “a form of irregular occupation of land owned by others – public or private – for housing purposes in urban areas and, in general, characterized by an irregular urban pattern, lack of services essential public areas and location in areas restricted to occupation”,¹ emerge as a result of this process.

This study considers the reality of Itabuna, located in the immediate region of Itabuna and Ilhéus in the south of the state of Bahia, with an area of 401.03 km², and an estimated population in 2016 of 220,386 thousand inhabitants, 97.5% of which in the urban center². Regarding the provision of basic services, only 69.07% of households are served by sewage and only 24.88% of sewage receives adequate treatment. As a result of the inefficiency of these services, mortality rates from infectious and parasitic diseases and respiratory diseases are 5.75% and 21.85%, respectively. Such data demonstrate that, in the first instance, the improvement in the sanitary quality and health of the population also involves legislation that addresses local specificities and public policies capable of making the text of the law a reality in the urban center.

This study analyzes how the lack of correspondence between current legislation and local reality can cause a dissonance beyond the housing infrastructure, since, specifically, when it comes to the Municipal Master Plan, it must be attentive to the structural transformations of the city, as well as social and economic, considering that all these areas are closely interconnected. Therefore, this article seeks to demonstrate how the inadequacy of municipal legislation to the reality experienced by the municipality promotes the unfeasibility of

¹Available at: <<https://www.ibge.gov.br/geociencias/organizacao-do-territorio/tipologias-do-territorio/15788-clusters-subnormal.html>>. Accessed Nov. 5th. 2019.

²IBGE: Municipal Monographs. [S. l.], Available at: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/2980/momun_ne_ba_itabuna.pdf. Accessed on: Feb. 8th. 2021.



managing public policies, considering that the suppression of neighborhoods and locations that should be covered by the law, promotes the invisibilities of this portion of the population, which is no longer assisted by legal regulation and the decision-making and governance process.

It is noteworthy that when there is consonance between the legislation that orders urban issues within the municipality, the norm becomes an effective instrument for the promotion of public policies. Cities that manage to make these two aspects viable expand the promotion of rights, enjoyment of citizenship and provide an urban structure that guarantees citizens the use of spaces and the opportunity to experience basic housing conditions and public services. Even though this reality may seem utopia, Brazilian municipalities have already managed to demonstrate that it is possible to boost public spaces and develop without disrupting the population, which is already in a vulnerable condition. According to the Urban System ³, the municipality of Santos, in the state of São Paulo, ranked first in urban planning in the country in 2017, and based on the reference of a strategic master plan, expansion of the zoning law, public transport, sewage health and other perspectives that make up being and living in the city, according to the theoretical current defended by Lefebvre (1978).

The challenge of linking the numerous faces of urban management presents even greater obstacles in medium and small cities. The National Confederation of Municipalities ⁴pointed out that in addition to the urban planning, legal and tax instruments available to shape the structuring of municipal urban public policy, it is necessary to analyze the capacity of each municipality within the perspective proposed in the recommendation document prepared, which covers applicability, nature, magnitude, temporality, duration and scope of the area in question (CNM, 2015).

Entering the municipal scenario object of the study, considering the time span from 2010 to 2019, the number of residences in subnormal conditions grew in a disorderly manner in Itabuna, becoming a problem that requires attention from the public authorities, given the difficulties of these areas in combating the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, in addition to bringing to light the debate on urban and housing issues within the municipality, this research also demonstrates which locations in the city of Itabuna are characterized as subnormal agglomerations and the references of these areas in the Itabuna Municipal Master Plan,

³Santos City Hall. Available at: <https://www.santos.sp.gov.br/?q=noticia/santos-e-1o-lugar-do-brasil-em-planejamento-urbano>. Accessed on: Nov. 10th. 2022.

⁴Confederação Nacional de Municípios – CNM. Planos Diretores para Municípios de pequeno porte: limites e perspectivas para a aplicação dos instrumentos do Estatuto da Cidade. – Brasília: CNM, 2015.



constituting the subsidy necessary to update the master plan according to the current demands of urban infrastructure, as well as the population.

2. CITIES, URBANIZATION AND SUBNORMAL CLASSROOMS

2.1 The process of spatial segregation

The contradictions of cities are permeated by the economic processes that surround them. The disordered city has become a new aspect of looking at urban space and the different classes that coexist (BARBOSA, 2007), on one side of the sphere, living, and on the other side, those fighting to survive. Today's fragmented space is the result of a deindustrialization process, marked by a lack of investment in basic resources for a certain part of the population, making vertical and accelerated growth an attractive aspect of the city, making urban centers increasingly coveted.

The performative movements (BARBOSA, 2007) so that urban centers gained the notoriety necessary to attract investment, removed humanity to make the city just concrete stocks. From this perspective, the urban arrangements established in cities were organized to meet very specific interests, that is, the flow of goods and services.

Novos imperativos da eficiência e rentabilidade começam a ganhar corpo dos dispositivos urbanísticos destinados a realizar a performance mimetizada dos lugares. A racionalidade econômica define o monumentalismo arquitetônico para erigir uma “ética de mérito”, em que ao agradável e o segurança desempenham papéis decisivos. (BARBOSA, 2011, p. 127).

With the creation of the city as a product of mass circulation, therefore, urban organization is governed by economic dictates, meeting market demands, modern trends, marketing influences and everything that is synonymous with success. In the wake of this process, part of the population will be occupying fewer and fewer regular spaces and being cut off from services ranging from access to drinking water to banking and shopping.

In this sense, the logic of the market, which has competition and maximization as one of its premises, companies began to establish themselves in places where they are most attractive for their activity, valuing tax incentives, infrastructure and silent labor regulations (SANTOS, 1999).



