

Brazilian housing governance and municipal policy [trans]formation[s]

*From Favela-Bairro to Morar Carioca instrumentation, investigating the case of
Rio de Janeiro*

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Abstract:

In Brazil, substantial institutional, instrumental and financial changes occurred around the housing sector in the last decades, leading to policy and governance transformations. Yet these transformation have received little attention as housing analyses have tended to focus on policy effectiveness and efficiency. Aiming to grasp the dynamics and outcomes of policy and governance changes, our PhD research, building on Le Galès and Lascoumes work on public policy instruments and Actor-Network- Theory, explores Rio de Janeiro housing policy through its slum upgrading instrument conceptualized as a actor-network. This entailed the investigation of different controversies that emerged around slum upgrading choice and use. Using primarily municipal council archives together with Rio de Janeiro official journal, policy documents, and interviews, the research included tracing the local and contingent circumstances of the slum upgrading materialization process. This paper aims to offer an overview of this research. In that sense, a first part the describes background. The a second part reviews the theoretical basis that underpins our research. Finally, the last part of this paper presents some preliminary findings.

Key words:

Slum upgrading, housing policy, municipal governance, policy instrumentation, actor-networks

1 Background

In Brazil, substantial housing policy changes occurred in the last decades. The military dictatorship that last from 1964 to 1985, centralized housing policy at federal level. During this period the housing policy was marked by the favelas¹ razing and the construction of housing estates. In Rio de Janeiro, from 1962 to 1974, 80 favelas were razed, 26 193 shacks were destroyed and 139 218 people were relocated (Valladares 2006). The number of housing units built during this period reached 48 985 (Fiori et al. 2000). At the end 1980's, with the collapse of the authoritarian regime and the reestablishment of democracy the housing policy was decentralized. The 1988 constitution gave to municipal governments the responsibility of housing policy design, implementation and financing. This process of decentralization was coupled with the bankruptcy of the federal housing system that undermined federal government role in the housing sector. In addition, the devolution of housing policy coincided with the emergence of housing initiatives implemented by local government elected in the 80's (Cardoso, 2007).

During the 90's Brazilian municipalities started to developed different housing policies approaches. Contrary to the favelas razing and construction of housing estates, some municipal governments opted for slum upgrading programs which objective was *'to promote both the upgrading and the legalization of the occupied areas, aiming at their integration into the overall urban structure, at the socio-economic integration of their communities into the broader context of urban society, and at the political recognition of their citizenship right'* (Fernandes, 1999, p27). Rio de Janeiro was among the municipality that adopted this approach, developing a large scale programme called Favela-Bairro from 1994 to 2006 (Fiori & Brandao 2010). Among its main features, this programme involved a city scale scope; an integrated approach by addressing at the same time and in an equal manner economic, social, and spatial aspects; a coordinated action among municipal and state bodies, and among public and private actor; and considerable funds (Fiori et al. 2001). Indeed, the Favela Bairro programme involved U\$600 million in investments obtained through loan contract with the Inter-American Development Bank. Thus, this change from housing construction to slum upgrading projects together with the decentralization led to reorganisation of Rio de Janeiro housing governance (Figure 1).

¹ Favelas is the term use for designating slums in Brazil.

