

ABSTRACT

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RIO DE JANEIRO, 1960-1975

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Following the inauguration of the newly constructed capital of Brasília in April 1960, the former federal district and Brazilian capital of Rio de Janeiro was transformed into the city-state of Guanabara. Although Rio lost its status as the political capital of Brazil after nearly 200 years, extensive urban renewal campaigns to modernize the city were employed by numerous politicians, planners, architects, artists, and ordinary residents to help restore Rio's position as Brazil's "true" capital city. This dissertation examines these urban renewal efforts in Guanabara from 1960 to 1975 - a period when Rio de Janeiro experienced its largest period of population and spatial growth.

Whereas many of the urban renewal campaigns and projects for development prior to 1945 were intended to beautify, embellish, and

“civilize” the city, the projects of the 1960s and 1970s were highly technical and revolved around integrating the automobile into the urban landscape. The measures of investment and resources devoted to modernizing and reforming the city during the Guanabara period were unprecedented for Rio de Janeiro, consequently resulting in significant spatial, social, cultural, and economic reorganization of the city.

“Tunnel Vision: Urban Renewal in Rio de Janeiro, 1960-1975” examines specific projects of urban renewal such as tunnels (Rebouças and Santa Bárbara), expressways, parks (Aterro do Flamengo), subways, overpasses, and beaches while also exploring the technocratic approach to urban planning which was demonstrated through attitudes and principles that often marginalized “non-expert” participation in reforming the city. Using diverse primary sources such as government and urban planning documents, as well as neighborhood association materials, this dissertation also considers broader historical issues such as the politics and culture of military regimes, as well as questions related to the built environment, comparative planning cultures, space, class, race, ethnicity, and popular culture. Furthermore, this study also argues that the politics and culture of urban planning in Rio de Janeiro during the Guanabara period mirrored many of the same political, cultural, and social tensions that existed throughout Brazil and Latin America before and after the Brazilian military coup of 1964.

TUNNEL VISION: URBAN RENEWAL IN RIO DE JANEIRO,
1960-1975

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

After nearly 200 years as Brazil's capital, the city of Rio de Janeiro was transformed into the city-state of Guanabara following the inauguration of the newly-constructed capital of Brasília in April 1960. Although Rio lost its status as the federal district and capital of Brazil, there were numerous politicians, planners, architects, technocrats, and residents profoundly determined to modernize, reform, and develop Guanabara's urban infrastructure in order maintain Rio's position as the "true" capital of Brazil. During its short tenure as the city-state of Guanabara (1960-75), Rio de Janeiro experienced its most intense period of growth in population and urban development. The various measures of investment, resources, and effort devoted to modernizing and reforming the city-state were unprecedented and also contributed to transformations in the city's space physically, culturally, and socially.

This dissertation will focus on the numerous large-scale forms of urban development and renewal in Rio de Janeiro (Guanabara) from 1960 to 1975. Whereas many of the urban renewal campaigns and projects for development prior to 1945 were intended to beautify, embellish, and "civilize" the city's landscape and its inhabitants, the projects of the 1960s and 1970s were highly technical and differed aesthetically and philosophically from many of the major urban reforms of the Primeira República (1889-1930) and the Vargas years (1930-1945). Thus, not only is the scale and quantity of these projects noteworthy, but

so is the new technocratic approach to planning which was overwhelmingly dedicated to integrating the automobile into the urban landscape. Furthermore, the politics of urban planning in Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s and 1970s also mirrored many of the same political, cultural, and social tensions that existed on the national level in Brazil before and after the military coup of 1964. Throughout this study I will focus upon specific projects of urban renewal and development in detail such as expressways, tunnels, roads, and parks while also considering the various spatial, political, socio-cultural, and economic consequences that these projects had for the city's neighborhoods and residents during and after this time period.

Aside from examining the design, construction, and implementation of the numerous large-scale projects such as tunnels, expressways, overpasses, and a new urban park, I also intend to examine the factors and rationale behind the specific geographic locations for these projects as well as the numerous debates and studies that were conducted regarding the design and implementation of these projects. Moreover, I will suggest that these projects were not only significant due to their large scale, but also the degree to which they drastically altered the spatial configuration of the city. Thus, my dissertation considers how the construction of new forms of urban infrastructure (such as the enormous Túnel Rebouças) not only exemplified the new technocratic turn that planning took in Rio, but was

also a watershed for the socio-cultural as well as socio-economic constructions of space in the city. Recently, certain Cariocas (residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro), journalists, and politicians from a variety of socio-cultural and political backgrounds have nostalgically viewed the Guanabara period as a golden age of urban reforms and public works that positively changed the city's landscape. Although it is important to acknowledge that urban renewal and development programs of the Lacerda and Negrão de Lima administrations during the 1960s did solve **some** of the problems that had plagued the city for many years, but much of this sentimentality is a product of the city's current state of violence, crime, and urban chaos.

Of the three gubernatorial administrations in power during the tenure of the city-state of Guanabara, only the first two, Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima, came to power through open democratic elections as a result of the limitations on the electoral system put in place by the military dictatorship in 1965. Lacerda and Negrão invested a great deal of capital into urban development and reforms not only for political gain, but to show that Rio de Janeiro could still be a modern and economically viable region. Although Rio had been surpassed demographically and industrially by São Paulo, many politicians, engineers, and even residents wanted to demonstrate that the city of Rio de Janeiro would still serve as Brazil's de facto capital city. In numerous ways, Lacerda, Negrão de Lima, the planning community, and ordinary

citizens utilized urban planning and renewal as a means to reformulate Rio's reputation as the most modern city within Brazil and Latin America.

While my argument suggests that there was indeed real progress in modernizing the city's infrastructure which transformed the spatial dynamics of the city, my approach does not infer that this period of Rio's history should be viewed nostalgically or as a "golden age." While Rio continued to be the cultural capital of Brazil, even after the inauguration of Brasília, immense and new modern forms of infrastructure could not solve the problems the city-state faced. Even with massive modernization and urban renewal, Rio still could not keep pace with the population explosion that continuously put pressures on the city's utilities, roads, and other forms of infrastructure. Subsequently, increasing problems regarding petty and organized crime, violence, racism, lack of affordable housing, and the general lack of social peace which intensified during Rio's period as the federal district in the 1950s, were not entirely solved by the large public works of the 1960s under Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima.

Likewise, I also will consider the role of local, national, and international politics and capital behind urban planning in Rio de Janeiro. The role of transnational aid (such as the Alliance for Progress) in financing many of the urban development projects before and after the military coup of 1964 was a central element in the debates concerning

urban renewal amongst politicians, citizens, architects, and other technocrats. This will be significantly discussed during Carlos Lacerda's tenure in office from December 1960 to December 1965. Lacerda, who was an extremely polemical, controversial and popular politician, was able to achieve the most rapid progress in terms of urban development in the history of the city, due to his ability to implement an administration that vested the majority of authority in departments and companies which his cabinet directly controlled. In many ways, Lacerda intended to use his platform in office as a "tryout" for the 1965 presidential elections by establishing an administration built upon meritocracy, democracy, honesty, fiscal responsibility, and efficiency. Through urban renewal, Lacerda wanted to show that he was Brazil's hope for a democratic future, and accordingly, the new redeemer of his native Rio de Janeiro. Much to the dismay of millions of Brazilians, and Carlos Lacerda himself, these direct elections for the presidency would be put on hold for over twenty years, as the military régime ultimately seized power in April 1964.

Due to their political ideologies and party affiliations, all three governors of Guanabara were usually in opposition to those in power at the national level during most of their tenure in office. This signified that during the lifetime of the city-state of Guanabara, Lacerda, Negrão, and Chagas all had an ambivalent relationship with the federal/military government, and were rarely given any significant financial assistance

from Brasília. During Lacerda's term in office, one major solution for this was to solicit international aid to help fund major urban reform projects, as well as to creatively invest in the state economy and raise taxes. Although urban reforms during Chagas Freitas' term (1971-1975) did not approximate what Lacerda and Negrão were able to achieve on several levels, the military dictatorship's pressure to end the existence of Guanabara and force the fusion with the state of Rio de Janeiro was paramount at that time. Likewise, the election of Negrão de Lima as the governor of Guanabara in 1965 was a major factor behind the military's Second Institutional Act (AI-2), which cancelled direct elections and banned political parties in Brazil - despite Negrão's longtime friendship with military president General Castello Branco (1964-67). Chagas Freitas was indirectly elected as the governor of Guanabara in 1971 under the legal opposition party (Movimento Democrático Brasileiro - MDB) and was forced to abandon the strategies that Lacerda and Negrão de Lima employed to revitalize the city-state. As the only state governor from the opposition party in Brazil, Chagas' administration attempted, under encouragement from the military's technocrats, to reorganize Guanabara's state administration similar to every other state in Brazil. Consequently, he was forced to largely abandon the strategies Lacerda and Negrão employed to govern Guanabara.

Additionally, I am interested in revealing the tensions that existed among urban planners, residents, and politicians regarding the

philosophy, role, and characteristics of urban planning in Rio de Janeiro. I will present a case study of this by examining Lacerda's contraction of the Greek Firm, Doxiadis Associates, to create a growth management plan for the city-state of Guanabara until the year 2000. Even before the research for the plan was conducted, the signing of the contract between the state of Guanabara and Doxiadis Associates created intense controversy among the various associations of engineers, architects, and politicians. The plan that was prepared by both Brazilian and Greek researchers proposed new techniques and an emphasis on urban infrastructure rather than ideas of beautification and embellishment which existed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the plan was never fully adopted and was quickly discredited by Negrão de Lima's administration, I will argue that it has served as a reference point for city planning agendas from the late 1960s to the present as evidenced in Chapter 6.

The remainder of this chapter will present a general overview of the urban reforms of Rio de Janeiro up until Rio de Janeiro was transformed into the city-state of Guanabara following inauguration of Brasília in April 1960. Before providing the basic background up until 1960, I will first situate my work within the historiographical and scholarly contexts of work done within the realm of urban studies concerning Rio de Janeiro.

1.1 Literature Review

Scholars interested in studying questions of urbanism and planning in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Latin America have produced a copious amount of scholarship on this topic over the last several decades. The historical literature on these topics has gained momentum since the early 1980s and has mainly been concerned with these questions within the time period of Brazil's *Primeira República* (First Republic: 1889-1930), during which Rio de Janeiro along with other Brazilian and Latin American cities experienced their first major wave of growth due to urbanization, industrialization, immigration, and rural to urban migration. These factors, coupled with the wealth of archival and other forms of primary sources, have led to a rich historiography of urban life and society in Rio de Janeiro during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This scholarship has addressed many issues within the loosely defined field of urban history.¹ One area in particular that has been

¹ The historiography of urban planning and reforms in Rio de Janeiro during the *Primeira República* (1889-1930), particularly during Pereira Passos' administration (1902-1906) is extensive. For various examples see: José Murilho de Carvalho, *Os Bestializados: O Rio De Janeiro E A República Que Não Foi* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987); Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture And Society In Turn-Of-The-Century Rio De Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Oswaldo Porto Rocha and Lia de Aquino Carvalho *A Era Das Demolições: Cidade Do Rio De Janeiro 1870-1920 -Contribuição Ao Estudo Das Habitações Populares: Rio De Janeiro 1886-1906* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995); Giovanna Rosso Del Brenna, ed., *O Rio De Janeiro De Pereira Passos: Uma Cidade Em Questão II* (Rio de Janeiro: Index, 1985); Jaime Larry Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: Um Haussmann Tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1990); Teresa Meade, *Civilizing Rio: Reform And Resistance In A Brazilian City 1889-1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Christopher Boone, "Streetcars and Politics

investigated by historians is the construction, demolition, and sanitary conditions of popular housing by also integration questions regarding the role of ethnicity, race, citizenship, popular and elite culture, gender, sexuality, and public health into their analyses. Moreover, many of these studies are also concerned with the broader questions of Brazilian national identity which were entwined with various scientific and philosophical ideas such as positivism, scientific racism, and eugenics.²

The study of Rio's architecture and built environment has received a fair amount of attention from scholars, as particular emphasis has been given to the influence, politics, and socio-cultural significance of during Pereira Passos' tenure as mayor of Rio de Janeiro from 1902 to 1906.³ This vast literature written by numerous scholars has drawn

in Rio de Janeiro: Private Enterprise versus Municipal Government in the Provision of Mass Transit, 1903-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27 (1995): 343-365. For an overview of the role of the state and urban development law in Brazil see Edesio Fernandes, *Law and Urban Change in Brazil* (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1995); Mauro Kleiman, "De Getúlio a Lacerda: Um "Rio de Obras" transforma a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: As Obras Públicas de Infra-Estrutura Urbana na Construção do "novo Rio" no Período 1938-1965" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, 1994); Alberto Gawryszewski, "A Agonia de Morar": Urbanização e Habitação na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (DF) – 1945/50" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Departamento de História, 1996).

² For a general overview of the questions of national identity and science see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

³There is also a vast historiography on these issues within other Latin American cities. For some examples, see Diego Armus and Juan Suriano, "The Housing Issue In The Historiography Of Turn-Of-The Century Buenos Aires," *Journal of Urban History* 24 (March 1998): 416-428; D. Davis. "The Social Construction of Mexico City: Political conflict and urban development, 1950-1966," *Journal of Urban History* 24:3 (March 1998): 364-415; idem, *Urban Leviathan: Mexico City in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Henry Dietz, *Urban Poverty, Political Participation, and the State: Lima 1970-1990* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998); John Lear and Diego Armus, "The Trajectory Of Latin American Urban History." *Journal of Urban History* 24:3 (March 1998): 291-301; Richard Morse and Jorge Hardoy, *Rethinking the Latin American City* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1992); Anton Rosenthal,

upon numerous political, diplomatic, architectural, and judicial archival sources and been written within various theoretical frameworks that raise broader questions regarding the dynamics of public and private space, elite and popular culture, the role of science, and inspiration and influences for urban renewal campaigns.

During the 1970s and 1980s, many scholars, particularly urban geographers, produced studies on the transformation of urban space in Rio de Janeiro.⁴ One publication in particular was Maurício de Almeida Abreu's work, *A Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*. Abreu's work is noteworthy because it stands as the only comprehensive history of urban space in Rio de Janeiro from the colonial period to the mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, Abreu's study nicely integrates a socio-political narrative of the city's history with an excellent analysis of the demographic and spatial transformations that is often absent or vague in many of the studies written within the paradigms of social or political history. While Abreu's work is fairly descriptive and quantitative, he also

"Spectacle, Fear and Protest: A Guide to the History of Urban Public Space in Latin America," *Social Science History* 24:1 (Spring 2000): 33-73; Richard Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires, 1910-42* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴ For a vast overview and lengthy bibliography on the scholarly production of urban geography in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro, see Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "O Estudo geográfico da cidade no Brasil: Evolução e Avaliação. Contribuição à história do Pensamento Geográfico Brasileiro," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 56:1-4 (Jan-Dez 1994): 21-122. The work of Lysia Bernardes and Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, the pioneers of urban geography in Rio de Janeiro is worth mentioning. Their influential essays and research in the 1950s and 1960s served as a reference point for the early and following generations of scholars interested in studying urban space in Rio de Janeiro. A collection of their most important essays from the 1950s and 1960s can be found in *Rio de Janeiro: Cidade e Região* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995).

suggests that Rio's development and spatial evolution are largely attributable to capitalistic initiatives taken by actors such as transportation companies, real estate firms, and big business. Abreu's Marxist interpretation of Rio's spatial development demonstrates the predominant theoretical influences in the field of historical geography in Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s, which also influenced many of his colleagues and students.

Aside from the work on Rio de Janeiro in the 1980s written by urban geographers and other social scientists, a significant output of scholarly and even "popular" literature regarding the history and memory of streets, neighborhoods, and buildings from the 1960s to the 1990s emerged as a result of the growth of Brazilian universities and public and private planning firms.⁵ Furthermore, some of the more noteworthy research and scholarship pertaining to communities, neighborhoods, space, politics, and urban renewal can be attributed to the established

⁵ Some of the more popular literature and those regarding city landmarks and spaces are Dora Alcântara, "Praça XV e imediações: Estudo de uma área histórico no Rio de Janeiro," *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 20 (1984): 114-121; Nilde Nersen Aragão, *Vila Isabel: Terra de Poetas e Compositores*. (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista Editora, 1997); Maurício Lissovsky and Paulo Sérgio Moraes de Sá, "O Novo em Construção: O Edifício-Sede do Ministério da Educação e Saúde e a disputa do espaço arquitetável nos anos 30." *Revista Rio de Janeiro* 1:3 (May-August 1986): 17-29; Isabel Lustosa, "Catete: Singularidades de um Bairro," *Revista Rio de Janeiro* 1:1 (December 1985): 25-33; Wilma Mangabeira, "Memories of "Little Moscow (1943-64): Study of a public housing experiment for industrial workers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *Social History* 17:2 (May 1992): 271-287; Roberto Moura, *Tia Ciata e a Pequena África no Rio de Janeiro*, 2nd Edition. (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1995); Robert Moses Pechman, editor. *Olhares sobre a Cidade*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1994); Rachel Sisson, "Marcos históricos e configurações espaciais: um estudo de caso os centros do Rio," *Arquitetura Revista* 2 (1986): 57-81; Elizabeth Dezouart Cardoso, Lilian Fessler Vaz, Maria Paula Albernaz, Mario Aizen, and Robert Moses Pechman, editors. *Saúde, Gamboa, e Santo Cristo - História dos Bairros* (Rio de Janeiro: João Fortes Engenharia / Editora Index, 1987).

and young urban anthropologists, ethnographers, sociologists, and journalists who conducted field research in various parts of Rio de Janeiro from the late 1960s to the 1980s.⁶ Scholars such as Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos and his staff at the Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (IBAM) in the 1970s and early 1980s worked in an interdisciplinary fashion to tackle some of Rio's most pressing issues such as urban renewal and development, urban social movements, and the politics of urban planning. The work produced by Carlos Nelson and his team at IBAM often challenged influential claims by internationally known theoreticians and suggested that Rio's problems, both on macro and micro levels, could not be explained by adhering rigidly to a proposed theory of urban space. Nonetheless, many scholars have framed their studies within the parameters of theoretical frameworks developed by internationally known scholars such as Manuel Castells, David Harvey, Marshall Berman, Henri Lefebvre, and Milton Santos.⁷

⁶ Certainly worth mentioning here is the work of the late Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos and his research team at the Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (IBAM) in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For examples of his research see Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, *Movimentos Urbanos no Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1981); "Pesquisa sobre uso do Solo e Lazer no Bairro do Catumbi, Rio de Janeiro," *Revista SPAM - Sistema de Planejamento e de Administração Metropolitana*. 7: (Outubro 1981): 3-12; Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos and Arno Vogel, *Quando a Rua Vira Casa*, (Rio de Janeiro: IBAM/FINEP, 1985). An interesting take on the dilemmas of urban renewal can be seen in the work by journalist Guida Nunes, *Catumbi: Rebeldia de um Povo Traído* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1978). For biographical and career related information on Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos see Américo Freire and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, organizadores, *Capítulos da Memória do Urbanismo Carioca*, (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca, 2002), Chapter 3, "O arquiteto que virou antropólogo: Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos," 106-132.

⁷ For some background on the various theories and ideas regarding urban space see David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

Some of the most influential and important work on urban Rio de Janeiro has come from scholars such as Janice Perlman and Licia do Prado Valladares who were interested in the growth and socio-cultural relations of *favelas* and their residents.⁸ Literature focusing on *favelas* in the 1930s and 1940s originally centered on the origins and initial settlement patterns of these communities by also examining how they were hotbeds for criminal and unhygienic lifestyles. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, revisionist interpretations emerged as scholars and activists began to argue that the *favelas* and their residents were integral, rather than marginal, components to urban society. The literature on *favelas* had also examined eradication and resettlement

1983); Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991); Milton Santos, *A Natureza do Espaço* (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1999); Michael Peter Smith, *Transnational Urbanism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); and Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London: Verso, 1989).

⁸ Favelas are shantytowns that have developed since the early 20th century on Rio de Janeiro's ubiquitous hillsides. They are different from tenement-style houses which are known as cortiços in Brazil or conventillos in the rest of Latin America. On favelas and their residents, see Licia do Prado Valladares, *Passa-Se Uma Casa: Análise do Programa de Remoção de Favelas do Rio de Janeiro*, 2nd Edition (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1980); Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Lucien Parisse, *Favelas do Rio de Janeiro: Evolução e Sentido* (Rio de Janeiro, Cadernos CENPHA, 1969); Recent historical literature on the growth and social relations of favelas can be seen in Julio César Pino, *Family and Favela: The Reproduction of Poverty in Rio de Janeiro* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997); idem, "Dark Mirror of Modernization: The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro in the Boom Years, 1948-1960," *Journal of Urban History* 22:4 (May 1996): 419-453.; Ayse Pamuk and Paulo Fernando A. Cavallieri, "Alleviating Urban Poverty in a Global City: New Trends in Upgrading Rio de Janeiro's Favelas," *Habitat International* 22:4 (1998): 449-462; Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "Reconstruindo uma História Esquecida: Origem e Expansão inicial das Favelas do Rio de Janeiro," *Espaço & Debates* 37 (1994): 34-47; Lilian Fessler Vaz, "Dos Cortiços às Favelas e aos Edifícios de Apartamentos - A Modernização da Moradia no Rio de Janeiro," *Análise Social* 29:3 (1994): 581-597; idem, *Modernidade e Moradia: Habitação Coletiva no Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XIX e XX* (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2002).

campaigns as well as recent strategies to improve and develop the *favelas* infrastructure. Additionally, various studies have highlighted the roles of race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, crime, and hygiene, and how they factor into the daily life of the favelas as well as Rio's overall cultural and social identity as a city.

Scholars in the fields of architectural history, urbanism, and historic preservation have also made major contributions to the study of planning and urbanism in Rio de Janeiro. The predominant themes emerging from these fields have centered on the birth of city planning, aesthetic and technical influences among planners and architects, and analyses of certain master plans and designs for the city.⁹ Additionally, there also exists a good deal of literature that is highly technical and pertains to the actual engineering, implementation, and design of certain forms of planning.

Although there is a wealth of literature and archival sources that exist for Rio's urban history, the overwhelming majority of this material pertains to the city up until 1945. Accordingly, very few studies have considered Rio's urban history once it lost its status as a federal district

⁹ David Underwood, "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991), 130-166; Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Vera Rezende, *Planejamento e Ideologia: Quatro Planos Para a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982); Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, editor, *Urbanismo no Brasil: 1895-1965* (São Paulo: FUPAM/Studio Nobel, 1999); Marcos Tognon, *Arquitetura Italiana no Brasil: A Obra de Marcello Piacentini* (Campinas: Editora UNICAMP, 1999); Margareth da Silva Pereira, "Pensando a metrópole moderna: os planos de Agache e Le Corbusier para o Rio de Janeiro," In *Cidade, Povo e Nação*, edited by Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro and Robert Pechman, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996) 363-375.

and national capital to Brasília in 1960. Even the aforementioned work of Maurício de Almeida Abreu goes into little detail or discussion of the period following 1960. Much of this can be largely attributed to the difficulty of finding primary sources in the main archives, institutes, and libraries. With the fusion of the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro, many official documents, maps, plans, photos, and other source material were either lost, destroyed, misplaced, or perhaps even merged with active documentation that is not yet available to the public.

