

# Urbanization of Slums in Focus: Notes on the Process of Implementing the Growth Acceleration Program in João Pessoa/PB<sup>1</sup>

*Urbanização de Favelas em Foco: Notas sobre o Processo de Implementação do Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento em João Pessoa/PB*

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DOI: 10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2020v5n2.52564

Received in: 15/05/2020  
Approved in: 31/07/2020

**Abstract:** This article seeks to understand an experience of implementing the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), in the Urbanization of Precarious Settlements (PAC-UAP) action in the city of João Pessoa/PB. Then, we start from a literature review on public policies and housing policy for precarious settlements, which is essential for understanding the theoretical and empirical elements that illuminate the understanding of the PAC-UAP experience in João Pessoa. It is assumed that the experience of implementing PAC-UAP, particularly in relation to the longevity of projects, reflects the complexity inherent both in the multisectoral and integrated character of urbanization actions in precarious settlements and in the interactive dynamics established between state actors and non-state in the context of public policy implementation. For the analysis of the PAC-UAP experience, qualitative research was carried out. Regarding the objectives, the research can be considered both exploratory and descriptive. With regard to data collection, the following techniques were selected: (a) bibliographic research; (b) documentary research; (c) interview; and (d) field visits to precarious settlements contemplated under the PAC-UAP.

**Keywords:** Implementation of Public Policies; Urbanization of Precarious Settlements; Growth Acceleration Program.

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<sup>1</sup> Article derived from work presenting at the III National Meeting of Teaching and Research of the Public Field, held in 2019, with improvements and continuity of research.

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**Resumo:** O presente artigo busca compreender a experiência da implementação do Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC), na ação Urbanização de Assentamentos Precários (PAC-UAP) no município de João Pessoa/PB. Para tanto, parte-se de um apanhado da literatura sobre implementação de políticas públicas e política habitacional para assentamentos precários, indispensável à compreensão de elementos teóricos e empíricos que iluminam a compreensão da experiência do PAC-UAP em João Pessoa. Admite-se como pressuposto que a experiência de implementação do PAC-UAP, particularmente em relação à longevidade dos projetos, reflete complexidade inerente tanto ao caráter multissetorial e integrado das ações de urbanização de assentamentos precários, quanto à dinâmica interativa estabelecida entre atores estatais e não estatais no contexto da implementação da política pública. Para a análise da experiência do PAC-UAP foi realizada pesquisa qualitativa. Com relação aos objetivos a pesquisa pode ser considerada tanto exploratória quanto descritiva. No que se refere à coleta de dados foram selecionadas as seguintes técnicas: (a) pesquisa bibliográfica; (b) pesquisa documental; (c) entrevista; e (d) visitas de campo aos assentamentos precários contemplados no âmbito do PAC-UAP.

**Palavras-chave:** Implementação de Políticas Públicas; Urbanização de Assentamentos Precários; Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento.

## **1. Introduction**

In Brazil, the production of public policies aimed to fight against the urban poverty and ensuring adequate living conditions in precarious settlements (slums, tenements, irregular or clandestine subdivisions, degraded housing developments), gained relevance in the 1980s and 1990s in the midst of initiatives carried out by municipalities and states, several supported by multilateral credit agencies such as the World Bank (IBRD) and the Inter-American Bank (IDB).

According to Cardoso and Denaldi (2018), at the beginning of the administration of the President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, in 2003, an institutional and normative architecture was established to support actions in the area of social housing. In this context, a line of action aimed at urbanization and integration of precarious settlements was structured. In 2007, with the launch of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), still with the perspective of strengthening and expanding actions aimed at precarious settlements, the Urbanization of Precarious Settlements (PAC-UAP) was defined.

Cardoso and Denaldi (2018, p. 11) say:

The programmatic design adopted by PAC proposed the role of Municipal and State Governments, responsible for the definition of intervention projects and the management of works, according to the regulations of the programs, and with the monitoring and inspection under the responsibility of Caixa Econômica Federal (CASHIER). The

resources invested by the PAC in the urbanization of slums were composed from several sources, which are costly - Guarantee Fund for Time of Service (FGTS) and the Fund for Support to Workers (FAT) - and are not costly, such as the General Budget of Union (OGU) and the FNHIS, with a large predominance of non-onerous resources, which made the important performance of subnational entities.

The PAC made it easy the progressive expansion of investments in urban and social infrastructure, including actions aimed at the urbanization of precarious settlements. In the first stage (PAC-1), R \$ 20.8 billion were invested in the urbanization of 3,113 settlements, highlighting high visibility interventions such as those carried out in the Complexo de Favelas de Mangueiras and in the Complexo de Favelas do Alemão, in Rio de Janeiro. January/RJ. In the second stage (PAC-2), launched in 2012, investments of R \$ 12.7 billion were foreseen in 337 municipalities (Cardoso, Aragão & Jaenisch, 2017).

With the PAC, the municipalities started to count on the possibility of obtaining resources for the elaboration of projects, execution of works and strengthening of planning structures and management of housing policy.

In Brazil, data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE (2010 Census) indicate the existence of about 6,329 subnormal agglomerations (irregular settlements known as slums, invasions, caves, lowlands, communities, villages, undertow, huts, stilts, among others. others), in which 11,425,644 people reside in a total of 3,224,529 households. In João Pessoa/PB, data from IBGE (2010) reveal the existence of 59 subnormal clusters, in which about 91,351 people reside. The capital of Paraíba concentrates almost 66% of the total agglomerations existing in the state and approximately 70% of the population residing there.

João Pessoa has a total of 111 projects, of which 109 are part of the Social and Urban Infrastructure Hub. This includes the urbanization projects of precarious settlements, with the capital of Paraíba having 05 projects under the scope of PAC-UAP.

The definition of the Growth Acceleration Program in the Urbanization of Precarious Settlements modality (PAC-UAP) and its implementation represent a promising field of studies that allows more accurate analyzes of the dynamics, processes and actors that characterize and structure the urbanization projects of precarious settlements in João Pessoa/PB.

