

Causes of a Possible Migration of the Middle Class in Brasilia/DF, Brazil

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Abstract: This article tried to investigate the migration of Brasília's middle class from Plano Piloto, previously the preferred location of this social extract, to closed vertical condominiums in regions on the edges of the protected area of the capital of Brazil. For the investigation, exploratory research was used, sending electronic forms to the residents of two condominiums. The answers suggest concerns related to the feeling of insecurity in the superblocks, a residential area of the Plano Piloto, when compared to the closed vertical condominiums. Another predominant response was the few leisure facilities in the superblocks. In fact, they are two distinct ways of appropriating space, the superblocks are an experience that sought to democratize space at ground level, with freedom of movement. However, criminality has led people to seek out fortified enclaves, which takes away much of Brasília's intended urbanity. A photographic report was also carried out in order to demonstrate the differences in terms of leisure equipment. The data were analyzed and showed the need of further studies to better understand and propose actions to prevent or mitigate the damage resulting from what appears to be a devaluation trend of the Plano Piloto that usually leads to the deterioration of the region.

Keywords: Migration, Plano Piloto, Condominiums

1. Introduction

Icon of modernism, Brasília, capital of Brazil, celebrated 60 years in 2020, the innovative city is aging, the proof of this statement appears on buildings, roads, sidewalks, monuments or in the news, for example, at the beginning of 2018 part of an overpass come down in the morning of February. There were no casualties and the losses were only material.

Brasília is the result of the capacity of the Brazilian people who managed to erect a new city in just over three years, and since then, has been building a unique civitas, graced with cultural and customs contributions from all corners of the country, resulting in a final value greater than the sum of the parts. From a projectual point of view, the city had four urban scales defined that were declared by UNESCO World Heritage Site. They are: the monumental, with the Esplanada dos Ministérios, the gregarious, with the south and north entertainment sectors, the bucolic, with the large green spaces and gardens, and finally, the residential scale [10].

Representing the residential scale, the superquadra presented a substantial innovation in the way of living,

propagated as a more harmonious and democratic form of appropriation of the city. However, in fact, this region was never accessible to everyone; the precarious housing was removed, with occupants sent to distant administrative regions, the most notable example is Ceilândia, 30 km away from the center of the capital; its name derives from the acronym CEI, Campaign for the Eradication of Invasions. As part of this social apartheid, the Plano Piloto has always been one of the places favored by the middle and upper classes, among them the collective housing of the Asa Sul and Asa Norte.

In order to understand the urban dynamics of the capital of Brazil, a brief explanation of how it was established in the Brazilian Central Plateau is necessary. In the mid-1950s, when the decision to move the capital was decided, the site for the establishment of the new capital was chosen. Then, thousands of properties were expropriated, and all the land became property of the federal government, which in turn transferred it to a state company called TERRACAP. The new Brazilian state was named Distrito Federal, comprising an area of ,802 km², with Brasília being on the central part of this federative entity.

TERRACAP's function is to manage its properties and promote land auctions and guide urban development, it turns

out that these functions are not performed satisfactorily, providing fertile ground for invasions of all kinds, from settlements of poor populations, to luxury condominiums. The ordered part of alienation of public land, as a rule, occurs in the lots destined to housing for collective use. The largest installments for multifamily buildings are the Southwest and Northwest sectors. The monopoly of possession of regularized land makes TERRACAP price the land as it sees fit, making the lots have high bidding values. This high cost of land, combined with a concentration of few construction companies, makes the square meter expensive, especially in the central areas and adjacent of the Plano Piloto [11].

Returning to the superquadra model, it presents itself in a singular way in the Brazilian territorial and building order. The *Pilotis* System is configured by selling land in the form of a projection, in such a way that the owners can freely dispose of the basement and the first floor onwards, the ground floor, called pilotis, cannot be surrounded, being allowed the occupation of only 40% of its area, the rest is considered a public area, hence the prohibition of closing and placing obstacles to the free movement of people. [2].

This feature is restricted to the Plano Piloto. In the other administrative regions, closed condominiums are allowed. The result has been the launch of several developments with complete leisure and the promise of security guaranteed by walls and access control. Such characteristics have attracted more and more people with high purchasing power, who in the recent past opted living at Plano Piloto. According to data from the local real estate market, the m² of apartments in condominiums known as Park Sul and parts of the Administrative Region Guará II has higher values than those practiced in the Asa Sul and Asa Norte, as shown in table 1.

