

URBAN PLANNING IN BRAZIL AND THE GROWTH OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA IN THE REGION OF GOIANIA.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to examine urban planning in Brazil and the growth of space within the metropolitan region of Goiania. The growth of metropolitan regions in Brazil refers to the accelerated process of urbanization where great migrations redistribute the population from the countryside to the cities, which is what is happening in Goiania. Migrants move to large towns, especially to city centers, as they see this as a way to guarantee their social survival. As the population in the cities grows, so do the challenges facing politicians, who have to deal with problems involving social services, infrastructure, urban mobility etc. which are placed under greater strain when there is a population boom in the great city centers. Our survey was conducted by means of secondary research based on books, articles and data published by official organs.

Keywords: *City centers; Urban planning; Economic and Social Policies.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Brazilian metropolitan space refers to the process of accelerated urbanization, which is far more intense than similar processes in advanced capitalist countries. The period of economic growth that Brazil experienced as a major coffee producer at the beginning of the 20th century, came to an abrupt halt as a result of the crisis of 1929, which had global implications and even affected coffee production in Brazil. Changes in the price of agricultural produce in Brazil together with the foreign debt acquired during this period, led to many economic difficulties, which meant that the country had to invest in the internal market based on a new form of economic organization, which required articulating regional markets which, in turn, ensured that a series of advances were made in the transport and communications systems (RIBEIRO, et. al. 2011)

According to Rodrigues (2003), the urban population of Brazil, pressured by this development model consisted of the following:

As from 1940, the urban population had attained extraordinary indexes: 31% (from 1930 to 1940); 45.83% (from 1940 to 1950); 66.66% (from 1950 to 1960); 66.39% (from 1960 to 1970); 54.43% (from 1970 to 1980). As from the 1970s, urban population indexes, which were already high, began to rise even further. However, the framework of inequality became more pronounced: from 1980 to 1990, the population that lived in shanty towns increased from 2.248.336 to 5.020.517. In Rio de Janeiro alone, the shanty town population grew by 32% during this period. The 2000 Census data reiterates these figures very clearly: while (the wealthier) central areas located within the eight main metropolitan regions of the country had grown by 5% over the previous ten years, the peripherals areas in these same regions grew by 30%,

Urban planning in Brazil began to be valued and politicized after the great popular movements that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, channeled by the hope that it would be possible to achieve a better distribution of wealth in the cities and especially in opposition to authoritarian States, which were seen as being responsible for increasing the concentration of wealth and power within the country. The process of great population growth in the cities led to the formation of immense peripheral areas that lacked even the most basic living conditions. In this context, shanty towns, illegal and clandestine lots and slums began to appear in most areas of the cities in these metropolitan areas (RODRIGUES, 2003).

According to the views expressed by Ribeiro, Silva, Rodrigues (2011), the urban correlation between industrialization and metropolization, first began in the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, towards the end of the 1970s, following state actions taken prior to the petrol crisis which, to a certain degree, had encouraged urbanization to move further into the interior. With the implantation of II PND (National Development Plan) in 1974, and based on an integrated vision of economic development, the programs and plans of this period were directed towards an urban policy aimed at integrating and adjusting the urban network, which actions included both the great urban agglomerations as well as the inland regions of the country.

Based on the capitalist need to expand to all four corners of the earth, the capitalists ensured that the breakthroughs and solidity of a modern factory operated in such a way as to create a vision where the city, especially larger cities, represented an image of reason, the heart of good health and the veins of progress. By achieving the social division of labor, the metropolis appeared to be the foundation of rationality rather than superstition, where the nature of its being could create a new form of consumerism, as if the new consumer was able to transcend the limitations of simple change and overcome the constraints of tradition. Only by getting away from subsistence production would it be possible to create a dependence on a salary which would stimulate consumption in exchange for money (CHAVEIRO, 2011).

According to Chaveiro (2011), the metropolitan issue gained further relevance in Brazil, precisely during the period when there was the greatest population growth, which coincided with the most intense period of metropolization, with great waves of migration, since significant numbers of the rural poor became the urban poor, generally becoming impoverished city dwellers. Thus, an enormous demand arose for public services and for living space in urban areas, which is not that good and is less accessible to the poorest members of society, since urban land is more expensive and the housing market is fiercely competitive.