This new socio-spatial reorganization, in addition to the relocation of productive spaces, consequently promoted new occupational dynamics of the population (LIMONAD, 2011). From this new configuration, issues relating to urbanization no longer comprised the process of economic, technological and social development, but in such a way that space would be the preponderant factor in this situation. As a result, the urban fabric was torn apart with the underutilization of certain territories (LEFEVRE, 1978).

O problema que se impõe no presente é o teor das transformações da matriz espacial-temporal da organização social, empresarial e territorial decorrentes das revoluções informacional, genética e energética, que tender a tornas nosso instrumental analítico obsoleto e contribuem para gerar um novo paradigma que os leva a considerar o urbano em escala territorial.

[...]

As transformações na distribuição das atividades produtivas e da população, materializadas espacialmente como formas de desenvolvimento urbano, em diferentes níveis e escalas, seriam resultantes tanto da lógica da ação do Estado, de distintos capitais (empresas), entre os quais o industrial, agroindustrial e em particular o imobiliário, quanto das estratégias de localização e distribuição da força de trabalho. (LIMONAD, 2011, p.148).

From this perspective, Milton Santos reveals that cities have become centers of financial condensation (SANTOS, 2007), in which human capital is considered an underinvestment. Based on this same theoretical construction, the need for cities to adapt to large international urban centers, which served as a model for urban construction and reconstruction, therefore did not consider local specificities, in terms of the social and economic structure experienced by the country.

Esse processo de reestruturação urbana vem imponho às cidades um catálogo de formas repetitivas e diluidoras das diferenças socioculturais qualitativas. [...] O Pelourinho (Salvador/BA) é um caso exemplar desse processo de substituição social, pois a “requalificação urbanística” implicou a transferência de 90% de seus antigos moradores. (BARBOSA, 2007, p.130).

The new urban structure, conceptualized by Santos (1999) as deprivation of rights, configuring an urban *apartheid*, a process that fueled the segregation of space and delegated a large portion of the population to live on the margins of resources, investments, improvements and the benefits of centers. To organize the city's new architecture, abysses were built fueled by the removal of undesirables (SANTOS, 2007).



As práticas de apartheid urbano se amparam no objetivo, sempre pretendo, de defender o cidadão-consumidor da “barbárie” instaurada pela desintegração do tecido social das ameaças de não-governabilidade da cidade desordenada. Tais ações discricionárias são notoriamente acompanhadas pela violência policial do Estado e das corporações privadas de segurança, com o objetivo de garantir a “civildade” local e privada na cidade. Trata-se de um processo ideológico-policial que vem definindo situações de exceção e “estados de sítio” que são decretadas nas ações de controle e pressão, sobre determinados territórios urbanos, sobretudo os que configuram os espaços populares, como favelas, subúrbios, periferias e bairros étnicos (SANTOS, 2007, p.132).

The pockets of poverty and the incarceration of the population on the margins of urban development have become a structure that encourages ills and goes against the enjoyment of the right to the city. The visible and invisible demarcations that delineate cities promote the stigmatization of the population that lives in precarious conditions, reproducing on a scale the inequalities of a city that is not experienced by everyone in the same way.

The urban secondary structure, called subnormal agglomerations, is the result of this segmented process of territory appropriation. The city and its correction with community life was freed from the sense of sharing, establishing new pillars of participation in construction and development, in which only meetings and coexistence occur in spaces common to certain groups. Distance then became the most used unit of measurement to talk about center and periphery.

3. SUBNORMAL CLUSTERS AND THE MUNICIPAL MASTER PLAN OF THE CITY OF ITABUNA

3.1 Subnormal clusters in the city of Itabuna

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE, since 1987, adopted the term urban agglomerations to address residential forms arising from the process of urban concentration, defining it as: “Subnormal agglomeration is a form of irregular occupation of land owned by others – public or private – for housing purposes in urban areas and, in general, characterized by an irregular urban pattern, lack of essential public services and location in areas restricted to occupation”.⁵

⁵IBGE Subnormal Clusters. Available at: <<https://www.ibge.gov.br/geociencias/organizacao-do-territorio/tipologias-do-territorio/15788-clusters-subnormal.html>>. Accessed November 5th. 2020.



According to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, in 2010, 6% of the country's population (11,425,644 people) ⁶lived in subnormal agglomerations, in Bahia the data reveals 9.4%. ⁷Comparing with data from 2019, there was growth from 6% to 10.62%.

Based on such data, the infrastructure conditions that the population living in subnormal agglomerations faces are presented, as well as the assessment of access to essential services such as water supply, sanitary sewage, garbage collection and electricity supply.

Table 1 - Evolution of subnormal clusters in Brazil.

Number of subnormal clusters in Brazil			
Year	Municipalities with subnormal agglomerations	Total subnormal clusters	Households occupied in subnormal clusters
2010	323	6 329	3 224 529
2019	734	13 515	5 127 747

Source: IBGE, 2019. Own preparation.

The dizzying growth of subnormal agglomerations over a period of almost 10 years, verified based on the analysis of preliminary IBGE data (Table 1), represents the way in which urban interventions are expanding, causing a split in the urban fabric (PEIXOTO, 2009). The new functions of cities have not faced the residential issue as a focus of concern, despite legislative advances and the creation of bodies created intentionally to take care of this issue, such as the Ministry of Cities (MARICATO, 2007).

A proposta do Ministério das Cidades ocupou um vazio institucional que retirava o governo federal da discussão sobre a política urbana e o destino das cidades. Além da ausência da abordagem mais geral, havia a ausência de marcos institucionais ou regulatórios claros para as políticas setoriais urbanas, caso das áreas de saneamento, habitação e transporte. O Ministério das Cidades teve sua estrutura baseada nos três principais problemas sociais que afetam as populações urbanas e que estão relacionados ao território: a moradia, o saneamento ambiental (água, esgoto, drenagem e coleta e destinação de resíduos sólidos) e as questões do transporte da população urbana - mobilidade e trânsito.⁸

⁶IBGE. 2010 Census: 11.4 million Brazilians (6.0%) live in subnormal agglomerations. 2011. Available at: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/14157-asi-censo-2010-114-milhoes-de-brasileiros-60-live-in-subnormal-clusters>. Accessed on: November 10th, 2020.