In that way, we seek to understand the experience of implementing the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), in the Urbanization of Precarious Settlements (PAC-UAP) action, in the municipality of João Pessoa/PB.

Still considering this exposed problem and its socio-territorial and political-institutional repercussions, the question arises: how did the PAC implementation process take place in the urbanization of precarious settlements in the city of João Pessoa/PB? It is assumed that the experience of implementing PAC-UAP, particularly with regard to the longevity of projects, reflects the complexity inherent in the multisectoral and integrated character of urbanization actions in precarious settlements; and the interactive dynamics established between state and non-state actors in the context of public policy implementation.

For the analysis of the experience of the Growth Acceleration Program, in the Urbanization of Precarious Settlements (PAC-UAP) qualitative research was carried out. Regarding the objectives, the research can be considered both exploratory and descriptive. With regard to data collection techniques, the following were selected: (a) bibliographic research; (b) documentary research; (c) interview; and (d) field visits.

Regarding the bibliographic review, priority was given to the literature dealing with the analysis of public policies, more specifically that related to implementation, with emphasis on authors such as Lotta (2019 and 2010), Oliveira and Couto (2019), Secchi (2016) and Lima and D'Ascenzi (2013). Regarding the discussion on the policy of urbanization of precarious settlements and the PAC, Cardoso and Denaldi (2018), Caldas (2018), Cardoso Junior and Navarro (2018), Cardoso, Aragão and Jaenisch (2017) and Campanhoni (2016).

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with municipal public managers from the Municipal Social Housing Secretariat (SEM HAB) and with a representative of the mandatory institution (Caixa Econômica Federal-CEF). The documentary research focused on examining the contracts covered by PAC-UAP, whose objective was to know the intervention proposals presented by the municipality, based on the analysis of the Work Plans. The documentary research made it possible to identify the situation of each project, based on the examination of the Engineering Monitoring Reports - RAE, prepared by CEF. The RAE's subsidize the monitoring of each stage of the project's execution.

Finally, field visits<sup>4</sup> were carried out, guided by technicians from the Municipal Secretariat of Social Housing (SEM HAB) and Caixa Econômica Federal, to the settlements covered by the PAC-UAP, aiming at knowing the general characteristics of these and the projects in execution.

Therefore, this article is structured in 3 sections, in addition to this introduction and the final considerations. In the first, an attempt is made to take stock of studies on public policy analysis, with emphasis on implementation. In the second, considerations are made about the literature on slum urbanization and on the Growth Acceleration Program. The third examines the experience of the PAC-UAP implementation process in the city of João Pessoa/PB.

## **2. Implementation of public policies: some notes**

The analysis of public policies can be usefully carried out in the light of a dynamic process known as the Public Policy Cycle. For Lotta (2010, p. 26), “although they are continuous processes, and often overlapping methodologically, this literature divides the analysis of public policies into four central phases: the agenda, formulation, implementation and evaluation”.

Sechhi (2016, p. 43) defines the Cycle as “a visualization and interpretation scheme that organizes the life of a public policy in sequential and interdependent phases”. The author recognizes that such a scheme rarely reflects the real dynamics of public policy, which does not remove its heuristic proficiency from the cycle.

From those phases, this article will focus on the implementation phase which, according to Lotta (2019, p. 13), is the “moment when the formulated plans will become reality. It is the moment that depends heavily on the action of bureaucrats and the instruments of state action”.

Lima and D’Ascenzi (2013) highlight that implementation is not limited (and cannot be summarized) to the mere execution of something (plan, program and/or project) previously established. For them, “The field of studies on the implementation of public policies is strongly linked to the need to develop improvements in political-administrative processes, which allow for an increase in implementing activities” (Lima & D’Ascenzi, 2013, p. 3). They complement their analysis by highlighting the existence of two

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<sup>1</sup> These visits were made in April and May 2019.

approaches to the implementation phase. The first prioritizes the examination of the public policy formulation process, and the highlighted analytical variables refer to the norms that structure it. The second approach concerns the contexts of action in which public policy implementation will take place. In this case, the variables that are prominent are those related to implementing bureaucracies and the conditions of local spaces. In addition:

The first perspective is based on the sequential approach, public policy is seen as a sequence of different steps and guided by different logics (Muller and Sured, 2002). The formulation process would be permeated by the logic of political activity, while the implementation would be within the scope of administrative practice. [...] The second analytical model questions two assumptions: that of the decisive influence of the formulators on the implementation process and that the explicit guidelines, the precise determination of administrative responsibilities and the exact definition of results increase the probability that policies successfully implemented (Lima & D'Ascenzi, 2013, p. 4).

For the authors, the first approach shows the existence of distinctions between the decision and the operationalization, as the actors and arenas reveal themselves to be different, thus configuring a *top-down* perspective (prospective design).

The second approach contains elements that make it possible to point out questions about: (a) the decisive influence that public policy makers may have on the implementation process and (b) the probability of success in the implementation of public policy increases when the explicit definition of guidelines and expected results, as well as administrative responsibilities. This second approach, called *bottom-up* (retrospective design), “emphasizes that the discretion of the implementers is inevitable and may be desirable, since these actors are aware of local situations and can adapt the plan to them (O'Brien & Li, 1999). Such adjustments may be possible sources of innovation, depending, however, on the capabilities of the State” (Lima & D'Ascenzi, 2013, p. 04).

Lotta (2019), reflecting on the binomial formed by the *top-down* and *bottom-up* models, informs that the first model is temporarily located in the 1970s, in the context of the first generation of studies on implementation. In contrast to the top-down model, in the 1970s and 1980s, a current of analysis emerges that aims to understand the implementation process from another perspective, the *bottom-up*. It is, therefore, the

second generation of studies, called bottom up. For these authors, the implementation is not a failure. Public policies are composed of multiple processes and are continuous activities that require decision

making. Implementation is only part of that process and it also requires decisions. This is because not everything can be predicted, controlled or standardized. For these authors, the analysis of public policies should look at them from the bottom up, based on what actually happens at the moment of implementation (analyzing, for example, classrooms, doctors' offices, etc.). The bottom up approach is concerned with understanding "politics as it is", as a focus on what actually happens, without concern for either legitimacy or compliance. The central look is to describe and analyze complex processes and the performance, result, of them (Lotta, 2019, p. 16).