According to Abiko and Romanelli (2011), internal migration redistributed the population from the countryside to the towns, between the different regions of Brazil. And migrants wanted to go to the major towns, especially the city centers, based on the perspective of their own social survival.

The great metropolitan agglomerates were seen as places which enabled a person to have the possibility of articulating between spatial mobility and social mobility. Moving home with one's family to another municipality or state was an acknowledged social option for society, encouraged by cultural habits and the possibility of achieving a degree of success in improving one's way of life. The way that areas were occupied in the great cities led to an extremely unequal distribution of space in terms of housing, income, job opportunities and urban infrastructure, as well as environmental safety. The fragmentary occupation of urban regions creates enormous problems involving inadequate environmental conditions and too little articulation with the subsequent urban occupation (ABIKO & ROMANELLI, 2011).

Abiko and Romanelli (2011) also state that the process of occupation and expansion of a metropolis can explain the great intensity of horizontal displacements that have occurred in Metropolitan Regions (MRs), which house a large section of the population that does not have the means to live in the more expensive central areas. A further difficulty affecting the living conditions in metropolitan areas for the poorest members of society, is caused by the growth of towns which is accompanied by environmental degradation provoked by illegal land division and occupation in protected areas.

The metropolis is not only a political entity, but also an area that is used for innumerable activities, that depends on integrated urban development policies and articulated actions, which ideally require a shared system of management (ABIKO & ROMANELLI, 2011).

2. GOIANIA: the growth of a metropolitan space, challenges and perspectives.

The metropolitan region of Goiania was established at the end of the 1990s. This is an extensive area composed of heterogenic territories, principally in relation to its socio-territorial aspects.

The Metropolitan Region of Goiania – RMG was created by means of Supplementary Law No. 027, of December 1999, and was originally composed of eleven municipalities which, according to this same Supplementary Law, formed “Greater Goiania”, formed by the following municipalities: Goiânia, Abadia de Goiás, Aparecida de Goiânia, Aragoiânia, Goianópolis, Goianira, Hidrolândia, Nerópolis, Santo Antônio de Goiás, Senador Canedo and Trindade. (MOYSÉS, 2012)

This same law also established another metropolitan area, known as “The Integrated Development Region of Goiania (RDIG)”, which included seven municipalities: Vista, Bonfinópolis, Brazabrantes, Caturaí, Inhumas, Nova Veneza, Terezópolis de Goiás and later included Guapó and Caldazinhas, which meant there was a total of nine municipalities within the RDIG. It can be said that, all these municipalities maintain a relationship of dependence with the city of Goiania, as regards services offered and the employment market (MOYSÉS, 2012).

Moysés (2012), also states that the Legislative Assembly has altered the composition of the Metropolitan Region of Goiania - RMG on three occasions. The first time was in 2004 (Supplementary Law No. 048 of December 9, 2004), when it added the municipality of Bela Vista de Goiás; the second time was in 2005 (Supplementary Law No. 054 of May 23, 2005), which made the municipality of Guapó an integral part of the RMG. At the present time, through Supplementary Law No. 078 of March 25, 2010, published in the Official Gazette of 05.04.2010, the RMG now consists of twenty (20) municipalities, that is to say, the metropolitan area now includes that which Supplementary Law No. 027 calls “Greater Goiania and the RDIF”.

According to data contained in the 2010 Demographic Census issued by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE, the resident population of the State of Goias had grown to 6,003.788 inhabitants, with a population density of 297 inhabitants/km². In 2000, the population numbered 5,003.228 inhabitants – which represents a population increase of around 20%, or 1.000.560 people in absolute numbers. The geometric growth rate of the population of Goiania during this period was 1.84% per annum, which represents a higher growth rate than the national average, which was 1.17% per year. In terms of population numbers, Goias is the most populated State in the Central-West region of Brazil and, in 2010, accounted for 42.7% of the regional population and, on a national level, was rated as the 12th State in the country, with 3.15% of the total population of Brazil, which numbers have shown a slight but continual increase over the years.