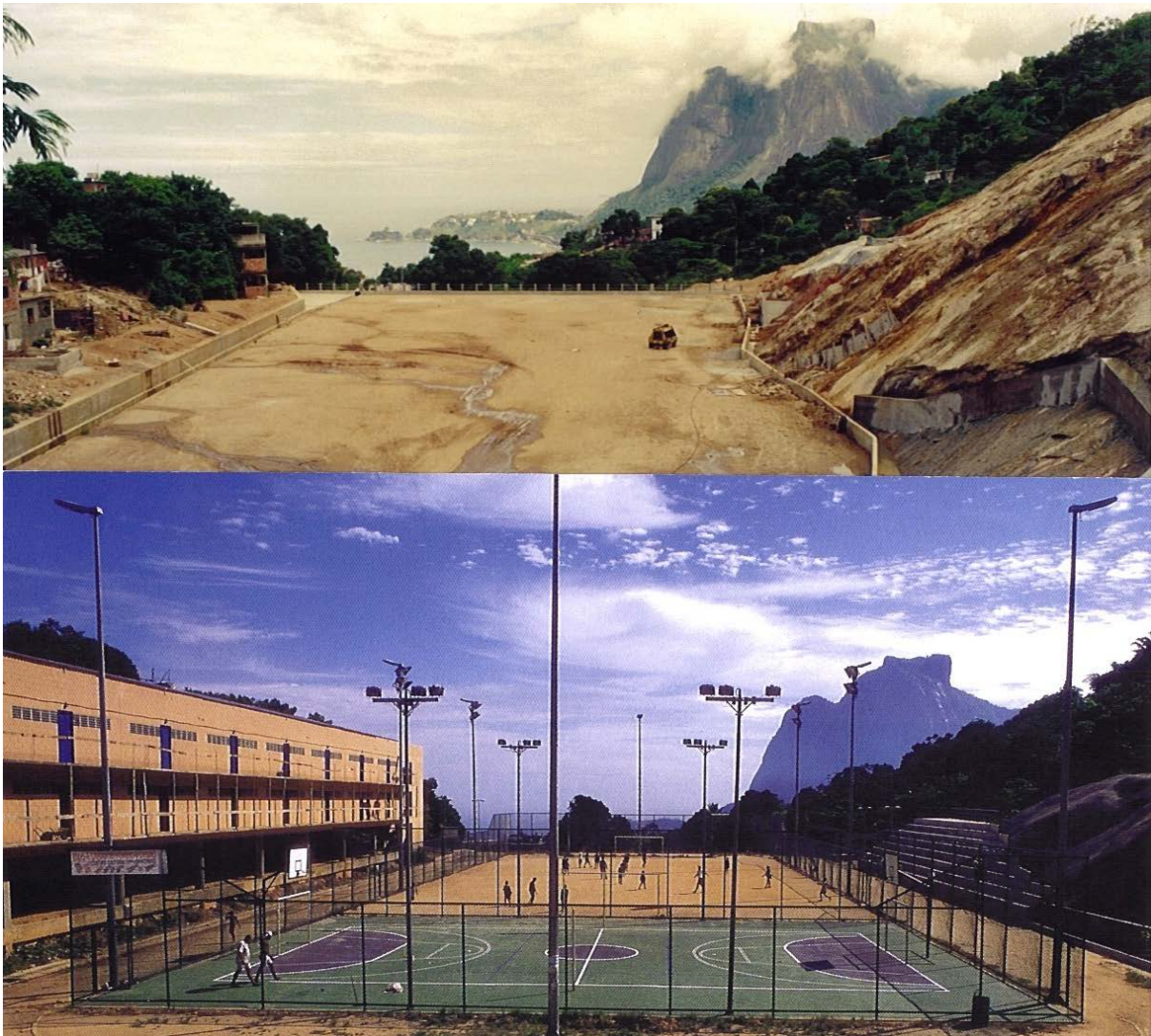


Figure 1 Sport facilities, Favela Bairro Vidigal. This project illustrates the shift of Rio de Janeiro housing policy that since the 1990's channelled investments for the construction of public equipments instead of housing units. Source: Jorge Mario Jáuregui.

During the 2000's the Federal government came back as a major housing policy actor. In 2003 the Ministry of Cities was created by President Lula. This federal body included a National Housing Secretariat (SNH) which mission was the restructuring the housing sector, the review of existing programs, and the increase of public investments in the sector. One year later the SNH elaborated the national housing programs articulated around two systems: the National Market Housing, and National Social Housing (SNHIS). The latter included the creation of a national housing fund and the elaboration of housing plans at the three levels of government. Furthermore, the federal government invested massively in housing related programs during the 2000's. From 2007 to 2010, through the growth acceleration programme

(PAC 1) Lula's administration invested about R\$ 24 billion (€9 billion) in slum upgrading projects. In 2009 the federal government launched My home my life programme that involved R\$ 34 (€11 billion) billion for constructing one million of houses. Finally, in 2010 with the PAC 2 launch the federal government promised to invest other \$R 278.2 billion (€1 billion) for slum upgrading programs, and housing construction and financing (PAC 2011; PAC n.d.). In addition, Rio de Janeiro launched in 2010 a new slum upgrading programme called Morar Carioca that included most of the Favela-Bairro characteristics but involves more financial investments. Indeed, through the Morar Carioca programme the municipality expect to channel during the period 2010-2020 about R\$ 7.5 billion (€2.5 billion) for slum upgrading (PCRJ 2010).

