

## **Progress and setbacks in the Urban Policy in Brazil**

**Ana Carolina Bergamaschi do Val**

Mestranda, PPGARQ Unesp - Bauru, Brasil  
ana.val@unesp.br

**Jefferson Oliveira Goulart**

Livre-docente, PPGARQ Unesp - Bauru, Brasil  
jefferson.goulart@unesp.br

## SUMMARY

Brazil experienced significant institutional advancements during its democratic transition, with the 1988 Constitution standing out prominently in this trajectory. Among its innovations is the chapter on Urban Policy, which enshrined the principle of the social function of the city and property, established instruments to promote access to urbanized land, and mandated participatory processes in Urban Planning. These innovations were followed by democratizing norms and policies, such as the constitutional recognition of the right to housing, the City Statute, and specific legislation on sanitation, urban mobility, solid waste, and housing. However, this trajectory was interrupted by the rupture that deposed Dilma Rousseff in 2016, continued under the Temer administration (2016-2018), and intensified during Jair Bolsonaro's government (2019-2022). This regressive shift in terms of citizenship rights also revealed a complete discrepancy with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda, to which Brazil is a signatory, especially concerning SDG 11 "Sustainable Cities and Communities," aimed at making cities and human settlements inclusive. This article, the result of ongoing documentary research, analyzes the recent trajectory of Urban Policy in Brazil, emphasizing recent institutional changes to understand their present and future impacts on Brazilian cities.

**KEYWORDS:** Urban Policy. 2030 Agenda. 1988 Constitution.

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Brazil experienced significant institutional advancements during the transition that restored democracy, and in this trajectory, the 1988 Constitution holds a prominent place. Among its innovations, in the urbanistic context, is the chapter on Urban Policy (articles 182 and 183), which enshrined the principle of the social function of the city and property, established instruments to promote access to urbanized land, and imposed the requirement for participatory processes in Urban Planning. These innovations were followed by equally advanced norms and policies, such as the constitutional recognition of the right to housing, the City Statute (Federal Law No. 10,257/2001), and specific legislation on sanitation, urban mobility, solid waste, and housing.

This trajectory of expanding rights and institutional innovations was not linear, facing setbacks starting in 2016 that deepened during the Bolsonaro administration (2019–2022).

Jair Bolsonaro's administration is widely recognized for the political and institutional setbacks it promoted (Avritzer, 2021), with his government characterized by the pursuit of dismantling the existing democratic institutional structure (COUTO, 2023). This process intensified from 2019 onward but began earlier, with the removal of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, followed by Michel Temer's government (2016–2018), which initiated a project aimed not only at reversing the gains achieved after redemocratization but also at "salting the earth on which it had grown: the 1988 Constitution" (SINGER, 2018, p. 13).

Such setbacks spread across the areas of Education, Health, and the Environment (AVRITZER, 2021; MIGUEL, 2022), with the clear objective of "destroying the agenda, the institutional model, and the epistemic community built over the last decades" (ABRUCIO, 2022, p. 255). In Urban Policy, it was no different (IBDU, 2021). This article analyzes the recent trajectory of Urban Policy in Brazil, emphasizing the normative and institutional changes that

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occurred during the period extending to the Bolsonaro government (2019–2022), in order to understand the actions of this government and its present and future impacts on Brazilian cities.

The article is organized as follows: the first section summarizes the methodological procedures adopted; the second section provides an overview of the trajectory of Urban Policy in Brazil after redemocratization, with the 1988 Federal Constitution as its starting point, followed by significant political-institutional advances; the third section addresses the recent political events and institutional changes that marked the democratic rupture and the resulting setbacks in Urban Policy, particularly those that occurred during the Bolsonaro government; the fourth section discusses how these changes indicated a misalignment of Brazil in relation to SDG 11 of the 2030 New Urban Agenda (NUA); the final section synthesizes the political-ideological significance of this government, which aimed to reverse the gains of democracy and the 1988 Constitution, dismantle the State's ability to formulate and implement public policies, and, specifically, how urban policies were impacted in this context

## **1 METHODOLOGY**

Qualitative in nature, the research adopted two methodological procedures: the first was aimed at a systematic review of the urbanistic literature on the evolution of institutional norms in urban and housing policies since the 1988 Constitution, with an emphasis on interdisciplinarity, drawing on contributions from different fields of knowledge – Urban and Regional Planning, Geography, Sociology, Urban Anthropology, Political Science, and Public Policy – in order to conceptually and analytically characterize the object of study. The second procedure involved documentary research of laws, norms, and other government measures at the federal level that impacted Urban Policy during the analyzed period, aiding in the understanding of the aforementioned object. For this, the sources used are the electronic search platforms of the Presidency of the Republic, the Federal Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, and the Supreme Federal Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal – STF).