⁷IBGE. 2010 Census: 11.4 million Brazilians (6.0%) live in subnormal agglomerations. 2011. Available at: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/14157-asi-censo-2010-114-milhoes-de-brasileiros-60-live-in-subnormal-clusters>. Accessed on: November 10th, 2020.

⁸URBANÍSTICO, Cronologia do Pensamento. Ministério das Cidades. Available at: <http://www.cronologia.dourbanismo.ufba.br/presentacao.php?idVerbete=1395>. Accessed on: November 2nd, 2020.



The Brazilian housing policy of social interest that, in 2009, was adopted by the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (MCMV) was not enough to contain the expansion of irregular residences, suffering severe criticism regarding its real intentionality, a discussion that hovers between the Plan National Housing Authority (PlanHab) *versus* the country's economic development (KRAUSE; BALBIM; NETO, 2013). In 2021, the aforementioned program gained new guidelines and was renamed Casa Verde e Amarela.⁹

The municipality of Itabuna stands out in the Region of Immediate Influence (RII Ilhéus-Itabuna), whether due to the concentration of the population in the urban area, as well as the socioeconomic profile revealed through studies under the optimum of multidimensional poverty, in which it was possible to verify the inequality of income and the deficient infrastructure of essential public services facing the population, which is a reflection of the failure of public policies and government instruments capable of reversing this situation (NETO et al., 2022).

The analysis of the census sectors and the variables used in the study, which included the use of data such as the percentage of households that had sanitation facilities, access to electricity, street paving, income and other aspects of the 2010 demographic census, demonstrated through the socioeconomic sub-index used that in the studied time interval there was an increase in poverty in the municipality (NETO et al., 2022). In view of this, it is possible to correlate the worsening of the population's socioeconomic conditions with the precarious housing expansion in neighborhoods that are characteristic of having deficient or even non-existent infrastructure. The research concluded that “the data demonstrate a situation of socioeconomic deprivation in both municipalities, with Ilhéus accounting for 69.68% of the urban census sectors in this condition and Itabuna, 54.06%” (NETO, et al., 2022, p.13) .

Another bias to be explored is the economic and institutional participation of Itabuna within the state of Bahia from the perspective of Municipal Institutional Quality, which encompasses three important spheres that make up municipal management, which are: participation, financial collection capacity and management (HADDAD, 2004). The study that analyzed these three aspects between the years 2000 and 2012 found that although Itabuna is one of the 10 municipalities that contribute to 50% of the total GDP of the state of Bahia, it presents poor Municipal Institutional Quality, which means that there is a counterbalance of

⁹REGIONAL, Ministério do Desenvolvimento. Available at: <https://www.gov.br/mdr/pt-br/assuntos/habitacao/casa-verde-e-amarela>. Accessed on: 20 Mar. 2021.



the two other perspectives of analysis. Furthermore, the unfavorable performance of the councils is discussed, which distances the population from demanding their rights before municipal public management and recreates a situation of low democratic participation (DUARTE et al., 2018). However, Duarte et al. (2018) pointed out that despite the diverse scenario of the Institutional Quality Index in the State of Bahia, there was a significant improvement between 2000 and 2012, which is attributed to the regulation of the City Statute in 2001 and the Ministry of Cities in 2002, which brought important mechanisms governance for cities.

The trajectory that the municipality of Itabuna has been taking in the field of urban informality results from the socioeconomic obstacles faced. In 2010, there were 63 thousand occupied households, 55 of which were in irregular conditions based on the 2010 Demographic Census ¹⁰. In 2013, according to the Secretary of Urban Development of the State of Bahia, in the Technical Diagnosis – Current Scenario of the South Coast: Regional Urban Development ¹¹, Itabuna was already leading the housing deficit rates on the south coast of Bahia, certifying the evolution of problems regarding the management of urban public policies in the housing sector.

In May 2020, the Institute of Geography and Statistics released the preliminary analysis of the Classification of Subnormal Agglomerates for the year 2019 (Table 2), data that will be part of the next Demographic Census as it was unfeasible to carry it out in 2020 due to the Pandemic.

Table 2 - Evolution of subnormal agglomerations in the city of Itabuna.

Number of subnormal clusters in the city of Itabuna	
Year	Number of occupied households
2010	55
2019	8,838

Source: IBGE, 2019. Own preparation.

The anticipation of data collected and made available before the Demographic Census scheduled for the year 2021 was carried out with the aim of providing an informational apparatus so that public authorities could more precisely combat the Covid-19 pandemic in

¹⁰IBGE. Aglomerados Subnormais. 2010. Available at: <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/ba/itabuna/pesquisa/23/25359?tipo=ranking>. Accessed on: 11 Oct. 2020.

¹¹BAHIA, Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da. Diagnóstico Técnico – Cenário Atual do litoral Sul: Desenvolvimento Urbano Regional. 2014. Available at: <http://www.sedur.ba.gov.br/arquivos/File/DIAGNOSTICOTECNICOENENARIOATUALDOLITORALSUL.pdf>. Accessed on: November 10th, 2020.



these most vulnerable areas, given the lack of basic services and consequently, the population of these locations are more susceptible to contamination by the Coronavirus (Sars-Cov-2).¹²

According to the data collection carried out, Itabuna in 2019 contained 8,838 subnormal clusters, corresponding to an average of 12.61% in relation to the total number of households ¹³. Using this information, the distance from clusters was mapped, as well as the distance from subnormal clusters to basic health units, following the following methodology:

