

Housing inadequacy in Brazil: a reflection on its concepts and indicators

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ABSTRACT

Research related to Brazil's housing deficit and inadequate housing conditions has been conducted for nearly 30 years with the aim of revealing housing-related deficiencies. While many authors focus on the housing deficit, this research concentrates on housing inadequacy, an index that reveals deficiencies preventing a residence from providing a high quality of life to its occupants. Such quality is measured by the building itself, the infrastructure of its urban area, and the legal title of the residence. This article proposes a brief historical context, demonstrating that the housing issue is deeply rooted in the country's socioeconomic inequalities, which have been perpetuated over the years by insufficient policies and challenges faced in urban planning. Furthermore, significant milestones in the history of the Fundação João Pinheiro (João Pinheiro Foundation - FJP) and the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE) related to the collection, organization, and dissemination of data on housing conditions in Brazil were identified, with both institutions being crucial in this regard. Therefore, the aim was to discuss the habitability of Brazilian households by presenting concepts, indicators, and data from the most recent FJP publication on housing inadequacy from 2019. These data were systematized and presented in graphs, allowing for visualization and analysis. In conclusion, it was determined that the data released by the FJP are essential for diagnosing the housing scenario, are directly related to the literature review conducted, and provide crucial data for public policy formulation.

KEYWORDS: Habitability. Inadequacy. FJP. PNADc.

1 INTRODUÇÃO¹

The term "housing inadequacy" is linked to the characterization of qualitative housing deficiencies, represented by residences that require improvements in various aspects, without necessitating their replacement or an increase in the housing stock (FJP, 2021). In cases where there is a shortage of housing to meet the needs of the entire population, that is, cases of quantitative housing deficiency, the term used to describe this indicator is "housing deficit" (FJP, 2021).

Both housing deficit and housing inadequacy have marked housing production in Brazil since its inception. Housing issues in the country are deeply connected to land ownership, tracing back to the colonial period. The granting of land by the Portuguese Crown led to the formation of the first large estates. The Land Law of 1850 (Law No. 601/1850), enacted by Emperor Pedro II, was the first initiative to organize private property in Brazil. However, this law preserved the existing land structure, which favored large landowners. The best and largest lands remained concentrated in the hands of former owners, perpetuating among their families and excluding other segments of the population from this process for many years.

Questions related to land ownership emerged in Brazil many years after the Land Law. The struggle for urban reform dates back to the 1960s, when progressive sectors demanded structural changes in land issues (Bonduki and Koury, 2014).

However, the establishment of an authoritarian political regime in 1964 hindered the continuation of the debate and implementation of urban reform proposals. During this period, the federal government created the Housing Financial System (SFH) to facilitate homeownership, but it proved to be a tool that did not reach the poorer classes. During the 1970s, self-construction in the peripheries predominated in housing production.

Regarding urban planning, during the developmentalist phase post-1964, the Integrated Development Master Plans, despite their technical rigor, were lengthy and complex

¹ This article is part of the theoretical framework chapter of the author's dissertation.

documents, detached from reality, and serving the interests of the dominant class (Villaça, 1995). In response, popular, religious, and professional entities began to mobilize to democratize urban space, culminating in the 1980s in the National Movement for Urban Reform (MNRU), which articulated a set of principles and propositions based on the premise of the social function of property and shaped the concepts of "urban reform" and "right to the city" (Maricato, 2006).

In the 1980s, the Sistema Financiero de Habitação (Housing Financial System - SFH) experienced a collapse; however, access to homeownership persisted through legal and illegal purchases and occupations, resulting in an increase in the number of privately owned properties, although housing conditions did not improve significantly. Concurrently, Brazil witnessed a new political context characterized by the transition to democracy, which repositioned the issue of urban reform alongside political reforms and the process of constructing new federal bases for the state, as established by the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Between the 1990s and the early 2000s, housing policies implemented strongly reflected the influence of international cooperation agencies, which set guidelines and agendas for developing countries (Denaldi, 2003). During the governments following the promulgation of the Federal Constitution, there were attempts to boost housing finance, such as during the Collor administration (1990-1992), with the Plano de Ação Imediata para a Habitação (Immediate Action Plan for Housing) and the creation of programs like Habitar Brasil and Morar Município during the Itamar government (1992-1994).