According to the IBGE’s 2010 Census, the metropolitan population of Goiana consisted of 2,173.141 inhabitants, living in a region of covering approximately 7.315,1 km², with a population density of approximately 297.07 inhabitants/km². If we include the population of Anapolis, which, according to the IBGE 2012 census, has a population of 334.613 thousand inhabitants, the regional population reaches a total 2.507.754 inhabitants, This also shows that 41,76% of the State’s population live in twenty-one municipalities, representing 8,53% of the municipalities of the State of Goias, which are located, at their furthest, 50kms from the city centre. (MOYSÉS, 2012)

2.1. Challenges facing government authorities in view of the advance of the metropolization process.

A series of challenges exist in every metropolitan region which government authorities have to face and the Metropolitan Region of Goiania is no different in this respect. The Ministry of Cities, via the Federal Government, aims to play an important role in urban issues by seeking the support, through social urban movements, of business and political leaders who are involved in questions relating to urbanization.

According to Rodrigues (2003), some of the challenges facing the Ministry of Cities is to establish a system of social participation and collective negotiation, based on the creation of the National Council of Cities, to organize conferences at all levels within the Federation and to establish technical chambers, to enable those responsible and involved in urban issues to have at their disposal up-to-date information related to collective bargaining which involve questions related to the Metropolitan Regions. For this, it is necessary to confront the reality of medium and long-term challenges, and prepare an outline of urban development plan jointly with society and in such a way that both economic and social policies are fully integrated.

In the view of Ribeiro (2008), the great challenge to be faced, which can be easily achieved when based on a well-organized urbanization model, is to try and understand the importance of government planning in the intense and fast-moving process of urbanization. Metropolitan centers are nowadays materially, socially and institutionally ill-prepared for economic growth based on the dynamics of innovation, on knowledge economy and efficiency which mobilizes not only market logic, but also the positive effects of social cohesion.

As stated by Moysés (2011), the Ministry of Cities represents a huge advance in issues related to the formulation and implementation of urban policies, which have the capacity to improve life in towns and cities in general and, in particular, in the great urban centers.

The responsibilities of the Ministry of Cities are clearly laid out, in accordance with Provisional Measure No. 103 of January 1, 2003, Section II, Article 27, III:

- a) urban development policies;
- b) sectorial policies for housing, environmental sanitation, urban transport and traffic;
- c) to promote, in articulation with different government departments, the private sector and non-governmental organizations, those actions and programs involving urbanization, housing, basic and environmental sanitation, urban transport, traffic and urban development;
- d) subsidy policies for popular housing, sanitation and urban transport;
- e) planning, regulating, standardizing and applying resource management policies to urban development, urbanization, housing, basic and environmental sanitation, urban transport and traffic;
- f) to take part in formulating general guidelines for the conservation of urban water systems, as well as for the use of hydrographic basins as basic elements for sanitation planning and management.

(MOYSÉS, 2011)

However, according to Moysés (2011), metropolitan issues are not given the special attention they deserve, in spite of the fact that problems involving great metropolitan centers represent “the most serious of all urban problems”. Towns and cities still do not have the institutional mechanisms they need.

State government look after problems related to their own States, while town halls look after their respective municipalities. However, several metropolitan problems go beyond the jurisdiction of the municipalities: water resources, sewage systems and solid waste, drainage, conserving units of preservation, air and water pollution, urban transport, healthcare, social assistance and education (MOYSÉS, 2012)

2.2. Metropolitanization Process Perspectives

According to Moura (2013), the metropolitanization process in Brazil will serve to strengthen and broaden the territorial expansion of the more densely populated and mobile population areas, which settle in configurations of spatial arrangements which are characterized as regional-urban centers. This hybrid system has a regional dimension, formally known in Brazil as Municipal Regions ((MRs) and Integrated Regions of Development (Rides).

In the view of Moysés (2004), cities will continue to exist in the future, as overpopulated centers, since the great metropolitan areas will continue to attract large numbers of people which, in turn, attracts investments, especially for the peripheral areas, as is the case of Goiania and, as a result, social problems will tend to worsen in towns and cities.

According to Moura (2013), one of the great challenges that needs to be faced in order to guarantee metropolitan growth, is to be able to deal with the management of public services, which are of common interest to all who live in densely populated areas, and at the same time to administer regional development. That is to say, municipal administration with characteristics that go far beyond the municipality itself.