These governance and policy changes have received little attention as housing analyses and in particular Rio de Janeiro slum upgrading studies have tended to focus on policy effectiveness and efficiency. Using Rio de Janeiro as case study this research aimed to grasp the dynamics and outcomes of policy and governance transformations marked by several institutional, financial, instrumental changes in the past two decades. In particular, the research focused in the Rio de Janeiro municipal administration and how the different changes modified its power relations.

2 Theoretical approach and operational frame

2.1 The political sociology of Public policy Instruments (PPI)

The research was conducted under the political sociology of public policy instruments approach (PPI) developed by Lascoumes & Le Galès (2004, 2007). These scholars developed the PPI as a way to complete the classical policy analysis that focus on interest, ideas or institutions. Furthermore, they aimed at overcoming the functionalistic approach around policy instruments, arguing that *'at work [instruments] are not neutral devices: they produce specific effects, independently of the objective pursued (the aims ascribed to them), which structure public policy according to their own logic'* (Lascoumes & Le Galès 2004).

Lascoumes & Le Galès (2004, 2007) instruments frame relates to a political sociology perspective within policy analysis discipline. This perspective considers at the same time the sociological interests, political dimension and State transformation. In that sense instruments

approach seeks to explore policy functioning through the analysis of policy instrument while considering as well *'the transformation of the State, the domination modes and the government'* (Lascoumes & Le Gales 2004 p 366)². In addition, Lascoumes & Le Galès differentiated from other instrument centred analyses³ by conceptualizing policy instruments as institutions. Institutions understood in a sociological sense as *'a more or less coordinated set of rules and procedures that governs the interactions and behaviours of actors and organizations'* (Lascoumes & Galès 2007, p8).

The instrument centred analyse proposed by Lascoumes & Le Galès was mainly informed by the sociology of science and the history of techniques and relates to analyses of the State and public policies developed by Max Weber and Michel Foucault. In relation to latter, Foucault's work on governmentality gave a major argument for focusing on policy instruments. As Lascoumes (2004) highlighted, Foucault (n.d.) differentiated three different levels in his analysis of power: the strategic relations, the government techniques and the domination states. Foucault (n.d.) pointed out that it was necessary to differentiate the strategic relations that seek to shape actors behaviours and the dominations states that related to what we call power. Foucault added that in between these two were located the technologies of government and their analysis was necessary because *'it is often through such techniques that the states of domination are established and maintained'* (idem).

Building on these theoretical perspectives, the instruments frame proposed two core notions: instruments and instrumentation. Policy instrument was conceptualized as *'a device that is both technical and social, that organizes specific social relations between the state and those it is addressed to, according to the representations and meanings it carries'* (idem, p13). Policy instrumentation was conceptualized as *'the set of problems posed by the choice and use of instruments (techniques, methods of operation, devices) that allow government policy to be made material and operational'* (idem).

² For an overview of the different policy analysis perspectives see (Knoepfel et al. 2001; Lascoumes & Le Galès 2007b)

³ For an overview of the different instrument centred analysis, see (Hood 2007)

Based on this theoretical position, this research considered the slum upgrading as a public policy instrument and focused the analysis in the slum upgrading instrumentation, aiming to shade light on how this instruments influenced housing policy and governance evolution.

2.2 Analysing slum upgrading instrument by integrating ANT

In order to create an operational framework for conducting the instrument centred analysis, this research mobilised Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) or sociology of translations⁴. As Austrin (2005 p 148) pointed out under ANT perspective *'the social world is produced and sustained only out of the continuous interactions of persons and things: together, these create time, space and the dynamic network of relationships that constitute complex worlds'*. These networks of relations or associations that included humans and non-humans are called actants or actor-networks. Their emergence, development, consolidation and dislocation is the result a translation process that always involves displacement and transformation and includes four different moments: problematization, intersement, enrolment, and mobilisation (Callon 1986).