Despite these challenges, this period saw the formation of councils and the creation of housing funds, as well as the establishment of the National Housing Forum in 1992, which promoted coordination between different sectors of society regarding housing issues.

During the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), there was an acknowledgment of the need for land reorganization and increased social participation in urban policies, with an emphasis on changes in land legislation, norms, and administrative procedures, particularly those aimed at improving land acquisition processes for settlement projects. The participation of social movements such as MST and conservative sectors (Guiducci Filho, 2001) occurred; however, these initiatives were limited by the neoliberal orientation of the government and restrictions imposed by international banks.

In 2001, the approval of the Estatuto da Cidade (City Statute - Law No. 10,257/2001) marked an important milestone, seeking to provide more consistent legal support for urban planning and ensure the social function of property. The law introduced instruments to promote land regularization and access to housing, encouraging decentralization and democratization of urban planning processes.

A new impetus for housing issues in Brazil emerged during Lula's first term (2003-2011). In this context, social housing gained prominence with the launch of the Minha Casa Minha Vida (My House, My Life - MCMV) program in 2009, aimed at reducing the housing deficit, particularly among low-income families. The initiative was innovative in terms of scale and involved a partnership between the federal government, states, municipalities, and the private sector. There was a significant expansion in the supply of affordable housing, enabling the realization of the dream of homeownership and stimulating economic growth, particularly in the construction sector. However, the program faced criticism regarding the quality of the

delivered housing, structural and infrastructure issues, as well as concerns related to the location of the developments, which were often in peripheral areas, distant from urban centers and essential services.

Today, the housing issue in Brazil faces significant challenges, marked by a reduction in specific public policies, the financialization of housing, and the prioritization of market-oriented housing over social interest housing. These factors contribute to the perpetuation and even worsening of the housing deficit and inadequate housing conditions.

In this context, issues such as water and energy scarcity, excessive waste generation, improper waste treatment, and the degradation of natural resources are some of the problems affecting Brazilian cities, which have been worsening and disproportionately impacting low-income populations residing in informal settlements (Duarte, 2017).

In the face of the challenges of promoting fairer and more equitable cities, national and international entities have increasingly mobilized in defense of the right to housing for all. The United Nations (UN) first advocated for the right to housing in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in Article 25, Paragraph 1, ensuring that every individual has the right to an adequate standard of living which includes health, well-being, food, clothing, housing, medical care, and essential social services. In Brazil, the right to housing is enshrined in the country's highest law, the Federal Constitution, in Article 6 (Constitutional Amendment No. 90, 2015), but the most significant milestone for the issue is the promulgation of the Estatuto da Cidade (Law No. 10,257) in 2001. This statute establishes principles and guidelines for territorial and urban planning based on the principle of the social and environmental function of property (Spink, 2020), asserting that:

Art. 2º Urban policy aims to ensure the full development of the social functions of the city and urban property, through the following general guidelines:

I – guaranteeing the right to sustainable cities, understood as the right to urban land, housing, environmental sanitation, urban infrastructure, transportation and public services, work, and leisure for present and future generations; (Brasil, 2001)

Indeed, according to Spink (2020), the term “decent housing” was first used in Brazilian legal standards only in 2005, with the Federal Law No. 11,124/2005, which established the National System of Social Interest Housing (SNHIS) and created the Fundo Nacional de Habitação de Interesse Social (National Social Interest Housing Fund- FNHIS). These provisions aim to facilitate access to urbanized land and decent and sustainable housing for low-income populations and to implement policies and investment programs and subsidies that promote and enable access to housing (Brazil, 2005). However, although the law mentions decent housing, it does not provide a definition.

All these issues related to human rights and adequate housing conditions open up discussions about the meaning of decent housing. Thus, the research from which this article is derived is justified by the importance of understanding the advancement of the concept of decent housing globally and, especially, in Brazil, given that the concept of habitability of dwellings, or adequate housing, is still a subject of debate among researchers in the field.