The increase of the number of closed condominiums has increased due to the urban violence that permeates Brazil. According to the 2019 Atlas of Violence, published by the Brazilian Public Security Forum, in 2017 there were 65,602 homicides, equivalent to 31.6 deaths per group of one hundred thousand inhabitants [9, 12].

The objective then will be to investigate what seems to be a new trend in the understanding of the current social dynamics of the middle class, especially the younger portion of Brasília people, that seems to be a displacement of this layer of the population to other parts of the Distrito Federal. The study does not intend to close the subject or even present a conclusive results, but only to assess whether the preliminary inferences points to sufficient evidences to justify further academic research on the subject. To this end, the present article made use of an exploratory research, carried out with residents of two condominiums, one in the Park Sul sector, Park Sul Prime Residence, and the other in Guará II, Super Quadra Atlântica.

We also made a brief literature review regarding the urban expansion model, the depreciation of the Plano Piloto and the real estate valuation in the Distrito Federal, especially at Guará, the Administrative Region that are located the houses of the two condominiums where the object of exploratory research are.

2. Material and Methods

At first, the few available time and the difficulty of accessing informations about the buildings, made impossible a statistical investigation that would more accurately represents the view of the residents and the style of living and their choices in terms of location, facilities, aesthetic, leisure issues and security. The option was to adopt an exploratory research, questionnaires were prepared on the GOOGLE platform and was sent to all residents, via WHATSAPP groups, from the respective buildings. In a second stage of the research, the idea was to make use of a survey with a randomized sample expanded with about four hundred face-to-face interviews, which would guarantee a confidence of 95% and a sampling error of 5%, Applied in residents with the same profile of the exploratory research that was made. However, due to the pandemic that is plaguing the world and with big severity in Brazil, field research was made impossible.

Researches were made on the real estate purchase and sale sites: www.dfimoveis.com.br [14] and www.wimoveis.com.br/ [15], to determine the value of the square meter in the Park Sul Prime Residence and Super Quadra Atlântica condominiums. For the Asa Sul and Asa Norte, the values are available in the December 2019 Real Estate Bulletin, November 2019 sample, last available. It can be accessed on the SECOVI DF website <http://secovidf.com.br/> [13], this entity is responsible for representing property purchase and sale companies, real estate companies, property managers and developers. The values of the Conjuncture bulletin were used directly because they already represents the average value. The square meter values were calculated by the average of ten different ads for each type of property according to the number of bedrooms. The values are shown in table 1 in item 2.3 real estate market data.

The photographic report was carried out by the author in field research.

2.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaires were identical, composed of nine items, reproduced below.

Presentation of the Research

The middle class formed by young families has chosen to live outside the usual Plano Piloto, North and Asa Suls. To try to understand these displacements, I am conducting a survey with the residents of this condominium. This questionnaire is anonymous and exclusively academic, and the use of the information provided here for other purposes is prohibited. Any clarifications can be obtained via e-mail, to ferraz.frf@gmail.com, architect and urban planner, PhD. The research is destined to XII SIIU, International Seminar of Research in Urbanism, with information available on the website <http://siiu2020.fa.ulisboa.pt/index.php/en/information>.

Questions

1. How many rooms does your apartment have:
 - a) () A room;
 - b) () Two rooms;

- c) ☐ Three quarters;
- d) ☐ Four rooms.
- 2. Regarding your main occupation, which administrative region do you work in:
 - a) ☐ RA I;
 - b) ☐ Another.
- 3. Regarding your choice of the condominium in which you reside, what is the most determining factor:
 - a) the security;
 - b) Age of the building;
 - c) Aesthetics of the building;
 - d) Leisure equipment;
 - e) Distance from work.
- 4. Regarding security, do you consider the gated community to be safer:
 - a) Very Secure;
 - b) Reasonably Safe;
 - c) Little Insurance;
 - d) Insecure.
- 5. Regarding the pilot model adopted on the Plano Piloto, do you consider it safe:
 - a) ☐ Yes;
 - b) ☐ No;
 - c) ☐ Indifferent.
- 6. Regarding the age of the building, how important do you think it is
 - a) ☐ A lot;
 - b) ☐ Reasonably;
 - c) ☐ Little;
 - d) ☐ Indifferent.
- 7. Regarding the aesthetics of the building in which you reside, how important do you consider it:
 - a) ☐ A lot;
 - b) ☐ Reasonably;
 - c) ☐ Little;
 - d) ☐ Indifferent.
- 8. Regarding leisure equipment, how important do you think:
 - a) ☐ A lot;
 - b) ☐ Reasonably;
 - c) ☐ Little;
 - d) ☐ Indifferent.
- 9. Regarding distance from work, how important do you think it is:
 - a) ☐ A lot;
 - b) ☐ Reasonably;
 - c) ☐ Little;
 - d) ☐ Indifferent.