Using ANT conceptualizations, the slum upgrading instrument was analysed as an actor-network. This articulation was possible since the instrument was conceptualized by Lascoumes and Le Galès as an being both a social and technical device. By conceptualizing the instruments as an actant, the research focused in all the negotiations, calculations and adaptations around the choice and use of the slum upgrading by the municipality of Rio de Janeiro over the last 20 years. In particular, the investigation focused on how the instrument was assembled, dismantled and then re assembled. This in order to understand how these processes influenced municipal housing policy and governance evolution; and ultimately how changed municipal administration power relations understood as *'the way in which actors are defined, associated and simultaneously obliged to remain faithful to their alliances'* (Callon 1986).

⁴ According to Latour (2005), sociology of translations is a better term to define however in the English speaking literature the name of ANT was more successful. For the research, the two term coexist and are interchangeable.

2.2.1 Using ANT for analysing a public policy: some considerations

The use of sociology of translations for analysing a public policy demanded some clarification as this choice entailed some issues. Lascoumes (1996) argued that the notion of translation was limited for analysing collective actions such as public policies as their boundaries and reach were more difficult to grasp than the once of an object or a machine. Lascoumes highlighted as well that the notion of translation related to a specific transformation from a precise universe to another, while in the case of collective actions these transformations take multiples modes and are heteroclitics. Finally, he pointed out that the sociology of translations assumed that all actors in the network have an equal capacity in the translation process. Lascoumes stated that this assumption was due to the fact that the scholars that developed the concept of translation favoured social weightlessness in order to fight against the tendency of privileging actors (humans) in detriment of objects (non-humans). However, he acknowledged that these scholars have already shown that the sociology of translation was compatible with more classical approaches. Nevertheless, for Lascoumes this assumption remained problematic because for him *'the performative capacities of actants (humans and non-humans) depend on a set of economic and social determinants that structure the spaces in which the interactions are accomplished'* (Lascoumes 1996 p 328).

We consider that the two first issues pointed out by Lascoumes were overcome by using as entry point for the analysis the instrument and its instrumentation. Both contributed to delimitate a specific focus, allowing to manage Rio de Janeiro housing policy blurriness and reduce the multiplicity of the translations modes to be studied. Undeniably this operation limited the research too. In addition, in order to reduce the complexity of the object under study the research focused in the interaction between the instrument and the municipal administration and how their mutual adaptation/adoption influenced new housing governance arrangements.

Before addressing the issue about the social weightlessness of the notion of translation we consider that ANT integrates what Lascoumes called *'determinants that influence actants capacity'*. Cordella & Shaikh (2006) highlighted ANT conceptualized that *'actors embody various characteristics that are the outcomes of their relationship with "heterogeneous elements animate and inanimate, that have been linked to one another for a certain period of*

time" [Callon 1987, cited by Cordella & Shaikh (2006 p 11)]. The embodiment of these characteristics were called prescriptions and were defined as "*what a device allows of forbids from the actor-human and non-human that it anticipates; it is the morality of a setting both negative (what is prescribe) and positive (what it permits)*" [Ackrich and Latour (1992) cited by Cordella & Shaikh (2006 p11)]. Therefore, ANT acknowledged that the different actor-networks embody different level of flexibility. Actants are not equal and how they perform in a specific translation processes depend of the previous association or dissociation process in which they participated.

This research considered that the different actor-networks that constituted the actant under study (slum upgrading) had different levels of prescription as they relate to different and countless translation processes. This understanding allowed to conceptually address Lascoumes' concern; however, in practice this conception demanded to endlessly unfold the actor-networks that constituted the slum upgrading. This was mainly unachievable because this work had a maximum of 100 thousand words and 5 year of founding. Therefore, in order to take into account the different actants levels of flexibility, this research mobilised the concept of landscape. According to Arie Rip '*Landscapes shapes actions and perceptions*' in an affordance and not deterministic way '*landscape is not just a passive backdrop against which humans play out their affaires. It is itself constructed, and part of the "play" is to construct parts of the backdrop*' (Rip 2010). By analysing slum upgrading socio political and economic landscape the research tried to consider the previous associations that influenced actants capacities while respecting ANT ontological position that social structures do not pre-exist.