Lotta (2019, p. 17) points out that in the 1990s there is a proposal for models that seek to distance themselves from that binomial, with a view to advancing other models of analysis. Called the third generation, studies carried out in this period "are primarily concerned with synthetic models for analyzing implementation". The author presents the models of Matland and Sabatier. The first focuses on the analysis of the formulation and implementation environments, assuming that there are conflicts and ambiguity in the determination of capacities to predict actions. The second, however, delves into the analysis of the relationship between coalitions and decision-making processes. According to Lotta, "What is common between these models is an attempt to get out of the opposition between formulation and implementation, comprising continuous decision-making processes that involve public policies and their results" (Lotta, 2019, p. 17).

Currently, studies of the fourth generation stand out, characterized by the existence of "multiple models and different forms of analysis on the object and by productions disseminated in several countries and continents" (Lotta, 2019, p. 17). A characteristic that marks this generation refers to the influence exerted by other areas of knowledge, such as Sociology, which leads to the approach of new themes related to state action, which is increasingly complex.

In Brazil, it is only from the fourth generation that studies on the process of public policy implementation emerge. In spite of this, there has been a growing interest in the issue of implementation, expressed in several publications organized in a more systematic way with a view to carrying out analyzes on topics such as: bureaucracy, institutional arrangements and instruments, and state capacities.

The accumulation of studies on implementation, in different temporal and spatial contexts, made it possible to outline some assumptions, as highlighted by Lotta (2019, p. 18), of which are pointed out: (a) recognition that formulation and implementation represent a *continuum* not constituting therefore, distinct and dissociated steps. Therefore,



there is a constitution of a decision chain that involves several actors. This makes it possible to move beyond the question that involves the separation between who formulates and who executes, enabling a shift towards more accurate analysis of “who decides with whom about what. And which decisions are likely to be questioned, changed and ‘redecided’”; (b) the second assumption refers to the understanding that there is an inherent complexity to decision-making processes. In this sense, the decision processes called multi-layering (multiple layers) and multi-level (multiple levels) stand out; (c) there is a high interaction in the public policy implementation process, this is the third assumption. This means recognizing (and considering) the existence of multiple and different actors involved in that process. In this case, understanding the implementation of public policies requires knowing and understanding who these actors are, the way they act and the interactive dynamics that take place between them; (d) the fourth assumption considers the existence of numerous factors that interfere and influence the implementation, from more general to individual systems, passing through organizational ones; and (e) the last assumption includes the understanding that the implementation studies intend to investigate public policy beyond the normative and legal, looking at it as it really is, the way it occurs, the actors involved, for example. In other words, it advocates a more analytical approach to unveiling decision-making processes.

These assumptions are important in understanding the public policy implementation process, since they inform about central issues to which a closer look should be taken when examining concrete experiences on implementation, as in the present article.

### **3. Housing policy, precarious settlements and the growth acceleration program: from eradication to urbanization**

The confrontation of precarious housing in the settlements, based on more structured actions, occurred in the 1970s with the National Housing Bank (BNH), according to Bueno (2000). In previous decades, there was a predominance of government actions aimed at eradicating slums and prohibiting improvements in them (Denaldi, 2003).

In that decade, programs were created to tackle housing problems in the favelas, such as Profilurb (Program for financing urbanized plots) and Promorar (Program for the eradication of subhabitation). In the 1980s, BNH became extinct, with contracts and funds



transferred to Caixa Econômica Federal. In that decade, the country faced a serious fiscal-financial crisis, which had a violent impact on the maintenance of programs and / or projects, as well as the implementation of new ones. In the case of the housing sector, in institutional terms, the actions started to be linked to the Special Secretariat for Community Action (SEAC), created in the government of then president José Sarney.

Regarding this period, Bueno (2000, p. 32) highlights that “Despite the little numerical expression of the programs implemented and the populist deviations and private interests in the distribution of resources, the initiative would consecrate three new actors in the construction of housing policies: irregular settlements, community organizations and city halls”. These actors were present in the context of the institutional design designed for housing policies in the 90’s.

In the 90’s, the Immediate Action Plan for Housing (PAIH) stood out working with resources from the Guarantee Fund for Time of Service (FGTS) and the municipalities, which are the promoters) and the Programa Habitar Brasil (HBB). This, in Bueno's view (2000), made it possible for city halls, with the support of the Federal Government, to develop slum urbanization projects, as well as to improve existing ones.

When historically situating the debate about the State's intervention in its relationship with the urbanization policies of slums, observes that:

In the early 80’s, slum urbanization policies began to be institutionalized, at the municipal level, as an integral part of the municipal housing policy. It is in this period that urbanization begins to be the official municipal response to the set of slums existing in the city. In the following decade, there was an improvement and diffusion of urbanization programs. In the late 1990s, when most governments began to develop slum urbanization programs, recommendations were made to move beyond the pilot project phase and develop comprehensive urbanization policies. International agencies propose to expand the scale of the projects (Upscaling Slum Upgrading) and the Federal Government, through the Programa Habitar Brasil / IDB, requires municipalities to prepare the PEMAS - Municipal Strategic Plan for Subnormal Settlements, and the subprogram DI - Development Institutional, aiming to enable the municipality to establish and implement a comprehensive housing (and slum urbanization) policy (Denaldi, 2003, p. 04).

During the government of ex-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), important changes occurred in the sense of structuring housing policy, in general, and actions related to the urbanization of slums (type of precarious settlement), in particular. However, the changes centered more on the design of planning and

management instruments, and less on the application of financial resources aimed at facing the housing problem (Denaldi, 2003).

As of 2003, with the creation of the Ministry of Cities, the setting up of an institutional and normative architecture began to strengthen actions in the area of social housing. With that, the housing policy started to be organized as a national system, in which the Union had the role of standardizing and financing the policy. The execution process was the responsibility of municipalities and states. In 2005, Law 11,124 of June 16, 2005 was enacted, which provides for the National Social Interest Housing System (SNHIS), creates the National Social Interest Housing Fund (FNHIS) and establishes the FNHIS Management Council.

