


An analysis of public urban housing policies in the state of São Paulo


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Abstract

Considered important milestones in the housing policy of the state of São Paulo, this article analyzes the implementation processes of the Growth Acceleration Programs: My house, My life (PAC-MCMV) and Urbanization of Precarious Settlements (PAC-UAP). To this end, data are presented on the history of the Brazilian and São Paulo housing programs and on the policy developed by the MCMV and UAP programs, in addition to considerations on how public policies were implemented in this state and in its city-region. As for the methodological procedures, from a descriptive-analytical investigation, for the presentation of the results, the number of completed works and the volume of investments made were observed. The results revealed that, although these public policies have expressive numbers of dwellings and are scattered throughout the state, there is a great concentration of these developments in the Administrative Region of Campinas and in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, both inserted in the city-region.

Keywords: Development. Housing. Growth Acceleration Program.

Uma análise da política pública de habitação urbana no estado de São Paulo

Resumo

Considerados importantes marcos na política habitacional do estado de São Paulo, neste artigo são analisados os processos de implementação do Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento: Minha Casa Minha Vida (PAC-MCMV) e de Urbanização de Assentamentos Precários (PAC-UAP). Para tanto, se apresentam dados do histórico dos programas habitacionais brasileiros e paulistas e da política desenvolvida nesses programas específicos, além de considerações sobre o modo como as políticas públicas se efetivaram nesse estado e em sua cidade-região. Quanto ao procedimento metodológico, a partir de uma investigação descritivo-analítica, observaram-se o número de obras concluídas e o

volumen de los investimentos. Os resultados revelaram que, embora essas políticas públicas tenham números expressivos de habitações e estejam pulverizadas por todo o estado, há uma grande concentração desses empreendimentos na Região Administrativa de Campinas e na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo, ambas na cidade-região.

Palavras-chave: Desenvolvimento. Habitação. Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento.

Una análisis de la política pública de vivienda urbana en el estado de São Paulo

Resumen

Considerados hitos importantes en la política de viviendas sociales del estado de São Paulo, este artículo analiza los procesos de implementación de los Programas de “Aceleración del Crecimiento”: “Mi casa, Mi vida” (PAC-MCMV) e de “Urbanización de los Asentamientos Precarios” (PAC-UAP) Para ello, se presentan datos sobre la historia de los programas habitacionales brasileños y paulistas y sobre la política desarrollada por los programas MCMV y UAP, además de consideraciones sobre cómo se implementaron las políticas públicas en ese estado y en su ciudad/región. En cuanto a los procedimientos metodológicos, a partir de una investigación descriptivo-analítica, para la presentación de los resultados se observó el número de trabajos terminados (construcción de las viviendas) y el volumen de inversiones realizadas. Los resultados revelaron que, si bien estas políticas públicas tienen números expresivos de viviendas y se encuentran dispersas por todo el estado, existe una gran concentración de estos desarrollos en la Región Administrativa de Campinas y en la Región Metropolitana de São Paulo, ambas insertas en la ciudad/región.

Palabras clave: Desarrollo. Viviendas sociales. Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento.

Introduction

Even with the state’s changing role after the crisis of Fordism, which has become more of a regulator than an enabler of national projects, some areas such as infrastructure and safeguarding housing civil rights, for instance, have come under its tutelage, composing its sphere

of action. Despite the disheartening scenario of the Brazilian housing *deficit*, public housing policies were created, especially to boost the civil construction industry.

In the Brazilian context, the creation of National Housing Bank program (BNH, in Portuguese), in 1964, represented a big step towards consolidating public housing policies. This initiative proposed enhancing fundraise policies to finance housing through savings accounts and resources from the Brazilian Severance Indemnity Fund (FGTS, in Portuguese). Besides, another important institution that made housing construction feasible, complementing this latter program, was the 2007's Brazilian Growth Acceleration Program (PAC, in Portuguese; here, PAC Program will be used as an abbreviation), responsible for resuming planning and execution of major social, urban, logistical, and energy infrastructure works in the country. Under this PAC Program, the My House My Life (loosely translated; MCMV, in Portuguese), and the Urbanization Interventions in Precarious Settlements (UAP) programs are the main housing policies developed in the State of Sao Paulo.

Considering, therefore, the representativeness of these public initiatives in São Paulo, the federation's most populous state, also analyzing how public housing policies were implemented in the last few decades, the following specific objectives were defined: to verify the history of national housing programs and its interlocution with São Paulo state; to understand the public policy promoted by PAC Program 1 and 2, MHML and UIPS; and, finally, to analyze how public policies were implemented in this state, including the city-region located in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP, in Portuguese) and the Administrative Region of Campinas (RAC, in Portuguese) considering some theoretical contributions on regional development actions. Concerning these theoretical bases, emphasis on the concepts of territorial cohesion and city-region was taken, just as information (secondary source) from the PAC Program database and the extinct Ministry of Cities. To grasp the spatial effect and the level of territorialization of public policies, two maps were produced, referring to the PAC Program-MCMV and the PAC Program-UAP.