O critério de classificação dessas áreas considera a ausência do título de propriedade das moradias e ao menos uma das seguintes características: (a) inadequação de um ou mais serviços, a saber: abastecimento de água, fornecimento de energia, coleta de lixo, destino de esgoto e/ou (b) padrão urbanístico irregular e/ou (c) restrição de ocupação do solo. Assim, a identificação de Aglomerados Subnormais deve ser feita com base nos seguintes critérios:

1. caso haja ocupação irregular da terra, ou seja, quando os domicílios estão em terrenos de propriedade alheia (pública ou particular), agora ou em período recente (obtenção do título de propriedade do terreno há dez anos ou menos) e 2. quando se soma à ocupação irregular da terra uma ou mais das características a seguir: a. precariedade de serviços públicos essenciais, como iluminação elétrica domiciliar, abastecimento de água, esgoto sanitário e coleta de lixo regular e/ou b. urbanização fora dos padrões vigentes, refletida pela presença de vias de circulação estreitas e de alinhamento irregular, lotes de tamanhos e formas desiguais, ausência de calçadas ou de largura irregular e construções não regularizadas por órgãos públicos e/ou c. restrição de ocupação, quando os domicílios se encontram em área ocupada em desacordo com legislação que visa à proteção ou restrição à ocupação com fins de moradia como, por exemplo, faixas de domínio de rodovias, ferrovias, áreas ambientais protegidas e áreas contaminadas.¹⁴

Through this preliminary information, the distance from the subnormal clusters to the basic care units was identified, which also made it possible to catalog the number of subnormal clusters and the number of residences for each cluster in the city of Itabuna.

¹²IBGE. Subnormal clusters. Available at: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/geociencias/organizacao-do-territorio/tipologias-do-territorio/15788-clusters-subnormal.html?=&t=sobre>. Accessed on: October 11th, 2020.

¹³IBGE. Subnormal clusters in Itabuna. Available at: <https://socecodem-ibgedgc.hub.arcgis.com/app/ac337eeee5164c0daa9c99f8689ad3f8>. Accessed on: 10 Oct. 2020.

¹⁴IBGE. Technical Note no. 14/2020 Recommendations to Municipalities: Prevention of Covid-19 in Precarious Areas. 2020. Available at: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101717_notas_tecnicas.pdf page. 5. Accessed on: October 10th, 2020, p. 5.



3.2 The Itabuna municipal master plan and subnormal agglomerations

The City Statute - Law 10,257 of July 10, 2001¹⁵- regulated articles 182 and 183 of the 1988 Federal Constitution and gave the municipal public power the responsibility to implement and manage the public urban planning policy through the municipal master plan. Among the pillars of the law, one of them consists of keeping the legislation updated so that it can meet the real needs of each location.

The Municipal Master Plan of Itabuna (Law 2,111/2008) is a law that is no longer able to manage urban space, as the city of Itabuna in 2010 had 55 residences in a subnormal agglomeration condition and, in 2019, it exceeded more than 8 thousand households. Given this finding, it is discussed where the subnormal agglomerations are in the current law, since it no longer accommodates the demands of the population, leaving these areas legally unprotected and, consequently, there is no government action in these neighborhoods.

Table 3 - Identification in the Itabuna municipal master plan of subnormal agglomerations.

Subnormal cluster name	Total households	Reference zone in the Master Plan
1. New Hope	192	Not covered by the Law
2. Rua Paraíso/Ferradas	166	Urban Expansion Zone 2
3. Cashew tree	162	Not covered by the Law
4. Maria Matos	266	Not covered by the Law
5. Green Island	30	Not covered by the Law
6. Sinval Palmeira	697	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
7. Palm oil	65	Special Zone of Social Interest 02
8. Beira Rio//Nova Itabuna	247	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
9. Santa Clara Park	146	Not covered by the Law
10. Low Cold	30	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
11. Banco Raso Beira Rio	317	Residential Zone 02

¹⁵Brazil. City statute and urban development. City statute and urban development. – Brasília: Federal Senate, Subsecretariat for Technical Editions, 2012.p.17.

12. New Jacana	120	Not covered by the Law
13. New Lomanto	215	Not covered by the Law
14. Santa Catarina	144	Not covered by the Law
15. Manoel Leão	240	Social Interest Zone 01
16. New Mangabinha	72	Not Covered by Law
17. Our Lady of Grace	30	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
18. St. Lawrence	100	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
19. Grapiuna Garden	30	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
20. Ceplac set	229	Special Zone of Social Interest 02
21. Sarinha / Gogó da Ema	584	Special Zone of Social Interest 02
22. Vila Anália	197	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
23. New São Caetano	197	Not covered by the Law
24. New Fonseca	286	Not covered by the Law
25. Gegeu /Low Cold	255	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
26. Sun Valley	126	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
27. Maria Pinheiro	140	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
28. Daniel Gomes	391	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
29. Pedro Gerônimo	556	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
30. Zizo	119	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
31. Saint Peter	706	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
32. Corbiniano Freire/Pau Caído	134	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
33. Peace Village	30	Special Zone of Social Interest 02
34. Vila Vital	53	Not covered by the Law
35. Water Tank	403	Special Zone of Social Interest 01

36. New Horizon	288	Not covered by the Law
37. Santa Inês	449	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
38. New California	246	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
39. Boa Vista Park	30	Special Zone of Social Interest 01
40. Vila Tetê/São Roque	150	Special Zone of Social Interest 02
TOTAL	8,838	

Source: IBGE and Itabuna Municipal Master Plan, 2019. Own preparation.

-  Subnormal cluster with the largest number of households in the municipality of Itabuna
-  Subnormal Agglomeration without reference in the Municipal Master Plan of the City of Itabuna

The growing number of subnormal agglomerations in the municipality of Itabuna, as shown in Table 03, demonstrates that urban public policies related to the Municipal Master Plan have failed to provide the population with minimum housing conditions. In this same line of contextualization, it is observed that the enjoyment of the right to the city has been progressively made unfeasible, which is part of the rights that cannot be renounced, that is, human rights (HARVEY, 2008).