2.2. Answers

From the Super Quadra Atlântica condominium, twelve residents answered. Regarding the profile of the properties, the building has only three and four bedroom units. According to information from the superintendent, there are 176 three-bedroom apartments and 132 four-bedroom apartments, totaling 308 units. The answers were:

66.7% live in three-bedroom units and 33.3% in

four-bedroom units;

36.4% work at RA I, Plano Piloto;

Security, with 50% and leisure equipment with 33.3%, were the determining factors for the choice of properties;

66.7% consider the closed condominium to be very safe and 33.3% consider it reasonably safe;

100% of the respondents considered the pilot model of the Plano Piloto unsafe;

Concerning the age of the building, 41.7% consider it very important and 50% reasonably important;

In respect of aesthetics, 25% consider it very important and 58.3% consider it reasonably important;

Regarding leisure equipment, 66.7% consider it very important and 33.3% reasonably important;

With reference to distance from work, 58.3% think it is very important and 41.7% reasonably important.

The Park Sul Prime Residence condominium reported 27 questionnaires. The condominium has 32 penthouses, 362 two-bedroom units, 204 three-bedroom units and 72 four-bedroom units, totaling 676 units. The roofs were sold without internal division or any finishing, the owner being in charge of all the masonry and finishing works, being also responsible for the definition of the floor plan. Almost all the owners built three bedrooms on the top and a TV room on the lower floor that could serve as a bedroom.

The responses were summarized as follows:

37% live in two-bedroom apartments, 33.3% in three-bedroom apartments and 29.6% in four-bedroom apartments;

57.7% work at RA I, Plano Piloto;

44.4% chose the condominium for security and 51.9% because of leisure equipment;

33.3% consider the closed condominium very safe and 66.7% consider it reasonably safe;

77.8% consider the pilot model of the Plano Piloto unsafe, 14.8% safe and 7.45 think it is indifferent;

When it comes to the age of the building, 55.6% think it is very important, 33.3% reasonably important, 7.4% little and only 3.7% are indifferent;

For 40.7% the aesthetics of the building is very important, 48.1% consider it reasonably important;

The majority, 92.6% consider leisure equipment very important, the rest, 7.4% consider it reasonably important;

Regarding to the distance from work, the options are tied at 44.4% very and reasonably important, only 11.1% are thought to be indifferent.

2.3. Real Estate Market Data

The values of the properties per square meter were obtained in two ways, in the bulletin of Conjuntura Imobiliária of December 2019 and real estate sales websites.

SECOVDF publishes a monthly newsletter with property values, broken down by type, commercial or residential, number of bedrooms and square meter value for sale and lease. The values are divided by Administrative Region or neighborhood. In the Plano Piloto there are data for the Asa Sul and Asa Norte. Regarding Park Sul Prime Residence SQA condominiums, there

are no data broken down because they are different developments in terms of services offered to the tenants. In addition, the Park Sul Prime Residences condominium is located in the sector

known as Park Sul, however, officially, this sector has not yet been separated from the Guará II Administrative Region. The values obtained are shown in table 1:

Table 1. Square meter values of areas surveyed in real currency.

Neighborhood/condominium	Number of bedrooms				Average
	1	2	3	4	
Asa Norte	8119.05	8730.16	8175.18	-----	8341.46
Asa Sul	10000.00	7020.83	7703.7	-----	8241.51
Prime Residence	10206.82	11328.67	12650.46	10855.62	11260.39
Super Quadra Atlântica	-----	-----	10131.73	9926.86	10029.30

The analysis of the average values of the square meter shows that both the Park Sul Prime Residence condominium and the Super Quadra Atlântica condominium are more expensive than the Asa Sul and Asa Norte of Plano Piloto. In the comparison between Park Sul Prime Residence and Asas, the square meter costs, on average, 35% more. The Super Quadra Atlântica is around 21% more valued.