While many studies focus on the housing deficit, this research aims to discuss the habitability of Brazilian dwellings, although it does not intend to exhaust the discussion. To this end, it presents some concepts related to the topic, as well as indicators and data from the most

recent publication of the Fundação João Pinheiro (FJP) from 2019, which contribute to understanding the situation at the federal level.

2 METHODOLOGY

This study is characterized as descriptive research, as defined by Gil (1995), because it aims to describe a specific phenomenon, in this case, housing inadequacy. Additionally, it adopts a bibliographic approach, incorporating reflections from authors such as Barbo (2006), Shimbo (2006), and Bonduki (2001).

The article is organized into three stages. The first stage presents a synthesis of a bibliographic review using books, articles, theses, and dissertations to conceptualize and contextualize the issue of housing, particularly social interest housing in Brazil, and the concept of "decent housing."

The second stage discusses the institutions and research responsible for the index of housing inadequacy in Brazil, with the primary sources for this stage being the websites of IBGE and FJP. Secondary data were chosen due to their reliability and national representativeness. To facilitate understanding of the evolution of the topic, a timeline was created, highlighting the main events related to the collection, organization, and dissemination of information on housing inadequacies by these institutions.

Finally, the results of housing inadequacy from the most recent FJP publication of 2019 were presented. The analysis of these data was conducted descriptively, using statistical tools to visualize and interpret the habitability indicators. The data were organized into graphs illustrating three main categories of inadequacy: infrastructure, building, and land, with variables detailed for each of the Brazilian regions.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 The Concept of Adequate Housing

Adequate housing, decent housing, and healthy housing are terms used by authors that, despite some specific differences, generally refer to the same concept: that housing must provide minimal conditions for people to live with dignity and quality of life.

The discussion of what constitutes adequate minimum housing has been ongoing for over a century. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the hygienist concern with defining minimum residential areas, especially in rapidly expanding metropolises, was widely debated. However, it was during the 2nd International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), held in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, in 1929, that this discussion took new directions. Under the title "Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum" (Housing for Minimum Existence), the congress sought to systematically address what would be considered the minimum acceptable for a family to live with dignity. In addition to considering the physical space of housing, CIAM also explored the relationships of furniture, lifestyle, and the rationalization of the production and use of residential space.

The debate on decent housing is complex and involves definitions that are not always consensual among researchers. In this context, it is important to delineate the definition of a key term in this research: domicile.

According to IBGE (2024), a domicile is a structurally separate and independent location intended for habitation or fulfilling that function. The Ministry of Cities, in its National Housing Policy (2004), with a perspective closer to full land regularization, emphasizes that housing is not limited to the building itself but includes the right to urban infrastructure, environmental sanitation, mobility, public transportation, urban and social equipment and services that guarantee the right to the city.

In this context, according to Barbo and Shimbo (2006):

Housing ranks among the most basic needs of human beings. Its size and quality are crucial for health, safety, and privacy, and its location is decisive for access to employment and municipal services. For the individual, it represents a central reference, as it conditions the solutions adopted to meet other basic needs (Barbo and Shimbo, 2006, p. 75)

Barbo and Shimbo (2006) emphasize that satisfactory housing varies according to local customs as well as the period in which it is situated. Bonduki (2001) uses the term "habitability" to characterize fundamental aspects of housing and urban space. According to this author, the habitability of a housing unit relates to elements that influence the quality of life and comfort of residents, encompassing their physical, psychological, and social needs. These elements include luminous comfort, thermal comfort, acoustic comfort, user safety, and healthiness, such as waterproofing, hygiene, and atmospheric conditions.

Thus, the concept of urban habitability is based on the principle that housing is an integral part of the right to the city. Therefore, it should be evaluated to determine the extent to which the housing is integrated into the urban fabric, considering its connection to infrastructure and the availability of public facilities. Additionally, to ensure habitability, the location of developments must be analyzed, taking into account physical accessibility, the presence of architectural barriers, and potential construction problems that could affect the overall development (Bonduki, 2001).