2.2.2 Mobilizing PPI together with ANT: advantages

The use of ANT had the advantage to support instruments frame aim of bringing back the government technologies into the analysis while avoiding a technological determinism. As it was mention the PPI approach aimed to overcome the functionalist view that considered policy instruments as neutral devices without any role in the policy process. However, Lascoumes and Le Gales (2004) argued that the PPI approach did not aim to '*promote any School of Instrumental Studies or Tools Policy Theory*' (idem p 364). This clarification highlights that the PPI approach even if it analyse public policy through the instruments, it did not want to foster a technological deterministic approach. Cordella & Shaikh (2006)

pointed out that ANT moved the focus of analysis from technologies or society, towards the study of their interaction. Thus, the use of ANT allowed to focus in the interaction between the slum upgrading with other entities (humans and no humans), avoiding technological determinism. Furthermore Cordella & Shaikh (2006 p 11) stressed that '*actors do not embody action or actantiality (potential for action) but it is their relational dimension that that generates instance of action*'. Thus, ANT contributed to clarify that there were not instrument's effects per se, but rather a series of outcomes generated through the different associations in which the slum upgrading and different entities participated.

Conversely, PPI approach allowed to mobilize ANT. The conceptualization of actor-networks as open ended entities posed the question of the research limits and level of analysis. For instance, where should the tracing of the slum upgrading start or end? What to follow? Should the research take into account things such as the building, the table, the chairs and even the mosquito that was in the room at the moment of the approval of the policy guidelines back in December 1993? Cordella & Shaikh (2006) pointed out that actor-networks can be isolated: '*It is the researcher who artificially define the analytical range of the study to see "what the various actors in a setting are doing to one another[Ackrich and Latour 1992]"*' (Cordella & Shaikh 2006, p10). Moreover, they highlighted that through this delimitation '*is possible to study and understand some of the relationships that are shaping both actors and their relational network*' (idem). Therefore, the mobilization of ANT do not mean to study everything without any direction. On the contrary it use involves the isolation of the actor-network that the researcher wants to study and the relations that she/he wants to explore. In that sense, the IPP approach through the notions of instrument and instrumentation allowed us to isolate the actor-network and define the level of investigation. Thus, the PPI contributed to ground ANT conceptualizations, by offering an entry point and direction to Latour's maxim '*follow the actor*' .

2.2.3 Methods

This research followed the detective investigation method to unfold slum upgrading associations (and dissociations) because as Austrin (2005 p 148) pointed out '*its modes of investigation, its means of enquiry and its practices of assemblage offer a suggestive method for the social science. Such method involves tracking and tracing; its outcome is the production of new knowledge – knowledge which, almost by definition, has a sense of*

surprise or unpredictability to it, as detective stories often do'. Austrin highlighted as well that the detective method was conceptualized by Latour and Serres as an hermetic method that includes '*explication and unpleating: tracing and unfolding complex arrangements to reveal the implicate, unforeseen elements and practices that constitute them*' (idem). Thus, the investigation focused in tracing all the instrument's transformations and displacement. This informed by the different translation moments: problematization, intersement, enrolment and mobilisation.

For following our actor-network we used a mix of Microsoft Word Excel and Adobe Illustrator documents. These different supports allowed us perform the different activities that tracing an actant involves: to trace the investigation, organize the data and produce writing trials (Latour 2005). As source of data the interviews and written documents proved limited as they lack of accuracy and precision which was essential for following the actor-network. The limitations of these traditional oral and written sources were overcome by using what I called the new generation of sources. They related to new ways of storing and displaying data such as web portals, electronic documents, digital audio and video, power points, and digitalized archives. These new sources related as well to more sophisticated research engines that allow to retrieve data from very large databases.

3 Investigation results: instrument's use outcomes

Following the slum upgrading over the last 20 years allowed this research to identify three major instrumentation outcomes. Firstly, the slum upgrading instrumentation led to an uneven (re) distribution of power. The choice and use of the slum upgrading created a new constellation of actors, fostering new strategies and alliances. Moreover instrument's use modified some politico-administrative arrangements by: introducing technical expertises and experts that gained control over the housing policy; dominating the interference of legislative body regarding policy in favelas; and developing the capacity and legitimacy of the municipal housing secretariat, and the municipal administration. Nevertheless, the used of slum upgrading did not modified favela dwellers - municipal government relationship. The instrument allowed slum dwellers to participated in the implementation process, yet it reduced their involvement to the advantage of experts such as municipal staff and architects. Moreover, the use of the slum upgrading allowed the municipal administration to concentrate more power. This mainly because the municipal administration gained financial strength with

the association with the Inter American Bank that supported the slum upgrading implementation; and extended its discretionary capacity over the choice of priorities, beneficiaries, and distribution of resources.