One alternative to help reduce these problems, as indicated by Moysés (2004), would be to adopt planning as an instrument of management, since market rules are becoming more important than economic development. In view of this, the purpose of strategic city planning is to structure urban society to adapt to a globalized world, through the efforts of the State as the centralizing power, and thereby encourage big businesses in a way that is also advantageous to the population.

It is necessary to make a detailed analysis of public policies that are being adopted in order to provide a precise definition of regional development strategies and an appraisal of the administrative structures, as well as sectors of society that ideally should be involved in this form of coordinated administration (MOURA, 2013)

The proposal suggested by Moysés (2011) would be to create inter-municipal collegiate bodies and consortiums that could deal with these types of problems. Some initiatives have already been taken, but efforts to construct an institutional space for metropolitan management has still not attained satisfactory levels.

Now, more than ever, inter-municipal articulation is required. Some MRs have taken this initiative, as in the case of the so-called ABC municipalities, including the MR in Greater São Paulo, which created an Inter-municipal Consortium and have made attempts to create an Inter-municipal Parliament (MOYSÉS, 2011).

Moura (2013) agrees with this when he states that different spatial situations require “transcalar” regional agreements and the formulation of integrated policies that encourage interconnectivity, as part of the new economic dynamics that bring together the needs of dispersed areas.

According to Ribeiro, Silva and Rodrigues (2011), the great challenge facing metropolitan areas in Brazil is dealing with the “mobility crises”. If “Urban Reform” is not carried out, the productive capacity of the cities will be unable to support growth. Rather than just losing economic efficiency, the collapse of mobility in Brazil also limits the reduction of inequality, since these urban centers offer high concentrations of employment, while most of the population lives in peripheral areas. Disconnected areas of employment and housing are encouraged and made worse as a result of auto-locomotion. Another effect is that workers have to take more time to travel from their homes to work every day, due to deregulation and the way that the collective public transport system has been badly neglected.

Maintaining the successful path of economic growth that Brazil has experienced over the last few years, depends on society’s capacity to accept the immediate costs involved in changing Brazil’s present urban model and, thereafter, to construct a new project to reform our cities. Dealing with and resolving the “mobility crisis” on the basis of this being a metropolitan issue, represents one of this project’s most important battle fronts (RIBEIRO, SILVA and RODRIGUES, 2011, p.206).

According to these authors, it is necessary to opt for “Urban Reform”, the implementation of which will involve a redirection in terms of the pace of the path to change. If such changes are not made, then it is inevitable that problems, such as urban blackouts, will occur within a few years, the consequences of which will be far greater and more serious than reducing the speed of growth: “the exacerbated consolidation of the Brazilian urban model and its collective malaise, caused by the profound social, urban and environmental degradation of metropolitan areas” (RIBEIRO, SILVA and RODRIGUES, 2011).

Chaveiro (2011) states that metropolitan areas are going through a phase which he describes as “the city crisis”, which present inconsistencies that merit attention:

Renewed investigation into so-called intra-urban spaces with the creation of new centralities, the separation of social classes by means of spatial arrangements, the islands of great beauty with their thematic squares and market aesthetics – the realm of progress -, contrast with the traffic deaths, frequent hold-ups, kidnappings, group robberies etc, which have transformed the metropolis into a realm of danger (CHAVEIRO, 2011, p.6)

Based on this perspective, Chaveiro (2011) notes several trends involving metropolitan areas:

a) The insecurity of public areas

As a result of the violence and fear that is now part of every-day life in a metropolis, those living there withdraw from public areas, which creates a sense of being “uprooted”, that is to say, people no longer feel they belong, since they spend most of their time behind closed doors and oppressed by a sense of fear. The media uses such elements to appropriate popular demonstrations. Urban marketing, when recreating relics and promoting the commercialization of things that are simple, “creates” environments so as to earn profits and continue to dominate the city and control its spaces, using these inconsistencies for their own commercial benefit.

b) Urban tourism and existing territories

The construction of massive buildings, the revitalization of city areas, monuments or traditional symbols, the organization of festivals, the dispute for major events are all elements of urban tourism, which are increasingly in demand. Urban tourism includes business tourism, pleasure, religious tourism as well as ecotourism, among others. In all of these, it is possible to generate feelings of involvement, creating awareness, of the foundations of the city, the rich variety of its inhabitants, its culture, diversity, etc.

c) Speed management and inconsistent planning

The facilities promoted by entry and exit variables, the economic dependence of a macro-economy, the acceleration of time, the private control of land and space, the coming together with other municipalities, etc. offer management a philosophy of speed and conflicts. Thus, two models are born: the culturist and the progressive. The culturist model looks after implementing ideological building works so as to valorize memorial spaces, traditions, through the creation of festivals and events that promote a sense of identity (business tourism). The progressive model, on the other hand, is based on technification in the sense of rational efficiency, controlling and preserving data, constructing great buildings that serve as administrative landmarks.