In 2018, the UN-Habitat, in its report on SDG 11², highlighted that for housing to be considered adequate, it must meet seven criteria: 1. legal security, ensuring protection against forced evictions and other threats; 2. availability of services and infrastructure, such as potable water, basic sanitation, energy, heating, lighting, food storage, and waste collection; 3. affordability; 4. habitability, ensuring safety, protection from cold, heat, wind, rain, health threats, and structural risks; 5. accessibility concerning the specific needs of its residents; 6. location, needing to be close to employment opportunities, services, public facilities, and in safe areas; 7. cultural adequacy, considering the identity and customs of the residents.

Similarly to the UN-Habitat perspective, in Brazil, the Fundação João Pinheiro (FJP) presents indicators for measuring the issue. While various authors seek to discuss criteria for housing to be considered adequate, decent, or healthy, the FJP highlights the opposite, focusing

² The acronym stands for Sustainable Development Goals and was adopted by the countries comprising the United Nations in 2015 with the aim of eradicating poverty, protecting the planet, and ensuring that by 2030, the population can enjoy peace and prosperity. SDG 11 pertains to the theme of "Sustainable Cities and Communities."

on the points where housing does not meet satisfactory standards. Thus, the indices presented by the FJP measure housing inadequacy.

For the FJP, housing inadequacy can be classified in three ways: urban infrastructure deficiencies, building deficiencies, and land inadequacy. Each of these categories includes the following items:

Table 1 - Housing Inadequacy According to FJP

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE INADEQUACY	
Waste Collection	Disposal of household waste: burned, buried, or dumped in vacant lots or streets
Sanitary Sewage	Calculated by the methods of bathroom/sewage drainage: rudimentary pit/non-network pit, ditch, river, lake, or sea
Water	If the household supply comes from a spring or source, deep well or artesian well, shallow well, groundwater, or rainwater storage
Electricity	Households without electrical power or those with electricity supplied daily, but only for a few hours
BUILDING INADEQUACY	
Water Storage	Whether the household residents do not store water in reservoirs, water tanks, or cisterns
Exclusive Bathroom	Whether households lack a bathroom for exclusive use, even if located outside the dwelling
Rooms as Bedrooms	The inadequacy is calculated by the number of rooms in the dwelling and how many of these rooms are used permanently as bedrooms. There should not be an equal number of rooms and bedrooms.
Roof and Floor Materials	Type of material predominant in roof coverings (zinc, aluminum, or metal sheets) and type of floor material (earth)
LAND INADEQUACY	
Situation in which at least one of the household residents claims ownership of the dwelling but reports not having total or partial ownership of the land or ideal share of the land on which it is located.	

Source: Fundação João Pinheiro, adapted by the authors, 2024.

3.2 Institutions Related to Adequate Housing

There are two institutions responsible for data on housing inadequacy in the country: IBGE and FJP. The IBGE is the agency responsible for collecting this information, which is currently published in the Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios Contínua (Continuous National Household Sample Survey - PNADc), while the FJP is responsible for disseminating the data, thus providing support for public policy formulation. The FJP began to systematize and aggregate information related to housing needs through a partnership with the federal government due to significant fluctuations between sources, aiming to create an indicator capable of organizing and consolidating the data (Januzzi, 2016).