## **2 THE ADVANCES OF URBAN POLICY IN DEMOCRATIZATION**

One of the original aspects of the Constituent Assembly was the massive participation of various social movements (VERSIANI, 2010). Additionally, the absence of a preliminary draft constitution ensured considerable permeability for participatory demands to be addressed through consultations, public hearings, and popular initiative amendments, which allowed different segments and groups of voters to propose amendments (ROCHA, 2013). A total of 122 popular amendments were presented, covering a wide range of societal demands (MICHILES et al., 1989), reflecting the multiplicity of societal problems, its conflicts and contradictions, which highlighted the political and ideological differences within the Constituent Assembly.

In this context, social movements and coalitions formed around urban issues and the right to the city led to the proposal of a specific amendment to address the topic: thus, the popular amendment for Urban Reform resulted from the activism of the National Movement for Urban Reform (Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana) (ALCÁNTARA; DAMASCENA, 2014). Created by various progressive sectors, this movement revived the debate on the production

and appropriation of urban space and the necessary break from the established dynamics. Its platform was based on three pillars: the precedence of collective interest over individual interest (the social function of the city and urban property); the right to the city and citizenship (access to urbanized land); and democratic city management through participation (ALFONSIN et al., 2020).

From this context of popular fervor and the reorganization of movements advocating for various social issues throughout the constituent process, the Citizen Constitution was promulgated in 1988 – so named by its president, Deputy Ulysses Guimarães – encapsulating an unprecedented experience of citizenship and participatory political practice in Brazilian history. The “New Republic” thus established a new social pact between the State and society, marked by democracy as the political regime and by inclusive and distributive guidelines. Additionally, for the first time, a specific chapter dedicated to Urban Policy was established, introducing the concept of the social function of property and the city, as well as a new perspective on urban issues (GOULART; VAL, 2020).

Although not all proposals from the aforementioned popular initiative amendment were incorporated into the constitutional text, the inclusion of the Urban Policy Chapter (Articles 182 and 183) in the 1988 Federal Constitution legitimized the principles of Urban Reform (BRASIL, 2016), in an attempt to create institutional parameters to reverse the exclusionary terms that marked the erratic trajectory of urban planning in the country (VILLAÇA, 2004), thus representing the inaugural milestone of the new Urban Policy, from which other advances were achieved, albeit slowly, with the aim of creating fairer and less unequal cities. In summary, Brazil made significant institutional progress from 1988 to 2016, and some of these innovative norms deserve to be noted.

While housing in Brazil is highlighted in the 1988 constitutional text through the social function of property (Article 182), it was through Constitutional Amendment No. 26 in 2000 that the right to housing was institutionally ratified as a central issue in urban matters (ALVES; PAULA, 2021). Institutionally, from this important legal milestone, housing was recognized as a fundamental social right, essential to life and human dignity, in the same terms as the rights to health, work, and education.

Subsequently, in order to regulate the constitutional provisions, Federal Law No. 10.257 (City Statute) was finally approved in 2001. This national urban planning legislation comprises a broad set of instruments to curb real estate speculation, promote access to urbanized land, and ensure civil society's participation in the decision-making processes of policy development and implementation (GOULART; VAL, 2020).

Starting in 2003, there was increased regulatory production regarding urban and housing issues. The first milestone of this period was the creation of the Ministry of Cities (Federal Law No. 10.683/2003), which began to concentrate housing policy and other areas related to Urban Policy more effectively, aiming to fill the institutional void of the previous period (CARDOSO; ARAGÃO, 2013). The institutional goal was to establish a transversal state apparatus, coordinating housing, transportation, and sanitation policies. In the same year, the first National Conference on Cities was convened, followed by the second in 2005, to discuss and formulate the new National Urban Development Policy. These national conferences were preceded by municipal and state conferences. The first Conference led to the creation of the

National Cities Council, an important political space for coordination between the State and society for the formulation of policies, strategies, programs, and actions.

Regarding housing financing, the Ministry of Cities proposed the creation of the National System of Social Interest Housing (SNHIS), along with its Fund and Management Council. The new model aimed to serve the lowest-income population and overcome the paradigm of the authoritarian regime, during which the middle and upper classes benefited from the policies of the National Housing Bank (Banco Nacional de Habitação - BNH) (MARICATO, 1987; TONELLA, 2013).