While there is still very little historical literature regarding the role of planning and urbanism in the post federal district and capital years (1960 to present), excellent studies of the political culture and the transition from capital to city-state have been published.¹⁰ The work of Marly Silva da Motta has focused on various facets of political culture during the Guanabara period by examining the creation of the city-state of Guanabara and its importance culturally and politically in the aftermath of the inauguration of Brasília. Additionally, Motta's work also examines the characteristics and significance of *Lacerdismo* and

¹⁰ To gain insight into the political culture and composition of the State of Guanabara see Marly Silva da Motta *Saudades da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000); idem *Rio de Janeiro: de Cidade-Capital a Estado da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV/ALERJ, 2001); Carlos Eduardo Sarmiento, organizer, *Chagas Freitas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1999); Francisco Manoel de Mello Franco, *O Governo Chagas Freitas: Uma Perspectiva Nacional Através de Uma Experiência Local* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1977); A recently published source regarding fusion and the newly created state of Rio de Janeiro since 1975 is Américo Freire, Carlos Eduardo Sarmiento, and Marly Silva da Motta, organizadores, *Um Estado em Questão: Os 25 anos do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV/ALERJ, 2001); Marieta de Moraes Ferreira and Mario Grynspan, "A Volta do Filho Pródigo ao lar Paterno? A Fusão do Rio de Janeiro," In Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, coordenadora, *Rio de Janeiro: Uma Cidade na História*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000) 117-137.

Chaguismo – the two distinct political styles that were cultivated by the first and third governors of Guanabara. Finally, Motta’s work also offers a glimpse of Guanabara’s changing political position within the Brazilian Republic before and after the military coup in 1964. There have been some published debates regarding the subsequent transition from city-state to fusion with the state of Rio de Janeiro in 1975. Nonetheless, most of these studies are overwhelmingly concerned with constituencies, voting, and other forms of political culture in Guanabara, and only briefly broach factors such as urban planning, development, and urban space.

The work of Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos presents an excellent overview of the economic and financial background of urban development schemes during the fifteen year existence of the state of Guanabara at the macro level; although it is rather general in regards to the actual projects and the physical, social, and cultural space within the city-state. Santos’ work investigates how the new city-state government strategically used urban development not only to redevelop the city’s infrastructure and image, but to also stimulate and recondition a staggering economy in a state and area that many thought were not economically viable.¹¹

Santos’ work is also nicely complemented by Mauricio Perez’s recent

¹¹ Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, *Economia, Espaço, e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2003), Chapter 6. Also see Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, “Planejamento e Desenvolvimento: O Estado da Guanabara (Ph.D. Dissertation, FAU/USP, 1990). The recent work of Mauro Osorio also investigates Rio’s economic development from the 1950s to present in Mauro Osorio, *Rio Nacional, Rio Local: Mitos e Visões da crise Carioca e Fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora SENAC Rio, 2005).

work on the origins and organization of Guanabara's administrative model during Lacerda's term. Heavily quantitative, Perez's work considers how Lacerda attempted to implement a progressive and efficient state administration which would aid in the rebirth of the city and promote his future political aspirations.¹²

My dissertation not only examines the logistics and details behind the design, planning, and engineering of the numerous projects constructed in Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s and 1970s, but also aims to consider their broader socio-cultural, spatial, and economic implications. One way that I feel my study differs from the previous work is its incorporation of various archival and primary sources. Moreover, my interdisciplinary approach will equally consider issues such as space and the built environment rather than approach the questions solely within the paradigms of social, economic, and political history.

Throughout the main chapters, I will discuss how meanings and interpretations of space differed among planners, engineers, politicians, and residents. According to geographer David Harvey, this can be explained through ideas such as the appropriation of space: "the way in which space is used and occupied by individuals, classes, or other social groupings, as well as the domination of space: "the way in which individuals or powerful groups dominate the organization and production

¹² Mauricio Dominguez Perez, "Estado da Guanabara: Gestão e Estrutura Administrativa do Governo Carlos Lacerda" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2005).

of space so as to exercise a greater degree of control over the friction of distance or over the manner in which space is appropriated by themselves or others.”¹³ One brief case that highlights this issue is the Túnel Rebouças. This tunnel provided the first major link between the zona norte and zona sul, but represented different meanings of space for different people. Engineers and planners saw this tunnel as an engineering marvel that “conquered” Rio’s daunting topography; whereas politicians declared it as a symbol of unity that would link the two regions of the city. However, many residents saw it as a new form of infrastructure that distinguished the north from the south on social, cultural, and economic levels. Although politicians and planners advocated the tunnel as a project that would symbolically and literally unite the two regions of the city and alleviate the ubiquitous traffic jams, it was not until the mid 1980s that the public buses regularly began to travel through the tunnel. This is one very brief example of how I intend to delve into the political, cultural, spatial, and social consequences of the urban development projects in Guanabara. In order to fully understand the significance of the myriad of urban renewal projects of the 1960s, I will first present a brief sketch of some of the major development plans that took place in Rio de Janeiro from 1930 to 1960. Subsequently, Chapter Two will extend upon this material by providing an in-depth analysis of Rio’s neighborhoods, zones, topography, and

¹³ Harvey, 263-64.

socio-cultural climate around the time of the creation of the new state of Guanabara in April 1960.

1.2 Urban Planning in Rio from 1930 to 1960: A Brief Sketch

Many of the urban reforms that were initiated in the city of Rio de Janeiro from 1930-60 are rooted in the “master” plan for the city designed in 1930 by the French urbanist, Donat Alfred Agache. Often referred to as the *Plano Agache*, this study’s intent was to reorganize the economic, social, cultural, and civic space of Rio de Janeiro.¹⁴ One major objective of the *Plano Agache* was to prescribe a growth management plan for Rio de Janeiro, while also remodeling and beautifying the city to reflect its status as capital of a modern Brazil. A cross between the ideas of the city-beautiful and city-practical movements that emerged at the turn of the century, Agache’s plan for Rio de Janeiro had an integral role in Rio’s city planning between 1930 and 1960 which has attracted attention from various scholars.¹⁵

¹⁴ The official title of the *Plano Agache* is *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Extensão, Remodelação, Embellezamento* (Rio de Janeiro: Foyer Bresilien, 1930).

¹⁵ For some good overviews of the actual plan and Agache’s influence on urban planning in Brazil see Fernando Diniz Moreira, “Shaping Cities, Building a Nation: Alfred Agache and the Dream of Modern Urbanism in Brazil (1920-1950),” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2004); David Underwood, “Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991), 130-166; Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 40-52; Margareth da Silva Pereira, “Pensando a Metrópole Moderna: Os Planos de Agache e Le Corbusier para o Rio de Janeiro.” In *Cidade, Povo e Nação: A Gênese do Urbanismo Moderno*, editors Robert Moses Pechman and Luiz Queiroz de Ribeiro (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996), 363-375. Vera Rezende, *Planejamento e Ideologia: Quatro Planos Para a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982). Maurício de Almeida Abreu, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*, 3rd Edition, (Rio de Janeiro: IPLANRIO/Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 86-91.

It was the hospitality of Antônio Prado Junior, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro from 1926-1930, which first landed Agache in Brazil. Initially invited in 1927 to deliver several lectures on urbanism and planning, Agache subsequently ended up producing a comprehensive plan for Brazil's capital city over a three-year period. Often cited as the first comprehensive plan for Rio de Janeiro, the Agache Plan studied Rio's daunting topography using aerial photography, and also analyzed the city's demographic growth in an historical fashion. Inspired by the traditions of the Beaux-Arts and the Hausmann reforms of Paris, Agache proposed a grandiose renewal scheme mainly for the downtown (centro) area of Rio.¹⁶

Agache suggested that Brazil's capital city did not possess the monumental qualities that a capital city of its stature should display. Agache accentuated this point by drawing attention to the various government buildings and ministries that were arbitrarily scattered throughout the city. Thus, Agache believed that Rio de Janeiro was a capital city that was disorganized spatially and lacking monumental qualities.¹⁷ According to Norma Evenson, "Agache sought to create within Rio a series of monumental civic complexes – symbolic focal

¹⁶ This would be the second time that the city of Rio de Janeiro would attempt to reform under the influence of French forms of urbanism. The most celebrated (and studied) period was during the administration of Mayor Pereira Passos from 1902-1906. For some examples of this scholarship on urban reforms in Belle Époque Rio, see the works in footnote 1.

¹⁷ Rachel Esther Figner Sisson, "Rio de Janeiro, 1875-1945: The Shaping of a New Urban Order." *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 21 (1995), 147.

points in which the authority of the state could be embodied in appropriate architectural dignity.”¹⁸

Part of Agache’s plan to transform Rio into a monumental capital city was to design certain specialized districts and *praças* (squares) in the downtown area (centro). Agache proposed a new distribution of space and zoning where government ministries, embassies, and the banking and business sectors were to be located. Agache believed the flattened area of the *Morro do Castelo* would be an ideal location to house some of these entities.¹⁹ On the northern fringe area of the centro, he proposed that the Praça da Bandeira would serve as one of the foci of the redevelopment scheme. Another ambitious idea was to construct a grand *Porta do Brasil* (Gateway to Brazil) along an aterro (landfill) created by the razing of the Morro do Santo Antônio. The Gateway to Brazil was proposed as a hemicyclical plaza, 350x250m in area, opening towards the bay and would act as a site for military parades, civic demonstrations and as a place to welcome and receive national and international guests.²⁰ Agache planned the Gateway to Brazil to operate as the “post” ceremonial, governmental, and monumental center that Rio lacked.²¹ As

¹⁸ Evenson, 43.

¹⁹ The Morro do Castelo was home to many working-class people that was eventually leveled or razed during Mayor Carlos Sampaio’s administration from 1920-22. Once leveled in 1922, this area was used for the Exhibitions of Brazil’s Centennial Celebrations.

²⁰ Evenson, 46.

²¹ A quote from Agache found in Underwood, 151.

a complement to the Gateway to Brazil, palaces of fine arts, commerce, and industry would surround the main plaza.

The reorganization of urban and civic space in the Plano Agache included a triangular system of boulevards and avenues to complement the Gateway, Praça da Bandeira, and the new specialized districts. Two of the avenues that were part of this scheme, the Avenida Central (later named Rio Branco) and the Avenida Mem de Sá, were already in place due to the reforms under the Pereira Passos regime at the beginning of the twentieth century.²² The third axis of this plan was to link the Avenida Central and the newly constructed financial and commercial centers with the Praça da Bandeira and the rail zone via a mega boulevard. Almost ten years after the completion of the Plano Agache, this mega boulevard would finally be constructed and named the Avenida Presidente Vargas.

The Plano Agache was Rio's first comprehensive official master plan. It provided meticulous details about the city and proposed highly detailed and monumental ideas for reorganizing Rio's urban and civic space. As a comprehensive plan, the Plano Agache was never implemented given the change in national and local administrations brought about by the October 1930 revolution led by Getúlio Vargas. Indeed, the plan was officially outlawed in 1934 under Getúlio Vargas and Mayor Pedro Ernesto. With the nationalist climate of the Vargas

²² For more details on the construction of these avenidas see the works cited in notes 1 and 2.

period, the Plano Agache came to signify the imperialist influences and foreign initiatives of the Primeira República on several levels. Aside from the French architectural influences, architectural historian David Underwood stresses how Agache believed that not only should Rio de Janeiro be a monumental capital city, but could evolve into a “paradise” for European tourists.²³ Constructing many of Agache’s plans would result in the displacement of many working class Cariocas who Vargas hoped to win-over for his own political support. Nonetheless, the Agache Plan would still provide inspiration for planners, politicians, and engineers for a number of years, and even during Vargas’ Estado Novo (1937-45).

Beginning with its construction during Pereira Passos’ administration (1902-1906), the Avenida Central was considered the main civic space of the city and symbol of the new Brazilian Republic’s obsession with order and progress. The Avenida Central (now called Avenida Rio Branco), which extended from the Praça Mauá to the Avenida Beira-Mar, contained important cultural institutions such as the Museu das Belas Artes, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Teatro Municipal. It also was the main corridor for civic commemorations and parades of great importance for a number of years. One project that was proposed during the Passos government that was never carried out was the construction of a large avenue between the Cais dos Mineiros and the

²³ Underwood, 158.

Largo do Matadouro (Praça da Bandeira).²⁴ This avenue, which was also proposed in the Plano Agache and even in a modified version under Mayor Carlos Sampaio (1920-22), would eventually be constructed under Mayor Henrique Dodsworth (1937-45) and be called the Avenida Presidente Vargas.²⁵ This grand boulevard not only provided a direct link between the northern and central zones of the city, but also had a great impact on the civic, social, cultural, and economic activities of the city for many years.

During the administration of Pedro Ernesto (1931-36), many of the urban reforms such as the Plano Agache and the *Plano de Obras da Comissão da Cidade* were outlawed. It was not until Vargas appointed Henrique Dodsworth to serve as mayor of the Distrito Federal in 1937 that these programs were revived. Under Dodsworth, the idea of constructing a large boulevard between the Avenida Rio Branco and the zona norte was reconsidered by the Serviço Técnico do Plano da Cidade in 1938. Approval to construct and make way for this large mega boulevard came into law in 1940. The construction, from April 19, 1941 to September 7, 1944, was heavily financed by the Banco do Brasil and included the demolition of 600 buildings (including the palace of the Federal Government) and three colonial churches; São Pedro, Bom Jesus

²⁴ Evelyn F. Werneck Lima, *Avenida Presidente Vargas: Uma Drástica Cirurgia* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, Departamento Geral de Documentação e Informação Cultural, Divisão de Editoração, 1990), 23.

²⁵ Lima, 28. The proposal under Sampaio was to link Avenida Rio Branco with the Praça da República which was significantly shorter than the proposal during than Passos' and Agache's.

do Calvário, and São Domingos.²⁶ Inaugurated on September 7, 1944 (Independence Day), the Avenida Presidente Vargas was a significant watershed in the history of the city of Rio de Janeiro. For the first time, a direct link between the north zone and the centro was established which permitted better circulation of streetcar and automobile traffic. Symbolically, the new avenue represented a new arena for civic and official commemorations. Four lanes in width, Avenida Vargas became lined with new buildings such as the new rail station (Dom Pedro II) and the Ministério de Guerra (Palácio Duque de Caxias). Although the Avenida Central still retained a certain stature in the urban fabric of the city, the Avenida Presidente Vargas symbolized a Rio that extended to the northern and suburban areas of the city, which eventually extended to the interior of Brazil. Even though the central region of the city would still predominate in the financial, commercial, and cultural activities of the city, the Avenida Vargas enabled the city to grow outward and facilitate the access between the zona norte and centro regions.

Another project that connected the central zone of Rio with the outer suburbs and interior of Brazil was the Avenida Brasil. Inaugurated in 1946, the Avenida Brasil was partially constructed over a landfill (aterro) and allowed a better circulation of traffic to the Rio-São Paulo and Rio-Petrópolis highways. Furthermore, it established a better link to the central zone from the Leopoldina suburbs of the city and also

²⁶ José de Oliveira Reis, "50 Anos da Avenida Presidente Vargas," *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* XIX (Janeiro-Dezembro 1994), 7-9.

triggered the growth of industry in the suburban areas of the city. Fifteen kilometers long and four lanes wide, the Avenida Brasil stretched from the Rua São Cristóvão and Avenida Rio de Janeiro (Port Area) to the Avenida das Bandeiras (later Avenida Brasil) and the Rio-Petrópolis Highway.²⁷

With a new “theatre of power” such as the Avenida Presidente Vargas and a new artery like the Avenida Brasil connecting Rio with its suburbs and the interior of Brazil, the reforms during the Dodsworth administration (1937-45) considerably altered the spatial characteristics of the city of Rio de Janeiro.²⁸ Not only did these two avenues change the circulation of transportation throughout the city, they also played an integral part in the transformation of Rio’s industrial and residential space. The numerous demolitions that occurred to make way for the Avenida Presidente Vargas were largely responsible for this as factories and offices occupied by the textile and furniture industries chose to relocate to areas on the fringes of the central district (Estácio, São Cristóvão, Lapa) or move out to the suburban areas along the Avenida Brasil or the Central and Leopoldina Rail Lines.

Simultaneously, residential patterns were also altered in Rio because of the new grand boulevard. Many people who lost their homes and apartments due to the construction moved to nearby areas such as

²⁷ Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, editor, *Urbanismo no Brasil: 1895-1965* (São Paulo: FUPAM/Studio Nobel, 1999), 368.

²⁸ O Teatro do Poder (Theatre of Power) is a concept that Lima uses in Chapter 5.

Catumbi, Estácio, and São Cristóvão, while others “relocated” to the zona norte, the suburbs, and various favelas. By the mid 1940s, the south zone of Rio, particularly Copacabana, started to experience a “vertical invasion” with the construction of high-rise apartment buildings and the demolition of the older one and two-story homes. Furthermore, this “vertical invasion” created chaotic conditions and precarious growth due mainly to little regulation of land use or building codes. With the declining population of the central zone of Rio due to the reforms and newly constructed avenues, many neighborhoods began to develop into sub-centers with their own commercial, cultural, and civic culture that would rival that of the central area. The districts that developed into major sub-centers by the end of the 1940s were Tijuca in the zona norte (Praça Saenz Peña), Copacabana in the zona sul, Méier and Madureira in the suburbs.²⁹ Tijuca and Copacabana emerged as products of the real-estate boom and verticalization projects, whereas Méier and Madureira owed their status to being located on the rail lines in the more distant suburban regions of the city. More than before, certain areas developed their own social, commercial, and cultural identities independent of the traditional and historic central area of the city. These changes came about not only as a result of the overall political economy of Brazil, but

²⁹ For more details see Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, “Bairros, Bairros Suburbanos e Subcentros,” In Lysia Bernardes and Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, *Rio de Janeiro: Cidade e Região*, (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, Departamento Geral de Documentação e Informação Cultural, Divisão de Editoração, 1995), 121-133.

also as a result of the urban reforms in Rio during the 1930s and 1940s.³⁰

Another major urban development project that transformed Rio during the first half of the twentieth century was the Estádio Municipal, also known as Maracanã. Built to be the main venue for the 1950 World Cup, construction of the stadium began on January 20, 1948. The Estádio Municipal not only replaced Vasco da Gama's São Januário Stadium in São Cristóvão as the largest in Rio, but was heralded as the largest in the world. President Dutra officially dedicated the Estádio Municipal on June 16, 1950, a date that also coincided with the third mayoral anniversary of General Ângelo de Moraes' term in office.³¹ Although the construction and location of the stadium had its detractors such as Carlos Lacerda, many believed that the Estádio Municipal gave Rio de Janeiro a new monument that served as a postcard for the "new" Rio.³² Journalists, politicians, and citizens praised the stadium because it represented a *Brazilian* made monument that harmonized with the natural beauties of Pão de Açúcar (Sugarloaf) and the Baía da Guanabara.³³ It represented progress for Brazil culturally, but also for the civic and symbolic morale within the capital city. Furthermore, the

³⁰ This will be addressed more in-depth in Chapter 2.

³¹ Gisella de Araujo Moura, *O Rio Corre Para O Maracanã* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), 34-43.

³² One of the most vocal opponents of the location of the stadium was the then *Vereador* and future Governor of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda.

³³ Moura, 43.

construction of the Estádio Municipal put Brazil above or on the same level with Brazil's European counterparts in the world of *futebol* and would serve as a stage for its efforts at modernization and urban renewal during the post World War II period.

Other initiatives that were taken during General Moraes' tenure included beginning work on the Túnel Catumbi-Laranjeiras (Santa Bárbara) which aimed to link the central area of the city with the interior neighborhoods of the south zone of the city.³⁴ This measure aimed to alleviate the traffic congestion caused by the increasing number of vehicles entering the central area from the rapidly growing zona sul. Other initiatives taken to help develop the south zone of the city included the extension and widening of the Avenida Beira-Mar that coincided with the renovation parts of Botafogo in the zona sul.³⁵ Moreover, the opening of the Túnel do Pasmado in Botafogo linked the Avenida das Nações Unidas along the Praia de Botafogo with the Avenida Lauro Sodré in Botafogo. The Túnel do Pasmado, inaugurated in 1952, facilitated the access from Botafogo and Copacabana via the Túnel do Leme and the newly constructed Avenida Princesa Isabela in Leme.³⁶ Not only did

³⁴ Although work on this Tunnel began in 1949, it was not inaugurated and open to traffic until 1963 during Carlos Lacerda's administration.

³⁵ "Duplicação da Avenida Beira-Mar," *Diário Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro) 20 January 1950.

³⁶ The Túnel do Leme was constructed in two different phases. The first stretch of the tunnel was opened in 1904 and the second was built in 1946 and linked the Avenida Lauro Sodré with Avenida Princesa Isabela. The Túnel do Leme is often referred to as the Túnel Novo. See Estado da Guanabara/Governo Carlos Lacerda/SURSAN, "Os

these reforms help the circulation of traffic throughout the city, but they also gave people easier access to the beach and new tourist destinations in the zona sul.

As the residential population of the south zone intensified in Copacabana in the 1940s and 1950s so did the tourist industry. Hotels, restaurants, shopping galleries, and movie theatres flourished along the Avenida da Nossa Senhora da Copacabana and the Rua Barata Ribeiro in Copacabana due to various reforms and the politics of real estate development in Rio during the 1940s and 1950s.

By the mid 1950s, many Cariocas had become less dependent on the central area of the city, and the majority of the new reforms and infrastructure were concentrated in the growing zona sul. Aside from Tijuca, many of the neighborhoods of the zona norte and subúrbios were neglected in urban renewal campaigns. The more industrial and working class areas along the rail lines had inadequate water supply, unpaved streets, and poor circulation of traffic due to the lack of overpasses and viaducts over the rail lines that often geographically divided neighborhoods. Even though the majority of the city's population resided in the neighborhoods of the distant northern areas and suburbs, they received limited and ambiguous forms of investment and improvements

Túneis da Guanabara.” No date given on this publication/Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (AGCRJ).

in the late 1940s and early 1950s.³⁷ By the mid to late 1950s, the political economy of Brazil under Juscelino Kubitschek coupled with the real-estate and automobile boom sparked even more plans to urbanize the southern zone areas of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon, and the northern, suburban, and western regions to a lesser degree. During the 1950s, several new tunnels were planned and constructed that aided in the growth of Copacabana. These tunnels were built in order to facilitate automobile traffic throughout the neighborhood and the zona sul however they did very little in the end to solve the problem of constant congestion throughout the city.³⁸

Another major form of urban development of the 1950s that transformed the city of Rio de Janeiro was the demolition of the Morro do Santo Antônio and the planning of several intra-city expressways that would “cut” through the central area of the city. The Morro do Santo

³⁷In terms of percentages, the suburbs actually received a nice slice of the new development projects, yet the amount of investment was not equal to the zona sul. For a good quantitative study of this see Mauro Kleiman, “De Getúlio a Lacerda: Um “Rio de Obras” transforma a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: As Obras Públicas de Infra-Estrutura Urbana na Construção do “novo Rio” no Período 1938-1965,” (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, 1994). For an additional take on the quality of life issues see Alberto Gawryszewski, “A Agonia de Morar”: Urbanização e Habitação na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (DF) – 1945/50,” (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Departamento de História, 1996).

³⁸ Two tunnels that were built and planned during the administration of Francisco de Sá Lessa (December 1955-December 1956) were the Túnel Sá Freire Alvim and Túnel Major Rubens Vaz. Túnel Sá Freire Alvim connected the Rua Barata Ribeiro with the Rua Raul Pompeia, and Major Rubens Vaz linked the Rua Tonelero and Rua Pompeu Loureiro. Although they were planned during Lessa’s term as mayor of Rio, both tunnels were not opened until 1960 and 1963. J. Figueiredo “Túneis Esquecidos Dentro da Gaveta,” *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 February 2000, p. 6-7. Two other tunnels were also proposed during this time. One was to link ruas Fernandes Guimarães in Botafogo with Tonelero in Copacabana, and the other was to unite ruas Sá Ferreira in Copacabana and Nascimento Silva in Ipanema.