2.3. Municipal master plans and the Metropolitan issue

There are several city center master plan interface issues, such as:

- Territorial/environmental: hydrographic basins; the creation of units of conservation; permanent areas of preservation (APP);
- Transport: layout and hierarchy of transport systems; mobility;
- Land use and occupation: boundaries and intersections of urban and non-urban zones;
- Housing: land market regulation; urban legislation; taxation instruments; real estate issues.

According to Schasberg and Lopes (2011), city center master plans are generally very generic and most face problems when it comes to their applicability. On the one hand, there are no specific and effective laws that cover the necessary level of detail involved, such as municipal master plan guidelines related to urban boundaries and the division of urban land. On the other hand, there is no self-applicability, which means that other legal instruments and regulatory legislation have to be used.

These authors also observe that there is a tendency for a municipal town hall to frequently favor vertical articulation with the state and the Union, rather than horizontal, inter-municipal articulation between the Federal states. Schasberg and Lopes (2011) also comment that it is rare to see any mention in these municipal master plans, of a public sector consortium as being instrumental to put into practice these declarations of shared commitment and vertical articulation action plans between federal entities.

The Federal Constitution establishes that the attributes of City Hall master plans serve as a basic instrument for urban development policies. Within the strict ambit of the federal sphere itself, the metropolitan issue still requires an integrated and matrix form of approach to the whole set of government actions that are involved, since these involve issues related to federal renegotiations and the establishment of a new landmark in the way of working and implementing inter-municipal cooperation (SCHASBERG e LOPES, 2011)

With regards to the state of Goiás, the study conducted by Schasberg and Lopes (2011) shows that in the master plan of the city of Goiania there exists an Inter-municipal Consortium of the Meia Ponte River as well as the Committee of the Hydrographic Basis of the Meia Ponte River, which include other municipalities that do not belong to the Metropolitan Region of Goiania.

According to Schasberg and Lopes (2011), the metropolitan question is part of most of the analyses that have been conducted and works written about towns and municipalities in Brazil. On the other hand, the metropolitan issue is not often included in the provisions set out in these municipal master plans, which are supported by a series of municipal competencies for the internal organization of the municipal territory itself, as well as for articulating metropolitan actions with neighboring municipalities, in relation to issues that are expected to produce some sort of result. These issues include: resolving vacant urban areas, the creation and management of Conservation Units, water resource management and implementing the statutory instruments contained in Brazil's City Statutes, all of which can be done simultaneously, in combination and in synergy with other metropolitan municipalities,

As regards the prevailing view that it is difficult to introduce the metropolitan issue into Town Hall master plans, the authors state the following:

- A more limited approach is taken towards the inclusion of the metropolitan issue in city master plans when this is solely linked to an understanding of the efficiency of joint management of sectorial policies, which generally involve transport and environmental sanitation, instead of being seen as a requirement for the shared planning and management of the same metropolitan territory.
- Town Hall master plans find it more difficult to move forward with regards to constructing and implementing planning and metropolitan management models and when attempting to express an image of a metropolitan territory and its inclusion as being part of the same issue.

Ever since it became obligatory to elaborate a master plan, efforts to up-date municipal cartography bases gathered momentum across the country. Meanwhile, according to Schasberg and Lopes (2011) the situation of these cartography bases is still very precarious as regards town hall master plans and there are some cases where municipalities do not even include such maps in their plans. By analyzing the maps contained in the MPs of neighboring town halls, it was possible to show the relevance and continuity of legal provisions for boundaries, such as urban perimeters, transport systems, zones for land use and occupation, as well as conservation units, among others.