In this context, those entities were required to develop housing plans of social interest, the institution of management councils and the creation of housing funds of social interest, in line with the federal institutional architecture.

In 2007<sup>5</sup>, as part of the federal government's effort to reverse adverse economic and social contexts, especially with regard to investments in social and urban infrastructure, the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was developed.

Regarding the PAC, they point out that:

PAC 1 conformed from a set of public investments (and induction of private investments) in the sectors of transport, energy, water, sanitation and housing. In addition, it also configured several legal, regulatory and institutional measures, to encourage economic development; improvements in public management; improving the business and investment environment; credit and financing stimuli; measures to improve the tax system; tax exemption; and long-term fiscal measures, most of which are detailed below. PAC 2, in turn, seeking to go further and assuming itself as the main structuring and encouraging component of investments in infrastructure in the country, was organized around six complementary areas, classified as follows: i) Energy; ii) Transport; iii) Better City; iv) Citizen Community; v) Minha Casa Minha Vida (MCMV); and vi) Water and Light for All. (Cardoso Junior & Navarro, 2018, p. 70-71).

The PAC predicted investments for the housing area, in different modalities (housing production, urbanization of precarious settlements, support for the elaboration of plans and projects, etc.). In the specific case of urbanization actions in precarious settlements, they were included in the Social and Urban Infrastructure Hub.

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<sup>5</sup> In 2010, the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC 2) was recalibrated. Its closure, in practical terms, occurred in 2015, due to the launch of the Logistics Investment Program (Cardoso Junior & Navarro, 2018).

According to Cardoso e Denaldi (2018, p. 27):

In general, PAC's precarious settlement urbanization programs reproduced HBB's programmatic design, which already provided for the financing of several components in the logic of promoting the "Integrated Urbanization" of precarious settlements and addressing the social, urban-environmental and social dimension, land ownership. This programmatic design recognizes the complexity of intervention in these territories and makes it possible to finance urbanization works, social facilities and the production of new housing, housing rehabilitation, social work and land tenure regularization. [...] The normative model of the PAC allows the promotion of *integrated urbanization* of the settlements, understood as the treatment of the different problems found in these territories and associated, among others, with the following themes: deficit or inadequacy (through the production of new houses or housing rehabilitation); integrated sanitation, mobility, urban and road structure; access to public equipment and services; environmental recovery or requalification and elimination of risk situations.

It can be said, therefore, that actions aimed at improving living conditions in precarious settlements, with emphasis on slums, seek to face the effects of an uneven and segregating urbanization process and exclusionary characteristics of the formal real estate market, which prevent access by low-income families. As a result, many of them start to occupy precarious and irregular areas in environmental, urban and land terms.

The settlements are not only part of the urban landscape, but are, above all, permanent living spaces that require interventions by the government that provide adequate living conditions. It is a fact that these should not be limited to the range of action of municipal governments, which presupposes the establishment of action strategies that are shared and articulated by the different levels of government.

In this sense, it is considered relevant to expose the analysis carried out by the authors in relation to institutional aspects of the PAC, when they state that:

can be considered a laboratory for institutional experiments with regard to the "planning, implementation, management, monitoring and control" circuit of public-private investment in recent Brazil, notably in terms of legal improvements, relationship with the control bodies - Tribunal de Contas da União (TCU) e Controladoria-Geral da União (CGU) - and new instruments for activating state capacities and government instruments under their custody (Cardoso Júnior & Navarro, 2018, p. 64).

In view of the above about precarious settlements and the characteristics of the urbanization actions required for these, it can be concluded that the municipality presents

itself as a fundamental actor (protagonist can be said) throughout the PAC cycle and the projects linked to it, even considering that the final allocation of resources is made by the Union.

In order to qualify for the PAC, the municipality needed to present technically and financially viable projects, which were analyzed by the extinct Ministry of Cities and by Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF). In practice, the criteria for selecting integrated slum urbanization projects favored structural issues in the National Housing Policy (PNH). In addition to demonstrating technical conditions with regard to projects, municipalities should also have (and demonstrate) capacity for managing and administering works.

Such works require specific norms and methodologies, which are distinguished from what is done in traditional civil works, since urbanization actions seek to face the complexity of the territories. In this sense, we highlight:

There is a fundamental difference between rules for managing contracts for the provision of services and works with public resources, often on lending or loans, with construction companies, technical service offices or community associations and the internal procedures for preparing projects and carrying out works, with contracts with suppliers of surveys, surveys, building materials, labor cooperatives etc. What becomes even more specific when it comes to urbanization of precarious settlements, since licensing routines, guidelines, design, construction planning depend on several factors external to the team, the sector and the city hall itself. [...] the urbanization of a slum encompasses the phases of discussion of the intervention and negotiation with various public bodies, residents and neighbors, including residents, surveys, project development and execution of works. These phases should subsequently provide for urban maintenance (Bueno & Freitas, 2009, p. 245).

It can be seen, therefore, that the PAC-UAP provided the municipalities with an opportunity to address and / or reduce the precariousness existing in the settlements, while requiring local, technical, financial, administrative and institutional capacity to act in all the stages of the project cycle. It also demanded that the planning and management of housing policy be carried out in conjunction with other policies (land tenure, environmental sanitation and urban mobility, for example), as a way to favor the realization of better living conditions in the settlements.

Based on the theoretical-analytical field exposed in sections 2 and 3, the next section seeks to examine the process of implementing the PAC-UAP in the municipality of João Pessoa / PB based on the analysis of the projects approved by that municipality.