Antônio was the subject of a number of reforms and plans for a number of years, but was not razed until Dulcídio Cardoso's period as mayor from 1952-54. A major avenue, Avenida Perimetral, also was planned to extend from the Morro do Santo Antônio and Avenida Beira-Mar to the Praça Mauá. After undergoing several revisions, the Avenida Perimetral and numerous other urban projects were constructed under the supervision of Mayor Negrão de Lima's SURSAN in the late 1950s. SURSAN (A Superintendência de Urbanização and Saneamento – The Superintendency of Urbanization and Sanitation) was established to act as a planning agency directly linked to the executive for the implementation of urban development plans. Established on September 20, 1957, SURSAN and its plan for urban development was the major executor of urban reforms in Rio until the early 1970s.³⁹ Many of the plans that transformed Rio de Janeiro as the city-state of Guanabara in the 1960s were SURSAN projects dating back to the initial message of 1957. In the coming chapters, I will describe how SURSAN was the most important mechanism used by both Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima in reforming the city of Rio de Janeiro.

April 1960 signified the end of an era for Rio de Janeiro. After almost 200 years Rio ceased to be the political capital of Brazil. Following the transfer of the capital to Brasília in the central-west region of Brazil, Rio was in search of a new political and cultural identity. In

the previous thirty years, Rio experienced a reorganization of urban space, but these reforms would dull in comparison to what would happen during the first ten years of its transformation into a city-state. The most obvious and important of these earlier reforms from 1930-1960 was the Avenida Presidente Vargas as it intended to symbolically supersede the Avenida Central built during the Primeira República of Pereira Passos' *Belle Époque*.

Whereas the Avenida Central and Praça Floriano dominated the civic and cultural life of Rio from 1906-40, the Avenida Presidente Vargas and the southern sub-centers (especially Copacabana) began to supplant the status the centro held during the Belle Époque. As important as the Avenida Central was to the development of civic culture in Rio during the 1910s and 1920s, so were Avenida Presidente Vargas and Copacabana in the 1940s and 1950s. Soon after Rio de Janeiro was converted into the city-state of Guanabara in 1960, the first part of the Avenida Perimetral was inaugurated by Juscelino Kubitschek on November 14, 1960.⁴⁰ Stretching from Avenida General Justo to the Praça Pio X along the Avenida Presidente Vargas, the arrival of this elevated expressway had a symbolic meaning as portions of it were named Avenida Kubitschek.

The idea of the Perimetral was to circumvent the central area of the city by going from the south zone to the Port Area and continue along the Avenida Brasil. The avenue cut through the historic Praça XV de

⁴⁰ "JK Inaugurou ontem o primeiro trecho da Avenida Perimetral," *Correio da Manhã* (RJ), 15 November 1960, 3.

Novembro and its naming after JK was representative of Rio's days as a capital coming to an end. Furthermore, it also symbolized the new automobile culture that JK had cultivated during his presidency and the ways that it would inspire and challenge urban planners to integrate the car into the urban landscape.

By taking the Avenida Perimetral, automobiles would no longer need to travel through the main corridors of the central area of the city in order to reach the interior regions of the state and nation. What once was the unavoidable center of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil could be circumvented. Thus, there was more to life in Rio than the image and idea of the *centro da cidade* as the fever for roads, known as the *febre viária*, and the methods necessary to accommodate the automobile into the urban landscape would be at the top of the agenda for Rio's engineers and planners the following decades.

Figure 1.1 The Agache Plan for Rio de Janeiro, 1930

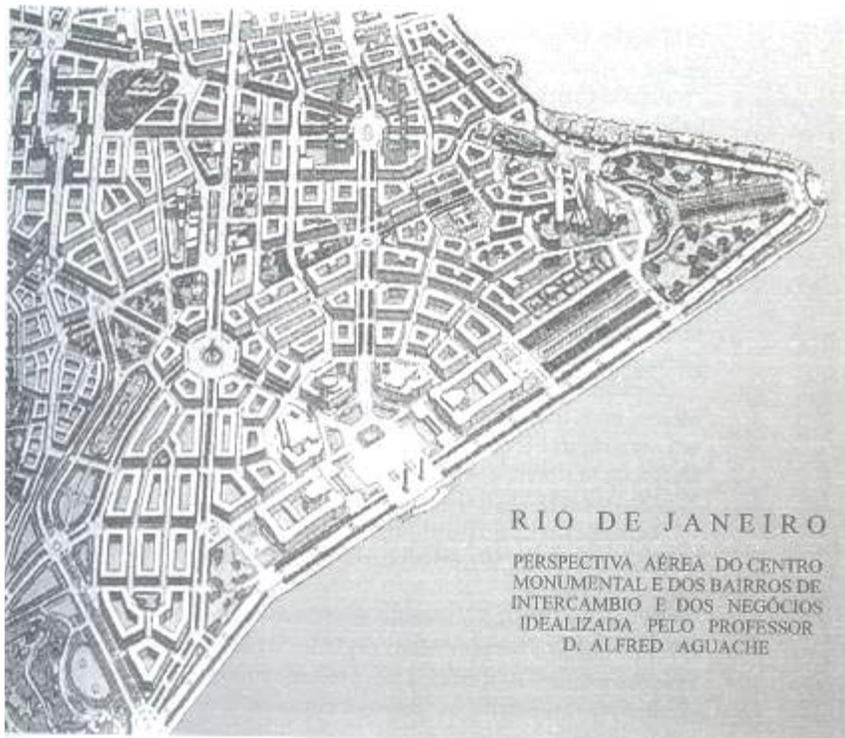


Figure 1.2 A Sketch of Avenida Presidente Vargas



Figure 1.3 The Tunnels of Copacabana by the late 150s



Figure 1.4 The Avenida Perimetral Cutting Through the Centro and Praça XV

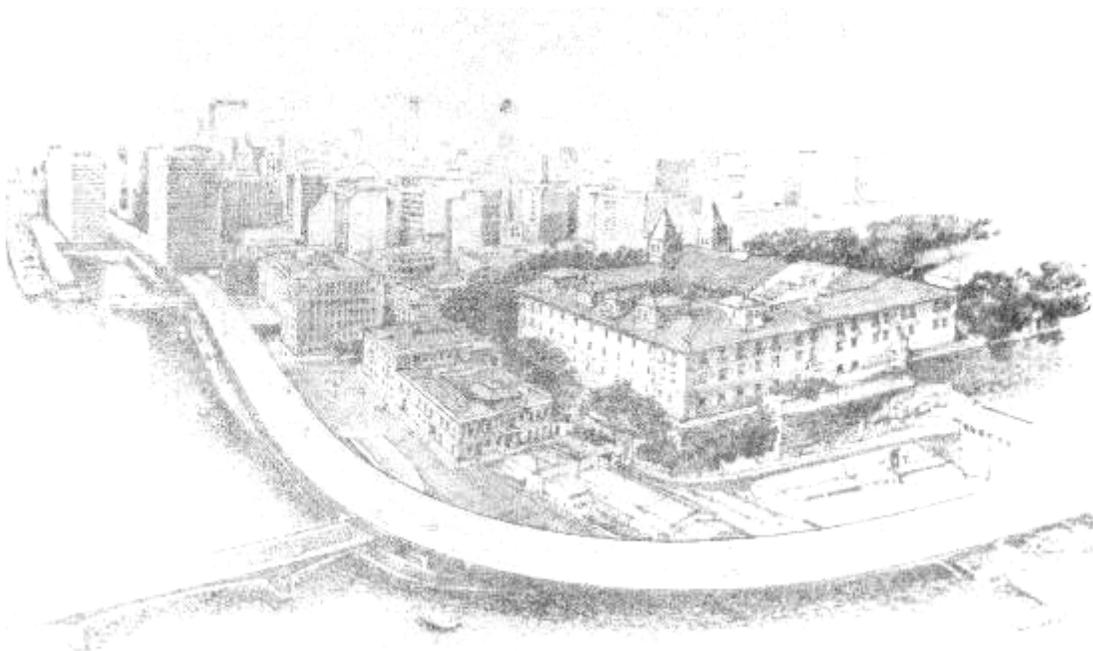


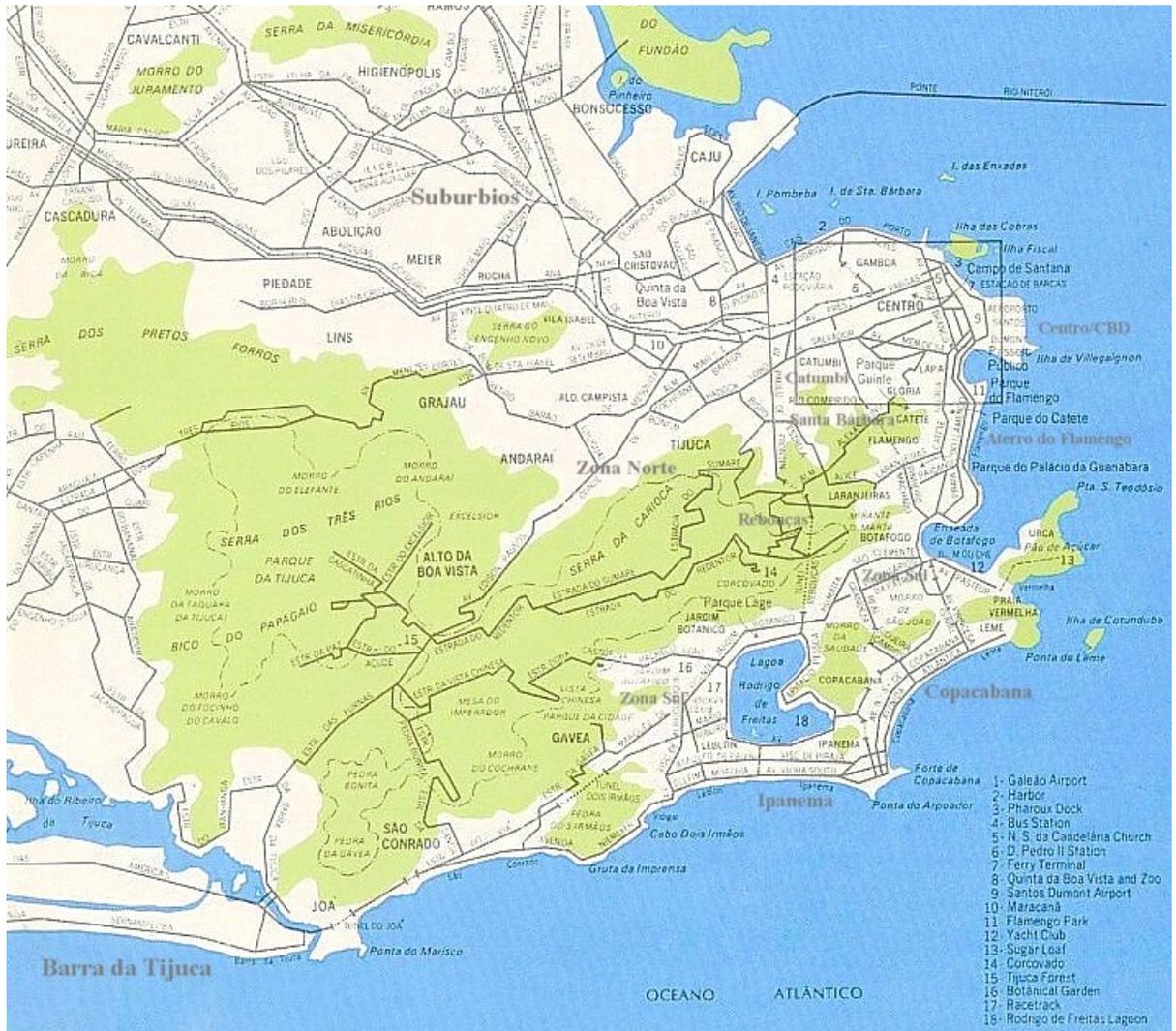
Figure 1.5 Work on the Túnel Santa Bárbara in the 1950s; Opened only in the 1960s



Figure 1.6 Túnel Rua Alice; The Oldest North/South Connection in the City



Figure 1.7 General Map of Rio de Janeiro



Chapter 2: The Emergence of a City-State: Guanabara Circa 1960

“This city of 2,700,000 inhabitants is bursting at the seams. Hemmed in tightly between the South Atlantic and mountains, Rio de Janeiro is having to resort to miracles of engineering and ingenuity to cope with its phenomenal growth...To free itself from the stranglehold of nature, the capital of Brazil is climbing on the surrounding mountains, burrowing through hills that rise in its midst, tearing down other hills and spreading onto the blue waters of Guanabara Bay. The city’s population is expected to reach 3,000,000 by 1960...When Rio’s new mayor Dr. Negrão de Lima took office last March, he summed up the problems of overcrowding that he faced by saying “We are a besieged city.” “There is no water” Dr. Negrão de Lima said, “no transportation, no food supply system, no thoroughfares, no hospitals, no schools. We have a deficient light, telephone, and gas service, not enough homes for everybody, no room for recreation, and no place to bury the dead.” ...The favela problem is complicated by the fact that shack dwellers are reluctant to move to city housing projects. Some favela shacks have television antennas. Rio de Janeiro has 1,000 street cars, 750 bus fleets, 2,500 private buses, 11,300 taxis, and 62,000 private cars but all this is not enough to meet the rush-hour transportation needs. Meanwhile, the problem of making Rio de Janeiro livable is foremost in all minds.”¹

Before the newly constructed capital city of Brasília was inaugurated in April 1960, many Brazilians and Cariocas deliberated over the geopolitical future of the city of Rio de Janeiro. President Juscelino Kubitschek’s (JK-1956-61) dedication to the building of a new capital city was based heavily on an economic development agenda that planned on generating more regional development in the central and center-west regions of the country. Other aspects such as Rio’s continuous industrial decline and infrastructure problems along with its

¹ Tad Szulc, “Brazil’s Capital a Bursting City,” *New York Times* 30 September 1956, 115.

history of being at the center of much of Brazil's major political and social unrest during the twentieth century were also factored into Kubitschek's plan; particularly in the wake of Getúlio Vargas' suicide in 1954 and efforts which attempted to block Kubitschek's presidential inauguration. JK and his closest advisors argued that a more "tranquil," "secure," and "modern" capital such as Brasília would help bolster Brazil's developmentalist agenda of "fifty years in five" and also spark *interior* economic and industrial growth away from the Rio-São Paulo axis.² Although there was tense opposition to Kubitschek's plan to build Brasília along social, economic, and geographical lines, there was a great deal of sentiment among the political, academic, and economic communities of Brazil that Rio's "glory days" were long past. These attitudes regarding Rio's problems are highlighted in an article written in tandem by North-American and Brazilian geographers in 1956:

"There is feeling that the federal government in Rio is so closely concerned with the problems of this one place that it finds difficulty in viewing the problems of the rest of the country in proper perspective. The press of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo is thought to have too much influence. Administrators and lawmakers are in danger of losing sight of the country as a whole when they must do their work in the midst of Brazil's great metropolis. Their decisions, some think, would be more clearly in the national interest if they worked in a small capital city removed from direct contact with any of the major centers of settlement...Life in Rio de Janeiro, pleasant

² For debates surrounding the transfer of the capital from Rio to Brasília, as well as the debates on Rio's future see: Marly Silva da Motta, *Rio de Janeiro: de Cidade-Capital a Estado da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2001) Chapter two. For a historiographical overview of the transfer from Rio to Brasília see Marly Silva da Motta, "O Rio de Janeiro continua Sendo?" In *Rio de Janeiro: Capital e Capitalidade* edited by André Nunes de Azevedo (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UERJ, 2002) 159-169; James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

*though it may be for tourists and foreign visitors, is trying for permanent residents. With the advent of automobiles, the street pattern of Rio de Janeiro became intolerable. Bottlenecks confine the morning and evening flow of commuters to and from the center of the city. The mountainous setting of Rio provides spectacular scenery, but it also presents all but insuperable physical obstacles to growth and development. In contrast, the Brazilian engineers and architects envision a kind of dream city – a city of wide avenues, tall modern buildings, spreading suburbs, and happy people.*³

Despite the intense debates over the transfer of the capital from Rio to the future city of Brasília, construction in the late 1950s affirmed the realities of a new “dream city.” Subsequently, numerous debates surfaced regarding the future of the capital city of Rio de Janeiro. In her work on Rio de Janeiro’s political history and the creation of the city-state of Guanabara, Marly Silva da Motta identifies the three central questions that developed regarding Rio’s potential geopolitical circumstances in the late 1950s:

1. Whether Rio de Janeiro should become an autonomous city or remain under federal auspices or still a federal territory?
2. Would the city of Rio de Janeiro become part of the *state* of Rio de Janeiro?
3. Or, should it be converted into the new state of Guanabara – as was outlined in Brazil’s 1946 constitution which established Kubitschek’s precedent for the building of a new capital city?⁴

³ Preston E. James and Speridão Faissol “The Problems of Brazil’s Capital City,” *Geographical Review* XLVI: 3 (July 1956), 306. Both authors received their doctorates in geography from Syracuse University and visited the region where Brasília was eventually constructed in the early 1950s. Since their article was published in 1956, the name of the future capital, Brasília, was yet to be coined. It was their speculation at that time that the new name was going to be Vera Cruz. According to Holston (1989, 20) there were many possible names throughout Brazilian history for a new capital city: Nova Lisboa, Petrópole, Pedrália, Imperatória, Tiradentes, and Vera Cruz.

⁴ Motta, “O Rio de Janeiro Continua Sendo?” 162-163.

While many politicians and Cariocas (residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro) were worried about the economic and political consequences that “de-capitalization” would represent for Rio, many of the debates regarding Rio’s geo-political future centered on how Rio would still retain its autonomy and not be transformed into “just another city or state” considering Rio’s dynamic history as the political and cultural center of Brazil for over two hundred years. Conversely, various politicians, industrialists, and residents argued that for Rio de Janeiro to become its own state (Guanabara) seemed impractical on the grounds that it was geographically too small and economically unviable; particularly as industrial and port activity within the city continuously declined in comparison with greater São Paulo. Nevertheless, the city-state faction won and the San Tiago Dantas Law, which was passed on April 12, 1960, officially legalized the creation of the state of Guanabara. While this law enabled the creation of a new state, numerous questions still remained regarding the administrative structure and organization of the city-state of Guanabara.

As a federal district, Rio’s mayor had been nominated by the President of Brazil, whereas only the Câmara dos Vereadores (city council) had been elected by the district’s residents. The San Tiago Dantas Law stipulated that from April to December of 1960, the new state of Guanabara would have a provisional governor appointed by Kubitschek, while elections for a governor and a new constituent

assembly would be held along with Presidential Elections in October, 1960. Soon after the October 1960 elections, the new constituent assembly was transformed into a legislative assembly of Guanabara, while the old Câmara dos Vereadores was later dissolved. Still, the administrative structure of the new state of Guanabara was unclear to many: Would it be a state organized like every other one in the Brazilian Federation (with separate municipalities and mayors)? Or, would it continue in the vein of the old federal district, with the exception that it would be an official state with one municipality (Rio de Janeiro) and an elected governor? Ultimately, Guanabara did indeed maintain much of the same character as it had during the federal district days with two exceptions. First, the city-state was geographically organized into several decentralized administrative districts in order to provide residents with more adequate services. Secondly, the city-state would have an *elected* governor who could develop and negotiate policy without the interference of the federal government – a matter which proved to be critical for understanding the trajectory of initiatives that took place during its short lived existence (1960-75).

The years 1960-1975 represent a drastic change in the planning of the city on numerous levels. Among the causes of this change in planning is the transformation of the political system. The people directly elected the first two governors of the state of Guanabara - Carlos

Lacerda (1960-65) and Francisco Negrão de Lima (1965-1971).⁵ One of Lacerda's major goals early into his administration was to maintain Guanabara's city-state structure. Lacerda stressed that Guanabara remain one municipality by introducing decentralized administrations throughout the city-state. This strategy proved successful as a plebiscite in 1963 showed voters overwhelmingly favored maintaining Guanabara as a city-state with one municipality and governor. This administrative structure, gave governors such as Lacerda and Negrão a great deal of power and autonomy in establishing policy, especially in regards to urban planning. While they held the title of governor, both Lacerda and Negrão were in essence the mayors of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The third (and last) governor of Guanabara, Chagas Freitas (1971-75), was elected indirectly as a consequence of the Brazilian military regime's policy of only allowing indirect elections within the government approved two-party system (ARENA and MDB). Under military pressure in the early 1970s, Chagas was forced to transform Guanabara's agencies, secretariats, and organizations into the same format as the other states of the Brazilian Federation.⁶ These considerations, combined with an

⁵To gain insight into the political culture of Lacerdismo and Chaguismo as well as the administrative composition of the new city-state State of Guanabara see Marly Silva da Motta, *Saudades da Guanabara*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000). Throughout this and future chapters, I will refer to Francisco Negrão de Lima as Negrão.

⁶ Once the military regime banned all political parties with its second institutional act (AI-2), it eventually set up a two party system: ARENA was the official party in support of the military dictatorship, and the MDB – Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, which was the “legal” opposition. For an overview of the administrative changes during the

assortment of economic development pressures from the military régime, led to the end of the city-state of Guanabara and its policies regarding urban planning and development. Notwithstanding, the projects and level of urban development under Lacerda, Negrão, and to a much lesser extent Chagas, not only changed the culture of urban planning and the spatial dynamics of the city, but continue to influence many of the current planning agendas in the city.

In order to fully comprehend the significance of urban renewal in Guanabara during Lacerda's and Negrão's terms, it is critical to understand the demographic and geographic situation of Rio de Janeiro during the late 1950s. This chapter will examine Rio de Janeiro's demographic and geographic conditions by sketching the city's topographic, geographic, and socio-cultural conditions around the time it was transformed into the city-state of Guanabara. Furthermore, I will also consider the circumstances that led to the creation of the Superintendência de Urbanização e Saneamento (SURSAN) in 1957. This special planning entity was established during Negrão de Lima's stint as mayor of the federal district, and proved to be the major executor of Guanabara's urban planning agenda both under Lacerda and Negrão de Lima during the 1960s. Many of the debates and issues surrounding the urban renewal campaigns emanated from the various architects,

Chagas Freitas administration of 1971-1975 see: Carlos Eduardo Sarmiento, organizer, *Chagas Freitas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1999) and Francisco Manoel de Mello Franco, *O Governo Chagas Freitas: Uma Perspectiva Nacional Através de Uma Experiência Local* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1977).

engineers, and technocrats who worked for SURSAN during one or both administrations. While Guanabara's urban renewal movement is directly attributed to Lacerda's and Negrão's leadership, the role of SURSAN is at the core of any discussion of the majority of planning agendas of the Lacerda and Negrão years. Furthermore, SURSAN also exemplified the "expert" technical approach to planning that became prominent during the 1950s and 1960s, particularly with the political culture of developmentalism and fever for automobiles that took hold during the Kubitschek years.

2.1 Not So Marvelous: Rio de Janeiro in the late 1950s

Although Rio de Janeiro was the capital of Brazil for almost 200 years, the newly created city-state of Guanabara was a city in dire need of improvements in regards to social welfare and urban services. Even in the more privileged areas of the city such as the zona sul, basic services such as the water supply, sewage, affordable and adequate housing, public schools, decent roads and overpasses, utility service, and sanitation were not reliable. This was compounded by the fact that most of the urban renewal campaigns since the early 1900s were not principally concerned with urban services and making the city more practical and livable for residents of all social classes and zones of the city. Moreover, the fact that the mayor of the old Distrito Federal was appointed by the Brazilian President and not elected by the residents of

Rio de Janeiro meant that there was a lack of continuity and commitment in developing an urban development agenda. This was especially apparent during the 1950s when Rio de Janeiro experienced a frequent turnover of mayors. Moreover, this was aggravated by the demographic explosion that Rio de Janeiro and many other cities in Brazil as well as in Latin America experienced during the decade.⁷

With approximately 3.3 million inhabitants in 1960, the city of Rio de Janeiro had multiplied its population 16 times in a span of 100 years. More significant than this statistic is the increase in the city's inhabitants from 1950 to 1960 of slightly over 1 million people.⁸ Likewise, even more striking than the overall growth of the city, is the substantial growth in the number of *favelas* (hillside shantytowns) and the people who resided in them. According to official census statistics, which are usually conservative and under calculated, the city's favela population grew from approximately 170,000 to 340,000 from 1950 to 1960.⁹ With or without an organized urban planning agenda during the years Rio served as the federal district, even the most efficient

⁷ See table in the appendix with the list of the mayors of the federal district in the 1950s.