The National Basic Sanitation Policy (Política Nacional de Saneamento Básico) – Law No. 11.445/2007 - established a broad set of guidelines, objectives, and targets for defining programs, actions, and investment strategies in this sector, in addition to universalizing access and providing for consultative public participation (GOULART; VAL, 2020).

Still in 2007, during Lula's second term, the Growth Acceleration Program (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento - PAC - Law No. 11.578/2007) was launched, and in 2009, the My House My Life Program (Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida - PMCMV - Law No. 11.977/2009). PAC aimed to coordinate infrastructure project planning, investing in development actions, increasing productivity, and promoting Public-Private Partnerships (Parcerias Público-Privadas - PPPs), with more than R\$ 170 billion invested in social and urban infrastructure, divided among social projects, basic sanitation, housing, metro, and water resources (JARDIM; SILVA, 2015).

The main beneficiary of PAC investments, PMCMV, had a counter-cyclical character, aiming to address the global economic crisis of 2008. The second institutional phase of PMCMV, during Dilma's government, began to receive 30% of PAC resources, amounting to over R\$ 3 billion and benefiting more than 667,000 families, as well as R\$ 12.7 billion allocated to the urbanization of precarious settlements, benefiting over 500,000 families across the country (BRASIL, 2014). The Program reached unprecedented numbers in the history of Brazilian social housing, particularly concerning the assistance to the lowest-income population (MARICATO, 2015). In ten years, PMCMV ensured the construction of over 6 million housing units; however, it reproduced the logic of socio-spatial segregation by encouraging the settlement of poorer populations in the peripheries and providing extensive guarantees to real estate developers (ROLNIK et al., 2015).

Another important initiative was the Technical Assistance Law (Law No. 11.888/2008, Lei da Assistência Técnica), which regulated the provisions of the Statute of the City (Estatuto da Cidade) concerning the right of the poorest populations to receive professional assistance in construction and renovation projects. The law also recognized self-construction as an alternative for housing provision and supported the involvement of the population in project and execution processes (GOULART; VAL, 2020).

In 2010, the National Solid Waste Policy (Law No. 10.305/2010, Política Nacional de Resíduos Sólidos) emerged as an alternative to establish guidelines for solid waste management, aiming at the reduction and treatment of the produced volume in response to environmental degradation and the culture of accumulation and production of waste in consumer society.

In 2012, aiming to encourage the use of non-motorized and collective transportation and to discourage the use of individual private transportation, the Urban Mobility Law (Federal

Law No. 12.587/2012, Lei de Mobilidade Urbana) was approved, which defined the guidelines to guide the regulation and planning of urban mobility.

In the second term of Dilma Rousseff, the Statute of the Metropolis (Law No. 13.089/2015, Estatuto da Metr pole) was enacted, an important norm in expanding metropolitan planning practices, as regional planning dynamics were institutionally outdated compared to local scale (FELDMAN, 2009).

### 3 SETBACKS IN URBAN POLICY

The reduction of social inequalities had already been on the country's agenda since democratization—a trend influenced by a combination of factors, such as the nature of public policies, government commitment, the consolidation of democracy, and the pressure exerted by social movements—but this inclination was heightened from 2002 onwards, with the intensification of inclusion policies and the spread of rights (SINGER, 2018), coupled with economic growth during this period, leading to a significant reduction in poverty and inequality indicators (CARDOSO; ARAGÃO, 2013; ARRETICHE, 2015).

However, even after the advances made during the Lula administration, the mark of inequality—though smaller compared to previous periods—remained evident from any perspective on the country, including the urban agenda (MARICATO, 2015). And although the Workers' Party governments did not directly confront the interests of large capital (SINGER; LOUREIRO, 2016), the changes during this period produced notable transformations in Brazilian society, enabling inclusive policies for large social contingents previously excluded from access to fundamental basic rights, which had been restricted to only minority segments of the population (COUTO, 2023).

The focus on reducing poverty and advancing social and civil rights resulted in a negative perception of the Workers' Party governments among the wealthier segments, which began to see them as a threat (MIGUEL, 2022; SINGER, 2018). After all, in a country as unequal and income-concentrated as Brazil, any minimally progressive action is viewed as “leftist” and, therefore, dangerous to the maintenance of the status quo (CARVALHO, 2023).