Brazilian housing programs

The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC Program): history and implementation

The PAC Program was officially launched on January 22, 2007, in the first month of the second term (2007-2010) of former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The plan of action gave priority to public investment in social and urban infrastructure, such as housing policies, basic sanitation and mobility, and the improvement of economic infrastructures, such as transport, energy, and communications, driving forward economic growth and aiming at greater supply of products and services from the public sector.

In Cardoso Júnior and Navarro's (2016, p. 12) account, the initial years of Lula's first term (2003-2006), in the economic field, were characterized by strong macroeconomic constraints, "[...] with a stagnated gross domestic product (GDP) in 2003, high levels of internal interest rates, external and fiscal insecurity, and an annual inflation rate that climbed to 9%, way above

the inflation target estimated by Central Bank of Brazil (BCB)". The unemployment rate in 2003 was 12.3%, and besides the high levels of informality, the minimum wage was only R\$ 388.20 (value for 2010).

Most of the population within the labor market framework received a minimum wage and did not have "[...] minimum income conditions for food, clothing, housing, transport, culture current expenses" (Cardoso Júnior; Navarro, 2016, p. 14). In this context, a project prepared in 2004 called Investment Pilot Project (PPI, in Portuguese), therefore prior to the PAC Program, was a portfolio of infrastructure projects in diverse technical areas, such as water supply, irrigation, and transport, but also in research and development infrastructure. This pilot project was launched because it was released

The decaying infrastructure [...] as a major constraint on the economy's growth potential. Against this backdrop, even the liberal orthodoxy supporters began to admit the need to increase public investment in infrastructure, since the projects went through a cost-benefit analysis to measure their contribution to economic growth. The reasoning behind this was that the expenses would be offset by fostering the future economic growth promoted by these pilot projects (Abreu; Câmara, 2015, p. 83).

It is thus observed, according to Barbosa and Souza (2010), that with the increase of infrastructure public investment, the country's economic growth also raised. So the GDP growth between 2003 and 2005 was 3.2%, against 5.2% from 2006 to 2008.

As a result, growth acceleration was achieved by controlling inflation and lowering the economy's real interest rate, even with a significant rise in international prices for agricultural and mineral *commodities* in 2008. Externally, the acceleration of growth was followed by the accumulation of international reserves, which reduced the economy's external vulnerability, and by the appreciation of the Brazilian Real (official currency), which eased external inflationary pressures (Barbosa; Souza, 2010, p. 14).

It is worth noting the role of *commodity* prices in the generation of foreign exchange for the country. As stated by Rossi (2012), overall markets of some *commodities*, in general, have become favorable spaces for speculation, causing prices to follow international liquidity cycles. Thus, the price increase of *commodities* also implies a greater value of exports, contributing to a surplus balance, generating foreign exchange, and benefiting the public purse.

In 2007, with PAC Program already running, federal investment policies in infrastructure were reorganized, centralized, and further expanded. "The federal government's strategy, for the first time in decades, was to support the capital formation in private sector meanwhile raise public investment levels in infrastructure" (Barbosa; Souza, 2010, p. 15). For the 2007-2010 period, in the early version of the PAC Program, the planned investment was R\$504 billion, divided into three large groups: R\$58 billion for transport and logistics

infrastructures, representing 11.50% of the total; R\$275 billion or 54.60% for energy infrastructure; and R\$171 billion for social infrastructure, corresponding to 33.90% of the entire foreseen amount.

As the execution of PAC Program investments continued, the numbers and targets were reassessed and expanded for years to come. Thus, the PAC Program sought to combine infrastructure and housing investments, both being considered lacks in the framework of the Brazilian investment to this day. However, this measure can be considered an expansionist policy that engendered improvements in aggregate demand, on production, employment, and income, as explained hereunder.

Brazilian housing programs: historical recovery

In 1964, Law n. 4,380 created the National Housing Bank (BNH), a central, regulatory, and financing body for the financial system of low-cost housing (Sistema Financeiro de Habitação – SFH, in Portuguese), set up with the creation of BNH. The Severance Indemnity Fund (FGTS) was created in 1966, later followed by the establishment of the Brazilian System of Savings and Loans (SBPE), both fundamental for housing and real estate credit in the country. In this scenario, BNH'S housing policy model was based on different operational and financing proposals.

Royer (2009) states that from 1971 to 1973 BNH went through institutional changes, changing from autarchy to become a state-owned company. There was diversification in the financing of urban works programs, with loans becoming available to states, municipalities, and sanitation companies. And from there

A second stage of BNH' begins with the creation of programs such as CURA (1972), Regional Funds for Urban Development (1973), Financing for Urbanization (1974), Financing for Rail Systems for Urban Passenger Transport (1975), Financing for Urban Planning (1975), Support for the Development of Economic Hubs (1976) (Royer, 2009, p. 55).

And it was in 1973 that BNH launched the Plano Nacional de Habitação Popular - Planhap (National Plan for Low-Income Housing). According to Maricato (1987), this document repeated goals and intentions set up in creating BNH and SFH, and it is publicly acknowledged by the government that the expectations were not attended.