#### **4. PAC-UAP in João Pessoa / PB: a synthesis effort**

The city of João Pessoa has a relatively recent trajectory with regard to urbanization actions in precarious settlements. Data collected in the Public Works Monitoring System, available<sup>6</sup> on the Caixa Econômica Federal portal, reveals that in 2006 a contract was signed whose object was “Eradication of Slums and Integrated Urbanization”. In the same system, it was possible to identify a contract from the previous year, in this case 1998, in which there is a record of a contract referring to actions in slums. However, it points out that these were practically restricted to production and / or housing improvement, therefore not attending to aspects related to the installation of urban infrastructure, land tenure regularization, among others, common actions in urbanization projects.

In other records, the existence of urbanization contracts was found that included actions for the provision of urban infrastructure (water, sewage, paving, storm drainage and home sanitary improvements) and actions related to housing (production and housing improvements). However, they were not configured as complex urbanization interventions, that is, a type of intervention that occurs in “settlements with a high degree of density, in general, agglomerated type, with a high rate of removals, which does not have a regular layout and / or with the need to carry out complex geotechnical works or urban drainage” (Denaldi, 2009, p. 112).

Regarding the existing settlements in the city of João Pessoa/PB, data from the 2010 Census (IBGE) point to the existence of 25,524 permanent private households distributed in 59 subnormal agglomerates, in which about 91,351 people reside. The Local Social Housing Plan of João Pessoa (2013) identified and classified the precarious settlements of the municipality in 04 groups, according to the degree of priority of intervention.

When crossing the PLHIS data with those of the PAC-UAP contracts, it was found that out of the 05 urbanization projects for precarious settlements, 03 included areas within the group 01 (Comunidade do S, Saturnino de Brito and São José) and 02 projects contemplated areas of group 4A (Taipa / Nova Vida and Maria de Nazaré). Table 01 presents some information about the settlements that are subject to intervention under the PAC-UAP.

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<sup>6</sup> System - Monitoring of Public Sector Operations. Available at: <https://webp.caixa.gov.br/siurb/ao/pag/index.asp>. Accessed on: June 10, 2019.

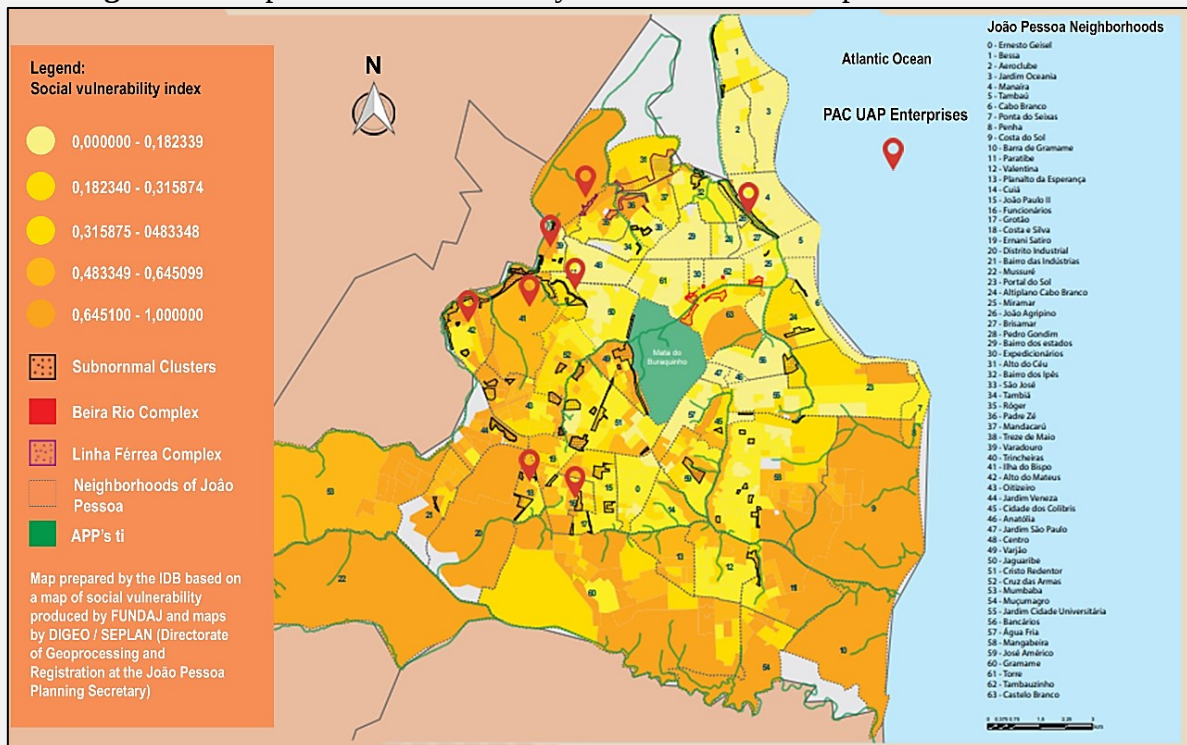
**Table 01:** General information on the settlements covered by PAC-UAP

Settlements (Subnormal agglomerates)	Occupied private housing units	Population living in occupied private housing units			Average number of occupied private housing units
		Total	Men	Women	
<b>Da Taipa/ Nova Vida</b>	1.102	4.085	1.956	2.129	3,7
<b>Do “S”</b>	352	1.331	661	670	3,8
<b>Maria de Nazaré</b>	528	1.908	905	1.003	3,6
<b>São José</b>	1.981	6.564	3.115	3.449	3,3
<b>Saturnino de Brito</b>	378	1.291	602	689	3,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4.341</b>	<b>15.179</b>	<b>7.239</b>	<b>7.940</b>	

Source: Subnormal agglomerates, IBGE, 2010.

Of the total number of households existing in precarious settlements in the municipality of João Pessoa, about 17% are located in the 05 settlements indicated in table 01. This percentage is considered quite high, considering that there are still 54 more areas that are configured as settlements, according to IBGE (2010). Another fact that draws attention refers to the relationship between social vulnerability and the location of precarious settlements under the PAC-UAP, as can be seen in figure 01, below.

**Figure 01:** Map of social vulnerability and PAC-UAP enterprises João Pessoa/PB



Fonte: Adapted from João Pessoa Sustainable Action Plan – 2014.