From an institutional point of view, it is reasonable to suppose that the reason there is an almost total absence of the metropolitan question and the apathetic way this issue is deal with in MPs, could be due to the way the territorial planning units were

created (RM, RIDE), without any involvement with official bodies, that would give purpose and an effective structure to the task, including, above all, state governments, which have been given, through the Federal Constitution, the necessary competencies for this purpose. It is worth remembering that the text of the constitution has the authority to bestow such powers on federal States, since it states that these “may” create Metropolitan Regions (MR), or micro-regions (...). The public consortiums, which should have been encouraged by the judiciary protection outlined in Federal Law 11.107/2005, were not widely disseminated and had not, until then, taken steps to encourage federal entities to assume joint actions. However, some Town Hall master plans, pointed to the opportunities that existed in working together with public consortium, but failed to define these entities with the necessary strategic clarity (SCHASBERG and LOPES, 2011, p. 249)

In this context, it is worthwhile considering that those participating in the elaboration process of Town Hall master plans, usually only include those who represent municipal-level activities. Master plans competencies are seen as legal instruments that belong exclusively to the municipal sphere, as, for instance, in the case of the 1998 Federal Constitution, which attributes municipal councils with exclusive powers in matters related to the use and occupation of land located within their boundaries. However, some municipalities, in particular those that are part of the capital cities of States with Metropolitan Regions, have formed units or small structures of articulation with neighboring municipalities, which can be extremely productive (SCHASBERG and LOPES, 2011)

It should also be noted that the legislative bodies, both municipal and state, are notably absent from this process. In the case of city councils, in general these are merely content to wait for draft laws relating to master plans which are issued by government offices and to accept the final and decisive debates relating to the final version of these laws, which are often notable for the high number of amendments they contain. It is also worth underlining that there has been no record of any of the present representatives of Brazilian city councils taking part in these matters. These councils are formed by city council representatives from metropolitan municipalities, who would be able to offer a supra-municipal space for debates and negotiations involving the process to elaborate municipal master plans .(SCHASBERG and LOPES, 2011, p. 250)

According to Schasberg and Lopes (2011), the present challenge related to the metropolitan question, is to ensure greater participation by state governments. “If MPs are within the competency of municipalities, this means that the Federal Constitution has assigned responsibility for metropolitan management to the states” (SCHASBERG and LOPES, 2011, p.251). It would certainly be helpful for metropolitan management if the states assumed the role of a development agency, as municipal planning facilitators. This would help towards providing basic inputs for the construction of Municipal Master Plans, which at the present time offer expectations that, in reality, can never be met.

Schasberg and Lopes (2011) make the following five recommendations in respect of the metropolitan question:

- a) Within the sphere of the City Conferences, which are organized by the Federal Government’s Ministry of Cities, in partnership with other states, the Federal District of Brasilia and municipalities, together with a wide range of organized society participants, it should be officially established that an obligatory chapter is included regarding the metropolitan issue;
- b) A guarantee should be given that the “Terms of Reference”, which are understood to be technical elements used to establish assumptions and expected content within the town hall Master Plans in metropolitan areas, should be required beforehand to make available regional information to the teams elaborating the issue, to be used as inputs and subsidies, which are highly relevant to this work both technically and politically, which should include such information as the current legal framework, the legal requirements pertaining to the use and occupation of land and the systemized instruments used to establish socio-environmental vulnerability, based on the same principles as the Charter of Risk Factors of Goiana.
- c) The need to invest in an official PPA (government plan for four years) - Federal Government program, approved by the National Congress at the beginning of each term of government, guaranteeing that the management of municipal cartographic maps as an input will be strengthened, not only in order to elaborate and revise city council Master Plans, but also to ensure their implementation.
- d) It is paramount to discuss available possibilities for metropolitan municipalities to build common and simultaneous strategies together, to join forces and establish a system of interchange for the effective use of regulatory instruments contained in the City Statutes;

- e) To promote a prospective joint initiative with every metropolitan region, urban water resource, and integrated region of economic development in the country, with the view to construct agendas of a metropolitan nature that meet the demands and specific, and genuine regional priorities appropriate to each area.

3. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Town Hall Master Plans will always play a strategic role in territorial dynamics, which should be the focus of their attention, however, this will depend on the level of articulation that takes place with other sectorial agendas, as well as the political will that exists to respond to the expectations of the inhabitants of metropolitan centers and the need to ensure that cities become more productive.

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