Adding to the political and economic crisis faced after Dilma Rousseff's reelection (SINGER, 2018) the strength of political parties associated with the interests of elites, economic and media groups, and the judicial class, Dilma was removed from the presidency in 2016 (MIGUEL, 2022). This rupture aimed not only to remove a government but to establish a new regressive agenda in the country (BRAGA, 2016), marking the beginning of the institutional rupture that undermined Brazil's democratic order, reaching its peak after the 2018 elections (AVRITZER, 2021).

The institutional dismantling that characterized Jair Bolsonaro's government was an intensification of the agenda already put into practice during the Temer administration (AVRITZER, 2021; MIGUEL, 2022), with institutional changes focused on fiscal tightening and the suppression of social policies (GOULART; TERCI, 2019), under the guise of supposed fiscal austerity (CALDAS, 2022). These changes symbolized the rupture of the Brazilian social pact inaugurated by the 1988 Constitution. The Constitutional Amendment on spending limits (Emenda Constitucional - EC - No. 95/2016), for example, reduced the constitutional minimums

for health, education, and other fundamental rights. Following the same rhetoric as the Temer administration, fiscal proposals during the Bolsonaro government further reduced social spending with redistributive impact: the Proposal for a Constitutional Amendment No. 188/2019 (Proposta de Emenda Constitucional - PEC - Federative Pact) proposed amending Article 6 of the Constitution, subordinating social rights to an undefined and unrepresented concept of "intergenerational fiscal balance," translating into legislative language the argument that the "Citizen Constitution does not fit in the budget" (DWEK, 2021, p. 241).

In this context of conservative shift, following a series of successive legislative achievements since redemocratization, Urban Policy suffered serious setbacks, and its social impacts were reflected in Brazilian cities (IBDU, 2021). The following paragraphs list and summarize the normative and institutional changes that characterized Bolsonaro's Urban Policy

### **3.1 The Extinction of the Ministry of Cities**

As soon as he took office, amidst the reorganization of the presidency of the Republic, Bolsonaro abolished the Ministry of Cities, transferring its responsibilities to the Ministry of Regional Development, representing a clear regression from the progress made in the dialogue between the Union, states, and municipalities regarding the integration of urban policies and the pursuit of reducing inequalities in cities (MEDEIROS et al., 2020).

With the existence of the Ministry of Cities (Ministério das Cidades), the challenges regarding the integration and implementation of the various policies affecting the territory were already significant (CARVALHO et al., 2015). After its extinction, there was a dilution in the treatment of these policies, since the Ministry of Regional Development came to encompass the areas of the also extinct Ministry of National Integration, which dealt with issues that went beyond urban concerns. This measure already signaled that Urban Policy would no longer be a central concern for the federal government, potentially returning to an institutional void.

### **3.2 Suspension of the National Cities Council**

Another major setback for democracy was the closure of spaces for participation and social oversight, such as the National Cities Council (IBDU, 2021). The creation of democratic spaces where conflicts could be expressed was not a trivial achievement in the country's history, as it represented a shift that could trigger new transformations in the way policies were formulated (MARICATO, 2006). Precisely because of the transformative potential of these spaces for direct participation by society and social movements, the Bolsonaro government deliberately acted to dissolve them (IBDU, 2021).

Moreover, the dismantling of popular participation was not limited to Urban Policy, but extended to other areas, as was the case with the National Council for Food and Nutrition Security (Consea) – a forum that played an essential role in public policies for food and nutrition security promoted by the federal government in recent years until its extinction in 2019 (HAJE, 2019) – among other spaces that included representatives of society in decision-making processes.

### 3.3 End of the PMCMV and PAC programs and the creation of the Green and Yellow House Program

Another significant measure was the discontinuation of the "Minha Casa Minha Vida" (PMCMV) and the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), two of the most prominent initiatives of the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT) administrations and important milestones in Brazil's contemporary Urban Policy. In regulatory terms, there was no official termination of the programs, even though this occurred in practice. Through Decree No. 9.722/2019, provisions of the decree that established the PAC in 2007 were revoked, as well as the Monitoring System for the PAC (Sispac), which was responsible for tracking and disseminating data about the program, thus hindering access to information regarding the progress and suspension of the works (MADEIRO, 2023). With the elimination of the Sispac database, the Bolsonaro government buried the PAC, as the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU) would no longer be able to monitor the works and contracts for its execution (MADEIRO, 2023). Similarly, through Law No. 14.118/2021, regulated by Decree No. 10.600/2021, the Green and Yellow House Program (Programa Casa Verde e Amarela - PCVA) was established. Although it did not formally extinguish the PMCMV, the PCVA introduced numerous changes, particularly regarding lower-income groups: the PCVA implemented a 98% cut in funding for Tier 1 of the PMCMV (which covered families with an income of up to three minimum wages), the segment that accounted for the majority of the country's housing deficit (IBDU, 2021). Serving this portion of the population, excluded from previous housing policies (CARDOSO; ARAGÃO, 2013), was one of the PMCMV's greatest achievements.