⁸ It should be noted that like in any census, there is a slight margin of error in the counting process. In any case, the growth level of the population is exponential in this time period. See IBGE – Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Características Demográficas e Sociais do Estado da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966), Chapter 1.

⁹ Ibid., page 94. While I have taken my information from the official IBGE census, there is much dispute over census figures when it comes to favelas. Aside from the population statistics, the semantics on defining an actual favela is one of the obstacles in determining accurate population numbers. For more on this issue see Fred B. Morris and Gerald F. Pyle, "The Social Environment of Rio de Janeiro in 1960," *Economic Geography* 47 (June 1971): 286-299.

administrations and planners would be challenged to combat the pressures placed on the urban landscape by the demographic explosion of the 1950s and 1960s. This population explosion, coupled with Rio's daunting topography, presented major obstacles to the city's planners and residents.

In order to discuss urban renewal and the significance that many of the urban reforms of the 1960s signified for Rio de Janeiro, an analysis of the city's topography, landscape, and geography must be presented. Historically, Rio's topography has been one of the determining factors in the spatial evolution of the city and its neighborhoods. The topography within the city can be separated into the basic categories of *maciços* (massifs), crests, and scattered hills.¹⁰ Aside from these are the many bays, rivers, lakes, and ocean beaches that have also been influential in the city's development.

Of all the natural entities that comprise the city of Rio de Janeiro, the Maciço da Tijuca (also known as the Maciço Carioca) has been the most influential in the city's growth. Also known as the Serra da Carioca or Serra da Tijuca, it is an enormous massif that physically separates the city into the north and south zones. Occupying a space of 95 km², this urban massif also contains ranges (serras) such as Gávea, Tijuca, Pico do

¹⁰ For a technical analysis of the physical geography and topography of the state of Guanabara and city of Rio de Janeiro see Fernando Nascimento Silva, "Dados de Geografia Carioca," In *Rio de Janeiro em Seus Quatrocentos Anos* (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record, 1965), 29-38. This publication is significant because it commemorates the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city. The articles published within it were written by the most prominent urbanists during Carlos Lacerda's administration.

Papagaio (Andaraí), Carioca, and Corcovado.¹¹ Within these serras are hundreds of smaller hills and forests that also have a significant impact on the evolution of neighborhoods and residential patterns.¹² The Maciço da Tijuca has played an influential political, economic, and symbolic role in the evolution of the city, and dictated the city's linear spatial development. The Maciço da Tijuca has certainly been highlighted for giving Rio de Janeiro a sense of natural beauty, yet it has also been the source of many urban problems because of its influence on settlement patterns.¹³

Another natural condition that has played a significant role in Rio's growth is the Baía da Guanabara, as the majority of the city's neighborhoods are wedged in between hills, massifs, and water. The expansion in metropolitan growth coupled with haphazard use of space for industrial and urban development had serious consequences for the physical condition of the bay after 1945. The water of the Baía da Guanabara gradually became highly polluted due largely to haphazard sanitation practices by the proper sanitation authorities as well as various industries and residents. By the 1950s, the water in Baía da Guanabara was highly polluted from city sewage, as well as remnants

¹¹The latter range (Corcovado) is best known for possessing the statue of Cristo Redentor that overlooks the city.

¹² For a list of these hills and their names and locations see Silva, 29-38.

¹³ Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "A Cidade, a Montanha e a Floresta," In *Natureza e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro*, edited by Maurício de Almeida Abreu, (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1992), 54-103.

from oil refinery activities and garbage produced by favela residents located on edges along the bay such as Maré.¹⁴ During the late 1940s and 1950s, the Baía's islands, shoreline, and beaches were consistently modified or sacrificed in order to accommodate the building of expressways, airports, a university campus, and industrial factories for the broader principles of economic urban development. Just as the Maciço da Tijuca divided the city into north and south and created many challenges for planners and residents, the presence of the bay has also had an integral role in the social, economic, and cultural life in all zones of the city. The Baía da Guanabara and the beaches of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon along with the hills of Corcovado, Pão de Açúcar, and the statue of Cristo Redentor served as the city's postcard image which was consistently marketed in order to attract tourists from around the world. Rio de Janeiro's natural beauty has also earned it a reputation as being *uma cidade vaidosa* (a vain city) where building and planning schemes too often try to harmonize with Rio's natural elements instead of drawing up more pragmatic solutions that in turn would compromise the city's natural splendor. This point is illuminated by architect Roberto Segre who suggests that Rio de Janeiro is an anomaly among the world's metropolitan cities in the fact that its symbol is not an

¹⁴ For an environmental history of the Baía da Guanabara see Lisa Sedrez, "The Bay of All Beauties: State and Environment in Guanabara Bay, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1875-1975" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2004.).

architectural edifice, but rather the scenic hills such as Pão de Açúcar and Corcovado.¹⁵

Rio de Janeiro still maintained its beautiful scenery and sense of vanity in the late 1950s, however a journey through its neighborhoods and streets reveal a city experiencing immense problems in regard to substandard infrastructure and public services for its residents. Pulitzer Prize winning poet Elizabeth Bishop suggested in an article written to commemorate Rio's 400th anniversary in 1965: "(Rio) is not a beautiful city; it's just the world's most beautiful setting for a city."¹⁶

2.2 Zones and Neighborhoods in Post 1945 Rio

In order to understand the patterns of growth that occurred in the city in the post 1945 area, I will present a socio-geographic sketch of Rio de Janeiro's neighborhoods and zones. Furthermore, this analysis needs

¹⁵ Paulo Knauss, organizador, *A Cidade Vaidosa: Imagens Urbanas do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Sette Letras, 1999); Roberto Segre, "Rio de Janeiro Metropolitano" <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arquitextos.asp> Accessed March 17, 2006.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Bishop, "On the Railroad Named Delight" *New York Times* 7 March 1965. Elizabeth Bishop wrote this piece as a special for the *New York Times* in order to commemorate Rio's 400th anniversary. Elizabeth Bishop had been living in Brazil since 1952 and had a long-term relationship with Maria Carlota Costallat de Macedo Soares (Lota) who would later lead the construction of the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo during Carlos Lacerda's administration of which I will discuss in Chapter 3. The relationship between Lota and Bishop is told in Carmen L. Oliveira, *Rare and Commonplace Flowers: The Story of Elizabeth Bishop and Lota de Macedo Soares* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002). This book was originally published in Portuguese as *Floras Raras e Banalíssimas: A História de Lota de Macedo Soares e Elizabeth Bishop* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1995). While the piece written for the *New York Times* does offer a balanced characterization of Rio in 1965, it clearly does display Bishop's uncomfortable feelings of living in Rio as described by Oliveira. Ultimately, Bishop was hammered by a journalist of the *Correio da Manhã* for depicting Rio as a "black city" in her piece for the *New York Times*. Bishop and Lota divided their time between their residence in Samambaia in the mountains and an apartment in Rio even while Lota was head of the committee that designed and built the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo.

to be placed in the broader context of the Brazilian political economy during the 1950s and 60s. By 1960, Brazil was in the midst of President Juscelino Kubitschek's (JK - 1956-1961) developmentalist economic program designed to yield "fifty years of progress in five" which included the building of the aforementioned brand new capital city, Brasília. Most of the industrial growth that occurred under Kubitschek benefited the three large metropolitan areas in the Southeast of Brazil: Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and São Paulo. Moreover, this growth was most prominent in the state and city of São Paulo, which surpassed Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s as the premier industrial center of Brazil and Latin America. Due to São Paulo's industrial supremacy, the importance of Rio de Janeiro's port diminished, while the port city of Santos, located in the state of São Paulo, flourished. Kubitschek's politically centrist *Programa de Metas* (Program of Goals) focused on the building of a new capital, and massive initiatives in the sectors of transportation, foodstuffs, energy, and heavy industry. This developmentalist economic strategy was employed by applying state investment along with enticing multi-national corporations to establish a greater presence in Brazil for the purpose of establishing Brazil as a major industrial nation and power.¹⁷

¹⁷ For some background on the Kubitschek years see Angela de Castro Gomes, *O Brasil de JK* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1991); Celso Lafer, *JK e o Programa de Metas, 1956-61* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas).

During Kubitschek's term, Brazil's GDP increased at a median annual rate of seven percent, while steel production remarkably increased almost one hundred percent during his term. The economic and industrial growth that Brazil experienced during JK's term also coincided with Brazil winning its first soccer World Cup in 1958, the international acclaim of the Bossa Nova, and the critical acclaim of films such as *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*). It was also during Kubitschek's term that improvements in the standard of living and rights for the urban working class were achieved. These above factors have led many to nostalgically refer to the JK years as the *Anos Dourados* (Golden Years), which is not completely exaggerated, although a bit misleading. Kubitschek's initiatives did foster large-scale industry and the rise in the standard of living; however it did come at the expense of Brazil heavily borrowing on credit and experiencing massive rates of inflation. Kubitschek's program produced regionally inequitable results, and was attacked from the right for being inflationary and soft on labor. Additionally, the left attacked this form of development for its inability to diminish the gap in distribution of wealth and for "selling-out" to foreign businesses and doing little for the rural sector. Consequently, the population rates of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte skyrocketed, as people began to migrate from the small rural towns of the interior. In his preface to a recent collection of José Carlos Oliveira's

chronicles, Jason Tércio reflects upon the realities of the JK years, particularly within the context of Rio de Janeiro:

“More than just natural beauty, what made Rio the symbol of the Anos Dourados was its status as the political and cultural capital of the country whose image was constantly reproduced in films, music, books, and political discourse. Logically, the city was calmer in those days, particularly because the city’s population was smaller...During the JK years, Rio was much more than a stage for Bossa Nova, beauty pageants, Rádio Nacional, and talk about the transfer to Brasília – which also yielded creative samba compositions... There were also massive strikes, student protests, famine in the favelas, violent crimes, the lack of water, corrupt police officers, and high inflation – which exploded to 30.5% during JK’s last year in office. Copacabana, the “little princess of the sea,” was an arena for all forms of sexual commerce, drug trafficking, muggings, middle-class assassins, and pimps – much like today, just with different faces and names.”¹⁸

The form of development that Brazil followed in the late 1950s also accelerated other patterns of growth that had been evident since the 1930s¹⁹. Most notably, the rates of rural to urban migration, national population growth, and percentage of people living in *favelas* grew. The intensification of these factors in conjunction with the state of the national economy led to Rio’s continuous demographic growth. On account of the high levels of inflation, lack of affordable housing, and constant migration, the real estate values increased in certain

¹⁸ Jason Tércio, “Caleidoscópio de Uma Cidade em Transe,” 12, Preface to José Carlos Oliveira and Jason Tércio, *O Rio é Assim: A Crônica de uma Cidade (1953-1984)* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir Editora, 2005).

¹⁹ While the majority of this population growth was due to rural to urban migration from all areas of Brazil, it should be noted that foreign immigration to Brazil increased again in the 1950s, particularly from Portugal with almost a quarter million alone in the 1950s. See Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

neighborhoods and districts within the central area of the city. Subsequently, this led to the development and chaotic expansion of the city towards the periphery as well on the city's ubiquitous hillsides.²⁰ The spatial evolution and development of the zona sul, zona norte, and subúrbios in the 1950s is critical to understanding the initiatives that planners took to remedy these conditions in the following decade.

Rio de Janeiro is comprised of various neighborhoods in four zones: the north, south, central, and suburbs.²¹ The classification of these zones is a product of Rio's topography, whereas the neighborhoods that comprise them are products of social, cultural, and economic factors. In order to understand this better, I will give a concise portrait of the zones and neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro in the post 1945 period.²²

²⁰ For a more in-depth discussion of the extension of the city towards the periphery, see Maurício de Almeida Abreu, *A Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro* 3rd Edition (Rio de Janeiro: IPLANRIO, 1997), 115-125.

²¹ Circa 1960, the city of Rio de Janeiro and its neighborhoods were organized into Administrative Districts. Furthermore, many neighborhoods underwent constant legislation that limited certain streets and areas to strictly residential, commercial, and industrial activity. Throughout this text I will use the appropriate Portuguese terms to distinguish the zones: Northern Zone – Zona Norte; Southern Zone – Zona Sul; Central Areas – Centro; Suburbs - Subúrbios.

²² The best sources to consult for the geographic indicators of neighborhoods and zones of Rio de Janeiro are the classic monographs written by urban geographers of the time period. Some of these essays can be seen in Lysia Bernardes and Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, editors. *Rio de Janeiro: Cidade e Região* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995), Fred B. Morris, "A Geografia Social no Rio de Janeiro: 1960," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 35:1 (Janeiro-Março 1973): 3-70, and Pedro Pinchas Geiger, "Ensaio Para A Estrutura Urbana do Rio de Janeiro," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 22:1 (Janeiro-Março 1960) 3-45. For a good overview of sources and the evolution of urban geography in Brazil see Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "O Estudo Geográfico da Cidade No Brasil: Evolução e Avaliação -

The central part of the city, or centro, was the economic and cultural heart of Rio de Janeiro, particularly since the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family in 1808.²³ Being the oldest part of the city, the centro by the late 1950s contained narrow streets along with large avenues lined with one-story buildings and buildings of up to 30-40 floors. Centro was home to most of the major commercial activity in the city, as well as the location of the major museums, theatres, art galleries, churches, cinemas, banks, restaurants, embassies, libraries, and bars. Up until the 1930s, certain quarters of this area were highly residential, particularly in the immediate surrounding areas such as the port neighborhoods of Saúde, Santo Cristo, and Gamboa, as well as the bohemian areas of Lapa and Glória. In the post 1945 period, residency in the centro was predominantly relegated to many low-rent *pensões* (hostels) and apartment-hotels, as private residences and real estate ventures shifted more to the south, north, and suburbs. Although there

Contribuição à História do Pensamento Geográfico Brasileiro,” *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 56:1/4 (Janeiro-Dezembro 1994): 21-122.

²³The central area of the city was the concentrated area of reforms during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For some examples see: José Murilho de Carvalho, *Os Bestializados: O Rio De Janeiro E A República Que Não Foi*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987), Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture And Society In Turn-Of-The-Century Rio De Janeiro*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Oswaldo Porto Rocha and Lia de Aquino Carvalho *A Era Das Demolições: Cidade Do Rio De Janeiro 1870-1920/Contribuição Ao Estudo Das Habitações Populares: Rio De Janeiro 1886-1906*. (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995), Giovanna Rosso Del Brenna, editor, *O Rio De Janeiro De Pereira Passos: Uma Cidade Em Questão II*. (Rio de Janeiro: Index, 1985), Jaime Larry Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: Um Haussmann Tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1990), and Teresa Meade, *Civilizing Rio: Reform And Resistance In A Brazilian City 1889-1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). In the post 1945 period, see Aluizio Capdeville Duarte, editor, *Área Central Da Cidade Do Rio De Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1967).

was a decline in the residential patterns in this section, it still signified a *cidade* (the city) to many Cariocas. It was where a large percentage of the population worked, shopped, and engaged in cultural and leisure activities. The central area was often crowded with pedestrians, streetcars, and automobiles particularly during the day and at rush hour. Moreover, the constant influx of new migrants from other regions of Brazil and abroad often converged in the centro before dispersing to the many neighborhoods throughout the city. José Carlos Oliveira, a writer who migrated to Rio from Vitória, Espírito Santo in the early 1950s, quickly developed a penchant for savoring Rio's social and cultural life – particularly within the mainstream and underground bars of the centro and zona sul. One of his early chronicles offers a detailed portrayal of the cultural and commercial activities of one the main areas of the Centro, Cinelândia, circa 1960:

“It isn't easy to describe Cinelândia. Naturally, there are numerous cinemas – which are not the city's best – however they are always packed. The streets are straight and dark and wedged among skyscrapers. Cinelândia is a popular destination for businessmen from the interior as they prefer to stay at hotels such as O Ambassador and O Serrador and dining at the restaurant Spaghettilândia. Carioca businessmen and journalists love to have a cafezinho somewhere in Cinelândia after work. Sometimes they either get their shoes shined or get a haircut. Sometimes, they go to the bar at the Hotel Serrador where they drink whiskey until rush hour is over. After midnight, Cinelândia remains hectic. The cinemas and theatres close but in front of the Hotel Serrador men continue chatting. There are those who come to frequent the famous Night and Day club; others come to take a peek at the various showgirls...In the main praça in front of the cinemas and theatres at the corner of Avenida Rio Branco and theatres, vagrants sleep on benches. A man sells tangerines while all the lights in the surrounding windows are unlit...Cinelândia is where all the customs

*and traditions of Brazil's smaller cities converge in Rio...All of the great festivals and events (including Carnaval) happen in Cinelândia...While there are clubs of the same scale in the zona norte and zona sul, Cinelândia is still the place where everything always happens.*²⁴

The geographical boundaries of the central area of the city by 1960 were the Praça Quinze de Novembro, Praça Tiradentes, Praça Mauá and Cinelândia.²⁵ The estimated area of the central zone was 9,436 km² with a population of about 25,196 residents in 1960. It should be noted that there was a population decline of 33% in the central area of the city from 1950 to 1960 which indicates that the centro did not necessarily lose its role as the city's cultural and economic hub of the city (despite challenges from areas such as Copacabana), but did decline as a place to reside.²⁶ Furthermore, the lack of a direct connection between the zona norte and zona sul made it unavoidable for vehicles, streetcars, and pedestrians to pass through the central section of the city.

The zona norte, which is connected to the central area of the city by the Avenida Presidente Vargas via the Praça da Bandeira, was

²⁴ Most of José Carlos Oliveira's (1934-1986) work was originally published in the *Jornal do Brasil*; however some of his chronicles have been organized into edited volumes. See José Carlos Oliveira, *O Rio é Assim: A Crônica de uma Cidade (1953-1984)* Organized by Jason Tércio (Rio de Janeiro: Agir Editora, 2005). The cited chronicle is entitled "Cinelândia" p. 43-44 and originally published in the *Jornal do Brasil* 7 August 1960. For more background on Cinelândia see João Maximo, *Cinelândia: Breve História de um Sonho* (Rio de Janeiro: Salamandra Editorial, 1997).

²⁵This was a geo-political designator that set the city up into administrative zones. The central area was the 1st district according to decrees 6985 of May 5, 1941 and 8283 of August 11, 1945. See Duarte, 12.

²⁶ This is according to the 1960 census found in IBGE, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Características Demográficas e Sociais da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966), 10-11.

composed of various neighborhoods in the period from 1950-1960. The neighborhoods on the fringe of the central area such as Catumbi, Estácio, São Cristóvão, Rio Comprido, and Mangue were primarily residential areas for middle and lower middle class residents and served as buffer between the zona norte and centro. The residents of these neighborhoods mainly lived in houses or small apartment buildings, and often were self-employed within the confines of their own neighborhoods where small scale industrial and commercial activity predominated. Many however, were able to walk or have short commutes to the central area via streetcars (bondes) or private automobiles. Several of the neighborhoods, particularly São Cristóvão and Catumbi, had a considerable population of immigrants from Portugal, Italy, and Spain. These influences were visible in the urban morphology and types of shops, markets, bakeries, eateries, and fairs in these areas. Like most areas of Rio, these areas gradually became surrounded by favelas that played an integral role in the social relations and cultural attributes of the neighborhoods. Since the early 20th century, areas such as Estácio and Catumbi, known as the cradle of samba, were characteristic of Rio's dynamic cultural life which since the nineteenth century had exhibited the constant blending and acculturation of numerous Afro-Euro social and cultural traditions.

Farther out from the central area in the zona norte were the neighborhoods of Tijuca, Maracanã, Vila Isabel, Andaraí, and Grajaú.

The latter two neighborhoods were developed in the 1920s and were modeled after the garden city idea that originated in Britain during the early twentieth century.²⁷ These neighborhoods by the 1950s were primarily residential, but contained a more established middle class than the residents of Catumbi or São Cristóvão. Vila Isabel however, contained a more active street life that revolved around music, cafés, and bars and was known more simply as “A Vila.” Vila Isabel in the postwar era was predominantly comprised of middle to lower-middle class residents and gradually became surrounded by large favelas that gave it a diverse population and active street life along its main corridor known as the Boulevard 28 de Setembro. Maracanã, an area which was wedged between the Praça da Bandeira, Vila Isabel, Rio Comprido, and Tijuca, was the location of the massive stadium, Estádio Municipal, later renamed Mário Filho in 1966, which was built to host the 1950 World Cup tournament.²⁸

With the decrease of residents in the centro, many neighborhoods in the zona sul, zona norte, and subúrbios developed into sub-centers. As distances between neighborhoods and the centro increased, many

²⁷ For some neighborhood specific studies see: Nilde Nersen. *Vila Isabel: Terra de Poetas e Compositores* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista Editora, 1997), Elizabeth Dezouart Cardoso., *O Capital Imobiliário e a expansão da malha urbana do Rio de Janeiro: Copacabana e Grajaú* (M.S. Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1986); idem, “O Capital imobiliário e a produção de espaços diferenciados no Rio de Janeiro: O Grajaú. *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 51: 1 (Jan.-Março 1989): 89-102.

²⁸ The building and debates surrounding the location of this stadium is fascinating and can be read in Gisella de Araujo Moura, *O Rio Corre Para o Maracanã* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998).

neighborhoods developed more extensive commercial and cultural activities, rather than relying upon the centro for these services. In the case of the zona norte, the large upper and growing middle class neighborhood of Tijuca gained the reputation of being the “capital” of the north zone. Tijuca, which is surrounded by the Maciço da Tijuca and has the Maracanã River running through it, was a large neighborhood that always had a conservative upper and middle class composition that attempted to maintain “traditional family values” in contrast to similar areas in the zona sul such as Copacabana and Botafogo. When the first streetcars were built in the 19th century, Tijuca was served well by these lines; thus it became an ideal place to reside and commute to the centro. Not being directly on the edges of the centro helped it to grow and gain a distinct identity within the city.

By the late 1950s, Tijuca was the capital of the zona norte with many movie theatres (América, Olinda, Carioca, and Metro), department stores, restaurants, and other specialty stores which rivaled those of the centro and even Copacabana.²⁹ The main avenues, Conde de Bonfim and Haddock Lobo, had heavy traffic and the main Praças, Saenz Peña and Afonso Pena (the former referred to as *A Praça*), was not only the meeting place for the residents of Tijuca, but for people from other parts

²⁹ These theatres are nostalgically linked with Tijuca’s cultural identity within Rio, however since the mid 1990s, all of these theatres and the surrounding commerce in the Praça Saenz Peña area has been greatly affected by the construction of shopping malls with movie theatres. Many of the ex-movie houses throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro such O Carioca have been turned into Evangelical churches.

of the zona norte such Andaraí, Grajaú, and Vila Isabel. Similar to areas in the zona sul such as Botafogo, Copacabana, and Flamengo, high-rise apartment building became the norm in Tijuca by the 1950s. Furthermore, with the housing crunch in many parts of the city, favelas were created in and around the hills that surrounded Tijuca. Many of the residents of the favelas came to find work as domestics for the Tijucanos, instead of searching for work in the centro or in the zona portuário. From 1950 to 1960 Tijuca grew by 34% whereas the north zone grew by 23% overall.³⁰

The suburban area of the city of Rio de Janeiro was traditionally defined as the neighborhoods along the Leopoldina, Central, and Auxiliar rail lines that connected to the centro. Additionally, they were geographically distinguishable from the northern neighborhoods of Tijuca, Andaraí, Vila Isabel, and Grajaú by the existence of crests and the small mountainous range of the Engenho Novo and Morro do Telégrafo. Geography, though, was not the only factor that distinguished the suburbs from the north zone of the city. Much of the distinguishing classifications of what constituted a suburban neighborhood were based along racial, ethnic, and socio-economic class lines.