Despite being a right of individual enjoyment, the right to the city depends on collective management to be instrumentalized (HARVEY, 2008), since the public policies implemented by managers, or the lack thereof, will define what the living conditions will be. of the population, not only in the housing sector, but also the use of basic services linked to the individual's existence.

The Municipal Master Plan of Itabuna, which has been in force since 2008, already announced and demarcated which locations are the most fragile and precarious structures in the city, and it is also possible to identify that the evolution of subnormal agglomerations is not a recent phenomenon in the Itabuna scenario, but it is the result of the city's growth without assistance from urban policies consistent with the needs of the population and which over the years has worsened until reaching the current context.

It is observed that the ZEIS (Special Zone of Social Interest) the text of the Itabuna Municipal Master Plan itself infers that:



Áreas públicas ou particulares ocupadas por assentamentos de população de baixa renda em áreas de preservação permanente, em unidades de conservação ou que ofereçam qualquer tipo de risco, onde o Poder Executivo, respeitadas as normas vigentes, deve promover os meios para a segurança, regularização fundiária ou relocação e recuperação ambiental da área original, garantindo a implantação de infraestrutura, serviços e equipamentos públicos na área em qualquer das circunstâncias. (Itabuna, 2008)

It should be noted that, 12 years ago, the Public Authorities were already aware of the measures that needed to be taken related to the risks facing the population residing in these neighborhoods. The absence of this state intervention caused an exponential growth in irregular housing, which consequently placed the burden on infrastructure. In ZEIS (Special Zones of Social Interest) 02, a neighborhood such as Vila da Paz, Dendê and Gogo da Ema, there are, respectively, 30, 65 and 584 residences in subnormal conditions.

On the other hand, there are 13 subnormal agglomerations without reference in the Municipal Law, they are areas that are not regulated and do not exist under the coordination instrument of municipal urban policy, that is, the Master Plan. Consequently, these are neighborhoods that were born, grew and remained unassisted over the years by effective measures to guarantee the minimum conditions for decent living.

It is important to note that based on IBGE census data from 2010, 47 neighborhoods were cataloged in Itabuna (BARRETO; SANTOS; CARVALHO; 2018). Based on the 2019 Itabuna Statistical Yearbook ¹⁶, 68 neighborhoods were cataloged in the city of Itabuna, and the preliminary analysis by IBGE found that there are 40 subnormal clusters. Thus, it can be inferred that the city is made up of more than half of localities which present characteristics of residential irregularity and inefficient government actions for urban improvement and projection of public services.

Based on these findings, analyze the locations and their description within Municipal Law 2,111 of December 19, 2008 – Municipal Master Plan, with the aim of understanding how the legislation describes the policies that should be managed in these areas and, also, allow that such discussions can be used to review and update legal provisions.

The subnormal agglomerations Nova Esperança, Cajueiro and Rua Paraíso/Ferradas are located in the Urban Expansion Zone (ZEU 2), considered by law (according to table Chapter 1) a location of “rarefied occupation”, however, according to the count carried out by IBGE the sum of these three occupations account for more than 500 residences in irregular conditions. This is a considerable number, since the subnormal agglomeration in the municipality of

¹⁶ITABUNA, City Hall of. Itabuna Statistical Yearbook. 2019. Available at: http://www.itabuna.ba.gov.br/download/anuario_Itabuna_2019.pdf. Accessed on: October 10th, 2020, p. 91 and 92.



Itabuna with the largest number of homes is Bairro São Pedro, with 760 homes (Special Zone of Social Interest 01).

Considering this analysis, it is inferred that, despite the advancement of legislation and instruments made available to managers, urban public policies still face obstacles in the effective management of their implementation. The urban crisis crosses time to present itself as a problem both in the past and in the future (MARICATO, 2001). And, possibly, in the future, if managers do not effectively and efficiently coordinate the measures to be adopted, starting with the review of the Municipal Master Plan, which is outdated in light of the current issues faced in the municipality of Itabuna.

The areas that are on the margins of the Center, categorized in the Master Plan (ZEIS 2) as “public or private areas occupied by low-income population settlements”. It is worth noting that the discussed law, which came into force in 2008, did not include locations such as Santa Catarina ¹⁷, located between Novo Mangabinha and Novo Lomanto, since the number of subnormal agglomerations in the municipality has evolved exorbitantly in the last 10 years.

The areas above are designated in Article 19 of the Municipal Master Plan as Urban Requalification Areas, characterized by precarious infrastructure and scarcity of public services, a scenario that remained until 2019 according to data referenced by IBGE.

III - Área de Ocupação Moderada (AOM): áreas de ocupação por média e alta renda com alto índice de utilização e verticalização, representada pelo bairro Jardim Vitória;

IV - Áreas de Requalificação Urbana (ARU): áreas ocupadas predominantemente por população de baixa renda e com carência de infraestrutura, periféricas, localizadas próximas às áreas de expansão da ocupação urbana:

- a) Mangabinha;
- b) São Pedro;
- c) Zizo;
- d) Daniel Gomes;
- e) Vila Anália;
- f) Fonseca.

V - Áreas Centrais (AC): áreas com predominância de atividades do setor terciário com possibilidade de diversidade de atividades e de empreendimentos:

The areas above characterize the process of social isolation that has been perpetuated in these areas, reaffirming the city's social ills that have not reduced over the years, on the contrary, are deepening and expanding, a context designated by Harvey (2008) as “dispossessed the masses of any right to the city” (HARVEY, 2008, p.85).

¹⁷IBGE. Subnormal clusters in Itabuna. Available at: <https://socecodem-ibgedgc.hub.arcgis.com/app/ac337e5164c0daa9c99f8689ad3f8>. Accessed on: October 10th, 2020.