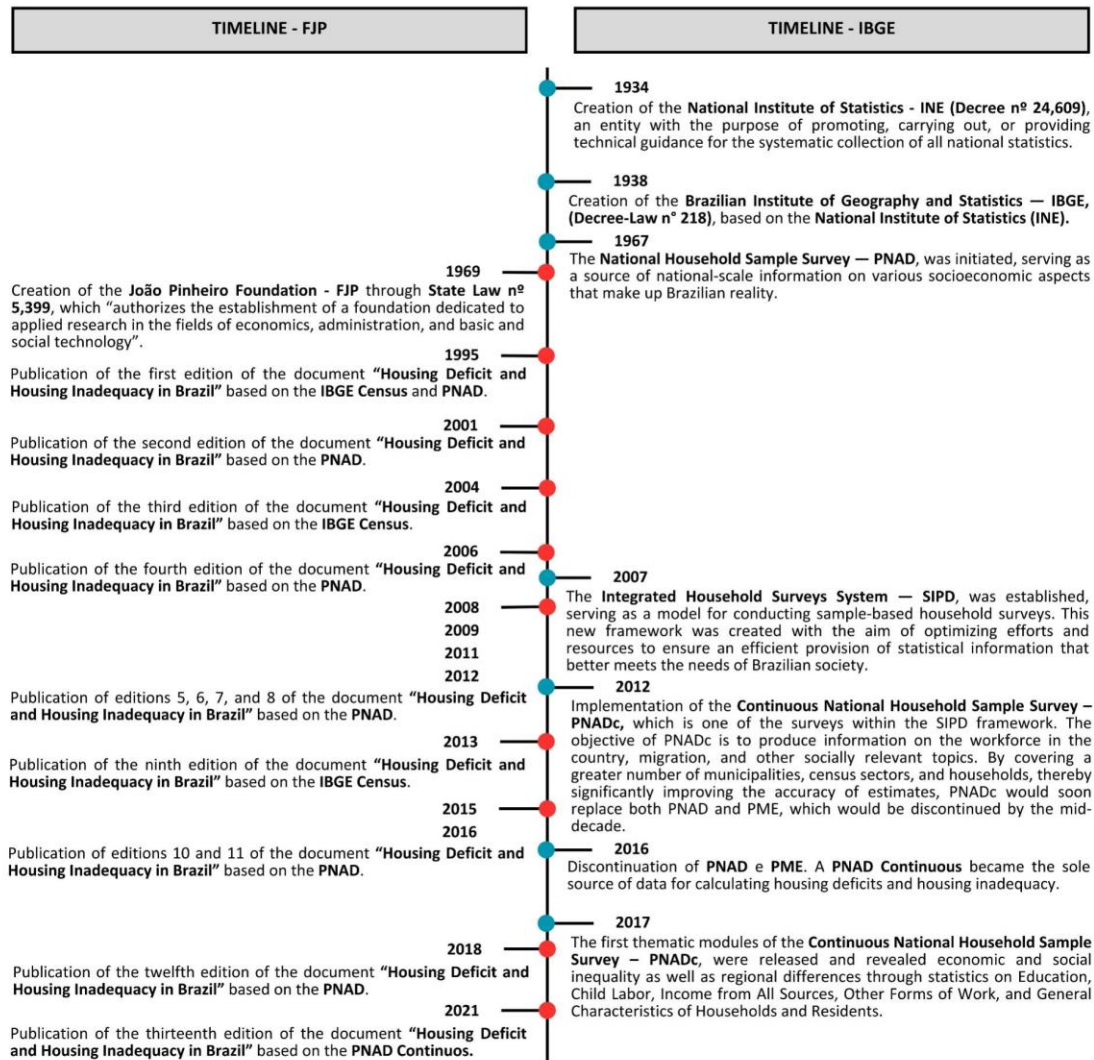
Starting in 1995, the FJP began publishing data from the Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios (National Household Sample Survey - PNAD) and the census, and from 2016, with the end of the PNAD, it started using data from the Continuous PNAD. With the transition between these surveys, some variables related to housing indicators were excluded; therefore, a specific section of this article is dedicated to addressing the current methodology of the FJP (Santana and Zanoni, 2022).

According to Januzzi (2016), social indicators are fundamental in research as they allow for the operationalization of a concept or demand. They point out, indicate, approximate, and

translate social dimensions, and thus their consistency over time is crucial for evaluating specific social programs.

The following will present timelines for both FJP and IBGE, highlighting key milestones related to the institutions and the index of housing inadequacy.

Figure 1 – Timeline of Institutions Responsible for Researching and Disseminating Housing Deficit and Housing Inadequacy Data in Brazil



Source: Prepared by the authors based on information from FJP (2019) and IBGE (2017).

The **PNADc** is the primary survey of the **Sistema Integrado de Pesquisas Domiciliares (Integrated System of Household Surveys - SIPD)**, producing fundamental information for studying the socioeconomic development and quality of life of the country's population. It enables the investigation of indicators related to work and income, education, and housing (IBGE, 2024).