Another highlight was the PMCMV-Entities subprogram (PMCMV-E), which established criteria to qualify non-profit popular entities interested in and technically capable of producing housing (CARVALHO et al., 2015). This subprogram played a significant role in subsidized housing production. It is not surprising, then, that the PMCMV-E modality was also discontinued in the PCVA (ALVES; PAULA, 2021).

With the aim of being a broader program than its predecessor, the PCVA aimed to assist 1.6 million low-income families through housing financing by reducing the interest rates of the Employee Severance Indemnity Fund (FGTS) by 2024, as well as to regularize 2 million homes and improve 400,000 (MARCO; BATTIROLA, 2021). However, data from 2022 reveal that only about 498,000 units had been contracted and delivered (SILVA, 2023).

The PCVA stated its proposal to address the housing demand of low-income populations through land regularization and housing improvements, rather than subsidizing the production of new units. However, unlike previous programs, this regularization would be entirely market-driven: private companies would offer their services through projects for areas they selected, so families would pay for the land (GUERREIRO; ROLNIK, 2020). Although the market-oriented vision of the city is not new and has even guided many actions of the PMCMV (ROLNIK, 2019), the unilateral termination of the PMCMV exacerbated this process of commodifying the city and housing, disproportionately affecting the poorest populations, who became increasingly vulnerable to private interests, contributing to intensified land conflicts (GUERREIRO; ROLNIK, 2020).



### **3.4 Release of FGTS Withdrawals and Its Impacts on Social Housing**

Managed by Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), the Employee Severance Indemnity Fund (Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço – FGTS) has been the primary source of funding for housing policies since the days of the BNH (1964-1986). It has been used since its creation to finance housing programs such as the PMCMV, highlighting its relevance in ensuring the fundamental right to housing (SOUZA et al., 2023). During the Bolsonaro administration, special FGTS withdrawals were authorized through Provisional Measures (MP 889/2019 and MP 1105/2022) as an alternative to the economic crisis triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic, while other rules for fund movement were maintained (LIMA JR., 2022). In 2020 alone, 24.2 billion reais were withdrawn from the FGTS (SOUZA et al., 2023), leading to a reduction in the Fund's capital.

### **3.5 Evictions During the COVID-19 Pandemic**

As the COVID-19 health crisis spread, the housing issue once again became central. While the recommendation to avoid virus contamination was to "stay at home," the loss of income and worsening working conditions, combined with excessive rent burdens, overcrowding, and poor housing conditions, led to increased evictions and forced removals. By 2021, around 20,000 families had been evicted or removed from their homes (IBDU, 2021), with no state initiatives to curb these actions.

On the contrary, there was considerable resistance from the president and his supporters, as evidenced by his veto of Bill No. 827/2020, which proposed a suspension of evictions during the pandemic. Despite the government's resistance, the presidential veto was overturned by Congress after more than a year of struggle by social movements united in the "Zero Eviction" Campaign, resulting in Federal Law No. 14.216/2021, which suspended evictions and forced removals until December of the same year (IBDU, 2021).

## **4 THE 2030 AGENDA UNDER THE BOLSONARO ADMINISTRATION**

In this alarming context of intensified commodification of housing, the exercise of the right to adequate housing, the right to the city, and human dignity have been profoundly compromised (ROLNIK, 2019; IBDU, 2021). This not only breaks with the constitutional principles that once guided significant advances in Brazilian Urban Policy but also with international protocols. For example, the New Urban Agenda (Agenda 2030) outlines guidelines that should be implemented through political structuring at all levels of government by signatory countries—including Brazil—which, in turn, need to seek effective means of implementation, including public participation in the process (NAU, 2016).