³⁰ IBGE, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Características Demográficas e Sociais da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966), 10-11. For a history of the growth of Tijuca see Lúcia Miranda, “Crescimento Desigual: O Bairro da Tijuca: 1907-1945-1980” (Masters Thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 1987).

The suburbs of the city of Rio de Janeiro comprised 66.5% of the city's land where 38.5% of the city's population resided.³¹ Although these suburbs were modestly served by streetcars and rail lines, basic infrastructure such as water, electricity, and paved streets were not nearly as accessible as in the zona norte and zona sul. Furthermore, these subúrbios were marked by their social make-up and lack of infrastructural resources. According to geographer Maria Therezinha Segadas Soares, the Carioca concept of the suburbs in the 1950s included the following notions:³²

- A concentration of buildings in large open spaces that resemble a rural to urban transformation, regardless if the area was previously settled.
- an overwhelmingly poor population, that had little upward mobility, who also led a peculiar life style
- Frequent relocation of the residents, particularly along the rail lines, which gave them frequent encounters with the center of the city
- The absence of infrastructure and urban reforms which gave the area an appearance of being uncomfortable and disorderly.

As one can see, the designation of what was a suburban neighborhood and what was part of the zona norte or centro area was loaded with not just geographical conceptions but with social ones as well – particularly in regards to class and race. Up until the 1940s, the subúrbios were overwhelmingly residential, and contained little commerce aside from the

³¹ Ibid.

³² Lysia Bernardes and Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, editors *Rio de Janeiro: Cidade e Região* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995), passim.

local bakeries, markets, and hardware stores. Still, the numerous neighborhoods that comprised the subúrbios of Rio de Janeiro were extremely integral to the development of many vibrant forms of popular culture and many different forms of samba, especially in the 1950s and 1960s.³³

Much like Tijuca in the northern zone, several sub-centers eventually evolved in order to relieve the suburbs of their dependence upon the central area of the city. Two suburban neighborhoods in particular that assumed these roles were Madureira and Méier. Both of these areas were located along the Central do Brasil rail line and were also serviced by streetcar.³⁴ From 1950-1960, Méier grew 23% percent in population whereas Madureira increased by 33%. By the 1950s, Méier developed a considerable amount of shopping, leisure, and commercial activity along the Rua Dias da Cruz that was frequented by residents from the surrounding suburban neighborhoods known as Grande Méier (Abolição, Lins de Vasconcelos, and Cachambi). Madureira was best known for its eclectic market along the Estrada Marechal Rangel, O Mercado de Madureira, which was a hub point for many artisans and small-scale merchant from the suburbs and interior. Additionally, Madureira also gained prominence as the areas Escolas de Samba of

³³ An interesting “historical journey” through the history of the suburbs and its culture can be read in Nei Lopes, *Guimbaustrilho e Outros Mistérios Suburbanos* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Dantes, 2001).

³⁴ Antonio Francisco da Silva, “O Centro Funcional De Madureira,” *Boletim Geográfico* 33:242 (Set.-Out. 1974): 52-87.

Portela and Império Serrano produced noteworthy composers and Carnival productions.

In total, the population of the suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro grew 28% from 1950-1960, eventually comprising almost 40% of the total population of the city. Nevertheless, it had the worst forms of infrastructure such as paved streets, inter-neighborhood connections, utility service, and running water. It was also from 1950-1960 that the number of residents in favelas increased immensely. Although people had lived in the favelas dating back as far as 1898, they served as a form of residence for approximately 335,000 people in 1960 (11% of the total population), which was an increase of about 98% since the 1950 census.³⁵ Many of the favelas that were located in the suburbs of Rio were either located on hills near the various rail stations or near the industries located along the Avenida Brasil. The growth of these favelas coincided with the growth in the various industries that were located along the Avenida Brasil and in the various suburban neighborhoods of the city. Jacarezinho, one of the largest favelas during the 1960s, grew in number of inhabitants because of its close proximity to the General

³⁵ This data was found in Abreu, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*, 126. There is an extensive amount of scholarship which has been dedicated to studying favelas within the context of Rio de Janeiro. For some examples see: Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, editors, *Um Século de Favela* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), Julio César Pino "Dark Mirror of Modernization: The Favelas of the Rio de Janeiro in the Boom Years, 1948-1960," *Journal of Urban History* 22:4 (May 1996): 419-453, Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "Reconstruindo uma História Esquecida: Origem e Expansão inicial das Favelas do Rio de Janeiro," *Espaço & Debates* 37 (1994): 34-47, and Lilian Fessler Vaz, "Dos Cortiços às Favelas e aos Edifícios de Apartamentos - A Modernização da Moradia no Rio de Janeiro," *Análise Social* 29:3 (1994): 581-597.

Electric plant in areas surrounding Maria da Graça and Jacaré. While favelas grew at enormous rates from the 1940s onward, the city and federal government began to formulate strategies in order to solve these problems, particularly during Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo period (1937-45). Many of these strategies never came to fruition due the lack of an organized agenda and financial commitment; thus it was not until Carlos Lacerda's administration in the 1960s that a more consolidated and specific approach would develop in regards to "solving" the proliferation of favelas throughout Rio de Janeiro's landscape. This approach, known as the eradication and resettlement approach would become the most contested and dubious of urban renewal policies during the 1960s.

The zona sul of Rio de Janeiro has always been the most revered area of the city because of its proximity to the ocean and bay. Geographically, the southern zone of the city extends from the Santos Dumont Airport along the Baía da Guanabara to Flamengo, Botafogo, and continues along the Ocean (via tunnels) from Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon. There are also the interior neighborhoods of Catete, Laranjeiras, Cosme Velho, Gávea, and Jardim Botânico, which are wedged between the coast and the Maciço da Tijuca and various other ranges. Lagoa, an area that is characterized by the lake that borders Copacabana, Leblon, and Ipanema is also a neighborhood, surrounding a picturesque lagoon, Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas, in the south that borders the mountains.

Up until the 1940s, mainly people of the upper middle classes who worked in the central area of the city occupied the south zone of Rio. Most of these neighborhoods contained a combination of small apartment buildings and individual residences along with reasonable commercial and cultural activity. Additionally, the zona sul benefited from having the best water supply and sewage system in the city. After 1950, with the large population increase in the city, the zona sul changed spatially as well as socially.

Just as the suburbs grew enormously between 1950 and 1960, so did the zona sul. The best case of this was in the neighborhood of Copacabana that developed into the sub-center of the south zone and symbol of Brazil for much of the world. In order to develop Copacabana, which is wedged between the mountains and ocean, real estate companies and the city government opted to gradually “verticalize” urban space in the 1940s and 1950s. This meant that one or two floor apartment buildings were increasingly demolished along the main corridors such as the Avenida Nossa Senhora de Copacabana, Avenida Atlântica, and Barata Ribeiro and replaced with high-rises of up to 30 floors. Carlinhos Oliveira colorfully depicts the ironies of verticalization that occurred in the postwar years with the following anecdote:

“...The city’s population grows and it becomes necessary to construct new walls of armed concrete which you can clearly observe from any hill overlooking Copacabana...One looks at the older Portuguese-Style homes sadly as there will never be homes like this constructed again...I know people who can’t wait for these homes to be displaced by high-rises just so that they can get a good

*deal on the precious azulejos (tiles) from the walls and floors in order to redecorate their beach or mountain home.*³⁶

This form of verticalization not only aided in the growth of the neighborhood, but also produced a transformation in the social composition of residents who resided in the neighborhood. Many people from various social classes who were not able to afford apartments in the zona sul before the construction boom in the 1950s, were able to either rent an apartment or finance one at a reasonable rate.³⁷ In his classic work on Copacabana, anthropologist Gilberto Velho observes that the absence or lax enforcement of any building codes and zoning in Copacabana during the 1950s fostered haphazard development which is characteristic of the high-rises with tiny one bedroom or studio apartments. Consequently, these smaller apartments greatly impacted the population density of the neighborhood, as it was growing at alarming rates in comparison to Botafogo, Ipanema, and Tijuca.³⁸

Gradually, Copacabana became the most diverse and densely populated area of the city. The new residents who resided in tiny and modest sized apartments came from different regions of the city, Brazil,

³⁶ José Carlos Oliveira, "A Poesia das Casas que vão ser Demolidas." 41-42. Originally published in the *Jornal do Brasil* 1 August 1960.

³⁷ For a summary of the "democratization" and verticalization of the south zone and Copacabana see Abreu, *Evolução Urbana*, Chapter 5. For an overview of housing policies and development in Rio de Janeiro see Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro "The Formation of Development Capital: A Historical Overview of Housing in Rio de Janeiro," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 17: 4 (December 1993): 547-558.

³⁸ Gilberto Velho, *A Utopia Urbana: Um Estudo de Antropologia Social*, 5th Edition (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1989), 20-28.

and abroad. Furthermore, many of these new residents often hired housekeepers who resided in-domicile or chose to reside in the growing favelas which in turn contributed to the high population density of Copacabana. The city's hippest movie theaters, restaurants, nightclubs for every lifestyle, shopping galleries, cosmopolitan boutiques, as well as a growing number of banks, medical and professional offices, and tourist offices began to flourish in Copacabana. Many doctors, lawyers, architects, and other professionals began to relocate their offices from the centro to Copacabana, as real-estate prices and rents were favorable. The main avenues of Copacabana, most notably the Avenida Nossa Senhora da Copacabana and Avenida Atlântica, gradually became lined with high-rise apartments and hotels. Avenida Atlântica, the main corridor along the beach, evolved into the postcard image of the city throughout the 1950s and 60s with its beach scenery and high-rise apartments, Bossa Nova beat, hotels, and office buildings.

While other elite neighborhoods such as Ipanema, Leblon, and Gávea were also experiencing verticalization and population growth, they paled in comparison to Copacabana, the cultural capital of Brazil during the 1950s. By the early and mid 1960s, elements such as the intelligentsia and literati crowd's "geography of bohemia" gradually shifted from the streets of Copacabana to Ipanema and Leblon.³⁹ Copacabana however would still hold the title as the capital of the zona

³⁹ For an in-depth look at the bohemian lifestyles of the zona sul from the 1950s to the 1970s see Jason Tércio, *Órfão da Tempestade* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 1999) passim.

sul with its diverse population, street and commercial life, and infrastructure for international tourism. Subsequently, it would also be targeted for several urban renewal schemes which will be addressed in future chapters. Journalist Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos recollects how Copacabana was representative of the broader socio-cultural changes that had occurred in Brazilian society since the late 19th century, overwhelmingly for the middle and upper classes:

“Rio was two cities colliding in 1958. The future Museum of Modern Art designed by architect Afonso Reidy was to be built on an Aterro that was initially occupied by the Jesuits...The European mirrors of the Confeitaria Colombo continued to be pristine, nevertheless the tendencies of Cariocas were changing as it was much hipper to eat a sandwich at the counter of the Lojas Americanas in Copacabana...The city escaped from its placid monarchical palaces of São Cristóvão and Praça 15 in order to assume its natural premonition for the beach and waves of the Atlantic ocean...Rio in 1958 was still charming with its mixture of politicians, beautiful women, intellectuals, and sophisticated youth...It was pre-euphoric period since in two years it would lose its title as the Federal District.”⁴⁰

2.3 Piecemeal Planning of the 1950s and the Invention of SURSAN

By the end of the 1950s, high-rise buildings came to dominate the landscape of the city from Madureira to Copacabana. Increasingly, many of the city’s hillsides and unused land were transformed into favelas, particularly in the areas surrounding Tijuca in the zona norte and Copacabana in the zona sul. While individual homes were still part of

⁴⁰ Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos, *Feliz 1958: O Ano que Não Devia Terminar* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1997), 34-37. Lojas Americanas is a large all purpose store that carries clothing, non-perishable food, toiletries, electronics, and other home goods. See <http://www.americanas.com.br>. The aforementioned Confeitaria Colombo is a famous café on the Rua Gonçalves Dias which was an extremely fashionable destination with the elite during the early twentieth century.

the urban fabric, they became outnumbered by larger high rises particularly in the core areas of the zona norte and zona sul.

The demographic and vertical explosion that Rio de Janeiro experienced in the 1950s certainly altered the spatial, social, and cultural life of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Despite numerous attempts to reform the city and its neighborhoods throughout the 1950s, there often was a lack of continuity in regards to urban planning agendas due in part to the rapid turnover in appointed mayors and the lack of a financial commitment from federal and local sources to sufficiently address problems such as traffic congestion, the lack of water, affordable housing, telephone and electric service.

Rio's planning community of the 1950s was comprised of various municipal commissions, architects, technocrats, engineers, and politicians who presented piecemeal solutions to reforming the city of Rio de Janeiro.⁴¹ Many strategic and proactive plans to help bolster Rio's insufficient infrastructure were devised, however the necessary funds to execute these ideas were not readily available. Furthermore, the lack of continuity in mayoral leadership during the 1950s is another factor that often led to the lack of an organized urban planning agenda.

Francisco Negrão de Lima, a good friend and ally of fellow *Mineiro*, President Juscelino Kubitschek, was appointed mayor of the federal district in March 1956. In a message to the *Câmara dos Vereadores* in

⁴¹ See the introduction and Chapter 1 for urban planning in Rio from 1930-1960.

1956, Negrão lobbied for the necessary funds in order to launch a concrete planning agenda for Rio:

“The topographical and urbanistic conditions of this city are not able to endure the present demographic growth that this city is experiencing...Since I assumed my position as mayor of the federal district, I have increasingly become worried regarding the present situation of the city; thus I believe it is necessary to exhaust all of our options in order for the city to escape this grave situation. The constant increase in traffic could be alleviated if we could build the necessary arterial roads that exist in the Master Plan of the city as well as build the often proposed metro system. The Master Plan, as you all know, began when Donat Alfred Agache was invited by Mayor Antônio Prado Junior. The master plan is the fruit of almost 30 years of research and ideas, however almost nothing has come to fruition from this plan...Our present budgetary means are insufficient in order to save Rio from the suffocation it is experiencing due to population pressure and the lack of an adequate urban infrastructure.”⁴²

Negrão’s comment offers a clear synopsis of the inadequacies of urban planning in Rio during the 1950s by highlighting the financial and budget constraints, in addition to the dismal situation of the city’s infrastructure. Moreover, his speech also illuminates the realities of the city, even during the apex of JK’s *Anos Dourados*.

In his message to the Câmara de Vereadores on September 23, 1957 Negrão de Lima passionately argued for legislation that would establish a special commission and fund for much needed public works. On November 28, 1957, law 899 was passed that created A Superintendência de Urbanização e Saneamento (SURSAN). SURSAN

⁴² Quoted from Mensagem N° 77, from December 3, 1956. Found in Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, “Mensagem N° 53 de 20 de Setembro de 1957, Enviada à Câmara dos Vereadores pelo Prefeito Francisco Negrão de Lima,” 8-10.

essentially subsumed the existing Secretary of Transportation and Public Works, being that the president of SURSAN was also the head of the aforementioned secretariat. One critical decision that was made by Negrão and his advisors was to structure SURSAN into an *autarquia* – a decision that would certainly prove to be beneficial to future governors Lacerda and Negrão de Lima during the Guanabara years. According to public policy scholar Ivan Richardson, an *autarquia* can be explained in the following fashion:

An autarquia is a somewhat unique institution used to provide a variety of governmental services. Autarquias are unique for four principle reasons. First, they are normally completely owned by the government. Second, they occupy different legal positions, being legal entities within the governmental hierarchy enjoying the privileges of that status plus independence from many of the regulations. In a sense, they have the best of both worlds. Third, they are not independent from the executive. The executive plays a vital role in appointing the leadership, as well as the budgetary matters and coordination. Fourth, they enjoy a greater degree of financial flexibility than do the traditional administrative units. Their budgets are not considered to be part of the general state budget; many have ear-marked monies; and they are exempt from some of the detailed financial controls imposed on traditional agencies. ⁴³

SURSAN was initially created in order to help execute public works projects over a ten-year period (1957-1967) that were deemed the most critical by the city's planners and politicians.⁴⁴ Different sources of

⁴³ Ivan L. Richardson, "Developmental Agencies in Guanabara." In *Perspectives of Brazilian State and Local Government*, Ivan L. Richardson, Editor, (Los Angeles: International Public Administration Center, University of Southern California), 94-95.

⁴⁴ Some of these initial projects that were included in the initial proposal included the Avenida Beira Mar, the razing of the Morro do Santo Antônio, the extension of the

revenue were tapped in order to help SURSAN carry out their special projects. Richardson points out that the most critical source of funds were derived from ten percent (10%) of all taxes levied on “sales, land, buildings, industries, professions, car licensees, building permits, property transfers, and inheritances over a ten-year period”, as well as from accrued interest as well as water and sewage bills.⁴⁵ While SURSAN was created during Rio’s waning capital days, it was not until Carlos Lacerda assumed the governorship of Guanabara in December 1960 that SURSAN would become the dominant force in planning in Rio de Janeiro. The “special” administrative structure of Guanabara, especially during the first two years of Lacerda’s administration (1961-1962), left a lot of leeway and space for interpretation in carrying out tasks such as urban planning.

As Marly Motta has suggested, the new city-state of Guanabara continued to operate much in the same fashion as it did as a federal district; except with an elected governor that was essentially a mayor. Furthermore, Rio de Janeiro still remained the political and cultural capital of Brazil in the 1960s, despite the inauguration of Brasília. In parts of Chapter 3, I will discuss how Guanabara’s unique administrative

Avenida Presidente Vargas between Avenida Paulo de Frontin, the Praça da Bandeira, and Avenida Francisco Bicalho, as well as finishing the Túnel Santa Bárbara (Catumbi-Laranjeiras with connections to the Cais do Porto), the Avenida Radial Oeste (Extending from the Praça da Bandeira to the subúrbios), Avenida Radial Sul (Rua do Catete – Largo da Glória), as well as the construction and termination of tunnels in Copacabana.

⁴⁵ Ivan L. Richardson, “Developmental Agencies in Guanabara.” 111.

structure proved to be extremely advantageous for SURSAN's planning initiatives. Lacerda's first task was to organize every facet of the new city-state, and the absence of any previous city-states in Brazil certainly gave him and his supporters a strategic advantage regarding the direction of Guanabara.

The material in this chapter has documented that the city of Rio de Janeiro in the late 1950s was far from the paradise depicted in the postcard images of Copacabana and Pão de Açúcar. It was a city that had sub-standard infrastructure, housing and transportation problems, numerous socio-cultural conflicts, and the lack of necessary finances and leadership to help solve these alarming problems.

From 1960 to 1970, the city of Rio de Janeiro would experience its most intense urban renewal campaign in its history. Expressways, overpasses, and tunnels would drastically incise through numerous hills and neighborhoods, while millions of dollars were solicited from many domestic and transnational sources in order to finance endeavors that were envisioned by the city's planners, politicians, and residents since the early twentieth century.

Table 2.1 – Population Growth in Rio de Janeiro, 1950-1960

District and Area	Population	Population
	1950	1960
1° District (Candelária, São José, Santa Rita, Gamboa, Ajuda, Sacramento, São Domingos, Santana)	84,044	65,048
2° District (Espírito Santo, Rio Comprido, Engenho Velho)	149,927	160,715
3° District (Santo Antônio, Santa Teresa, Glória)	181,247	219,985
4° District (Lagoa and Gávea)	147,869	201,505
5° District (Copacabana)	129,249	240,347
6° District (São Cristóvão)	76,604	78,002
7° District (Tijuca)	80,011	107,074
8° District (Andaraí and Engenho Novo)	239,157	285,343
9° District (Méier, Inhaúma, and Piedade)	281,726	338,283
10° District (Irajá, Pavuna, and Madureira)	379,624	574,045
11° District (Penha)	140,628	182,772
12° District (Jacarepaguá)	107,093	193,792
13° District (Anchieta and Realengo)	226,312	381,398
14° District (Campo Grande and Guaratiba)	80,268	154,102
15° District (Santa Cruz)	31,564	49,377
16° District (Ilhas)	39,957	68,643
TOTAL	2,377,451	3,307,163

Source: Estado da Guanabara, *Características Demográficas e Sociais do Estado da Guanabara*, (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966) page 11.

Table 2.2 Mayors of the Distrito Federal 1947-1960

Mayors	Terms
General Ângelo Mendes de Moraes	June 16, 1947-April 22, 1951
João Carlos Vital	April 23, 1951-December 1, 1952
Dulcídio Santo Cardoso	December 12, 1952-September 4, 1954
Alim Pedro	September 6, 1954-December 2, 1955
Francisco de Sá Lessa	December 4, 1955-March 26, 1956
Francisco Negrão de Lima	March 26, 1956-July 4, 1958
José Joaquim de Sá Freire Alvim	July 4, 1958-April 21, 1960

Chapter 3: Carlos Lacerda and the Novo Rio de Janeiro

“The State of Guanabara, because of its special administrative situation as a City-State, has enormous problems that belong to both State and Municipal Spheres. While Rio de Janeiro was the Federal Capital almost 75% of its population was engaged in commercial, administrative, and service functions. However, with the move of the Brazilian government to Brasília, Rio de Janeiro suffered from a continuous reduction in these activities. This has obliged the State Government to stimulate industrial growth by all means available. Expansion in the agricultural field is practically impossible due to the small area of land available for this purpose in the State...Guanabara, with a small territory and the highest population density of Brazil, needs not only to improve but to greatly expand its public services such as water, transportation, housing, sanitation, telephone, and electric power. Even though it is the cultural, artistic, and political center of the country, Guanabara has over one million people living in degrading conditions. Doubtless, the state constitutes the most fertile field for the propagation of extremist ideas and is actually the number one goal of the communists. Should Guanabara be taken over by the communists, their domination of Brazil and even all Latin America would be greatly facilitated. Accordingly, Guanabara’s problems can not be considered as only local or national ones, but in fact, affect the whole free world...Governor Lacerda is one of the cleverest, most capable, and courageous of the democratic leaders, and is an unremitting fighter against International Communism. The Communist danger will diminish if decent social conditions including the opportunity for dignified work for the slum population of the State are established...President Kennedy’s “Alliance for Progress” program seems to be the answer to this challenge. The State has already applied to the IADB for financing of specific projects, but there have been no indications, except perhaps for one or two projects, that the funds will be available shortly.. Something positive has to be done right now if Mr. Lacerda is not to lose his battle with consequent victory by the left...From the foregoing, it can be seen that the State of Guanabara needs urgent help from the US Government either as direct aid or as interim financing, while the appropriate groups study the various applications. It is agreed that the most effective way of extending such help is to channel it through a joint commission formed by top Brazilian and American members...To start with, it is suggested that a 20 million dollar line of credit be established in favor of the State to be managed by the joint commission... it is proposed that the negotiations be carried on between Ambassador Gordon, Minister San Tiago Dantas, and Governor Lacerda.”¹

¹ Memorandum: Suggestion for Creation of a Joint Commission to Manage Foreign Funds for Projects of the State of Guanabara, Brasil. Coleção Carlos Lacerda – Universidade de Brasília, hereafter, CCL. Unknown author, November 16, 1961.