The **PNADc** was implemented starting in 2012, replacing the **PNAD**, which served as the primary data source as an alternative to the Census due to its annual frequency (IBGE, 2017; Santana, 2020). With the **PNADc**, information is now disseminated monthly, quarterly, annually,

or periodically for some topics (IBGE, 2019). For household surveys, data can be accessed by quarter or year.

Moreover, the survey now covers a larger number of municipalities, census sectors, and residences, allowing for greater precision in estimates regarding economic and social inequalities, education, child labor, income, and characteristics of households and their residents (IBGE, 2017).

Since 1995, FJP has been tabulating data from IBGE surveys to present information revealing Brazil's housing deficit and housing inadequacies, thus measuring the number of residences unable to provide access to basic housing services (FJP, 2021).

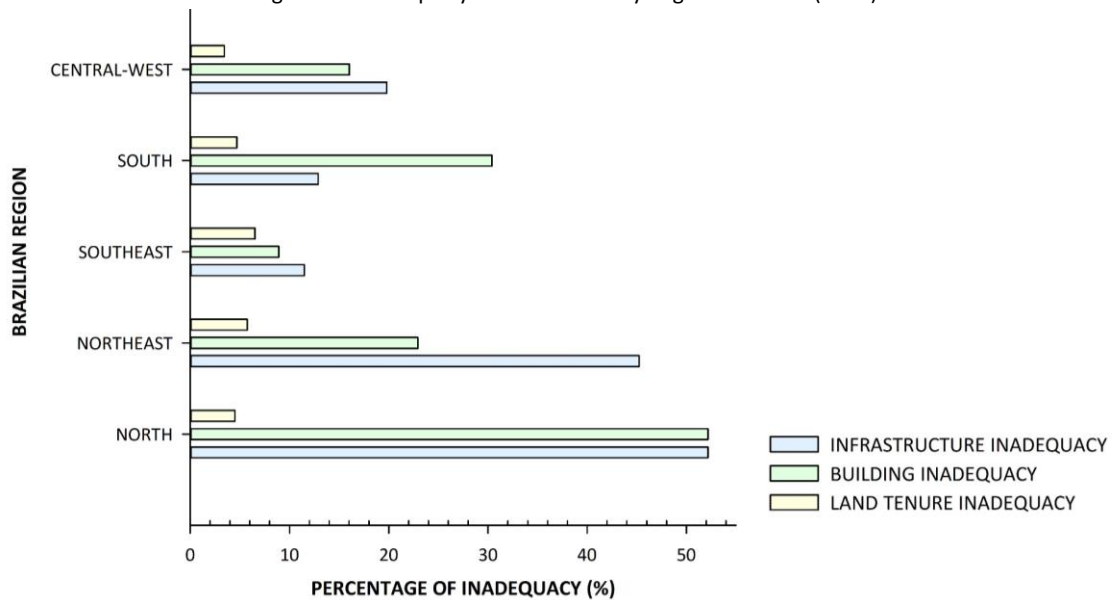
The indicators used to measure housing inadequacy have evolved over time, following the changes in the IBGE survey. Each publication involved revising some parameters while incorporating new ones. In its most recent edition, FJP used the following structure for calculating housing inadequacy: it considered only urban properties, given that rural households have specific characteristics (such as different approaches to solid waste management, including trash collection, and different water and sewage systems). Homes were included only if they had at least one type of inadequacy and were not classified as housing deficit. Moreover, precarious (improvised and rustic) dwellings and single-room households were excluded.

It is important to note that improvised dwellings are those constructed without the intent to serve as housing but that end up being used as such, including buildings under construction, viaducts, train cars, tents, etc. Rustic dwellings are those where the walls are not made of masonry or finished wood, posing health risks due to their unsanitary conditions. Examples of rustic dwellings include buildings made of raw earth without coating and reused wood (FJP, 2021).

4 RESULTS

In 2019, Brazil had over 14 million households with some form of infrastructure inadequacy, which accounted for 22.8% of the total number of households in the country. Meanwhile, building inadequacy affected more than 11 million households, representing 18% of the total. Finally, land tenure inadequacy was present in over 3.5 million residences (5.6% of the total).