The New Urban Agenda was established at the latest edition of the Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016, and encouraged governments and civil society to engage in commitments to sustainable urban development. Its set of statements forms an important platform for implementing future global pacts and reinforces the importance of existing programs, such as the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs),

which address various issues from environmental and social perspectives (UN, 2015). Among these, SDG 11 stands out, with goals aimed at “making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable” (NAU, 2016, p.4). Below are 5 of the 10 targets of SDG 11:

- 11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to safe, adequate, and affordable housing and basic services, and upgrade slum settlements;
- 11.3 By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated, and sustainable human settlement planning and management, in all countries;
- 11.5 By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected by disasters, and substantially decrease the direct economic losses caused by disasters in relation to global GDP, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and vulnerable people;
- 11.a Support positive economic, social, and environmental links between urban, peri-urban, and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning;
- 11.c Support least developed countries, including through technical and financial assistance, for sustainable and resilient building practices using local materials (UN, 2015).

The 2030 Agenda was internationally reinforced by UN Special Rapporteurs on Human Rights throughout the pandemic. There were numerous statements and declarations encouraging countries to ensure and guarantee the exercise of human rights in the context of the pandemic. However, such recommendations were completely ignored by the federal government (IBDU, 2021).

According to data from the 2021 Luz Report, none of the 169 targets of the 17 SDGs showed progress in Brazil up to that year. On the contrary, there was stagnation or regression, as analyzed by the Civil Society Working Group for the 2030 Agenda (GTSCA2030, 2021). Not only the 2030 Agenda but also the targets of SDG 11 can be used as indicators of the implementation of Urban Policy in Brazil (IBDU, 2021). As presented in the previous section, Brazil moved in the opposite direction of SDG 11 (HAJE, 2021), revealing a complete discrepancy between the respective objectives and the measures taken by the Bolsonaro government regarding urban and housing development policies, which should have supported their realization. In practice, investments in decent and adequate housing regressed, there was no attention to the urbanization of precarious settlements such as slums, participatory processes were interrupted, environmentally sustainable projects were abandoned, and the most vulnerable populations were not prioritized. In short, the opposite of what the 2030 Agenda proposes was practiced.

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS

This article presents results from ongoing research, and thus the "conclusions" summarized below are provisional. It is also worth noting that, due to the contemporary nature of the period, not all changes and setbacks identified during the Bolsonaro administration can be fully measured, as many of their effects may still unfold over the coming years.

Nonetheless, as far as it is possible to understand the nature of this government and its legacy, some considerations can be made regarding the course of the public policies it adopted. This relationship is, in fact, inseparable: the social agenda is inseparable from the

corresponding public policies and, therefore, from the governments (ARRETCHÉ, 2015). Public policies are not always successful and do not always address the root of the problem, and depending on the government, the problem can be exacerbated. In other words, understanding the public policies of the Bolsonaro administration means understanding how it acted upon and preserved the status quo.

The fact is that the Bolsonaro administration deliberately acted to dismantle the social structures of the state (AVRITZER, 2021). To implement a regressive agenda, its strategy involved constant attacks on institutions, as well as succumbing to parliamentary clientelism, which it had criticized, by making concessions to the "Centrão" in exchange for governability. A government marked by extremism that continuously worked to erode democratic institutions (COUTO, 2023) and undo public policies established in the previous period, not only in urban and housing policies but also in other key areas for reducing inequalities and ensuring citizenship and democracy (AVRITZER, 2021; MIGUEL, 2022).

Specifically in the field of urban and housing policies, beyond critical analyses of the low normative impact and effective implementation, it cannot be ignored that the entire period following democratization was marked by successive attempts to equip the state (at various levels of government) with tools capable of reversing the exploitation characteristic of Brazilian urbanization. As a result, the most recent trajectory of citizenship in Brazil has been characterized by the expansion of rights and improvements in urban and housing conditions (ARRETCHÉ, 2015), despite the persistence of structural issues in a country steeped in authoritarianism, a slave-holding past, structural inequalities, and deep social hierarchies (CARVALHO, 2023).

Not by coincidence, the advancements achieved represented a threat, and as demonstrated in the previous sections, the period of strong conservative shift under the Bolsonaro administration was marked by the abandonment of redistributive policies, the hollowing out of democratic participation spaces, and the reinforcement of policies driven by the discourse of fiscal austerity, negatively and directly impacting urban and housing policies.

Not by coincidence, the advancements achieved represented a threat, and as demonstrated in the previous sections, the period of strong conservative shift under the Bolsonaro administration was marked by the abandonment of redistributive policies, the hollowing out of democratic participation spaces, and the reinforcement of policies driven by the discourse of fiscal austerity, negatively and directly impacting urban and housing policies.

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