Secondly, the slum upgrading instrumentation led for some period to the neutralization of criticism and opposition against not only the housing policy but also against the municipal administration. Since the beginning of the slum upgrading implementation, favela dwellers were disenchanted because serious problems emerged around basic infrastructure and maintenance works. Nevertheless, favela dwellers could not be in opposition as the instrument related to the main demand that they fought for during the previous decades: favelas urbanization instead of evictions. Furthermore, favela dwellers could not disagree since the instrument would legitimize slum dwellers' spokesmen and improve anyhow their lives bringing some public services, social programs, and jobs. In addition, favela dwellers could not show openly any kind of hostility towards the municipal government since it had the discretionary capacity to exclude or prioritize slum upgrading projects or works. Indeed, even if a favela was included in the municipal program, there was not guarantee that the project would start and/or be completed.

The municipal legislative body critics and actions were stymied too. One hand the legislative body could not challenged the municipal housing policy as the instrument followed overall the housing policy guidelines established by the municipal laws. In addition, the instruments dismantled any attempt to challenge the housing municipal policy and ultimately the municipal executive actions. This because being against the instrument's implied being against it aim of favelas integration and improvement which could have electoral consequences. For instance, the Work Party (PT) and other minor opposition parties supported and approved most of the negotiations around the slum upgrading in the 1990's such as the creation of the municipal housing secretariat, and the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) loan. Moreover, during parliamentary commission of inquiry about the slum upgrading in 2001-2002, the municipal legislative was cautious when formulating critics. Finally, the use of the instrument allowed the municipal executive to negotiate and control municipal councillors because if they supported the Mayor they could benefit from the US\$ 600 million invested through the slum upgrading for fostering and strengthening their political career.

Scholars, architects, and NGO's that previously played the role of critics were neutralized too. This because they could not be openly against as they fought as well for slum upgrading as housing approach. In addition, some of these people and organisations were associated to slum upgrading implementation which limited their capacity to disagree with the municipal administration housing initiatives.

The third major instrumentation outcome was the depolitization of housing issues. This outcome was the result of three main different process. The first process was the consolidation of Favela experts. This group included broad range of people coming for different sectors: municipality staff, architect, NGO 's, scholars. Throughout out the last 20 years the use of the slum upgrading fostered their legitimacy and power, contributing to make them key actors in housing policy making, implementation and evaluation. The second process was the development of knowledge about favelas through the slum upgrading diagnosis that included maps, census and other tools. The last process was the development of a knowhow through the creation of procedures and standards that supported the slum upgrading implementation. These different but closely linked processes allowed the municipal government to displace the favelas issues into a mainly technical problem, overlooking its political aspect. Thus, the slum upgrading implementation generated and supported a depolitization process of housing issues and housing policy.

The investigation of the slum upgrading implementation suggested that all three implementation outcomes were unintended effects at least when they first emerged.

4 Conclusions

This paper offered an overview of our PhD research. In that sense the first part described the research background, highlighting the substantial institutional, instrumental, and financial changes of Brazilian housing policy. This part also stated the aim of the research that was to grasp the outcomes of these change in relation to Rio de Janeiro municipal administration. The second part of this paper described the theoretical framework that included the slum upgrading instrument as analytical entry and the mobilization of ANT for building an operational frame. Finally the last part presented three major outcomes that emerged from the

use of slum upgrading as housing policy instrument: uneven redistribution of power, neutralization of opposition and depolitization of the housing issues.

Overall, the use of the Political sociology of public policy instruments and Actor-Network-Theory, allowed to move away from slum upgrading effective and efficient analysis and bring new insight about how the choice and use of the slum upgrading instrument contributed to the emerge and development of unforeseen outcomes.

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