In 1975, after two years, Complementary Programs were created to finance complementary structures to housing projects. The initiatives were funded with BNH resources and gave shape to programs to increase community facilities for low-income housing developments, financing works that allow greater integration of the aforementioned groups within urban networks, and solutions for housing that involves financing urban lots. From that date onwards, programs aimed at the lower-income group, related to Cohab, began to show results. This said period was deemed the third stage of BNH and it had a real impact on SFH spendings. Thus, in 1976, the COHAB “[...] also started to work with income range of 3 to 5 minimum wages, and that a large proportion of financing focuses in 4 to 5 salaries” (Royer, 2009, p. 57).

The fourth and final phase of BNH concerns the establishment of financing to improve the housing of social interest (HIS, in Portuguese) in 1977, besides the renewal of programs aimed at urbanized lots, in 1978, and for precarious housing eradication, in 1979 (Royer, 2009). But BNH went into crisis in the early 1980s and was finally put out in 1986, which led to transferring SFH coordination to Caixa Econômica Federal (Federal Savings Bank), and its regulation was carried out by BCB.

Following this standpoint, Coutinho and Nascimento (2006) state that was through the variation of the indicator fixed by housing credit and GDP relationship that became possible to identify country's housing financing crisis, that showed a gradual decline of 10% in 1998, to 4 % and 2% in 1999 and 2001, respectively. Hence, it is clear that the period from 1986 to 2003 was marked by an expressive decrease in housing financing. In this 17 years period, some financing proposals, such as the creation of the Letter of Credit, were established. This latter was partially handicapped by high-interest rates, which hindered low-income and middle-income sectors to access long-term financing (Cardoso; Aragon, 2013).

Still at the same period, some proposals were presented, the Immediate Action Plan for Housing of 1990, for example, to financing programs for the construction of urbanized units and lots for up-to-five minimum wages income families. Four years later, in 1994, Habitar Brasil and Morar Município programs were instituted, in the same direction as the previous ones, but were not consolidated (Cardoso, 2003). Indeed, it was during the first term of former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-1998), that the Ministry of Social Welfare was abolished and the Secretariat for Urban Policy (Sepurb) was established in its place, taking the responsibility to draft and implement the National Housing Policy.

Yet in the second government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1999-2002), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) funded housing projects in the country, and from then on the overall Brazilian Housing Program was reformulated, now mentioning this international bank. "The [new] Habitar-Brasil/IADB Program was aimed at promoting interventions in precarious settlements, targeting families who live in these settlements with incomes of up to three minimum wages" (Cardoso; Denaldi, 2018, p. 22). Cardoso (2003, p. 5) highlights that:

With international financings aside such as the Habitar Brasil/IADB program, managed by the federal government and which redistributes resources at the municipal level, housing loans are currently limited to the private sector activity through the Residential Lease Agreements program or loans made through the Letter of Credit Program. The main objective of serving lower-income populations, however, was not achieved in both cases.

Pereira, J. (2015) had already observed that this movement followed international ideological/geopolitical pattern of practices rejecting granting of broad aid for housing, infrastructure or food, in compliance with the Washington Consensus, which through the World Bank prescribed the restructuring of social assistance in favor of implementation measures of resources in areas with severe poverty, in form of microcredit for small

businesses, especially in programs that require payment of fees. This bank urged the need for intensive work on the ideological field, especially in the discursive sphere, to convince all the less wealthy population to see themselves as entrepreneurs whilst the State invest in other areas.

In 1999, the Residential Lease Program (PAR, in Portuguese) was established, bringing some services to the low-income population to the forefront, and bringing the possibility of lower installments. The Program, however, focused its support on the population with higher incomes. “Municipal and state governments take part through registration and prior selection of acquirers and eventually through donation of land and reduction of urban demands, aiming to cut costs” (Cardoso, 2003, p. 6).

At the close of Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s second term, the Real Estate Financing System (SFI) was established, allowing creating securitization companies that were responsible for guaranteeing the sale of urban properties and issuing Mortgage-backed Securities Certificates (CRI, in Portuguese). Caixa Econômica Federal and other public banks, together with large national and foreign private banks, are shareholders of a national company for securitization (Cibrasec, in Portuguese), created in 1998 (Cardoso; Aragão, 2013).

The first term of former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2006) began with creating the Ministry of Cities. This urban policy plan enforced by the federal government based its actions upon social problems affecting urban populations and territory, such as “housing, environmental sanitation (water, sewage, drainage, and collection and disposal of solid waste) and the issues related to urban population transport – mobility and transit” (Maricato, 2006, p. 215). And all the formulation of the Ministry of Cities was anchored in the Housing Project, to which former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva invited social leaders and specialists to plan strategic planning for urban policies on a federal scale. This pattern of the Housing Project established following measures:

- Creation of the National Housing System, aggregating the Federation entities (Union, states, and municipalities) to act in a structured way under the coordination of a new ministry.
- Democratic Management of Housing and Urban Policy, from the creation of the national, state, and municipal housing councils responsible to define overall guidelines and assign housing policy resources to three levels of government.
- Approval of popular initiative bill for the institution of National Housing Fund, the primary goal of the housing movement stalled in National Congress since 1991.
- Resumption of housing financing for middle classes (SBPE), to concentrate as much as possible FGTS resources on financing for low-income families. Articulation of housing policy with the policy of control and recovery of land and real estate valuation (Cardoso; Aragão, 2013, p. 28).