Carlos Frederico Werneck de Lacerda became the first elected governor of the newly created state of Guanabara in 1960. Lacerda was elected by running on an anti-Communist, anti-corruption, and center-right platform on the União Democrático Nacional (UDN) ticket that appealed mainly to the middle and upper class sectors who mostly resided in the south zone of the city.² Born into an established family of Rio's elite in 1914, Lacerda was intrigued by and sympathized with communist ideas until the late 1930s. He was also an influential political journalist and founder of the Rio daily, *Tribuna de Imprensa*.³ Lacerda is largely remembered as the journalist and politician who led the attacks against populist President Getúlio Vargas in the early 1950s. Lacerda's increasingly rabid denunciations of President Vargas in the early 1950s led to a series of controversial events, including an attempt on Lacerda's life, which resulted in the death of his bodyguard, Major Ruben Vaz. In August 1954, amidst the controversy and chaos surrounding the Lacerda-Vargas rivalry, Getúlio Vargas committed suicide. Many of

² Although he was the first elected governor, it should be noted that José Rodrigues Sette Câmara led a transitional administration from April 21, 1960 to December 5, 1960. For more info see the indispensable reference book written by Engineer José de Oliveira Reis, *A Guanabara e Seus Governadores* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1977), 9. For an overview on the ideology of Lacerda see Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares, "As Bases Ideológicas Do Lacerdismo," *Revista Civilização Brasileira* 1:4 (Set. 1965): 49-70.

³ For extensive biographical information on Lacerda see John W.F. Dulles, *Carlos Lacerda, Brazilian Crusader Volume One: The Years 1914-1960* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991) idem, *Carlos Lacerda, Brazilian Crusader Volume Two: The Years 1960-1977* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Claudio Lacerda, *Carlos Lacerda e os anos sessenta: Oposição*. (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998); Bryan McCann, "Carlos Lacerda: The Rise and Fall of a Middle-Class Populist in 1950s Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 83:4 (November 2003): 661-696.

Vargas' strongest supporters and constituents would never forgive Lacerda for his actions against the president. These harsh feelings towards Lacerda were clearly exhibited in the 1960 gubernatorial campaign for the new city-state of Guanabara, which he won with only 35.7% of the vote in October 1960. Lacerda owed his victory to the fact that two other politicians (Tenório Cavalcanti – PST) and Sergio Magalhães (PTB) split the vote in the mainly working class subúrbios.

During the late 1950s, Carlos Lacerda was one of the most outspoken opponents of Brasília. Aside from his rivalry with President Kubitschek (who owed his start in politics to Getúlio Vargas), Lacerda also had a great disdain for the Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer, one of Brasília's creators and a stalwart of the Communist Party. But once Brasília was a *fait accompli*, Lacerda shifted his focus to Rio de Janeiro. During his campaign for the gubernatorial seat of Guanabara, Lacerda criticized his predecessors for their "antiquated" approach and slow pace in regards to urban development and planning. Rafael Almeida de Magalhães, who Lacerda groomed as his protégé and hopeful successor, commented: "we not only battled against political opposition, but also against old methods within the government and planning community...We fought hard to promote administrative reorganization, fiscal reform, and a renovation of personnel by instituting a

meritocracy.”⁴ These elements combined with Lacerda’s future aspirations for the presidency, the dynamics of social tensions within Brazil, and the politics of the Cold War are critical in understanding the historical context and significance of urban renewal in Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s.

Lacerda and his administration invested a good deal of energy into the arena of urban development for various reasons. Some scholars such as Angela Santos have focused on how Guanabara’s intense urban development initiatives were intended to provide jobs and stimulate the economy in a state that was steadily losing heavy industry.⁵ Furthermore, urban reforms such as the construction of expressways, tunnels, parks, and other urban infrastructure are directly connected to the broader framework of economic developmentalism and the importance of the automobile that had taken hold since the mid 1950s under Kubitschek. Historians such as Marly Silva da Motta have focused on Lacerda’s efforts to maintain Rio’s status as the de facto Brazilian capital despite the inauguration of Brasília.⁶ Many Cariocas

⁴ Israel Tabak, “Cidade Teve Quatro Grandes ‘Viradas Neste Século,” *Jornal do Brasil*, 23 October 1988, Caderno A, p.15.

⁵ Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, *Economia, Espaço, e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2003), Chapter 6. Also see Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, “Planejamento e Desenvolvimento: O Estado da Guanabara” (Ph.D. Dissertation, FAU/USP, 1990).

⁶ Marly Silva da Motta, *Saudades da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000); Marly Silva da Motta, *Rio de Janeiro: de Cidade-Capital a Estado da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2001). For a historiographical overview of the transfer from Rio to Brasília see Marly Silva da Motta,

such as Lacerda were determined to prove that Rio (the Belacap), would continue to serve as Brazil's window to the rest of the world, despite the inauguration of the new capital city of Brasília (Novacap) and São Paulo's industrial dominance. Additionally, Lacerda claimed that though his models for urban and administrative reform, Rio would serve as the cornerstone of modernity for Brazil and Latin America's planning community. More importantly, Lacerda was intent upon demonstrating that he was an efficient, productive, and democratically progressive politician capable of producing concrete results that would hopefully propel him to the presidency in 1965.

Lacerda never did have the chance to run for the presidency, as the military seized control of the country in April 1964; however he strategically used his skills as a journalist to publicize the daily progress of his administration's achievements to both his constituents and opponents by advertising in newspapers and other media outlets. Massive public works such as the Túnel Rebouças and the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo were publicized and proclaimed as the world's "largest urban tunnel" and "largest urban park," while the *Novo Rio* constructed by Lacerda's administration was partly unveiled during Rio's 400th anniversary celebration in January 1965. Furthermore, urban renewal and massive construction became an integral part of daily life for

"O Rio de Janeiro continua Sendo?" In: *Rio de Janeiro: Capital e Capitalidade* edited by André Nunes de Azevedo (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UERJ, 2002) 159-169.

most Cariocas as many of the city newspapers, magazines, radio and television shows began to cover the city's spatial transformation in greater detail. Aside from examining the aesthetics, politics, and spatial consequences of urban planning during the 1960s in Rio, it is worth noting that the debates and dialogues surrounding urban planning were often illustrative of the broader social, cultural, and political concerns of Brazil in the 1960s.

Urban planning during Lacerda's term as governor focused on improving the new city-state's decaying urban infrastructure as well as social services such. Furthermore, Lacerda and his advisors were foremost committed to building new schools and affordable housing, and adapting the city's landscape to the automobile. In order to finance these projects, Lacerda adjusted city-state tax rates and procured funds from transnational sources such as the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C. and the Alliance for Progress. With a leftist government in power at the federal level (Jânio Quadros and João Goulart), the United States believed that they had a possible ally in the anti-communist Lacerda; particularly if he were to mount a successful campaign for the presidency in 1965.

The lack of a legal definition of administrative organization upon the creation of the new city-state of Guanabara proved to be the most critical measure for explaining how Lacerda, and his successor, Negrão de Lima, were able to overhaul the city in a period of ten years.

Strategically, Lacerda found loopholes to create a city-state administration which vested the majority of power in the executive, while maintaining Guanabara as a state with one municipality: Rio de Janeiro. This new administration reorganized Guanabara into decentralized administrative regions, along with creating traditional executive departments (secretarias) and mixed-enterprise entities to administer Guanabara's daily business. Although it was a city-state with an elected governor, the governor of Guanabara was essentially the mayor of Rio de Janeiro. Accordingly, Lacerda had an unprecedented amount of power in regards to creating and implementing policy within Rio de Janeiro. Guanabara as such, was not only an anomaly within Brazil for being a city-state, but for the fact that it was not organized administratively like most of the other states. Therefore, while Lacerda certainly was ambitious and developed a plan for Rio de Janeiro, he clearly benefited from the lack of an established and legalized organizational structure which he used in his favor to implement a governmental structure that suited his agenda and programs.

The major projects of the Lacerda period revolved around the building of new expressways, tunnels, sewage and water supply systems, as well as the building of schools and "solving" the problem of the favelas. Due to Rio's topography and spatial layout, the circulation of traffic between the zona norte and zona sul could only occur under the current conditions by passing through the central area of the city. Two

of the projects that were constructed and finished during the Lacerda period were the completion of the Túnel Santa Bárbara (Catumbi-Laranjeiras) that linked the outskirts of the centro with the zona sul, and the gigantic Túnel Rebouças (Rio Comprido-Lagoa) which linked the zona norte directly with the zona sul by cutting through the main massif of the city, the Maciço da Tijuca.

Declared by many engineers and planners as the largest urban tunnel in the world, the Túnel Rebouças is one of the most significant planned projects in the history of the city of Rio de Janeiro to which I will dedicate a substantial amount of attention in this chapter. For the first time, there was a direct link between the zona norte and zona sul. The construction of the Túnel Rebouças not only transformed the spatial characteristics of the city, but officially reinforced the differentiations that existed in the social, cultural, and economic elements of the zona norte and zona sul. Once seen as a large nuisance in the physical planning process, planners and engineers were finally able to overcome the topographical obstacles which often dictated how planning was conducted throughout the city. Geographer Maria do Carmo Corrêa Galvão suggests that because Rio de Janeiro is immense and fragmented by its topography, it is always vital to rethink the significance of its geographic location and the magnitude of the work produced by

engineers and planners.⁷ This point correlates directly with the Túnel Rebouças and other tunnels throughout the city's landscape that will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.1 Administrative Organization of the New City-State

Carlos Lacerda began his term as the governor of Guanabara on December 5, 1960. One of the first tasks at hand when he assumed the governorship was to establish an organizational structure for the newly formed city-state. Lacerda and the newly elected Constituent Assembly debated three main possibilities regarding Guanabara's organizational configuration. In his work on decentralized administration in Guanabara, Ivan Richardson highlighted the three options that the Constituent Assembly and Lacerda deliberated:⁸

1. The division of Guanabara into semi-autonomous cities which would involve the definition of boundaries, a new tax structure, and elections for council members.
2. The continuation of the centralized structure of the Federal District years with minor administrative and organizational adjustments.
3. The division of Guanabara into decentralized regions or units (not municipalities or cities) with administrators appointed by the Governor.

⁷ Maria do Carmo Corrêa Galvão, "Focos Sobre A Questão Ambiental No Rio De Janeiro." In *Natureza e Sociedade No Rio De Janeiro*, edited by Maurício de Almeida Abreu, 13-26 (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1992), 20.

⁸For an informative overview regarding the new administrative organization of the newly created state, see: Ivan L. Richardson, "Decentralized Administration in Guanabara." In *Perspectives of Brazilian State and Local Government* Ivan L. Richardson, Editor 53-90. (Los Angeles: International Public Administration Center, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California). As Richardson mentions, the decree was liberally interpreted from federal and state law which allowed the governor, as the chief person in power, to issue executive decrees.

One major obstacle during the first months of Lacerda's term was the lack of a constitution which stipulated the specific powers of the governor and the legislature. Lacerda advocated vehemently that Guanabara remain a city-state without municipalities; thus on January 30, 1961 Lacerda issued executive decree 353 which declared that Guanabara, on a trial basis, would be organized as a city-state with three decentralized administrative regions and no additional municipalities (option 3 above). Due to the lack of a ratified constitution, Lacerda based this executive decree on two previous federal laws which gave governors the ability to issue decrees.⁹ This decentralized administrative structure vested tremendous power into the governor's hands, and is critical to understanding how Lacerda was able to initiate many of his programs in such a short period of time. Unlike other governors in Brazil, Lacerda did not have to compete or negotiate with various other elected leaders (mayors) throughout the state for revenue, aside from the members of the Constituent Assembly.

With the promulgation of Guanabara's constitution in March 1961, the Constituent Assembly ultimately decided to let Lacerda experiment with his decentralization program, and let the voters of Guanabara decide on its merits with a plebiscite vote in 1963. Lacerda was given two

⁹ Richardson, "Decentralized Administration in Guanabara," 62-63. The decree was liberally interpreted from laws that allowed the governor or mayor, as the chief person in power, to issue executive decrees. They were based on laws 3.752 of April 14, 1960 which made official the transfer of the capital and the election of a new governor and Constituent Assembly and Law 217 from January 15, 1948 which was the organic law of the federal district.

years to experiment with decentralized administration. While Lacerda and his staff were clearly dedicated to establishing a decentralized administration, there were many politicians, residents, businesses, and labor unions concerned with this new administrative structure. Aside from the lack of precedent within Brazil concerning this sort of administrative structure, many suggested that it would disrupt patronage networks in addition to business, professional, and personal relationships which took decades to establish. Indeed, one of Lacerda's constant missions in the early days of his tenure was to destroy the clientelistic manner in which the public and private sectors operated and interacted during the federal district years. Ultimately, Lacerda intended for his decentralized system of government to create a government and workforce that valued competition, competency, and accountability and in turn offered better service for the city's residents.

Many government employees from the federal district days were concerned about their job security, benefits, supervision, and duties as a result of newly created city-state with a decentralized administration. Moreover, while there were many concerned about the ultimate power Lacerda would hold with his handpicked regional administrators, many people were worried that they would get lost in the transition from the centralized federal district structure to Guanabara's decentralized one. Contrarily, Lacerda argued that his plan offered citizens and employees more efficient governmental services and that there would not be an

adequate way to provide for a sufficient tax base in some areas of Guanabara should it be divided into individual municipalities.¹⁰ In 1963, the voters overwhelmingly elected to maintain Guanabara's status as a city-state without municipalities. In turn, the whole state was converted into decentralized administrations as was outlined in the provisions of the initial voting legislation regarding decentralization.¹¹

The initial lack of an administrative structure was critical to Lacerda's success. While there was some competition from several of the members elected to the Constituent Assembly, the continuous daily improvisations regarding Guanabara's administrative structure gave Lacerda enormous power and leverage in establishing his programs and initiatives. The benefit of this administrative structure, combined with transnational aid, *autarquias* such as SURSAN, and an aggressive public relations staff helped Lacerda launch one of his primary goals of his campaign: rebuilding and renewing Rio de Janeiro. Maurício Perez's recent work on public administration in Guanabara suggests that Lacerda was able to accomplish and reform Rio largely due to a "rational, efficient, and well designed public administrative model that included technocratic competency."¹² Perez also claims that while the

¹⁰ Ibid. 70-71.

¹¹ Richardson calculated that out of 953,679 voters, only 49,707 voted to divide Guanabara into municipalities. Ibid., 74. See the table in the appendix for the new administrative regions.

implementation of this new decentralized model was critical to Lacerda's success, his desire to establish an entire public administration built upon meritocracy and competition instead of the patronage system that existed while Rio was also the federal district is also fundamental to understanding the results produced by Lacerda.

It is critical to comprehend that while many of his predecessors (appointed mayors of the Distrito Federal) did at least have some desire to reform Rio, many lacked the power locally, federally, and internationally that Carlos Lacerda was able to attain as a consequence of being elected the governor of a city-state that had an undetermined administrative structure. Lacerda's insistence on running a government where efficiency, accountability, and competition for jobs and contracts is extremely well-documented within the context of urban planning, although he was indeed guilty of violating some of his own rules several times as I will clearly identify later. In order to understand how and why the city of Rio de Janeiro experienced such a drastic change during the first two administrations of Guanabara, it is also important to consider the administrative foundation of the city-state, as well as the changes that were created in Rio's planning culture.

Lacerda still remains a controversial and polarizing figure in Brazilian history, although many recent accounts have reconsidered his

¹² Maurício Dominguez Perez, "Estado da Guanabara: Gestão e Estrutura Administrativa do Governo Carlos Lacerda (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2005).

savvy administrative qualities. A cover story from *Veja Rio* magazine in 1995 was published to commemorate “30 years without Lacerda.” The articles in the aforementioned piece offer differing perspectives on Lacerda’s role as a politician, administrator, and person from politicians of various leanings, while posing a question that I seek to investigate throughout this chapter:

“[It is] impossible to imagine Rio without the Aterro do Flamengo, the Rebouças and Santa Bárbara tunnels, and the Guandu water supply system - works that the loved and hated Carlos Lacerda carried out between 1961 and 1965. Why can’t anybody do what he did?”¹³

3.2 Organizing and Financing an Urban Development Agenda

After the inauguration of Brasília in 1960, Rio de Janeiro continued as the cultural and artistic capital of Brazil, in spite of having an urban infrastructure insufficient to support the rates of rural to urban migration that was constant throughout most of Latin America since the late 1940s. A plethora of planning projects were devised in the 1950s, however the available funds for their implementation were far from adequate to carry out these projects. Much of Lacerda’s campaign for the governorship of Guanabara was centered on an urban planning agenda that would address traffic, housing, sewage, the construction of public schools, and the supply of water. In order to deliver on his promises, Lacerda was aware that the procurement of abundant funds was critical to his agenda to rebuild and reform the urban fabric of Rio

¹³ “30 Anos Sem Lacerda,” Front Cover *Veja Rio* 29 November 1995.

de Janeiro. During his gubernatorial campaign, Lacerda reiterated the priorities of his administration's urban planning initiatives:

*“Transportation and traffic, an old problem which has never been resolved, affects our everyday lives and happiness, aside from creating serious obstacles to the progress of the state. . . As we look at the financial situation, we will have small resources, at the very least, to transform the city into an inhabitable place. The basic order of our priorities is transportation, education, and the supply of water.”*¹⁴

Thirteen initial *Secretarias*, which were executive departments led by a *Secretária/o* appointed by the governor, were introduced into Guanabara's administrative organization. Unlike many other Brazilian states, Guanabara still lacked an official planning department, preferring to leave these tasks to its various *autarquias* and indirect administrative agencies. The Secretaria de Governo, which was an executive department that reported directly to the governor, was strategically put in charge of all budgetary issues including the procurement, application, and management of all state funds related to urban development.¹⁵ Lacerda eventually decided to appoint his protégé (and envisioned successor), Raphael Almeida de Magalhães (Rafa), as the Secretário de Governo, in

¹⁴ These quotes are from two different speeches written by Governor Carlos Lacerda. They can be found under “A Cidade Devastada e Sua Reconstrução” and “Soluções Para O Transporte” In Carlos Lacerda, *O Poder das Idéias* 4th Edition (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record Editôra, 1964), 163, 170-171.

¹⁵ The initial *secretarias* consisted of: Education and Culture, Economy, Tourism, Finance, Justice, Public Works, Administration, Health, Public Services, Public Security, without Portfolio (*Sem Pasta*), and to the Governor. Additional secretaries were eventually created during the Lacerda and Negrão terms such as Civil Household (1964), Science and Technology (1968), and Agriculture (1969). For more info see Ivan L. Richardson, “Decentralized Administration in Guanabara,” 75-77; Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, “Planejamento e Desenvolvimento: O Estado da Guanabara, Chapter 4, p. 43-44.

order to supervise the budgetary and financial matters regarding urban development in Guanabara. This organizational scheme clearly displayed the desires of Governor Lacerda to keep urban development issues within his immediate control by strategically delineating an administrative framework where the planning process was aligned directly to the executive and out of the reach of other politicians.

The main force behind the process of planning and execution of planning projects was assumed by SURSAN early into Lacerda's term. An *autarquia*, SURSAN was to oversee and implement planning schemes, as well as to solicit funds for ambitious urban renewal projects. Since it was a state-owned enterprise which was controlled by the executive (Lacerda), SURSAN was able to operate with fewer constraints than normal planning departments in other cities and states throughout Brazil. SURSAN's budget enabled it to hire architects, engineers, and urbanists at competitive market salaries which made it a desirable place of employment vis-à-vis the regular state departments.¹⁶ Still, Lacerda was adamant that positions in both SURSAN and the other state agencies and companies be earned through a merit-based application process. This merit-based system that Lacerda keenly wished to implement is extremely apparent through Lacerda's colorful and often

¹⁶ Pedro Teixeira Soares interview by Américo Freire, Carlos Eduardo Sarmiento, Lúcia Lippi, and Marly Motta (Rio de Janeiro, 12 June 2000 and 16 October 2000). *Capítulos da Memória do Urbanismo Carioca*, organizadores, Américo Freire and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca, 2002): 146.

sarcastic memorandas addressed to various personnel throughout his governorship. The content of a memo from early January 1962 from Lacerda to the Secretário de Viação contextualizes this approach: “*Sr. Secretário de Viação: The next open competition for engineers begins (pause), when? We should recruit those who are young, new to the field, have the capacity to learn, do not have bad habits, preconceived notions, and biases.*”¹⁷

The memo cited above, as with the many others throughout Lacerda’s private archive, certainly conveys Lacerda’s desire to rid Guanabara of attitudes *he* viewed as counterproductive to his administration’s mission to reform the city-state through measures of accountability, efficiency, and competition. Lacerda believed that this new spirit would weed out unqualified personnel as well as break away from clientelism practiced by his political adversaries in the PSD and PTB. In tune with the principles of social science and modernization theory of the late 1950s, Lacerda envisioned that his model of governance in Guanabara would foster more individual socio-economic mobility and democratic values among the population and deter any communist mobilization.

During the first months of Lacerda’s administration, ample time was spent drafting urban planning and economic development strategies that would generate revenue and improve the city’s infrastructure. A

¹⁷ Memorandum N° 3 16 January 1962. Carlos Lacerda to Secretário de Viação, CCL.

critical reorganization of SURSAN was made for the purposes of maximizing the executive supervision of all planning and economic initiatives within Guanabara. SURSAN was divided into five specific departments for the purposes of streamlining responsibilities regarding urban development: urbanization, water, sewage, finances, and sanitation. Furthermore, the CEO/President of SURSAN also held the position as the Secretária de Obras Públicas of Guanabara (Public Works) who was advised by a control board council appointed by the governor for the purposes of monitoring the financial, technical, and efficiency of the agency. While this council was primarily composed of technocrats such as engineers, accountants, and architects, it also had a branch that was represented by taxpayers in order to oversee the efficiency of SURSAN.¹⁸

SURSAN assumed the primary role in planning and rebuilding Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s, but the government of Guanabara also developed other organs and agencies in order to complement an urban renewal agenda that intended to redefine the fabric of the city-state. Since the 1950s, the culture of the automobile that was cultivated under Juscelino Kubitschek's developmentalist programs invested millions of dollars in order to develop and expand Brazil's road and highway networks which also meant to spark economic and industrial

¹⁸ Ivan L. Richardson, "Developmental Agencies in Guanabara," 110-112.; Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, "Planejamento e Desenvolvimento: O Estado da Guanabara, Chapter 4, p.49.

development and growth. One such organ that enjoyed the spoils of this new fever for roads (*febre viária*) and cars was the Departamento de Estradas e Rodagem of Guanabara (DER-GB – Department of Highways and Roads). The DER-GB was an agency of the Secretaria de Obras Públicas, responsible for the application of funds that originated from the National Highway Fund (Fundo Rodoviário Nacional - DNER); thereby also largely responsible for building and allocating funds for the construction of roads that would link Guanabara with other regions of Brazil – primarily São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Brasília. Whereas the DER-GB was responsible for Guanabara’s highways, the construction of overpasses, viaducts, and the maintenance of city streets was assigned to SURSAN’s Departamento de Vias Urbanas (DVU). According to Santos, while integrating the automobile into Guanabara’s neighborhoods and streets was of primary importance for planners of SURSAN and the DER-GB, the overarching goals of all urban reforms under Lacerda and Negrão was to help stimulate economic growth and industry that had continuously diminished in Rio since the postwar period.¹⁹

In order to address the diminishing presence of industry within Guanabara, a mixed-enterprise company, Companhia de Progresso do Estado da Guanabara (COPEG) was established in October 1961. COPEG was created to produce an “incentive for industrial production,

¹⁹ Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, “Planejamento e Desenvolvimento: O Estado da Guanabara, Chapter 4, p.48; Angela Moulin S. Penalva Santos, *Economia, Espaço, e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro*, 141.

farming, cattle raising and poultry, with a view to raising the standard of living and improving the social welfare of the population through the encouragement, and enticing and the coordination of any private and public capital investments aiming at the installation, expansion or remodeling of industrial enterprises.”²⁰ Aside from developing strategies to attract new industry to Guanabara, COPEG also was concerned with the decentralization and expansion of new industrial areas in Guanabara, particularly in Santa Cruz. A credit subsidiary bank, COPEG Credito e Financiamento (COTEG), was established in order to provide financial support to the various industrial, cultural, and commercial entities within Guanabara. Through medium and long term loans, as well as capital subscriptions, COTEG would help existing and new industries build and modernize their plants and factories within the city-state. Additionally, the law firm of Joshua B. Powers of New York City was hired by COPEG and its subsidiaries in order to “disseminate in the industrial and financial sectors of the United States of America, news and information on the possibilities and advantages of industries in the state of Guanabara, and to orient and put the interested parties in touch with the grantor’s Board of Directors, with a view to making said investments and installations possible.”²¹

²⁰ “Law N° 47 of October 23, 1961: Institutes the Companhia Progresso do Estado da Guanabara (COPEG)” Document written in English found in CCL.