Figure 2 – Inadequacy of Households by Regions of Brazil (2019)

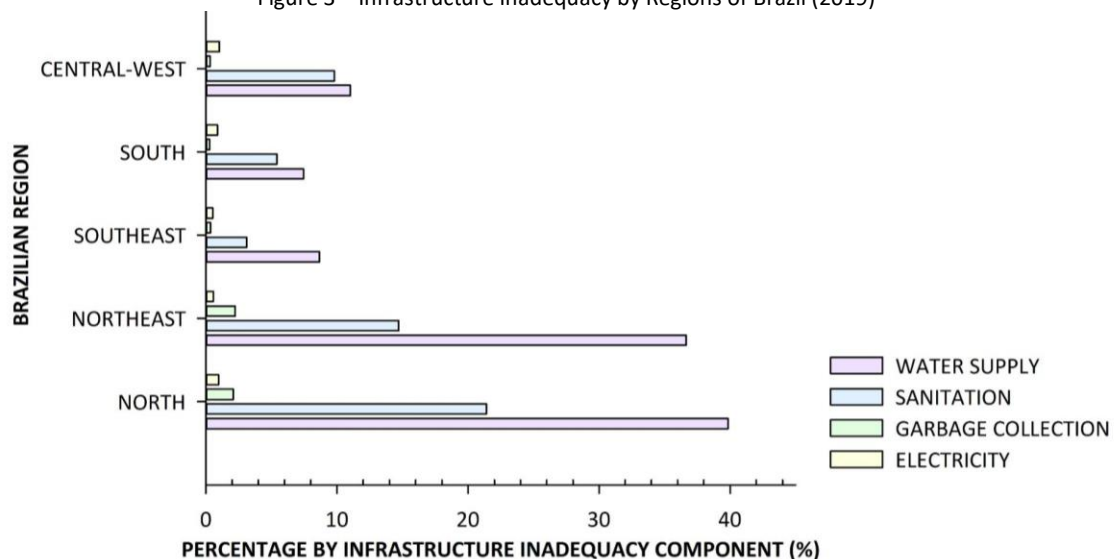


Source: Fundação João Pinheiro, adapted by the authors, 2024.

For the items of infrastructure inadequacy and building inadequacy, the North region had the highest results with 52.17% and 39.72%, respectively. The Southeast region had the highest rate of land inadequacy at 6.53%, but had the lowest percentages in the other categories (Figure 2).

Among the components of infrastructure inadequacy, water supply stands out in Brazil with 17.1% of households affected, followed by sanitation with 7.8%, waste collection with 0.89%, and electricity with 0.65%.

Figure 3 – Infrastructure Inadequacy by Regions of Brazil (2019)