For Melazzo (2016, p. 94), with the creation of the Ministry of Cities in 2003 “[...] the resumption of the formulation and implementation of a housing policy, interrupted by the end of BNH in 1986” commenced. During this year, the National Housing Secretariat developed the normative and institutional bases for an official housing policy, proposing a new structure of the National Housing System. Soon, in 2005, the National Social Interest Housing Fund (FNHIS, in Portuguese) was created, also instituting the National Housing System, with attributions distributed among three federated entities.

Therefore, with the creation of the Ministry of Cities, the National Housing Fund, and the National Social Interest Housing System, in 2005, the National Housing Policy, in 2009, and the launch of the MCMV in 2009, according to Melazzo (2016), it was resumed the formulation and implementation of a housing policy with direct effects in mass production of housing.

The State of Sao Paulo has its specificities. The public housing issue was developed through São Paulo State saving banking for popular housing (Cecap, in Portuguese), the first agency dedicated to this task, established as an autarchy linked to the Department of Labor, Industry, and Commerce during the first term (1947-1951) of Ademar Pereira de Barros as state governor, but only regulated on February 28, 1964 (Bonduki, 1998). However, the “fragility of state public finances and inexistence of a national system for transferring resources to housing and the lack of definition allocation of resources” meant that Cecap existed “only nominally until 1964” (Royer, 2002, p. 36).

Thus, through Law n. 905, of December 18, 1975, Cecap went from autarchy to a joint-stock company, becoming the Companhia Estadual de Casas Populares – but keeping the same Cecap acronym. Its operation as an autarchy was substantiated as a promoter of the SFH/BNH system, and after changing to the joint-stock company model, it acted as a financial agent, pulling out resources from BNH and playing within Planhap. The name of Cecap was replaced by Codespaulo, in January 1981, marking the shift to the field of action of industrial and urban development of São Paulo (Royer, 2002).

Then, through Decree n. 21,592, of November 3, 1983, in André Franco Montoro’s government (1983-1987), the Executive Housing Secretariat was created aiming at encouraging and support Municipal Housing Programs. A year later, Codespaulo was replaced by São Paulo State Housing Development Company (CDH), a decentralized administration with great autonomy from municipalities and that assisted the up-to-three minimum wages income population (Muylaert; Pinheiro, 2000).

Out of this CDH transformation came the São Paulo State Housing and Urban Development Company (CDHU, in Portuguese), in June 1989, during Orestes Quéricia’s government (1987 - 1990). Royer (2002) informs us that CDHU’s main proposal was to boost the number of built housing units through a mass construction of houses. During Quéricia’s first two years of government, the civil construction productive sector had a prominent status and took part in CDHU restructuring by consolidating these massive housing construction policies, reaching 400 thousand homes built. Actually, this “new concept” handled “major changes in state’s construction sector, introducing the policies of ‘zero interest’ and ‘common areas’, a five years temporary-bonuses to families” (Royer, 2020, p. 67).

With the reorganization of CDHU in the 1990s and the 1% annual allocation of ICMS (a value-added tax on sales and services and applies to the movement of goods) for housing, under Law n. 6,556, of November 30, 1989, there was a state's significant increase in housing units (UH) production. In the 1990 to 1998 period, "the average annual production jumps to 24,982 UH/year, about five times greater than the prior years. The investment's annual average, in turn, reaches US\$ 380.6, about 7.7 times greater than the previous ones" (Denizo, 2007, p. 118). In the following decade, since the outset of 2007's PAC Program 1, the housing policies came into play. We listed them below.

The Growth Acceleration Program - PAC: fund for housing, Urbanization of Precarious Settlements, and Minha Casa Minha Vida Program

UAP and MCMV are the two major housing programs branches promoted by the PAC Program. The PAC-UAP was launched in 2007 and deals with slum urbanization financing, and it is developed by both municipal or state governments and the federal union. Thanks to it, urbanization houses requalification, land tenure regularization, production of new housing, social work, and social equipment are financed. Furthermore, it copes with dilapidated housing complexes, social land division, and slums. Out of a National Housing Secretariat (Brasil, 2010, p. 37) document, some information about this initiative can be extracted:

Physical interventions include the execution of basic infrastructure, including electricity network, public lighting, and environmental sanitation; also the eradication of any geotechnical risk situation and a significant reduction of flooding events, through restorations, containment structures, and intervention in river drainage; road system adequacy to enhance access to public services and emergency services, improving functional relations between the area of intervention and its related urban context; environmental recovery and replanting plan of areas unsuitable for housing use which may be vacated, measures roll back densification and occupation reorganization when necessary, support existing housing improvement; construction of new housing units and community facilities, among others.