²¹ “Notas Sôbre a Primeira Reunião Conjunta dos Conselhos de Desenvolvimento e Fiscal e a Diretoria da COPEG” Original meeting was on January 4, 1962 at 9am. CCL.

The creation of new industrial districts on the periphery of the state was a priority for COPEG and the state of Guanabara. Aside from alleviating the central area of the city from traffic and pollution, the early technocrats of COPEG argued that existing and new industrialists needed more open space that would give the incentive to produce more efficiently and offer lower operational costs in the long run. Initiatives to create new industrial districts on the periphery of the city-state were related with plans to construct nearby housing complexes for lower income groups. The passage below foreshadows how another mixed-enterprise company in Guanabara, the Companhia de Habitação Popular do Estado da Guanabara (Popular Housing Company of Guanabara - COHAB-GB), would introduce initiatives, albeit rather polemical, to build new housing developments for members of the working class families who resided in favelas located in areas of the zona norte, sul, and centro. These matters regarding industrial development and the subsequent plan to construct nearby housing is colorfully cited in an internal memo written by a North American attorney who represented COPEG's international matters:

“Through the development of the industrial districts, a large number of new jobs will be created. The labourers will have a shorter trip to and from work, especially after our parent company has built or induced other agencies to build housing for labourers in the neighborhoods of the plants. By moving a number of industries from the downtown areas into the industrial districts, we help to disencumber an overcrowded area on one hand, and to re-quip, remodel and expand these same industries in their new quarters. The industrial districts will make it easier for the Government to provide for adequate public services. What the manufacturers lack,

*and constitutes therefore our task to supply, is the financial aid to effect such a move.”*²²

While Carlos Lacerda and his staff established an innovative and creative administrative framework to address the city-state’s problems by using autarquias (mixed enterprise government owned companies) and foundations, they still lacked the necessary funds in order to carry out ambitious projects that would rebuild and modernize Rio de Janeiro.

In order to fund and support most of his programs including urban development, Guanabara relied upon three main sources of funding: state and municipal revenue derived from sales, property and miscellaneous taxes, federal aid, and loans from programs and agencies such as the Alliance for Progress-USAID, the Inter-American Developmental Bank, and the Fundo do Trigo.²³ In their research

²² The above quote is from a document written in English summarizing the details of COPEG by Robert W. Bialek who was a special assistant to Joshua B. Powers, a New York based lawyer who represented COPEG and its subsidiaries. No date given. CCL.

²³ The “Fundo do Trigo” was a program established in 1961 that was tied to the United States’ Alliance for Progress program. According to Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca, the Fundo do Trigo was “a deal between the Brazilian and American governments whereby the United States, due to overproduction, had agreed to sell wheat to Brazil under advantageous conditions. It was not a gift but a loan with favorable terms: the cost of the wheat was to be paid over forty years, with two installments per year, at a five percent annual interest wheat; meanwhile, Brazil had the use of income from the sale of wheat. There was a US requirement that the funds thus made available should be linked to specific projects.” Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca “Banco Regional de Desenvolvimento do Extremo-Sul: A Regional Pro-Development Institution” *Business and Economic History* 27:2 (Winter 1998): 368. For perspectives on the Alliance for Progress see Ronald Scheman, editor, *The Alliance for Progress – A Retrospective* (New York: Praeger, 1988); Michael Latham, “Ideology, Social Science, and Destiny: Modernization and the Kennedy era Alliance for Progress,” *Diplomatic History* (Spring 1998): 199-230. Furthermore, while extremely complex, Guanabara did benefit from being a city-state in that it was able to capture all streams of state and municipal revenue. Both Mauro Osorio and Mauricio Perez discuss the complexities of this matter.

regarding the application of finances during the Guanabara period, economists Angela Santos and Mauro Osorio have concluded that federal aid played a minimal role in financing Guanabara's operations. Although the federal government had promised to fund a large slice of Guanabara's expenditures during its first gubernatorial term as a consequence of the transfer of the capital to Brasília, this money had a marginal role in contributing to the city-state's overall expenditures. Marly Motta attributes the difficulty of obtaining these promised federal funds largely to Lacerda's shaky relationship with both the Quadros and Goulart administrations, and his failure to have a majority within Guanabara's legislative assembly. During both the Lacerda and Negrão de Lima administrations, Guanabara ultimately paid for its expenses through revenue obtained through various taxes, state revenue, and foreign aid.²⁴

The introductory quote of this chapter contextualizes the broader social, political, and cultural tensions within Rio de Janeiro and Brazil during the early 1960s, as the gap and struggles between the center-right (UDN) and center-left (PSD-PTB) intensified particularly after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Lacerda was keenly aware that in order to implant his ambitious agenda he strategically needed to publicize to the United States how underdevelopment and left-leaning ideas could destroy the democratic future of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Lacerda

²⁴ This is a central theme in both works by Angela Santos (1990, 2003), as well as in the work by Mauro Osorio. For more details see Mauro Osorio *Rio Nacional, Rio Local: Mitos e Visões da crise Carioca e Fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora SENAC Rio, 2005); Motta, *Rio de Janeiro: de Cidade-Capital a Estado da Guanabara*, Chapter 4.

became known as Brazil's most outspoken anti-communist figure domestically and internationally, however this rhetoric alone did not secure his government the aid it needed to rebuild Guanabara - even if the Kennedy administration and subsequent lending agencies were certainly more inclined to offer their support to Lacerda. The process of securing aid, which came mainly in the form of loans, was a complex process for Guanabara as noted by Lacerda shortly before his death:

“[One] asks if Guanabara was privileged in receiving foreign loans, which indeed was the case – although it wasn’t the only state in Brazil to receive such funds...With the development of sectors such as the automobile industry during Kubitschek’s presidency, a large worldwide movement emerged in believing in the future of Brazil which eventually coincided with the Alliance for Progress. Thus, Guanabara benefited more than other states because we were proactive in exploring these programs...Yes, my government was privileged with receiving external funds, however they were overwhelmingly in the form of loans paid for by the tax payers of Guanabara, which had to be approved by the legislative assembly where I didn’t have a majority – in addition to creating a new tax for water – water that the city’s residents would only have several years down the line.”²⁵

1961 and 1962 were spent by members of Lacerda's staff formulating plans to finance and rebuild Guanabara by requesting funds from sources such as the Alliance for Progress/United States Agency for Development (USAID) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) in Washington, DC. The main priority for the solicitation of foreign loans

²⁵ Lacerda here is referring to the tax that was instituted in order to help subsidize the new water supply (Adutora do Guandu) system that his administration constructed. The majority of loans from the Inter-American Developmental Bank went into financing this project which would become known as the “Public Work of the Century.” There is indeed copious letters of correspondence located in Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CCL) among the various engineers of SURSAN, Lacerda, USAID, and IADB regarding the loans for this project. For more on this and the above quote see Carlos Lacerda, *Depoimento* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1977), 225-239.

and aid was to continue with the construction of the new water supply system, known as the Adutora do Guandu, along with accompanying sewage systems. According to official statistics reported by the state of Guanabara, five loan installments totaling US\$36 million were extended by the IADB in order to help finance the procurement and solicitation of external funds came with Lacerda's meeting with John F. Kennedy at the White House in March 1962. Prior to their meeting, Lacerda drafted a five point letter regarding the importance that aid programs such as the Alliance for Progress had for Rio de Janeiro. The letter, which was given to Kennedy during their meeting, highlighted Lacerda's beliefs on how the funding of educational and youth vocational training programs could preserve the democratic future of Brazil. Lacerda concluded his letter to Kennedy with a point that he knew would resonate with the democratic principles and social development components of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress:

“Rio de Janeiro, the new state of Guanabara, has the biggest potential labor market in Brazil. It is the second industrial center and the focus of national migration. It has a deficit of ten thousand housed per annum an accumulated deficit for ten years. My state is and could be even more the showcase for Democratic progress in Brazil. It is the main center of the Communist effort. Powder may lie in the Northeast of Brazil but the wick is in Rio.”²⁶

²⁶ “Letter from Lacerda to the Honorable John F. Kennedy,” March 26, 1962, CCL. The details regarding the meeting with JFK are contained in Carlos Lacerda, *Uma Rosa é Uma Rosa é Uma Rosa* 2nd Edition, (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record, 1965), 45-72. Lacerda was a great admirer of JFK, as he had written the preface to a Brazilian edition of Kennedy's book. Lacerda's future publishing company, Nova Fronteira (New Frontier), would be named in honor of JFK.

Alliance for Progress and donations from the Fundo do Trigo eventually did manage to reach Lacerda, and was subsequently applied mainly to COHAB's public housing initiatives on the periphery of the city-state, and the construction of public schools. The first two housing communities constructed in Guanabara, with the help from the Alliance for Progress, consequently were named in order to honor the donors: Vila Aliança and Vila Kennedy.

The government of Guanabara also looked to procure loans for other sectors such as public housing, industrial development, and the building of public schools. While Guanabara was successful in acquiring loans and funds from the agencies listed above to help finance projects the water works, sewage, public housing, and schools, requests for the financing of certain projects that would bolster Rio's tourism industry did not fare as well. In response to Lacerda's request for help with the funding of the construction of new hotels in Rio de Janeiro, IADB President, Felipe Herrera, replied: "While the IADB is aware of the importance of tourism to the state of Guanabara, the executive council of the IADB considers these concerns as secondary in nature, rather prioritizing more immediate economic development concerns."²⁷

During Lacerda's administration, federal assistance and financial support never accounted for more than 4% of Guanabara's total expenditures. Similarly, external loans and aid never comprised more

²⁷ Letter from Felipe Herrera to Carlos Lacerda, 21 May 1962, CCL.

than 5% of Guanabara's annual spending; even though from 1962 to 1964 this source of aid was slightly greater than that of the federal government's. Moreover, donations from the Alliance for Progress and Fundo do Trigo accounted for a mere 10% of all foreign funds (both loans and donations), whereas Guanabara only received 5% of all Alliance for Progress funds that was earmarked for Brazil.²⁸

The makeover that the city of Rio de Janeiro would experience from 1960 to 1970 ultimately was obtained from revenue generated from within the city-state through revenue derived from investment and the increasing of tax rates. Transnational and foreign sources of aid were certainly critical in order for the state of Guanabara to initiate or implement its ambitious urban renewal agenda, particularly regarding the water works, however I would argue that the fierce debates regarding the use of foreign capital by Lacerda's administration is more symbolic of the broader socio-cultural and political tensions within Brazil during the early 1960s than in their overall importance in funding urban renewal.

3.3 Projects for a Novo Rio: A Febre Viária and Tunnel Vision

By the late 1950s, the urban reform agenda in Rio de Janeiro, like many cities, began to focus more on the modernization of the city's infrastructure and developing strategies to incorporate the automobile into the urban landscape. While Rio de Janeiro was still revered for its natural beauty and rich and diverse cultural scene, the city had daily

²⁸ Perez, 83-87.

struggles with the lack of water, traffic, sewage, housing, and the circulation of traffic. Solutions to these problems eventually became central components to both Carlos Lacerda's and Negrão de Lima's administrations (1960-71), as the city experienced its most intense phase of both urban development and population growth.

Many of the projects that were constructed during the 1960s originated from plans that were developed by various urbanists and engineers during the federal district years of the 1950s. In a span of ten years, the growth of the city's infrastructure increased miraculously compared to all other recent administrations combined. My approach in the remainder of this chapter will be to focus on some of the major planning schemes that transformed the spatial configuration of Rio de Janeiro during Carlos Lacerda's administration (December 1960 to December 1965). Rather than broadly focus on all of the reforms during this time period, I intend to dedicate my analysis to the major roadway projects of the period such as the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo, as well as the Túneis Santa Bárbara and Rebouças (obras viárias).

Lacerda's government also addressed many other sectors of Guanabara's infrastructure such as the building of public schools, hospitals, sewage systems, and the supply of water. The construction of a new water supply system known as the Adutora do Guandú, was planned and constructed during Lacerda's term and declared the "public work of the century" among planners and technocrats. This project was

the recipient of approximately \$US 36 million dollars of aid from the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and unquestionably altered the quality of life for millions of cariocas throughout all zones of the city.

The debates, politics, and legacies of the eradication of favelas and the subsequent building of popular housing complexes such as Vila Aliança (Senador Camará), Vila Kennedy (Bangu), Vila Esperança (Vigário Geral), and Cidade de Deus (Jacarepaguá) have been fully investigated by numerous scholars, and contextualize some of the most vigorous controversies regarding urban renewal in the 1960s.²⁹ Conversely, the investigation of public works such as tunnels, parks, viaducts, and overpasses have usually been given secondary or little focus in most of the scholarship written on Rio in the second half of the twentieth century, as the city continued to grow and expand. While many scholars have shown through the study of favelas and housing how the socio-cultural and spatial dynamics of Rio de Janeiro were transformed during the 1960 and 1970s, my approach is to emphasize how the febre viária played a critical role in the reformulation of urban space and socio-spatial identity in Rio de Janeiro.

Among the numerous urban renewal and embellishment plans that will be unveiled for the 400th anniversary of the city of São

²⁹ For the most informative study regarding the eradication and resettlement policies regarding the favelas of Rio de Janeiro in the 1960s and early 1970s see Licia do Prado Valladares, *Passa-Se Uma Casa: Análise do Programa de Remoção de Favelas do Rio de Janeiro, 2nd Edition* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1980). Also noteworthy is Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Also consult the interviews with José Arthur Rios and Sandra Cavalcanti in *Capítulos da Memória do Urbanismo Carioca*, Chapter 2 entitled “O que fazer com a população pobre? A favela nos anos 1960.”

Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro, many are already under construction...Engineer Enaldo Cravo Peixoto acknowledged that projects under his supervision such as the construction of tunnels and overpasses, as well as the pavement of roads and avenues throughout the city, particularly in the subúrbios, are well underway. Tunnels have always been the ideal solution to open passageways and cut down on distances in a city that is full of hills and lowlands; as they offer a practical solution to disperse the turbulent congestion of traffic in a growing metropolis. Numerous tunnels are being constructed and excavated and should be ready in order to commemorate the city's 400th anniversary. One of them is the Rio Comprido-Lagoa, which will be constructed in two segments: Rio Comprido to Cosme Velho (from the end of Avenida Paulo de Frontin to the Rua das Laranjeiras, at the juncture of the Largo do Boticário approximately) and Cosme Velho to Lagoa. Another tunnel that will aid in the circulation of transit will be the one of Catumbi-Laranjeiras which will extend from the Rua Pinheiro Machado in Laranjeiras to the end of the Rua dos Coqueiros in Catumbi...The túnel Toneleros-Pompeu Loureiro has also been promised to be ready for 1965.³⁰

“When the tunnel (Santa Bárbara) is completed next year, it will be possible to drive in a matter of minutes from the western industrial complex to the residential areas of the south, by passing midtown Rio. The trip can now take more than one hour during rush hour.”³¹

Prior to the 1950s, many engineers and planners had devised numerous plans to improve the circulation of traffic in Rio de Janeiro. Aside from the tremendous growth in population, Rio de Janeiro was extremely hindered by its topography and inability to go from the north and south without passing through the centro. Gradually, the main corridors of the centro, Avenida Central and Avenida Presidente Vargas

³⁰ “Rio, IV Centenário: Novos Túneis Cortarão a Cidade e Lagoa Ficarão Livres da Mortandade.” *Diário de Notícias* 22 June 1962. The tunnel of Toneleros-Pompeu Loureiro would later be called Túnel Major Vaz in honor of Major Rubens Vaz who was killed in an attempt on Carlos Lacerda's life by some of Getúlio Vargas' followers in 1954.

³¹ Tad Szulc, “Rio de Janeiro gets a Prettying Up,” *New York Times* 18 October 1959, x33.

became constantly congested due to the confluence of pedestrians, antiquated streetcars, and increasing numbers of automobiles. The main solutions that evolved in the postwar period involved the construction of numerous tunnels, expressways, overpasses, and several proposals for a new mass transit system (*metrô*). This emphasis on accommodating the automobile had numerous consequences for the city and its residents as many of Rio's neighborhoods suffered tremendous consequences as a result of these tunnels, expressways, viaducts, and elevated ramps.

Although the amount of public works and urban reforms that were realized during the 1950s were insufficient to relieve the city from the pressures of population growth, a new generation of architects and planners drafted plans for new arteries, expressways, and tunnels that would circumvent the centro as well as connect the zona norte with the zona sul. Many of these projects that were either drafted or initiated in the 1950s would become the core urban renewal and *obras viárias* of both the Lacerda and Negrão de Lima administrations. The majority of all road and urban renewal projects were executed by the autarquia SURSAN, along with other indirect administrative entities such as the DER-GB. As much as these projects were implemented in order to help relieve the problems of traffic congestion and population density in some of Rio's neighborhoods, they also coincided with the spirit of

developmentalism and enthusiasm for the automobile that was cultivated during Juscelino Kubitschek's presidency (1956-61).

Many of these engineers that were employed by SURSAN were eager to demonstrate how their "expert" technocratic approach to planning would not only improve Rio's urban infrastructure, but also serve as a benchmark for the rest of the planning community of Brazil and Latin America. In his quantitative work on public works in Rio from 1938 to 1965, Mauro Kleiman concludes that expressways, overpasses, and viaducts joined with skyscrapers to form the base of Brazilian national development. Even after the transfer of the capital to Brasília, the engineers of SURSAN, many Cariocas, and politicians such as Lacerda were eager to show that Rio would be the pioneer of a style of urban planning that would integrate the automobile into an urban setting where high-rise buildings and expressways began to dominate the scenery throughout all neighborhoods of the city.³²

Beginning in the 1950s, a new strategy was developed concerning the design and implementation of roads and expressways throughout the city. According to an official SURSAN planning document, five main principles were established in formulating Guanabara's road planning strategies:³³

³² Kleiman, 315.

³³ See the "compilation" booklet published by the Estado da Guanabara, *Os 19 Viadutos do Plano Viário no Governo Carlos Lacerda* (Rio de Janeiro: Estado da Guanabara/SURSAN/Governo Carlos Lacerda). Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. No date given – filed under Viadutos.

1. The development of new arteries and expressways that would facilitate the connection between populous areas of the city as well as with the centro.
2. Improvements along the existing main corridors of the city.
3. Projects that aid in the better flow of traffic in all zones of the city.
4. Better integration of the road network with the industrial zones of the city-state.
5. The improvement, expansion, and restoration of arteries which have the most intense traffic.

One of the first projects initiated by Lacerda's administration in the early 1960s was to finish the construction of the Túnel Catumbi-Laranjeiras (Túnel Santa Bárbara). This tunnel was designed to link the zona sul neighborhood of Laranjeiras with Catumbi located between the centro and zona norte. Seen as a practical solution to alleviate the traffic congestion that the centro had experienced since the inauguration of Avenida Presidente Vargas in the mid 1940s, the initial construction of the tunnel began during General Ângelo Mendes de Moraes' tenure (1947-51) in the late 1940s. However, it stalled numerous times throughout the 1950s mainly due to the lack of finances as well as engineering and excavation difficulties.

The broader scheme of this tunnel extended beyond solely linking Catumbi with Laranjeiras, as the Túnel Santa Bárbara was envisioned as a portion of the Linha Lilás expressway that eventually would link Santo Cristo (zona portuária) and Copacabana (Avenida Atlântica). Originally planned in the early 1920s, this route's was designed was to connect Santo Cristo to Catumbi via viaducts over the Avenida Presidente Vargas, and then eventually extending to Laranjeiras by way of the Túnel Santa

Bárbara. In Laranjeiras, this route would extend from the Rua Pinheiro Machado and Rua Farani to the Praia de Botafogo and continue via the Túnel Pasmado and the Túnel do Leme to Avenida Princesa Isabel, eventually ending at the Avenida Atlântica in Copacabana.³⁴ In order to facilitate the flow of vehicles entering the tunnel, SURSAN built two complementary viaducts on both the northern (Catumbi) and southern (Laranjeiras) sides of the tunnel.³⁵

Even before the tunnel opened it gained notoriety as the “túnel da morte (tunnel of death)” as several workers’ lives were sacrificed in the construction of the tunnel.³⁶ In order to honor these workers, a small chapel was built in a grotto within the confinements of the tunnel, which was decorated with a tiled mural designed by the Brazilian artist Djanira da Mota e Silva. The moniker given to the tunnel was derived from Santa

³⁴ José de Oliveira Reis, “Principais Vias e Arterias do Plano Diretor do Rio de Janeiro,” *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara* (Janeiro-Junho 1960):11; ““Linha Lilás” arraste-se há 55 anos e Tamoio aceita desafio,” *Jornal do Brasil* 16 February 1976. The eventual Santo Cristo-Copacabana connection, known also as the Linha Lilás, would not be completely finished until the early 1980s. According to the aforementioned *Jornal do Brasil* article, the total length of the route would extend about 12 km, and took 27 different administrations to complete the entire project.

³⁵ In Catumbi it was known as Viaduto Doutor Agra which passed over the street with the same name, and in Laranjeiras Viaduto Engenheiro Noronha was designed to cross over Rua Pinheiro Machado and connect to the Rua das Laranjeiras, the main corridor of that neighborhood. See Araldo de Oliveira Monteiro Santos, “Viaduto Engenheiro Noronha,” *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara* (Janeiro-Dezembro 1962): 25-29.

³⁶ “Túnel da Morte: Ligação Norte-Sul em Condições Precárias,” *Diário de Notícias* 9 January 1962. According to this report and other studies, a total of 18 workers died throughout the 15 years of construction. See Ronaldo Cerqueira Carvalho, “Rio de Janeiro: Uma Cidade Conectada por Túneis,” (Coleção Estudos da Cidade: Instituto Pereira Passos, 2004), 28.

Bárbara's designation as the patron saint of subterranean workers and miners.³⁷

The Túnel Santa Bárbara was opened to limited traffic in July 1963, and later operating at full capacity in April 1964. Interestingly, this tunnel and the larger network of roads in Guanabara overwhelmingly catered to the individual automobile, as evidenced by a SURSAN advisory that warned that access to pedestrians, bicycles, large trucks, buses, and any vehicles carrying gaseous material were prohibited from navigating through the tunnel.³⁸

The Túnel Santa Bárbara and several of its complementary viaducts was the first major roadway project terminated by SURSAN during Lacerda's administration. Consequently it was accompanied by a massive publicity campaign to display the efficiency and progress of his administration. Some of the ways that he did this was by taking out full-page advertisements in newspapers to announce the completion of a certain project, or by printing up pamphlets and brochures describing the present and future projects that his administration, along with SURSAN and organs such as the DER-GB, that would create a modern Rio de Janeiro.³⁹ It is noteworthy that in many of these pamphlets and

³⁷ Carvalho, 29. The tiled mural by Djanira (1914-1978) began to decompose over time from intense humidity and pollution, thus in the mid 1980s the mural was removed from the tunnel for restoration. Presently, it has been refurbished and is located on the Pátio Lily e Roberto Marinho at the Museu das Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro.