From research carried out on Multidimensional Poverty in Itabuna ¹⁸, it was found that the difference between the HDI (Human Development Index) in which it was evidenced that:

Assim, em 2010, o bairro Novo Horizonte apresentou o resultado de menor IDH, com 0,511, logo, na 47ª posição. Na penúltima posição encontrava-se o bairro Maria Pinheiro, com 0,523, enquanto na antepenúltima estava o bairro Nova Califórnia, com 0,534. Salienta-se que esse é um índice que varia de 0 a 1 e, quanto mais próximo de 1 for o resultado, maior será o índice de desenvolvimento da localidade. Deste modo, Jardim Primavera com 0,912 apareceu em 1º lugar, Zildolândia com 0,877, em segundo, e Parque Verde em terceiro, com 0,835, logo esses três bairros figuravam como mais desenvolvidos de Itabuna em 2010. Fica evidente que os bairros que apresentam os maiores índices de pobreza são semelhantes àqueles com os menores índices de desenvolvimento, o mesmo ocorrendo com os que apresentam os menores índices de pobreza, tanto multidimensional quanto unidimensional, que são os de maiores índices de desenvolvimento. (BARRETO; CARVALHO, 2018, p.15)

It is noteworthy that Bairro Novo Horizonte, Maria Pinheiro and Nova California are Subnormal Agglomerates, which references the social inequalities of these locations, such as Zildolândia and Jardim Primavera, which are included in the Municipal Master Plan of Itabuna in Residential Zones 1 and 2, respectively. .

In 2011, an evaluation was carried out on the “Evaluation and Training Network Project for the Implementation of Participatory Master Plans” headed by an agreement between the National Secretariat for Urban Programs, the Institute for Research and Urban and Regional Planning, the Federal Government and the Ministries of Cities. Such studies were based on guidelines drawn up by the Ministry of Cities to strengthen public urban policies supported by programs aimed at:

Ministério das Cidades estruturou políticas e programas voltados à habitação, ao saneamento básico, ao transporte público coletivo e à mobilidade urbana, à regularização fundiária, ao planejamento urbano, dentre outros temas, de modo a reverter o passivo de desigualdade social das cidades brasileiras. São programas que operam com a lógica de enfrentamento das carências urbanas, como o Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC) e o Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV), além de programas que visam a melhoria da gestão urbana, como o Programa de Fortalecimento da Gestão Urbana (NEGROMONTE, 2011, p.11).

In this way, there is a systematic approach to urban issues, especially in relation to the housing context of Brazilian municipalities. To this end, the Master Plan proves to be a fundamental tool for public policies to gain effectiveness in the municipal scenario, “aiming at territorial inclusion and the reduction of inequalities, expressed in most Brazilian cities through

¹⁸BARRETO, Ricardo Candeia Sá; santos, Eli Izidro dos; CARVALHO, Icaro Célio Santos de. Medindo a Pobreza Multidimensional em Itabuna: uma análise espacial. Bahia Análise & Dados, v. 1 (1991) Salvador: Superintendência de Estudos Econômicos e Sociais da Bahia, 2018. v.28 n. 2 .



land irregularities, social segregation -spatial and environmental degradation” (JUNIOR; SILVA; SANT'ANA, 2011, p.14).

Os dados estimados de domicílios revelam que, apesar do fenômeno da proliferação de precarização habitacional ser comumente associada aos Aglomerados Subnormais presentes nas grandes cidades como Rio de Janeiro (19,27%) e São Paulo (12,91%), o fenômeno ocorre em grande proporção em cidades pequenas como Vitória do Jari – AP (74%) e em outras capitais da Região Norte como Belém (55,5%) e Manaus (53,37%) e Nordeste, como Salvador (41,83%).¹⁹

Contradictorily, when analyzing the reality experienced by Itabuna, it was concluded from the analysis of data from the 2010 IBGE Census and the preliminary results of the Subnormal Agglomerates in Brazil, from the year 2019, that the municipality is heading in the opposite direction to the implementation of concrete urban public policies, especially those focused on housing, since the numbers revealed that the city's growth does not correspond to development based on population improvements.

It is also aggravating that the legislation that currently governs territorial planning is outdated and underused due to the significant transformations that occurred from 2008, the year in which the Itabuna Municipal Master Plan came into effect, until 2019, the ²⁰year that preliminary data on subnormal clusters was collected by IBGE. Thus, the functionality of the master plan is distorted, which is:

O objetivo principal do Plano Diretor, de definir a função social da cidade e da propriedade urbana, de forma a garantir o acesso a terra urbanizada e regularizada a todos os segmentos sociais, de garantir o direito à moradia e aos serviços urbanos a todos os cidadãos, bem como de implementar uma gestão democrática e participativa, pode ser atingido a partir da utilização dos instrumentos definidos no Estatuto da Cidade, que dependem, por sua vez, de processos inovadores de gestão nos municípios. (JUNIOR; SILVA; SANT'ANA, 2011, p.14).

Adhering to this logic, the debated law, in addition to being outdated in terms of current demands, does not reflect the determinations of Resolution n.25 and n.34 of the National Council of Cities headed by the National Campaign for Participatory Master Plans in 2005, ²¹which outlined the minimum content that must be part of the legislation concerning

¹⁹IBGE. Technical Note no. 14/2020 Recommendations to Municipalities: Prevention of Covid-19 in Precarious Areas. 2020. Available at: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101717_notas_tecnicas.pdf page. 5. Accessed on: October 10th, 2020, p. 7.

²⁰IBGE. Subnormal clusters. Available at: <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=2101717>. Accessed on: October 10th, 2020.

²¹MUNICÍPIOS, Confederação Nacional dos. Ministério das Cidades lança campanha nacional “Planos Diretores Participativos”. Available at: <https://www.cnm.org.br/comunicacao/noticias/minist%C3%A9rio-das-cidades-lan%C3%A7a-campanha-nacional-%E2%80%9Cplanos-diretores-participativos%E2%80%9D>. Accessed on: October 12th, 2020.