2.4. Photographic Report

A field survey was carried out in order to record the conservation and aesthetic conditions of buildings in the Asa Sul and Asa Norte. To analyze the conditions of buildings and leisure equipment in the Asa Norte and Asa Sul, two blocks were randomly chosen in opposite positions, in this case, blocks 113 of each Wing, called SQN and SQS 113, abbreviations for Super Quadra Sul and Super Quadra Norte.

2.4.1. Super Quadra Atlântica

The photographic report presents a complex of buildings of recent construction, with a high standard of finishing and an efficient maintenance system. The condominium has several leisure facilities, such as a heated indoor pool, an outdoor pool, a sand court, a sports court, a children's playground, a square and a walking trail inside the property. Only a few photographs were selected to demonstrate the available equipment.



Figure 2. Sports court.

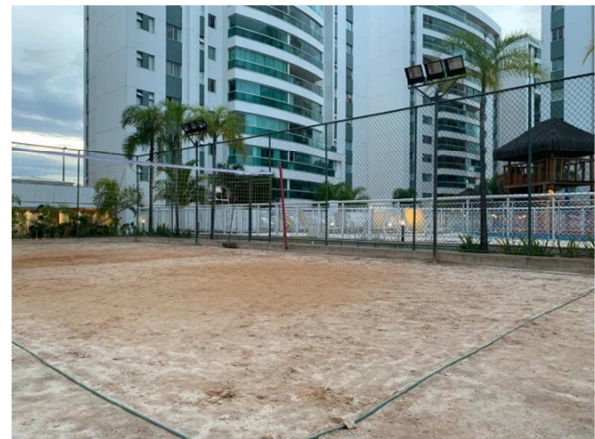


Figure 3. Sand court.



Figure 1. View from inside the condominium.



Figure 4. Playground.

2.4.2. Park Sul Prime Residence

Like the Super Quadra Atlântica condominium, the residential Park sul has a considerable range of leisure facilities. The complex is larger, with 676 apartments compared to 308 in the other development. The largest volume, Park Sul Prime Residence offers more leisure options without burdening the condominium. On the other hand, more residents make the demand for the facilities higher.

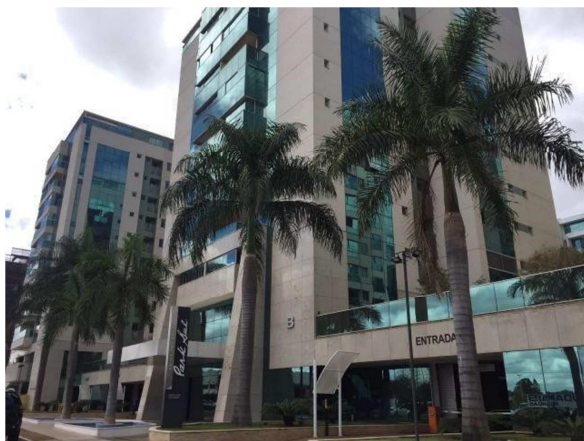


Figure 5. Front facade.



Figure 6. Aerial view of leisure area. Source:: imoveis mitula. Available at <https://imoveis.mitula.com.br>.

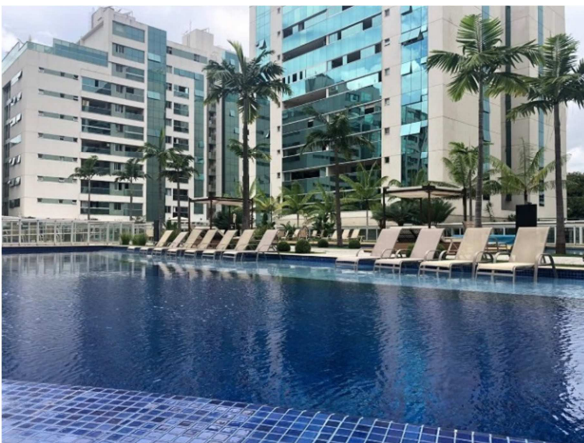


Figure 7. Swimming pool.