The PAC Program was structured into two phases. During the former stage (2007-2010), the PAC-UAP was part of the number of investments related to the social-urban infrastructure modality of PAC Program. In the second (2011-2014), the same modality was included in the MCMV sphere of investments (Cardoso; Denaldi, 2018). According to Caldas and Vale (2014), about 10% of the available resources of PAC-UAP were not used. Furthermore, the average execution of selected operations down from 65% during PAC Program 1 to just 5% in PAC Program 2, clarifying that the program has lost all of its importance in the federal agenda.

It is worth noting that between 2007 and 2017 an amount of R\$28.6 billion were invested through PAC-UAP (Table 1) and, in 2018, still there were 727 ongoing projects in the country (Brazil, 2018a).

Table 1 – PAC-UAP Investments – 2007-2017

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| completed works | 1,307 |
| housing plans/urbanization projects | 1,575 |
| municipalities contemplated | 1.807 |
| beneficiary families | 450 thousand |

Source: Drawn up by the author based on data from the *6th Balance Sheet of PAC Program 2015-2018* (Brazil, 2018a).

Indeed, the resources invested in PAC-UAP come from FAT (a fund to support workers), the FGTS, the FNHIS, and the OGU (Federal government budget). There is a concentration of PAC-UAP investments in the Southeast and Northeast regions, Cardoso and Denaldi (2018) show us, but the general investments of this Program cover municipalities in every corner of the country.

In 2009, when the MCMV Program was launched, the initial target was to build one million houses for up-to-10 minimum wages families and it was developed in partnership with municipalities, states, and private initiatives. An official document recognizes that “[...] MCMV Program’s main objective is to create a reliable economic environment that encourages formal housing market to develop, by providing government subsidies for low-income and middle-class families” (Brasil, 2010, p .50).

From 2009 to 2017, R\$398.5 billion was invested through MCMV Program, with 5.04 million housing units contracted and 3.6 million housing units delivered throughout the country, corresponding to over 12 million people benefited (Brazil, 2018a). The total number of completed and delivered works by Brazilian regions is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 - Total of delivered and completed works by MCMV Program - 2009-2017

| region | delivered works | completed works | Total of units by region |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Southeast | 1.309.214 | 528.092 | 1.837.306 |
| Northeast | 987.031 | 386.964 | 1.373.995 |
| South | 769.947 | 166.823 | 936.770 |
| Midwest | 425.840 | 150.926 | 576.766 |
| North | 191.045 | 122.652 | 313.697 |
| total | 3.683.077 | 1.355.457 | 5.038.534 |

Source: Drawn up by the author based on data from the *6th Balance Sheet of PAC Program 2015-2018* (Brazil, 2018a).

The data highlight a concentration of investments through works in Southeast and Northeast regions. The ability to access resources allocated by the federal government, it is important to draw attention to, is of local government’s responsibility. Through data shown above, thereby, it became clear the role of the local public sector in Southeast and Northeast regions in the capillarity of the MCMV Program. Considering the amount of investment by Brazilian regions, Southeast obtained a-not-negligible-figure of approximately 1 million and 800 thousand units (1,837,306).

Scientific and technological challenges and how to overcome them: means and methods

In this brief essay, we presented and analyzed PAC Program housing investments in advancing territorial cohesion in the State of Sao Paulo. The concept of territorial cohesion we based on, comes from European Community actions, from the 2009's Treaty of Lisbon especially, whose outlines, in turn, are taken from the Green Paper on territorial cohesion.¹ Santinha (2014) indicates that this concept is drawn on territorial diversity and identity to make better use of territorial planning mechanisms. From this angle, Chamusca et al. (2020) see territorial cohesion as a phenomenon that promotes balance and integration – including geographical, socioeconomic, and socio-spatial justice aspects. These elements are associated, naturally, with the space specificity, thus contributing temporally and spatially to territorial cohesion.

As regards its definition, Abdala and Nunes (2019) point out that this concept came back to the fore precisely to underscore the possibilities of collaborative interactions between subspaces inscribed in a whole (a national territory or a region), synergies capable both of promoting articulation and complementarity and aiming at developing and integrate the more and less developed areas.

According to Ferrão (2011), the European Union showcases the most notable experiences of policies guided by the territorial cohesion principle, in which there is a clear outline of spatial planning policies (*'aménagement du territoire'*) that interconnect distinct local administration (counties, parishes, communes, etc.), spanning over regional divisions, especially metropolitan regions, also from national to supranational scale, which involves deliberation of decisions that take place in the European parliament.

What justifies the recent valorization of territorial cohesion in the contemporary context, is the worsening of territorial fragmentation. According to Pereira, M. (2009, p. 818-819):

Experience confirms that individual interventions tend to benefit the richest (or most favored) territories and actors with greater resources (or with greater influence) and by contrast to compromising most disadvantaged territories and communities. Only an integrated approach may run counter imbalances and consider collective interest, the *raison d'être* of public involvement. A prevailing economic perspective and a market influence tend to accentuate imbalances, affecting all territories transversally (at local, metropolitan, regional, national scale).