Municipal Master Plans. The law in force today in the city of Itabuna, despite using the Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS), demarcating the neighborhoods and locations that most need attention, does not specifically mention the measures to be taken, taking a generalist form, contrary identification which this urban policy instrument is proposed.

A pesquisa evidenciou uma generalizada inadequação da regulamentação dos instrumentos nos Planos Diretores no que se refere à autoaplicabilidade ou efetividade dos mesmos, principalmente no caso dos instrumentos relacionados à indução do desenvolvimento urbano. Tal inadequação gera uma insuficiência no que se refere à definição de conceitos e parâmetros urbanísticos, à demarcação dos instrumentos no território e à definição de prazos para implementação e operacionalização de procedimentos administrativos entre outros aspectos. Mesmo que alguns instrumentos requeiram regulamentação específica ou que suponham detalhamento de seu modo de operar em regulamento próprio, aquilo que cabe ao Plano Diretor definir, especialmente a incidência dos instrumentos no território, de um modo geral está precariamente disposto nos Planos Diretores. (JUNIOR, MANTANDON, 2011, p.34).

More than regulations, the Master Plan must be a vector for transforming urban reality, since the structural archetypes of cities configure how and where the population will occupy spaces, further away or closer to the centers and, mainly, detect which are the housing gaps that most demand action from urban policy, which must also be focused on exposing the population to risk situations and coping with growing housing inadequacy (JUNIOR, MATANDON, 2011).

The comparison made between IBGE 2010 data and the preliminary release of the assessment for the year 2019, on the housing theme in Brazil, Bahia and, more specifically in Itabuna, demonstrates that legislative advances are underutilized when there is poor management. It is noteworthy that the housing issue has a direct confluence with environmental sanitation, waste management and the use and management of drinking water. An environmental stain that carries the municipality with the Cachoeira River, which has been the subject of research by Universities in the region on several occasions, has demonstrated its high degree of pollution (PINHO, 2001).

Despite being stated in article 46 of the Municipal Master Plan, section II, the revitalization of the river and execution of the Basic Sanitation Plan, the local reality demonstrates not only the maintenance of the deficit status, but the worsening. It is appropriate to emphasize that the Itabuna Basic Sanitation Plan in 2016 was the target of investigations by the State and Federal Public Prosecutor's Office ²², which found irregularities

²²STATE, Federal Public Ministry and Public Ministry. Joint Recommendation 01/2016. Available at: http://www.ceama.mpba.mp.br/biblioteca-virtual-numa/doc_view/3888-recomendacao-conjunta-mpf-e-mpba-plano-saneamento-basico-de-itabuna.html. Accessed on: October 12th, 2020. p.01.



in the structuring of the Plan, as it did not meet the national Basic Sanitation guidelines, as per Law No. 11,445, of January 5, 2007.

Another point assessed by the Public Ministry was the need to adapt to the local reality, mainly with regard to social mobilization, an important criterion to be considered when formulating the plan, as it must contain information from the local community, as identified in the opinion:²³

Após notícia de fato apresentada ao Ministério Público Federal e ao Ministério Público do Estado da Bahia indicando irregularidades o plano elaborado foi submetido à análise da Câmara de Saneamento do MPE, sendo concluído, pela engenheira sanitarista e ambiental, assessora técnica pericial no parecer técnico 42/2016 (em anexo) que:
[...]

O Plano de Trabalho mostrou-se completo e adequado. O Plano de Mobilização Social não apresentava inadequações, mas, embora tenha apresentado a proposição de realização de reuniões, seminários e outros eventos, não se pode afirmar que todos eles efetivamente aconteceram, nem tampouco afirmar que se estimulou a participação da população, nem, muito menos, que as contribuições emanadas tenham sido efetivamente registradas, analisadas e, eventualmente, incorporadas. Em verdade, a análise de todo o documento leva à conclusão de que não houve efetiva participação da população em qualquer de suas etapas. Os documentos apresentados não apresentam qualquer evidência do registro das contribuições. Não houve consulta pública²⁴.

The above fact reveals that public policies aimed at the environmental sectors did not find space for a relevant discussion that would direct government actions to manage such demands. As a result of ineffective, and sometimes non-existent, interference and actions, the city continues to face problems that develop from housing, structural and environmental aspects and that lead to constant disasters, which affect the lives of the population.

This scenario is accentuated in times of intense rain, when the overflow of the Cachoeira River favors flooding, finding yet another aggravating factor, which is the lack of drainage and urban drainage network, placing Itabuna and neighboring municipalities in a state of emergency like in 2018, in which the Association of Municipalities of the South, Extreme South and Southwest of Bahia (Amurc) issued a warning about environmental

²³STATE, Federal Public Ministry and Public Ministry. Joint Recommendation 01/2016. Available at: http://www.ceama.mpba.mp.br/biblioteca-virtual-numa/doc_view/3888-recomendacao-conjunta-mpf-e-mpba-plano-saneamento-basico-de-itabuna.html. Accessed on: October 13th, 2020, p.07

²⁴ESTADUAL, Ministério Público Federal e Ministério Público. Recomendação Conjunta 01/2016. Available on: http://www.ceama.mpba.mp.br/biblioteca-virtual-numa/doc_view/3888-recomendacao-conjunta-mpf-e-mpba-plano-saneamento-basico-de-itabuna.html. Accessed on: October 13th, 2020, p.07



catastrophes that would face the municipalities of this region based on calls made to Civil Defense.²⁵

Therefore, this is another point that must be discussed in the municipal sphere to promote public urban policies based on environmental bias, since unlinking these points is the first step towards creating government proposals that do not meet effective the infrastructure demands of localities and, consequently, the quality of life of the population.