Based on the figure, it can be concluded that the settlements are predominantly located in areas that have higher levels of social vulnerability<sup>7</sup>. These present problems related to environmental inadequacy (occupation of mangrove areas, river, outfall, slopes, close to areas of land) and urban dysfunctions (absence or low supply of urban infrastructure and equipment for collective use), in addition to concentrating low-income population income.

The description in PLHIS (2013) and in the João Pessoa Sustainable Action Plan (2016) highlights the need for the municipal public authorities to carry out interventions to ensure adequate living conditions in the settlements. João Pessoa's intervention projects seek to respond to the inherent complexity of the territories, resulting from its social, economic, cultural, political and physical and environmental characteristics. In doing so, such projects are aligned with the programmatic design of PAC-UAP.

The second table presents general information about the projects.

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<sup>7</sup> “The Social Vulnerability Index is composed of seven indicators: I) average number of residents per household; II) proportion of households with an income of up to half the minimum wage; III) proportion of households with inadequate water supply; IV) proportion of households with inadequate outlets; V) proportion of the population from zero to nine years old; VI) proportion of the 60 aged population and over and; VII) proportion of illiterate household heads”. (João Pessoa Sustainable Action Plan, 2014, p. 47)



**Table 02:** Summary table of PAC-UAP in João Pessoa/PB

Intervention Area	Object	Signature Date	Start of Execution	Transfer (R\$)	Counterpart (R\$)	Total Investment (R\$)	% of Execution (Physical Goal)	Work's situation
<b>Saturnino de Brito</b>	Clearance and Resettlement of 400 UH, installation of sewage network, water supply, paving, drainage, retaining walls, community equipment, social work and land regularization.	09/05/2012	10/04/2013	23.330.000,00	4.873.596,50	28.203.596,50	63,88	Advanced
<b>Maria de Nazaré</b>	Urbanization of Maria de Nazaré Community.	30/12/2009	07/02/2012	9.275.420,00	1.424.584,03	10.700.004,03	47,20	Late
<b>Zona Ribeirinha do Rio Sanhaua</b>	Urbanization of Zona Ribeirinha do Rio Sanhauá - Communities Ilha do bispo, Alto Mateus. Favela do S e Varadouro.	14/05/2008	04/07/2008	24.142.481,89	1.797.794,92	25.940.276,81	58,13	Advanced
<b>Taipa/ Nova Vida</b>	Improvement of the Habitability Conditions of Taipa Nova Vida (114 housing units, water, sewage, drainage and paving works and the implementation of the main road and equipment, squares, leisure areas).	30/04/2008	15/05/2009	7.317.200,00	380.949,71	7.698.149,71	100,00	Finished
<b>São José</b>	Community Infrastructure and Equipment Works (one School, one Indoor Sports Gym) linked to the Production of 2961 UH by the PMCMV.	31/10/2011	09/06/2014	37.802.682,28	4.722.133,88	42.524.816,16	16,40	Late
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>101.867.784,17</b>	<b>13.199.059,04</b>	<b>115.066.843,21</b>		

**Source:** Own Preparation Source: System - Monitoring of Public Sector Operations - Caixa Econômica Federal. Own elaboration based on the Engineering Monitoring Reports (RAE) - Caixa Econômica Federal. Data collected from March to June 2019.

The data in Figure 01 allows for some findings and, at the same time, make possible to launch hypotheses about the process of implementing the PAC-UAP in João Pessoa / PB.

Temporally, the referred process has an average duration of 9.4 years, which represents, approximately 6.4 years beyond the period normally defined for the execution of settlement urbanization projects. Of course, each territory and each intervention proposal have its specificities, which may require periods of more than 36 months. However, this distance from the projects cannot be explained only by delays during the implementation stage.

Campanhoni (2016), when analyzing data referring to the time between signature of the contract and start of execution in PAC-UAP contracts in Brazil, found that the municipal executive takes an average of 1.5 years to start such execution. The reality of the municipality of João Pessoa is no different, which can be explained by factors such as: (a) the lack of a project bank for precarious settlements. Therefore, the proposals included in the PAC-UAP are not at the level of the executive project, and there is a need to provide resources for the elaboration of this by the company executing the work. Although this forecast is not uncommon, the fact is that when presenting a proposal without the support of an executive project, there is a risk of problems in the initial forecast of costs, deadlines and the scope of the proposal. The reality is that most municipalities choose to request resources for execution, even though there is the possibility of requesting resources for the elaboration of projects; (b) obstacle related to the little expertise of civil construction companies regarding integrated and multisectoral interventions, in view of the specificities of precarious settlements, and of the project cycle itself; and (c) inexistence or insufficiency of municipal technicians with experience in integrated settlement urbanization projects.

Before PAC-UAP, as previously mentioned, only one of the projects<sup>8</sup> was classified as Urbanization, Regularization and Integration, with the objective of **Eradicating Slums and Integrated Urbanization**. Also with regard to the initial conditions, in the pre-construction and construction stages, the difficulty of municipal teams with bidding processes, management and inspection of works related to the urbanization of settlements is highlighted. Such difficulties are linked, to a large extent, to the existence of undersized teams and to the very interactive dynamics that support the

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<sup>8</sup> System for Monitoring Public Sector Operations at Caixa Econômica Federal.

functioning of the PAC, as it involves several actors (state and non-state). This dynamic therefore involves multi-layering and multi-level decision processes, as presented by Lotta (2019). In the multi-layering decision processes, there is the dynamics established by the municipality, by the state government (environmental agency and concessionaire) and by the federal government (ministries, control bodies and mandatory institutions). In the case of multi-level decision-making processes, there are several actors also working in the implementation process, expressed in the role of high and medium-level bureaucrats and street-level bureaucrats.

Considering that the PAC is a program that has the municipal public power as the protagonist with regard to formulation and implementation, and the final allocation of resources is made by the Federal Government, it is considered relevant to resume the analysis made by the authors regarding implementation in federal systems.

