

The role of planning instruments for governance transformation. The case of Rio de Janeiro's slum upgrading and its effects on the depolitization of the municipal housing policy.

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In Brazil, the New Constitution of 1988 entailed substantial changes for urban planning. In particular, it devolved the decision-making of land use and urban space from the federal to the municipal level (Fernandes 1995). In the case of cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants, the Constitution stipulated the elaboration of a Master Plan aiming to regulate their urban development. Rio de Janeiro's Master Plan was enacted by the Municipal Chamber in June 1992 (Complementary Law No.16/1992). Among others it established that Rio's municipal housing policy should include initiatives for housing construction as well as for favelas' urbanization and regularization. One year later, at the beginning of Cesar Maia's first administration (1993-1996), the municipality started the development of Rio's housing policy using slum upgrading as main instrument through the Favela-Bairro programme.

The existing literature has contributed greatly to understand "*how politics is manifested in the planning contents, shaped by institutional arrangements, and played out in the planning processes*" (CFP-WPSC 2016). For instance, Bahia 2000, Broudehoux 2001, Randolph 2004, Silva 2006 and Simpson 2013, unveiled different hidden processes and interest, contributing to understand how politics have influenced Rio's housing policy and ultimately Rio's planning since the 1990s. However, there is a little understanding on "*the role of planning in the politics of place and the governance of social temporal and spatial relations*" (CFP-WPSC 2016), and in particular on urban polices such as housing and their instrument's role for politics and governance transformation. The Political Sociology of Public Policy Instruments (PPI) approach

argues that 'policy instruments' are not neutral nor available for ready use (Lascoumes & Le Galès 2004). Instead, it understands that policy instruments must be constituted; they create specific effects, influencing policies (ibid). Subsequently, the PPI approach points out that the analysis of 'policy instrumentation', i.e. the problems related to the choice and use of instruments, is key for public policy as it has social and political repercussions. Thus, the overlooking of the slum upgrading instrument's role in Rio's housing policy experience is significant because its examination can contribute to understand how planning instrument such as slum upgrading influence and shape urban politics and governance.

Aiming to address this gap the paper explores Rio's slum upgrading instrumentation from 1993 to 2012. This entails the analysis of its constitution and use over this period, revealing how it contributed to shape power relations and governance patterns. To conduct this analysis the paper builds on the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) that understands 'the social' as an heterogeneous network of entities called 'actants' created by a specific movement of 'associations' conceptualized as 'translation' (Latour 2005; Callon 1986). Based on the PPI approach and ANT, the paper analyses the slum upgrading as a 'policy instrument', itself being an 'actant' through 'detective work' (Austrin & Farnsworth 2005). According to these authors the 'detective work' was conceptualized as a hermetic method by Latour and Serres and includes '*explication and unpleating: tracing and unfolding complex arrangements to reveal the implicate, unforeseen elements and practices that constitute them*' (ibid: 148). Accordingly, the paper delves into the unfolding of Rio's slum upgrading network of 'associations' using primary municipal archives, semi-structured interviews and policy documents. This results in the production of a chronological 'thick description' which reveals the slum upgrading role for Rio's housing policy and governance transformation.

The paper argues that the choice and use of the slum upgrading instrument contributed to Rio de Janeiro's housing policy depolitization understood as the weakening of strictly political control over the policy process. This by fostering the development of a "technical rationality" (understood as a rational process that enables to determine the relevant means to achieve a predetermined goal), the consolidation of a community of experts, and the creation of knowledge and know-know (within and

outside the municipal government). The rise of this technical rationality undermined strictly political control (depolitization) as it limited the influence of politics over the policy process while enhancing experts' power (architects and planners) over Rio's housing policy materialization and evolution.

The paper seeks to enrich the discussions on *“the role of planning in the politics of place and the governance of social, temporal and spatial relations”*. This by exploring, through the analysis of Rio's case the role of slum upgrading in *“how compromises are made and by whom and how planning forecloses political framing?”* As well as *“whose voices are heard and how they are incorporated in planning processes?”*

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