Territorial cohesion takes place on an intra-urban scale in the present case, but it can also be extended to the metropolitan scale due to areas under analysis configuration, most of which belong to metropolitan regions. In this sense, besides assuring the right to housing, these public policies aimed at curbing territorial fragmentation at the urban and metropolitan levels. It is noteworthy that the shortage of housing and the aforementioned territorial fragmentation

¹ O Tratado de Lisboa consagra a coesão territorial, a par da coesão econômica e social, entre os objetivos fundamentais da União Europeia (Cf. Comissão das Comunidades Europeias, 2008).

often has a deep tie with financial and oligopolistic capitalism, which extract from land its rent, demonstrating via property speculation that:

[...] another layer of difficulty then arises out of this underlying contradiction between fixity and motion. When the social maneuvers designed to smooth out capital flow (for example, the activities of merchant capitalists and even more powerfully those of the financiers) are combined with the physical problems of fixity in the land, then a space is opened up for landed property to capture a share of the surplus. This distinct faction of capital extracts rents and shapes investments on the land even as it speculates mercilessly on land, natural resource, and property asset values. (Harvey, 2014, p. 78).

Thus, with a view of curbing territorial fragmentation, public policies within the city-region are created. Given this, Lencioni (2006) notes that to define a metropolis or the metropolitan region and its surroundings is ultimately to define a region, considering that the region is indirectly highlighted even when limited to an analysis of the metropolis, since it is no longer made up as an individual city but as a city-region. This city-region was not laid down as a previous intention, but because of historical process that reveals its dynamics, especially in terms of management and urban and regional planning.

This latter statement is an argument based on São Paulo's metropolis as the quintessential city-region, that even in the country's most wealthy economic area, contradictorily has in its DNA extreme poverty all over the place (Figure 1). For Lencioni (2006), this city-region building process actually breaks administrative and formal boundaries and is closely tied to the State of São Paulo's industrial deconcentration.

As for the efficiency of this public policy, the distribution of PAC-UAP investments in the RMSP and RAC municipalities is clear and points out to concentration of these investments in the RMSP municipalities and their surroundings (Table 2).

Table 2 – PAC/UAP investments (In thousands of Reais) in the state of São Paulo, in RMSP and RAC – 2007-2010

| PAC/UAP investment | State of São Paulo | RMSP | % | RAC | % |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 2007 | 3.319.665,41 | 2.241.019,55 | 67,51 | 62.138,13 | 1,88 |
| 2008 | 457.039,10 | 131.521,51 | 28,78 | 20.281,07 | 4,44 |
| 2009 | 613.270,29 | 564.871,12 | 63,35 | 48.203,43 | 7,86 |
| 2010 | 891.653,37 | 684.831,7 | 76,80 | 85.857,76 | 9,63 |
| total | 5.281.628,17 | 3.622.243,88 | 68,58 | 216.480,39 | 4,10 |

Source: Drawn by the author based on data from the 6th Balance Sheet of PAC Program 2015-2018 – São Paulo Regional Booklet (Brazil, 2018b).

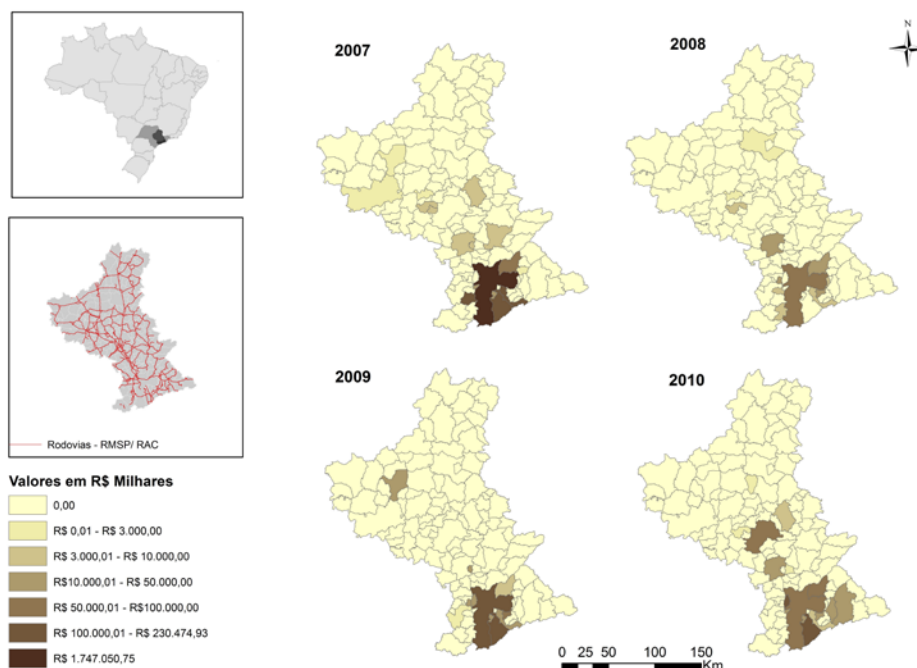
There can be no doubt that precarious settlements which had landholding regularization are found mostly in the dense territory of the city-region (Lencioni, 2006). Despite economic and industrial development, the region encompasses plenty of impoverished collectives, a perverse face of geographically uneven development (Soja, 1993) created by capitalism.