2.4.3. Asa Norte SQN 113

The photographs of SQN 113 shows a block with buildings requiring maintenance, in addition, the common and leisure areas are also in a precarious state for the use and circulation of people. The sports court, for example figure 10, is in very bad condition, with its surroundings totally damaged. On the sidewalks, figure 12, presents a cracked and irregular floor, inappropriate, especially for people with limited mobility or people with special needs.



Figure 8. Sports court.



Figure 9. Facade of one of the buildings on the block.



Figure 10. Court sidewalk with signs of deterioration.

2.4.4. Asa Sul SQS 113

The conservation conditions of SQS 113 are better than those of SQN 113. The buildings are better maintained or are undergoing renovations. In the center of the court there is a large green, grassy area, surrounded by trees where the playground is also found. Despite the better condition of conservation, the public facilities and the aesthetics of the buildings do not compare with those found in the analyzed condominiums. Again, what should be a quality, the buildings totally open and with great masses of vegetation, in practice translates the feeling of insecurity for some, who associates permeability with ease for robberies and escapes of criminals.

Figures 11 and 12 illustrates the statements above, it is possible to observe many trees, a large lawn and a facade of a residential building in good condition. The instant the pictures were taken, in figure 12 it is possible to see children from a public school located on the same block developing recreational activities. Also noteworthy is the absence of people walking along the roads or enjoying the abundant shadows that the trees provides. The number of vehicles parked shows the condition of a road city, with the priority given to the car.



Figure 11. Green area at SQS 113 with residential building in the background.



Figure 12. Playground inside SQS 113.

2.5. Literature Review

The bibliographic review was based on the urban expansion model, on the causes of the devaluation of the Superquadras of the Plano Piloto and the valorization of the vertical condominiums in areas bordering on the protected area of Brasília.

The Distrito Federal has its territorial ordering of each Administrative Region governed by the Master Plans for Territorial Ordering/PDOT [7, 8].

The Distrito Federal has been noted for some singularities in housing policy, or the lack of one. Urban dispersion is high, according to (Ribeiro, 2008) [5], the Distrito Federal is second in the world in terms of urban sprawl. Another phenomenon observed by Ribeiro was that the income decreases as the urban settlement moves away from the Plano Piloto (Souza and Ribeiro, 2010) [6]. What explains the real estate pressure for the higher income population through the so-called buffer zone, identified by (Oliveira, 2018) [4]:

“The entire territoriality of the place is transformed by verticalizations, specific actions by hegemonic agents and which are external to socio-spatial dynamics; focus on remodeling and refunctionalization. On this way, the city heritage protected area or the buffer zone, specifically the Guarã RA-X, is undergoing densification and the verticalization projects that are fed by the State, the real estate sector and civil construction are highlighted.” (Oliveira, 2018: 8) [4].

In the case of the superquadra, alongside the qualities, came solutions that were often misunderstood, such as the *pilotis* that cannot be closed, and also difficulties in maintaining large areas and public equipments. Visual permeability has been linked to the insecurity that is combined with poorly maintained public spaces. The feelings of danger and abandonment then converge.

The option of housing in closed condominiums was addressed by (Caldeira, 2000) [1], where the bankruptcy of the Brazilian state to combat endemic violence brought the middle and high income population to what the author calls fortified enclaves, where in addition to more security, social differentiation and separation of the less favored strata of society are also sought.

The National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute - IPHAN, the federal government agency responsible for the preservation of historic assets listed at the federal level, recognizes the challenges faced by the inhabitants of Superquadras in the publication *Cartilha Unidade de Vizinhança*:

“The freedom to walk is giving way to irregular occupations of pilots, the construction of barriers or the planting of hedges. Irregular and poorly maintained sidewalks make it difficult for pedestrians to enjoy public space. The lack of zeal for the living spaces keeps children away from playgrounds, youths from sports courts, older people from park benches. This tendency, if it is not contained and reversed, makes the bucolic utopia of urban planning more distant - to be a city-park” (IPHAN, 2015: 14). [3].

The brief review of the bibliography shows that the way urban expansion in the Distrito Federal has been occurring, in a dispersed and uncoordinated way, allied to the urban violence that has plagued Brazil for decades, has led part of the high-income population to seek a sense of security of closed condominiums, the vertical ones are closer to the Plano Piloto, the place where the best paid jobs are concentrated, especially those offered by public agencies.