In federal systems, one must seek to reconcile the desire of central leaders with that of diffuse implementation authorities - always present in federations. And it is the presence of these “diffuse authorities” that imposes the participation of actors who represent divergent interests in relation to those of national politics, making it difficult to implement federal policies locally. As a result, the need for federal formulators to seek cooperation and coordination at subnational levels increases<sup>9</sup> (Oliveira & Couto, 2019).

Therefore, it can be assumed that the interactive dynamics (vertical and horizontal) between different actors (state and non-state) must occur based on cooperative practices. When reflecting on the relationship between the framework of actors and priority guidelines for public policies, consider that:

the permanence of a priority guideline also depends on the continuity of its defining actors. When the list of actors that define the priority guideline changes abruptly or radically, the chance of “abandonment” of that guideline is great. Changes in political groups in the government, especially the entry of groups with very different views on the role of the State in the conduct of public policies, tend to generate significant changes or even the rejection of priority guidelines. Less radical changes, with the entry of groups that, if not aligned, at least agree with the direction of the implemented policies, have less significant effects for the continuity and overcoming of the guidelines (Oliveira & Couto, 2019, p. 74).

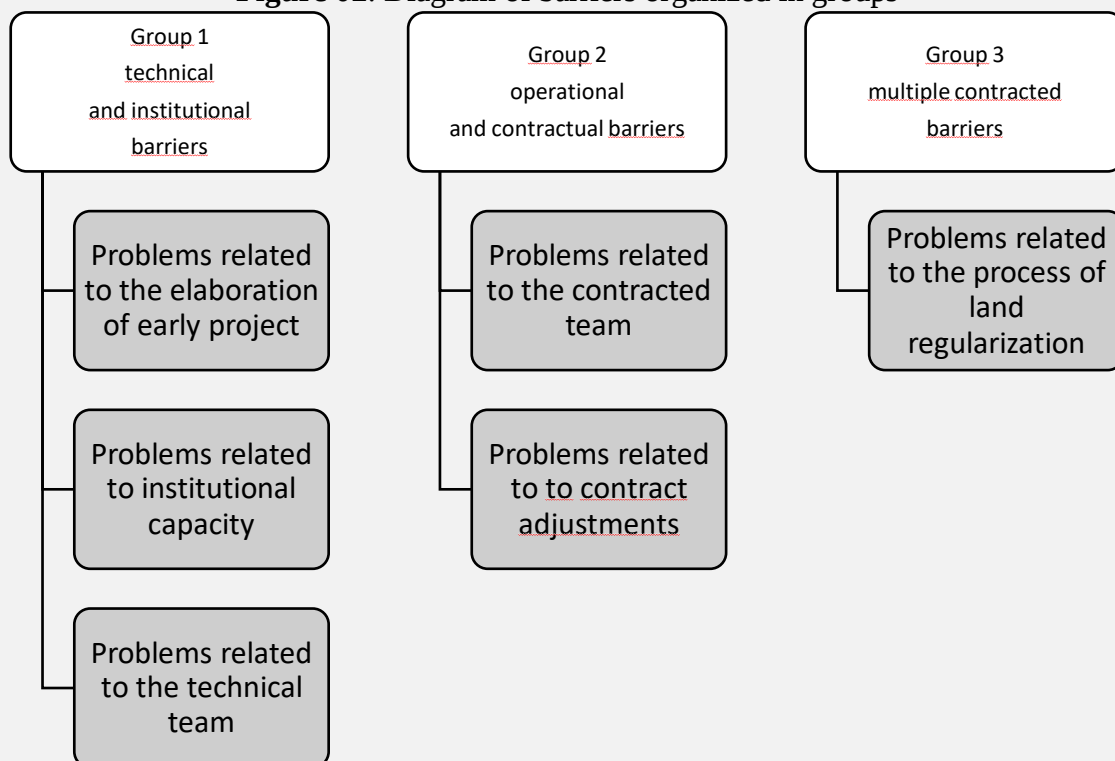
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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 2019, p. 75-6.

Considering the above, a look at the political cycle of the city of João Pessoa in the period between 2005 and 2019 points out that there was an exchange of management in two moments. From 2005 to 2010, ex-mayor Ricardo Coutinho led the way. In March 2010, deputy mayor Luciano Agra took office, who was in charge of the municipal executive until December 2012. From 2013 to the present day, the mayor is Luciano Cartaxo. In general, breaks in the political cycle alter the composition of municipal teams (high and medium-level bureaucrats and street-level bureaucrats), impacting the public policy cycle.

With regard to the PAC-UAP in João Pessoa, the main obstacles to its implementation were identified, taking as reference the analytical matrix prepared by Campanhoni (2016), which identifies barriers related to PAC-UAP in Brazil. In order to structure the reading of the specific local context, the barriers were organized / framed in three groups: (i) Group 01: Technical and Institutional barriers; (ii) Group 02: Contractual and Operational Barriers; and (iii) Group 3: Multiple Combined Barriers. Figure 02 below shows the referred groups and their obstacles.

**Figure 02:** Diagram of barriers organized in groups



**Source:** Own elaboration based on interviews with managers of the Municipal Housing Secretariat of João Pessoa / PB and representative of a mandatory institution (2019); Dossiers of PAC-UAP Contracts (Caixa Econômica Federal); Monitoring of Public Sector Operations (Caixa Econômica Federal).

In Group 01, obstacles related to the quality of the project stand out. In general, the projects initially classified - for the purposes of qualification at PAC-UAP - were not at the executive level, thus implying the need for the elaboration of executive projects by the companies winning the bidding processes for the execution of the work. Other aspects that impact the implementation of the PAC-UAP in João Pessoa are directly linked to changes in the political cycle, namely: (a) staff turnover; (b) administrative and technical staff discontinuity; and (c) undersized teams.

In the case of Group 02, issues related to the reprogramming of works and outdated schedules stand out. This situation leads to the need to add time and/or price additions, re-bidding and even reducing the targets of approved contracts. In the Taipa/Nova Vida Community project, for example, there was a review and, later, reduction of goals, so that the project could be concluded. Regarding the entrances referring to the contracted team, we highlight those involving contractual imprisonments and companies hired without expertise to carry out complex urbanization interventions, common to precarious settlements.