Fostering this debate means chiefly discussing the State's role in reducing inequality, poverty, and guaranteeing civil rights to housing. In this light, Scott et al. (2001) show that this perverse nature results from the formation process of city-regions, São Paulo included, since socio-spatial reorganization had countless negative consequences. Furthermore, as these cities expanded themselves, their population also was considerably diversified, resulting in a complex set of jobs, housing, and transportation equipment spatial dysfunctions with intense environmental impact.

Still with Scott et al. (2001), on the one hand, this situation has worsened the urban poor everyday problems, because the best jobs are all on the 'edge cities', generating housing stock to become scarce and overcrowded, which causes the number of homeless to increase. On the other hand, the rapid expansion outside the urban fringe often creates isolated peripheral areas, where people, attracted by cheap housing, take up residence without having job proximity, which makes transportation time much longer to worker (Scott et al., 2001, p. 15).

The following map (Figure 1) showcases how PAC-UAP resources were invested in municipalities during the 2007 to 2012 period:

Figura 1 – Mapa da distribuição dos recursos do PAC-UAP investidos nos municípios da RMSP e RAC – 2007-2010



Source: Drawn by the author based on data from the 6th Balance Sheet of PAC Program 2015-2018 – São Paulo Regional Booklet (Brazil, 2018b).

About the exposed city-region mapping, Lencioni (2011) explains that it has a huge territorial extension, with an approximate radius of 200 kilometers from downtown (São Paulo), and its boundaries are diluted or quite tenuous thanks to conurbation. It is situated in an unclear intra-urban and inter-urban landscape, nor it is evident rural and urban areas distinction, which indeed interpenetrate each other. Hence, the manufacturing establishments, commerce, or housing contrast with discontinuity gaps of built space.

Regarding the distribution of finished MCMV Program works in the state of São Paulo, 589 municipalities were contemplated, 91.3% of the total, organized by administrative region (Table 3). At the same time, with a concentration in large cities belonging to RMSP and RAC, focusing on São Paulo's municipalities with 134,948, and Campinas with 68,915 completed works. These results restate these public policies' preference for civil construction, especially those inserted in the city-region of São Paulo, as portrayed in Table 3.

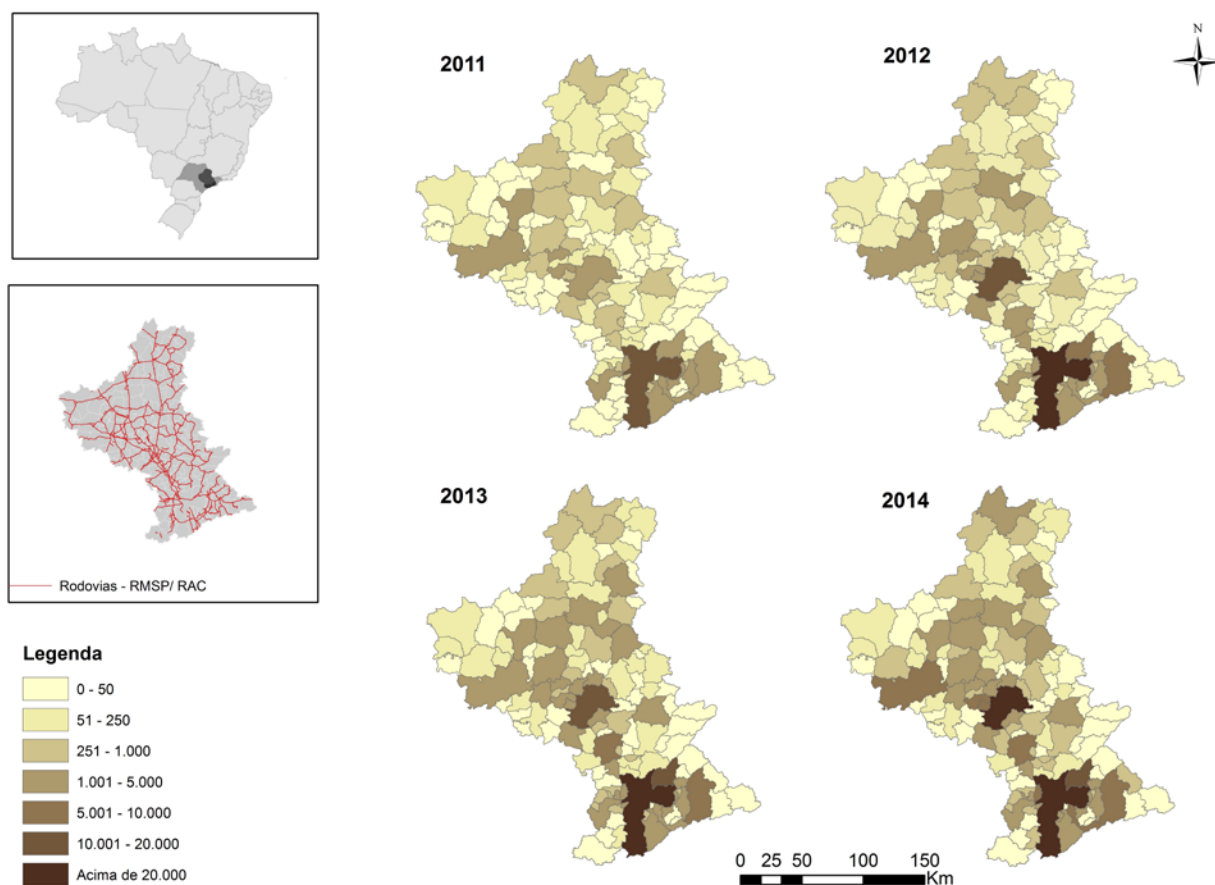
Table 3 - Total MCMV Program works completed by region of São Paulo - 2011-2014