3. Results and Discussion

With the reservations of not having carried out a statistical survey that reliably represents the middle class public that migrates from the Plano Piloto, the present investigation indicates a trend of change in the choices of the middle class in Brasília when it comes to housing. The values of the square meter of the properties show that some areas that are neither central nor belonging to the neighborhoods listed as world heritage are more valued than the regions of Plano Piloto.

The questions that dealt with safety, pilot model and leisure area, point to an appreciation of the closed condominium. For the model this model, in the two condominiums surveyed, all residents who responded, considered it very safe or reasonably safe, with the very safe alternative prevailing in Super Quadra Atlântica, 66.7% and in Park Sul Prime Residence there is an inversion, with 66.7% considering it reasonably safe.

Regarding the *pilotis* model, it was clear that most of the residents who answered the questionnaire, all from the Super Quadra Atlântica condominium, considered it unsafe; for Park Sul Prime Residence residents, 77.8% considered it unsafe.

As mentioned in the introduction, the number of homicides in Brazil is very high, which instills a feeling of fear on the population, which is generally more alarming than the reality. The consequence is a perception of imminent risk and the search for all types of protection available, alarms, monitored via cameras, insurance, armored cars, or, in the case of housing, closures, fences, walls, railings or offices. This sense of fear was demonstrated in the responses to the questionnaires, with the majority attributing insecurity to the *pilotis* and security model to closed condominiums.

Another important point was about the aesthetics of the buildings. The North and Asa Sul buildings are older, some of them from the 1960s and the following decades. Volumetry is plastered due to the projection model. Not all are properly maintained. The result is aged buildings, with an abandoned appearance and compromised aesthetics.

The photographic report showed significant differences in terms of appearance and conservation. The closed condominiums have the comparative advantage of having a large number of quota holders in the same project, which makes it possible to maintain the infrastructure properly. In spite of considerations about the design quality, with excess glass and ostentation, the appearance, in general, is more pleasant to the eye because it is better preserved. On the other hand, the Plano Piloto buildings, especially those made up of larger units, have difficulties with maintenance and renovations, explained by the reduced number of tenants, high

monthly condominium fees and few services offered to residents; usually just cleaning the common areas and doormen. When there is a high monthly rate, it is not possible to charge an extra fee for major renovations, causing, over time, the progressive deterioration of buildings.

4. Conclusion

The exploratory research indicated that the premises of the investigation were correct, safety, leisure and aesthetics have been decisive in the migration of part of the middle class, especially the younger ones, from the Sul and Asa Norte to closed vertical condominiums near the Plano Piloto. The criminality has led people to seek out fortified enclaves, which takes away much of Brasília's intended urbanity [1]. Given the necessary warnings about the statistical non-representativeness of the research, the results point in to a direction that justifies a more in-depth study. Urban dynamics and expansion, when well planned, are healthy, however, a new housing option need not necessarily imply the decay of another.

It cannot be said that an orchestrated process of depreciation of the Plano Piloto is underway in favor of real estate speculation in places that Oliveira (OLIVEIRA, 2018)[4] calls buffer zones. However, the lack of interest in the real estate market takes advantage of the fact that it can offer high-end properties in places where the cost of land is lower, with better construction potential, with permission for the total closure of the complex and still with unfeasible leisure areas. in the protected area of Brasília, in addition to being free from the various legal restrictions resulting from the protection of property.

What seems most likely was an adaptation of the real estate market, with great influence on local public authorities, managing to promote changes in legal regulations as to the permitted construction types, feedback rules and other regulatory constraints. It is a reaction of the system to a situation of difficulty imposed by the uniqueness of Brasília, among them: the high value of the land in the protected area, the height restriction of the buildings that implies low density and high cost of the built square meter, the *pilotis* model that is strange to some, and the impossibilities of offering buildings with a diversified leisure area. The fact is that economic power always finds a way to minimize costs and maximize profits.

Understanding the problem, knowing its variables and proposing mitigating measures are crucial to avoid the degradation of the Plano Piloto residential area. A more in-depth study must also take into account alternatives to fund the preservation of the super blocks, especially the common areas that are the responsibility of the state, in addition to ways of financing reforms and conservation of residential buildings.

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