In Group 03, there are obstacles related to the land issue, such as: delay in regularization processes, problems with the ownership of areas and the carrying out of expropriations.

It is also noteworthy that communication failures between the different actors and difficulties in organizational terms also negatively impact the implementation, especially of urbanization projects in precarious settlements, given that these projects require a high level of articulation of the different sub-projects in the areas engineering, architecture, social, environmental and land tenure. In other words, the communication failures between the actors and organizational difficulties are obstacles related to the political-relational dimension when it comes to the debate on the theme of institutional capacity.

It is emphasized that urbanization projects for precarious settlements must be formulated and implemented in an integrated perspective; otherwise the tendency is that the costs (social, territorial, financial and political) and the time for execution are much higher than expected. In general, delays in implementation cause loss of credibility and legitimacy for the beneficiary population in relation to the project and the other state and non-state actors involved in the implementation. In this sense, the existence of channels



and mechanisms for cooperation and coordination is essential to the process of implementing any program and / or project, particularly those of a multisectoral nature.

The third figure shows a mosaic of images of the settlements framed in the PAC-UAP in João Pessoa.

**Figure 03:**

Mosaic of images of the settlements within the PAC-UAP of João Pessoa/PB



*Pictures 01 and 02: Saturnino de Brito settlement*



*Pictures 03 and 04: Maria de Nazaré settlement*



*Pictures 05 and 06: S's community settlement*



*Pictures 07 and 08: Taipa/Nova Vida settlement*

**Source:** Photographic Collection of the PAC-Urbanization Survey of Precarious Settlements in João Pessoa/PB: design, implementation and evaluation.

In the field visits, the specificities of each territory were observed in loco as part of the effort to understand the PAC-UAP, in addition to the data and information obtained in the various documents and in the interviews. In this sense, when composing the mosaic above, it was intended to shed light on issues that are not always so explicit in the eyes of those who act directly in the implementation of the program.

A first aspect that draws attention concerns the permanence of a precarious situation flanked by inconclusive interventions that cause changes in the families' daily lives. A second aspect refers to the finding that improvised homes were built on land located next to the housing complex produced under the PAC-UAP of the Taipa / Nova Vida community. This problem reveals not only the precarious conditions experienced by families living in those households, but above all the difficulty that the municipality has in avoiding occupations on public land. In the illustrated case, the ground belongs to the State Government.

A third aspect: the projects included in the PAC-UAP prioritized areas that are life-threatening to the population. In the case of Saturnino de Brito and Maria de Nazaré, part of the settlement is located on a hillside area. São José is located on the banks of the Jaguaribe River and the S's community is located near the old Roger's dump and on the banks of the Paraíba River, with part of the buildings located on a sewage pipe. As in Taipa / Nova Vida, although the intervention in the S community has not been completed, during recent field visits, there was a recent process of irregular and disordered occupation in a risk area (close to the railroad). Among the explanatory factors for this is the attempt, by the families they occupied, to benefit from housing units that will be built to serve the beneficiary families of the project.



Even though they cannot be included in the initial project, the occupation made by the families shows, in a positive way, the challenge that is posed to the municipality in the context of making adequate housing effective. Such a challenge, however, can only be properly addressed by establishing vertical and horizontal interactions between the different actors, and is not exclusive to the local entity.

## **5. Final considerations**

The design established with the Federal Constitution of 1988 redefined competences among the federal entities, while it elevated the city to the condition of autonomous entity. In this context, the urban development policy has become the responsibility of the municipalities, which have to align themselves with the institutional architectures and guidelines defined by the federal government. The housing policy, for example, fits into the list of policies that are defined at the federal level, although its formulation, implementation and evaluation of local responsibility.

Decentralization favored municipalities in relation to the increase in voluntary resources to achieve housing policy in its different modalities. However, the practice shows implementation difficulties related to low institutional capacity and little experience with the modality of urbanization of precarious settlements.

The examination of the experience of the PAC-UAP implementation process in João Pessoa / PB reveals the existence of obstacles of different natures, with emphasis on the Technical and Institutional, the Operational and Contractual and the Multiple Combined Barriers.

Furthermore, it was found that, despite efforts by municipal management, in order to distribute their actions for the integrated treatment of settlements, problems related to the agreement between state and non-state actors still remain. Often the non-agreement implies the need for partial or full review of projects.

Recognizing that the implementation works as a kind of game between different implementers, it can be assumed that the degree of adherence to PAC-UAP, for example, varies depending on the available resources and the bargaining capacity of institutional and non-institutional actors. It can also be assumed that there is a wide space, which is still open, for implementers to adopt discretionary behaviors.

The inherent complexity of the multisectoral and integrated character that guides and defines the urbanization actions of precarious settlements, and the relationship

between state and non-state actors that play daily, are explanatory factors in the longevity of the project.

The implementation of the PAC-UAP in João Pessoa made it possible to expand investments aimed at families living in precarious areas, which present complex and conflicting contexts, and environmentally degraded, unhealthy and socially vulnerable territories. Undeniably, this situation makes the implementation of projects more difficult and complex. This, however, is not an exclusive reality of that municipality, since it is common to observe such difficulties in other local experiences of settlement urbanization. Therefore, it is essential that municipalities improve not only their planning and management systems, but also strengthen the links between state and non-state actors.

In other words: the municipality needs to improve its institutional capacity, especially with regard to the technical-administrative component (financial, informational, physical resources, as well as organizations, instruments and competent professionals with management skills, particularly with regard to urbanization projects) and the political-relational component (Institutionalization of channels for participation and interaction, negotiation and mediation by the Executive with other powers, control bodies and society)<sup>10</sup>.

The PAC-UAP in João Pessoa can be understood more as a type of social experimentation, and less as an ideal closed collective project. Therefore, it is essential to reinforce and improve the process of implementing programs and projects, especially those that involve multiple dimensions and that require the involvement of several actors (state and non-state), like the urbanization projects of precarious settlements.

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<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of institutional capacity, see Silva (2019), Pires and Gomide (2014) and Grin (2012).

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