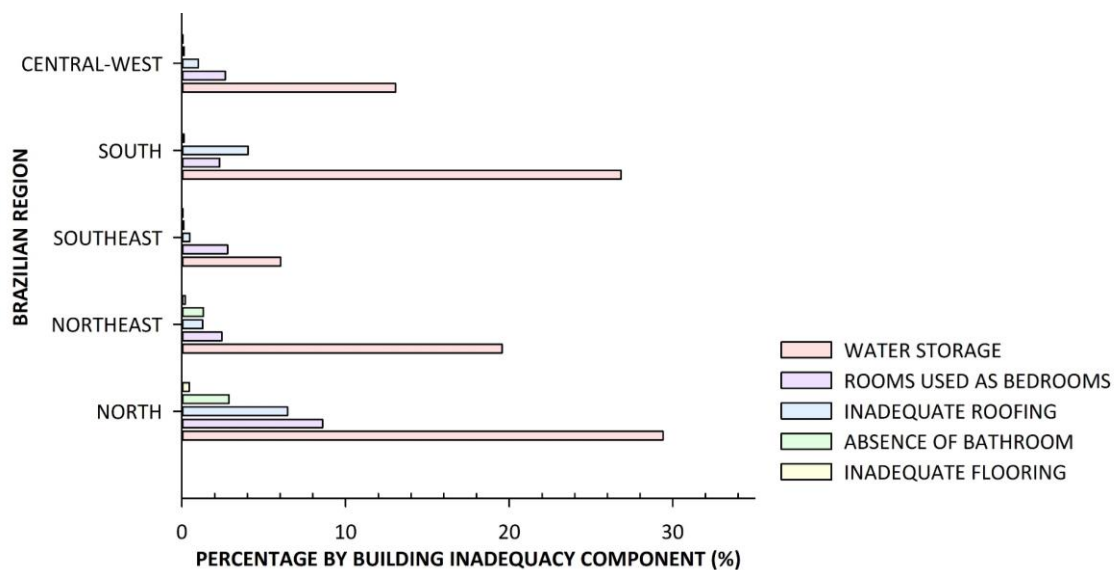


Source: Fundação João Pinheiro, adapted by the authors, 2024.

When analyzed by region, the North and Northeast lead in all components with very similar percentages. For water supply, the North had 39.85%, while the Northeast had 36.65%. In other categories, they achieved 21.4% and 14.69% for sewage, 2.09% and 2.23% for garbage collection, and 0.96% and 0.57% for electricity, respectively. The South and Southeast regions showed the best results in terms of infrastructure, with neither region reporting values exceeding 10% in any of the indicators (Figure 3).

In 2019, the variable of water storage was the most prominent among the indicators of edilic inadequacy in the country, with 14.03%, followed by rooms used as bedrooms without being their primary function, at nearly 3%, inadequate roofing at 1.46%, absence of a bathroom at 0.41%, and inadequate flooring at 0.13%. Although these percentages may seem low, they represent approximately 1.766 million people living in rooms used as bedrooms and 244 thousand people without a bathroom in their homes.

Figure 4 - Edilic Inadequacy by Regions in Brazil (2019)



Source: Fundação João Pinheiro, adapted by the authors, 2024.

In the edilic inadequacy indicator, the North region again leads with the highest percentages across all parameters, showing a significant disparity compared to other regions. For inadequate water storage, only the Southeast region recorded percentages below 10% (Figure 4).

Almeida, Cota, and Rodrigues (2020) highlight issues related to water storage in regions where water supply is consistently inadequate. In such contexts, people often create reservoirs that can be conducive to the proliferation of mosquitoes like *Aedes aegypti*, which is a vector for diseases such as yellow fever, dengue, chikungunya, and Zika. This assertion is supported by the dengue outbreak occurring in the country in 2024, during which more than 3.3 million cases had been recorded by mid-April (COE, 2024).

Additionally, open sewage systems that function as waste repositories can become environments favorable to the multiplication of disease vectors. Soares et al. (2014) note that

leptospirosis is another disease associated with urban infrastructure deficits and is transmitted to humans through direct or indirect contact with the urine of rodents infected with the bacteria.

Thus, the results show significant regional disparities, with the North and Northeast regions leading in many indicators, while the Southeast region reported fewer inadequacies. Furthermore, the variables also reveal public health vulnerabilities, indicating that diseases beyond those mentioned may also impact the population.

CONCLUSION

The study of housing inadequacy in Brazil reveals a complex and multifaceted picture of the country's housing conditions. Over the years, housing issues have been the subject of debate and action by both national and international entities, reflecting the pursuit of more just and equitable cities. From the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights to the enactment of the Estatuto da Cidade (Statute of the City) in Brazil, there have been significant advances in ensuring the right to housing, although challenges persist.

The topic of "housing inadequacy," while not as prominent as housing deficit studies, deserves increasing attention, as it characterizes the standard of housing in the country and contributes to the development of housing improvement programs, land regularization, and urban infrastructure.

Data analysis reveals that inadequacies in infrastructure, edilic conditions, and land tenure affect millions of households across the country, with considerable regional disparities. Beyond the housing issues themselves, the results also highlight direct implications for public health. The lack of adequate infrastructure, such as water supply and basic sanitation, creates conditions conducive to the proliferation of diseases.

In light of these challenges, it is crucial that comprehensive public policies be implemented to address housing issues and their implications for health and well-being in an integrated manner. This includes measures to improve urban infrastructure, ensure access to basic services such as potable water and sanitation, and promote dignified housing conditions for all citizens.

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