| region | total of works (%) | total of municipalities (%) |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Metropolitan São Paulo | 27,40 | 87,5 |
| Administrative Region of Campinas | 21,70 | 95,6 |
| Administrative Region of São José dos Campos | 7,20 | 61,5 |
| Administrative Region of Sorocaba | 7,00 | 89,4 |
| Administrative Region of São José do Rio Preto | 6,50 | 94,8 |
| Administrative Region of Ribeirão Preto | 5,00 | 100,0 |
| Administrative Region of Bauru | 4,90 | 94,9 |
| Central Administrative Region | 4,60 | 100 |
| Administrative Region of Marília | 3,30 | 88,2 |
| Administrative Region of Santos | 2,70 | 100,0 |
| Administrative Region of Franca | 2,70 | 95,7 |
| Administrative Region of Araçatuba | 2,30 | 86,0 |
| Administrative Region of Presidente Prudente | 2,20 | 94,3 |
| Administrative Region of Barretos | 1,70 | 100,0 |
| Administrative Region of Itapeva | 0,70 | 87,5 |
| Administrative Region of Registro | 0,10 | 85,7 |
| total | 100 | 91,3 |

Source: Drawn by the author from MCMV Program indicators (Brazil, 2018c).

We can see in Figure 2 the cartographic dimension of Table 3 data, which shows the distribution of completed MCMV Program works of the state of São Paulo municipalities.

Figure 2 - Map of distribution of completed works of the MCMV Program in the municipalities of the RMSP and RAC – 2011-2014



Source: Drawn by the author from MCMV Program indicators (Brazil, 2018c).

Taking into account the data presented in this map, it is evident that MCMV Program investments encompassed municipalities in different regions of São Paulo. Following this logic, Brandão (2013a) observes this same information and relates it to the country's economic situation. He argues that the reality of economic and employment competitiveness in Brazil is limited to the ability to assimilate the multiplier effects of income and employment wasting a potential to make intersectoral effects of aggregate spending more effective and long-lasting. It would subject territorial dynamics to multi-territorial levels determinations, hindering territorial cohesion initiatives and promoting spatial concentration in locations that the private sector found attractive.

Paulani (2016) and Sanfelici (2013) add that organizations involved in infrastructure projects are not only tied to civil construction but also comprise financial, non-financial corporations (industrial, commercial, and farming) and special service providers, such as consulting firms. Thus, large and medium-sized companies, increasingly controlled by international agents, become carriers of a progressive denationalization, leading to infrastructure investment decisions in the country being out of control.

Therefore, it is necessary to face this denationalization if one intends to promote development that respects land justice or mitigates Brazilian land distribution profound

injustice and wants to promote territorial cohesion, not only in the state of São Paulo but in Brazil. Therefore, it is necessary to seriously monitor the design of public housing policies further analyzing their results, so that the essential right to housing will be fully guaranteed to a greater number of people.

Concluding Remarks

With the rising of modern States, especially modern civil law, a set of diffuse and collective rights was also created (at least on discursive terrain), including the right to housing. Since there have been countless national and international experiences to enforce this right. But it is, in particular in the more economically peripheral countries, a hard task and it is actually far from being fulfilled. To Brazil, in our case, the housing 'deficit' remains relatively large. For this reason, this article analyzes how public policies of PAC-MCMV and PAC-UAP were made viable in the largest state of the federation (São Paulo) and what were the preliminary results.

Given the data collected and considerations developed, we conclude that PAC-MCMV presented a spatial dispersion throughout the state, reaching 589 municipalities but concentrating in São Paulo and Campinas surroundings. Besides, the data suggest that there was a more homogeneous distribution of PAC-MCMV works across the state of São Paulo, despite the large concentration of PAC-UAP works in the city-region, with emphasis on the metropolises of São Paulo and Campinas. In the PAC-UAP, the spatial concentration in the city-region of São Paulo, areas that encompass São Paulo and Campinas, can be recorded. Building on these, it is recommended that further studies shall focus on the consequences of these public policies, carefully verifying whether they will achieve the given objectives. And, although it is not the scope of this article, it is also suggested that further studies assess the efficiency of public policies, considering that they are carried out with sizeable investments from taxpayer public money.

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