Outro elemento a ser destacado diz respeito à pouca presença, nos Planos Diretores, da exigência de licenciamento ambiental para empreendimentos causadores de impacto no meio ambiente natural e na estrutura urbana em nível local, bem como de propostas de elaboração de Códigos Ambientais, Planos Municipais de Meio Ambiente e Zoneamentos Ecológico-Econômicos. Nos poucos Planos em que esses instrumentos são instituídos, na maioria dos casos eles são remetidos à regulamentação posterior (JUNIOR, MATANDON, 2011, p. 42).

On the other hand, the participation of the population in the democratic process (CARVALHO, 1999) of creating the law as proclaimed in the Statute of Cities in its article 2, section XIII, and which also finds normative correspondence in the Municipal Master Plan of Itabuna, in article 54, item V. However, this requirement is not supported by local experience.

A riqueza desses processos participativos talvez esteja na apropriação pública e social do Estatuto da Cidade e na sua efetivação em múltiplos canais, fóruns e espaços de participação, e não necessariamente no caráter formal dos espaços que se instituíram. Acredita-se que esses processos participativos tenham contribuído enormemente para o fortalecimento do planejamento urbano e que merecem ser incentivados. (JUNIOR, MATANDON, 2011, p.46).

It is noteworthy that the *website* of the Itabuna Urban Development Secretariat informs that, through Decree 13.333/19 ²⁶, the Coordination Committee for the Master Plan Revision Work was created. Even though the creation demonstrates effort in the revisionary role of the plan, it does not remove procrastination, as well as the negative dimensions resulting from this process.

From the data analyzed and the scores made in the 22nd chapter in the text of the law that makes up the Municipal Master Plan, it can be inferred that the majority of the law reverberates in its ineffectiveness and lack of practical implementation. The passage of time

²⁵MUNICIPALITIES, National Confederation of. Municipalities in southern Bahia remain on alert due to heavy rains. Available at: <https://www.cnm.org.br/comunicacao/noticias/municipios-do-sul-da-bahia-seguem-em-alerta-por-conta-das-fortes-chuvas>. Accessed on: 15 Oct. 2020.

²⁶ITABUNA, City Hall of. Secretariat of Urban Development. Available at: <http://www.itabuna.ba.gov.br/sedur/pddu/>. Accessed on: November 2nd, 2020.



has highlighted the fragility of public policies in the face of the number of subnormal agglomerations that the city of Itabuna currently contains.

The data is not only alarming in terms of infrastructure, but it greatly impacts the debate on the role of public managers in tackling infectious diseases, as the world has been facing in 2020 due to the Covid-19 virus pandemic. The technical notes produced by the competent bodies reaffirmed the structural responsibility for how the population lives and where they reside, and also explains death in a precarious context with minimal resources.

The context currently experienced brought an additional bias to the development of this study, since it would be inconceivable to debate and propose improvements in the local reality without talking about where, how and who is being most affected by the problems triggered in a global scenario. Furthermore, it verified, through images and analysis of data provided by IBGE, the comparison between the housing reality of 2010 and 2019. Based on this, the next 10 years can be projected in light of the current context, aiming, above all, , make the city of Itabuna a place of democratic housing.

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research proposed a discussion based on the analysis of the Itabuna Municipal Master Plan, identified as a delayed standardization that does not match the reality and needs of the municipality, as well as the population that resides there. In a path contrary to the dictates of the City Statute, Itabuna has regressed in democratic advances in urban management and has witnessed the vertiginous growth of subnormal agglomerations in a time span of 10 years, since they were recorded in 2019, according to data from IBGE , the city is made up of 40 neighborhoods characterized as subnormal agglomerations.

Furthermore, despite the finding of 40 neighborhoods, the Itabuna Municipal Master Plan did not find regulation of 13 subnormal agglomerations. Therefore, it is clear that these locations do not exist according to local legislation, which, consequently, impacts the direction, promotion and execution of public urban policies for these areas. This lack of normative provision undermines the primary objective of the Master Plan as an urban planning tool, namely, correspondence with local reality.



It is understood, therefore, that the instruments sewn into the legislation that assigned to the municipal entity the responsibility of managing and operationalizing the themes concerning urban planning, there is an abyss between what the law infers and what has been exercised by managers, as well as the Housing programs have not fulfilled their role in stopping the expansion of subnormal agglomerations. In the case of Itabuna, there is a temporal , legislative hiatus and poor institutional management, which leads to the consequences of an outdated Master Plan that is not in line with the local reality, which explains the growing number of residences in irregular and precarious conditions. It is important to highlight that in a Pandemic context, the relevance of housing that provides decent survival conditions, with access to essential basic services, remains evident.

Social contradictions are highlighted as, with the need to use efficient health services in communities, the population that was most affected by COVID-19, according to the Favela Epidemiological Bulletin produced by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (FIOCRUZ) in June 2020 ²⁷, the incidence of virus spread occurred with greater intensity in favelas. The justifications are exposed, in addition to the pile of unviable residences and buildings, the practice of basic hygiene and cleaning habits, which are necessary such as access to water, meant that the population residing in these locations were affected in greater numbers.

Given this scenario, the discussions raised are intended to serve as a basis for updating the Municipal Master Plan and the guidelines for public urban development policies to be implemented in the city of Itabuna, considering that the decision-making process of the public authorities may prevent similar situations like the one experienced in 2020 during the Pandemic can be avoided in the future. Furthermore, once it is seen that urban measures are directly connected with interdisciplinary action, and the promotion of public policies linked to sanitary and health issues, essential for the reformulation of future management and the construction of more equitable urban centers.

²⁷CRUZ, Oswaldo Foundation. Socioepidemiological Bulletin of COVID-19 in Favelas. Available at: https://portal.fiocruz.br/sites/portal.fiocruz.br/files/documentos/boletim_socioepidemiologicos_covid_nas_favelas_1.pdf. Accessed on: 02 Nov. 2020.



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