³⁸ "Túnel Santa Bárbara (Catumbi-Laranjeiras) – AVISO," *Diário de Notícias* 23 April 1964.

advertisements, Lacerda's name **always** appears in them above the state of Guanabara and entities such as SURSAN or the DER-GB. In a pamphlet regarding the tunnels of the city, the following is written about Túnel Santa Barbara (Catumbi-Laranjeiras):

*Túnel Santa Barbara was opened on July 29, 1963 which links Catumbi to Laranjeiras in the span of five minutes, currently serving about one million vehicles a month. 1,357 meters long, it is one of the most modern in the world. Its construction makes it possible to avoid the centro while going from north to south. Initiated almost 16 years before, **only now** is the tunnel available for use. The government of Carlos Lacerda, aside from all the installations of illumination, ventilation, and traffic signs, also constructed complementary works in order to permit the complete use of the tunnel.⁴⁰*

There are several ways to read this passage. On the surface, it appears as a plain description of the tunnel and its function, however underneath there are a few interesting points that highlight the broader urbanistic and political implications of the tunnel. Urbanistically, the tunnel represented a major accomplishment in adding a major north-south route within the city, even if the traffic was limited to individual automobiles. At the time of inauguration, the tunnel was declared the largest and most modern within Latin America, which also fits into the greater agenda of Lacerda and SURSAN: to show that they had the technocratic and administrative aptitude to transform Rio into a model

³⁹ See the "compilation" booklet published by the State of Guanabara, *A SURSAN E O Novo Rio*. (RJ: Estado da Guanabara/SURSAN/Governo Carlos Lacerda). No date given on the pamphlet (circa 1963), but it is available in the Library Collection at the Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (AGCRJ) under the filing of viadutos.

⁴⁰ Estado da Guanabara - Governo Carlos Lacerda, *Os Túneis da Guanabara*. No date given on the pamphlet - AGCRJ under the filing of túneis.

for modern city planning throughout Brazil and Latin America. The aim of this propaganda was also to remind the public (and voters), that his leadership produced efficient results, particularly in reference to his populist rivals in the PTB, PSD, and even his own party (UDN). Thus, Lacerda utilized his political, journalistic, and marketing skills to remind the public that he had the “know-how,” connections, and résumé to become a viable candidate for the presidency of Brazil in 1965.

The Túnel Santa Bárbara did alleviate some of the traffic congestion from the central areas of the city, however a more direct connection between the zona norte and zona sul was still necessary as traffic from cars and the new combustible buses increased dramatically throughout the city.⁴¹ Since the times of the Plano Agache (1930), one proposed remedy for the lack of a zona norte-zona sul connection was to excavate a tunnel from Rio Comprido in the zona norte to Lagoa in the zona sul via the maciço da Tijuca. An actual project, the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa was proposed during Alim Pedro’s mayoral administration in 1955, however the necessary funds and commitment to the project faltered. This urban tunnel would become a reality in the early 1960s, as a group of engineers employed by SURSAN and the DER-GB lobbied Lacerda to undertake this massive project.

According to Mauro Magalhães, Lacerda opposed the Rio Comprido-Lagoa project, on the grounds that it was an elitist endeavor

⁴¹ Starting in the early 1960s, the trolleys (bondes) that circulated throughout all regions of the city, began to get replaced by electric and then combustible buses.

that would primarily benefit the wealthiest sectors of the city's population.⁴² Lacerda later revealed that it was the insistence of Marcos Tamoyo, an engineer who specialized in tunnels, that persuaded Lacerda into initiating construction of the gigantic public work.⁴³ Aside from Lacerda's concerns regarding the benefits of the tunnel to the majority of Rio's residents, there were also major apprehensions regarding the affordability of such an immense venture. Rather than raising taxes as they did to pay for the water supply system (Adutora do Guandu) or procure foreign funds or loans, Lacerda and his advisors relied on creative financing and negotiation in order to construct the "largest urban tunnel in the world."

Since its creation in the 1940s, the Departamento de Estradas e Rodagem (DER) was responsible for allocating and supervising the funds distributed from the Fundo Rodoviário Nacional (National Highway Fund or DNER). The majority of these funds were obtained through tax revenue, and each state and municipality subsequently received a varying amount of funds primarily based upon population and

⁴² Mauro Magalhães, *Carlos Lacerda: O Sonhador Pragmático* 2nd Edition (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1993): 133. Mauro Magalhães was the UDN leader in the Assembléia Legislativa do Estado da Guanabara during Lacerda's governorship.

⁴³ Lacerda, *Depoimento*, 234. Marcos Tamoyo, also known as Marcos Tamoio, eventually became mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro in the late 1970s after the state of Guanabara and state of Rio de Janeiro fused. Some of the initial sketches of his ideas for the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa (later named Rebouças), are contained in his archive at the Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (AGCRJ). Many of these initial sketches were eventually published in official planning documents and journals such as the *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara*.

geographic size.⁴⁴ Since Guanabara was an urban city-state, Lacerda convinced the DNER as well as the DER-GB that federal highway money would be best used within the broader *plano viário* of the city of Rio de Janeiro rather than on the underdeveloped peripheral areas of the state.⁴⁵ After intense negotiation and organization of finances, it was decided that the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa would serve as a part of the Rio de Janeiro-Santos federal highway known as BR-101; thereby justifying use of DNER and DER-GB money for a road within the confines of the city. Therefore, while serving as a much needed link between the zona norte and the zona sul, the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa also would be part the state and federal road network and become a joint financial and engineering endeavor between the DER-GB and SURSAN (Division of tunnels, public works, and urban roads).

The Rio Comprido-Lagoa tunnel (later named Túnel Rebouças) was designed to be approximately 2,800 meters long with two separate galleries for traffic going in each direction (north-south).⁴⁶ The first part of the tunnel linked Rio Comprido with Cosme Velho in the zona sul by

⁴⁴ Perez, 200-01. Perez calculates that the DER funds never exceeded more than 20% of the costs for urbanization or expressway projects in the state of Guanabara during Lacerda's administration.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that while Lacerda was at odds with both Presidents Jânio Quadros and João Goulart, the *Ministro da Viação e Obras Públicas* was Virgílio Távora, a national member of Lacerda's party – UDN. Furthermore, in his *Depoimento*, Lacerda commented that he had to fire the head of the DER-GB because he would not use DER funds to build expressways inside of Rio.

⁴⁶ The tunnel was named in the honor of two engineers of African descent – brothers André and Antônio Rebouças. Both were graduates of the *Escola Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro*.

cutting through the maciço da Tijuca for a total of 760 meters, and continue in another tunnel from Cosme Velho to Lagoa in the zona sul for a length of 2,040 meters.⁴⁷ Similar to the Túnel Santa Bárbara, several accompanying viaducts were built in order to facilitate the entrance and circulation of automobiles within the tunnels such as the Viaduto Machado de Assis above the Rua Cosme Velho, and the Viaduto Saint Hilaire above the Rua Jardim Botânico, at the exit of the tunnel in Lagoa. Shortly after the inauguration of the tunnel in 1965 and 1967, work began on the construction of a viaduct on the northern end of the tunnel in Rio Comprido – the Elevado de Paulo de Frontin.⁴⁸

Comparable to the Túnel Santa Bárbara, vehicles passing through the two tunnels of the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa could travel through the city from the zona sul to the zona norte and be able to access areas such as Tijuca, São Cristóvão, the port, and the various suburbs along the Avenida Brasil as well as the Leopoldina and Central do Brasil rail lines without having to pass through the central area of the city. Likewise, passengers going from North to South would be able to reach the Lagoa, Jardim Botânico, Humaitá, Botafogo, Gávea, Copacabana, Leblon, and Ipanema at a much quicker pace than ever

⁴⁷ For background information and statistics on the Túnel Rebouças see Marcos Tamoyo, Head of SURSAN's tunnel division, "Túnel Rebouças" *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara* (1962): 36-42. See map in appendix.

⁴⁸ See the conclusion (Chapter 7) for more information on this matter.

before and eventually continue along to Barra da Tijuca and the Rio-Santos highway (BR-101).⁴⁹

The initial contracts for the construction of the tunnel were signed between SURSAN and the firm of L. Quattroni in March 1962 at a favorable price for the city-state, however this particular company was unable to fulfill the obligations of the contract as construction fell behind schedule by late 1963. The firm of SERVIX-Engenharia S/A soon inherited the construction of the Cosme Velho-Lagoa portion of the tunnel, while the company of TENCO assumed the construction of the Rio Comprido-Cosme Velho section of the tunnel.⁵⁰ Aside from the disarray left by the firm of L. Quattroni, there also appeared to be extreme difficulties in accessing the necessary allocated funds for the building of the Túnel Rebouças. Furthermore, the excavation process on the northern end of the tunnel (Rio Comprido) was extremely arduous due to the geological composition of the maciço da Tijuca as well as the need to offer a fair market price to displaced residents.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The planning and connection to Barra da Tijuca by tunnels, known as the Auto-Estrada Lagoa-Barra, would be implemented during Negrão de Lima's administration (1965-71). See chapter 5 for more details.

⁵⁰ Two internal documents convey the contractual, financial, and engineering difficulties with the construction of the Túnel Rebouças: "Relatório sobre a Contrato da Firma Servix Engenharia S/A para Execução das Obras do Túnel Cosme Velho-Lagoa," 5 March 1964, CCL; "Reunião do Dia 20 de Abril 1964," Arquivo Marcos Tamoyo – AGCRJ. While Lacerda certainly had his opinions in these meetings regarding organizational and merit of the tunnel, it is apparent that the role of Marcos Tamoyo (Director of SURSAN's Tunnel Division) and Jorge Bauer (Director of the DER-GB) were the main figureheads behind the daily operations and policies.

Lacerda opened the Túnel Rebouças to experimental traffic in September 1965, however it was not until Negrão de Lima's administration (October 1967) that the tunnel received regular automobile traffic - albeit only during the morning and evening rush hour.⁵² Aside from administrative and financial difficulties that the Lacerda and Negrão administrations had in finishing the tunnel, the engineers of SURSAN and the DER-GB also dealt with obstacles regarding ventilation and the excess of carbon monoxide particles, as well as the unstable condition of the tunnel's inner structure and lanes. On November 10, 1972, "the largest urban tunnel in the world," began to function at full capacity in both tunnels and in both directions.⁵³

Even though the Túnel Rebouças was not opened to the public during Lacerda's term, he was still on intent on displaying how his leadership was responsible for the modernizing the city of Rio de Janeiro. The various technocrats of organizations such as SURSAN and the DER-GB were also keen to display their positions of being at the vanguard of city planning in Brazil. Similar to the Túnel Santa Bárbara and the numerous constructed viaducts throughout the city, Lacerda and

⁵¹ This information is conveyed by an engineer in a recent short documentary on the Túnel Rebouças available in the series entitled "Histórias do Rio." Accessed online <http://rjtv.globo.com> 4 March 2006.

⁵² "Povo Ganha mas Negrão Perde com a abertura do Rebouças," *Jornal do Brasil* 1 October 1967; "Túnel Rebouças entra hoje em Funcionamento," *Jornal do Brasil* 3 October 1967; "Negrão Abre ao Tráfego o Rebouças sem Formalidades," 4 October 1967;

⁵³ "Túnel Rebouças funciona hoje com sua capacidade total depois de 11 anos," *Jornal do Brasil* 10 November 1972, Primeiro Caderno.

SURSAN developed pamphlets and published advertisements regarding the importance and achievements of this “technocratic expertise.” Lacerda and the head of SURSAN, Engineer Enaldo Cravo Peixoto, issued a variety of publications regarding the projects and progress during their tenure together. In most of these publications and advertisements, they highlighted their accomplishments not only with words, but also with graphs and charts as with the following excerpt which refers to the Túnel Rebouças:

*“From 1887 to 1960 (73 years) 3,098 meters of tunnels were opened to solve the problem of transportation in Rio. This total **includes** Túnel Santa Barbara. The government of Carlos Lacerda already has opened the 220-meter Túnel Major Vaz, and with the completion of the Túnel Rio Comprido-Lagoa, this grand total will come to 5,820 meters. In five years - that practically **doubles** the amount that all the previous administrations took 73 years to construct.”*⁵⁴

The building of tunnels, roads, viaducts, water and sewage systems, and schools were certainly the hallmark of Lacerda’s administration, along with his initiatives to build public housing complexes for the residents of the numerous favelas that were removed throughout the city. The termination and subsequent construction of the Santa Bárbara, Rebouças, and Major Vaz tunnels were major public works that were tied to a broader scheme of making the automobile more integral to Rio’s neighborhoods and topographical makeup. In order to accompany the increasing flow of traffic and new routes established

⁵⁴ *Os Túneis da Guanabara*, 15 (AGCRJ).

throughout the city-state as developed through the SURSAN and DER-GB road plan, several new overpasses and viaducts were constructed and inaugurated during Lacerda's administration. These viaducts solved the problems of traffic congestion within the streets of numerous neighborhoods, as well as a more direct connection to the new arteries and expressways being constructed throughout Guanabara. The design, construction, and inauguration of these viaducts carried a slogan: 1 viaduct, every 3 months, during 5 years. By the end of Lacerda's term in December 1965, SURSAN and the DER eventually built 19 new viaducts throughout all regions of the city, most notably in the subúrbios.⁵⁵

3.4 Collision Course: Park Design and the Febre Viária

"The foremost enemy of beauty and comfort in a large city is the automobile. Large lanes and parking lots are continuously destroying the city's historic buildings, streets, gardens, squares, and the urbanistic character that has distinguished (Rio) from other large cities."⁵⁶

Another major public work that was undertaken by SURSAN during Carlos Lacerda's tenure as governor of Guanabara was the design and termination of the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo. The process of

⁵⁵ Estado da Guanabara, *Os 19 Viadutos do Plano Viário no Govêrno Carlos Lacerda*, 3. Much like the tunnels, the inaugurations of these viaducts were greatly publicized in the press. For some examples see "O Viaduto José Lins do Rego," *O Globo* 6 September 1965, 5; "O Governador Carlos Lacerda Inaugura a Viaduto dos Fuzileiros, o 15° do Nôvo Rio," *Diário de Notícias* 30 September 1965; "CL inaugura Viaduto com Solenidade," *Diário de Notícias* 25 February 1965; "Rio ganha hoje seu viaduto mais largo," *Diário de Notícias* 14 September 1965; "Viaduto Abrirá Caminho Para Trabalhador," *Diário de Notícias* 26 February 1965; "Nôvo Rio com Viadutos vai servir 600 mil Suburbanos," *Diário de Notícias* 3 October 1964; "Quatro Viadutos que Serão Símbolo da Atual Remodelação do Rio," *O Globo* 25 February 1964.

⁵⁶ Maria Carlota de Macedo Soares, "A Urbanização do Aterrado Glória-Flamengo," *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara* (Janeiro-Dezembro 1962): 6.

making landfills and building above the water, known as *aterros*, was a common practice in Rio de Janeiro since the beginning of the early 20th century. By the postwar area, the use of *aterros* became more common in order to create new roads and open space in the city. Similarly, the razing of hills (*morros*), throughout the city's neighborhoods was also seen as a solution in order to incorporate the automobile to the city's physical geography.

The 1,200,000m² Aterro and Parque do Flamengo, was built on a landfill extending from the Santos Dumont Airport (Avenida Beira Mar) on the fringes of the centro to Botafogo. The razing of the Morro do Santo Antônio and subsequent filling in the surrounding area coincided with the construction of the Avenida Perimetral and the XXXVI International Eucharistic Conference in January 1955, which displaced many lower class residents without any compensation. Initiatives to bulldoze the Santo Antônio hill had gone back decades, as new arteries such as the Avenida Perimetral and Avenida Chile were proposed to connect the centro with the zona sul and Avenida Brasil.

The aterro was built during the 1950s primarily with the dirt accumulated from leveling the Morro do Santo Antônio. The northern end of the aterro and park would house the future Museum of Modern Art (MAM) designed by Affonso Eduardo Reidy and a modernist monument to honor the Brazilian troops who served in World War II. An article from the *New York Times* in 1961 synthesizes the significance of

the transformation of urban space in this section of Rio de Janeiro with the following commentary:

“Where São Antônio Hill, an ugly landmark covered by squatters’ shacks and old houses once stood in the middle of Rio, new, tree-shaded, broad avenues now are being completed to speed up traffic. Guanabara Bay has been filled in with the rubble and stone of São Antônio Hill to create a two-mile long, half mile-wide strip of new land, maintaining the old, graceful curve of the shoreline, and providing space for two expressways carrying fast traffic to southern residential suburbs. So that the beach-going habits of the inhabitants of the areas along the new boulevards will not be disturbed, an artificial sand beach is being added at the new water line. The entire expanse of land between the freeways will be landscaped so as to preserve the old atmosphere of the bayside boulevards. At the northern end of the filled-in area, the Museum of Modern Art has risen near the impressive, modernistic monument to Brazil’s war dead of World War II. Driving from the far end of Copacabana to Rio’s business center, one can now avoid most of the heavy traffic by using the new system of tunnels, freeways and elevated highways. And in spite of its financial difficulties, the city’s engineers come up every day with big and little ideas to improve the metropolis as it continues to grow.”⁵⁷

SURSAN’s plans to continue with the design and construction of the new park coincided with the election of Carlos Lacerda in 1960. Rather than entrusting the higher-ups in SURSAN with the design and construction of the park, Lacerda appointed his longtime friend, Maria Carlota Costallat de Macedo Soares (Lota), as the head of a new working group that would advise and support SURSAN in the design and creation of the Parque do Flamengo. A socialite from one of Rio’s elite families, Lota was extremely well connected with the upper crust of Rio’s intelligentsia and politicians, as author Carmen Oliveira notes:

⁵⁷ Tad Szulc, “Rio Pushes its Expansion,” *New York Times* 15 January 1961, xx1.

*“Like most of the upper-class women of her generation, Maria Carlota Costallat de Macedo Soares had had tutors and studied in Europe, but she had not gone to university. Yet she knew everything about architecture. Her library on the subject was exemplary. She had closely followed the work of the young architects in the vanguard of the construction of the Ministry of Education in Rio de Janeiro. She was a friend of the most respected Brazilian architects.”*⁵⁸

Appointing Lota as the head of a commission that reported directly to the governor had adverse consequences for Lacerda as well as Lota. Lota assured Lacerda that the park would be his greatest legacy, but many of the SURSAN technocrats opposed working for someone who had no technical expertise or a university-level degree. These sentiments were further compounded by the fact that Lota was a woman and one who barely concealed her lesbian relationship with a North American poet. Along with their distaste for Lota’s reputation for being temperamental, domineering, and longstanding friend of the governor, there was a strong belief and tradition among the male dominated planning community that urbanism and planning were activities solely for trained architects, engineers, and other technical professions. This clearly exemplifies the

⁵⁸ Carmen L. Oliveira, *Rare and Commonplace Flowers: The Story of Elizabeth Bishop and Lota de Macedo Soares* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002). This book was originally published in Portuguese as *Floras Raras e Banalíssimas: A História de Lota de Macedo Soares e Elizabeth Bishop* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1995), 11. While the theme of this book is dedicated to the relationship between Lota and Bishop, the history of Lota’s role in the design of the park is an integral part of the book. Ultimately, it was Lota’s obsession with the details of the park, aside from Bishop’s alcoholism that put a strain on their relationship during the 1960s. Interestingly, many of the same letters exchanged among Lota, Lacerda, various SURSAN engineers, and Roberto Burle Marx that I uncovered in the Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CCL) in Brasília formed the basis for Oliveira’s history of the park. This is significant because although many of Lota’s letters were marked confidential, they often were circulated among Lacerda’s closest advisors such as Rafael Almeida de Magalhães and did not solely remain in possession of the governor. **Note:** Oliveira does not cite or document the specific date of such letters.

“top-down” technocratic and expert notion that was cultivated by organizations and entities such as SURSAN during the 1960s and 1970s.

Since his campaign for the governorship, Lacerda had promised to introduce a system that encouraged competition for jobs and merit-based promotions. By arbitrarily nominating Lota the head of an advisory commission, Lacerda’s fiercest critics noted his own hypocrisy in handing out favors to a longstanding friend. Amidst the criticism from his allies and rivals, Lacerda instructed Rafael Almeida de Magalhães to nominate Lota the head of this new advisory commission on January 18, 1961.⁵⁹ Through their conversations and letters, Lota maintained that the Parque do Flamengo was a project of an urbane and sophisticated governor and ultimately, nobody would remember him for constructing schools, supplying the city with adequate water supply, and new and improved roads.⁶⁰ Although Lota had a passion for architecture and a love for city life, her disdain for focusing urban planning schemes that centered on the role of the automobile clearly influenced her own agenda in embellishing and designing the new park.

In order to design and build the “largest urban park in the world,” Lota called on an all-star cast of Brazilian architects and designers to

⁵⁹ Memorandum from Carlos Lacerda to Rafael Almeida de Magalhães, 18 January 1961, CCL.

⁶⁰ Many examples of these letters are in the CCL. For one example see the letter written by Lota to Lacerda on 20 August 1963 where Lota declares that overage in costs are warranted since “**é uma obra de governador culto!!**”

assist her in giving Lacerda his Central Park à Carioca.⁶¹ Joining Lota as part of the *Grupo de Trabalho* were famed architects Jorge Moreira, Sérgio Bernardes, and Affonso Eduardo Reidy, landscape architect and designer Roberto Burle Marx, and botanist Luiz Emygdio de Mello Filho. This team of notables, along with the technocrats of SURSAN and consultants such as the Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia de Lisboa completely urbanized and designed the majority of the park between 1961 and 1965.

Major debates regarding the direction of the park's design developed between Lota and the SURSAN technocrats soon after Lota assumed her position as the head of the special commission in 1961. While the SURSAN engineers were not completely against the beautification plans for the park, their principal concern was to construct four expressways that would connect the centro with the zona sul. Lota and her team of architects argued that the park's principal function should serve as a hub for the city's leisure activities and argued that two expressways were more than sufficient. Furthermore, they stressed that the landscape and design of the park should harmonize with the surrounding scenery of Guanabara Bay, Pão de Açúcar, Corcovado, and the Enseada da Glória. After intense battles between the

⁶¹ "Central Park à Carioca," *O Globo* 5 November 2005. Accessed online <http://www.oglobo.globo.com> March 18, 2006. Similar to the tunnels and roads that were given slogans, the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo was dubbed as the largest urban park in the world, but as a *New York Times* article mentions in 1964, Central Park is more than 3 times larger. See "Oceanfront Playground Down in Rio," *New York Times*, 25 October 1964, xx25.

technocrats of SURSAN, Lacerda's advisors, and the press, it was finally agreed upon that the Park would only contain two expressways of four lanes each. Lota's battles over the smallest of details continued throughout the park's construction with the technocrats of SURSAN, Carlos Lacerda, and her own handpicked colleagues of the commission, especially Roberto Burle Marx.

Along with building two expressways in the park for the high-speed circulation of traffic, numerous pedestrian overpasses, playgrounds, pavilions, underground walkways, soccer fields, a beach, puppet theatre, bandstand, and other amenities for leisure were built in the park. Additionally, a beach in Botafogo was also built in order to give some form of continuity to the work done in the section from the Santos Dumont Airport to the Morro da Viúva. Lota and Burle Marx argued that the park's botanical landscape brilliantly juxtaposed with the skyscrapers of the centro, Glória, and Flamengo neighborhoods while also harmonizing with the natural beauty of the bay and surrounding mountains. Roberto Burle Marx's meticulous crafted gardens gradually gave the park over ten thousand trees and plants of almost 200 different species.⁶² In order to illuminate the park, Lota contracted (at an astronomical price) North American Richard Kelly, who had designed projects for Lincoln Center and the Washington International Airport.⁶³

⁶² Luiz Emygdio de Mello Franco, "Inventário Florístico do Parque do Flamengo," *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (Janeiro-Dezembro 1993): 83-102.

Even before the decoration of the park and its facilities were finished and inaugurated, automobile traffic already began circulating through the lanes of the park. Much like all the other public works of the Lacerda administration (tunnels, roads, viaducts, schools, water supply, and sewage), the park was targeted to be inaugurated for Rio's fourth centennial in 1965. Most of the park's design and construction had been completed by 1965, and unveiled to major festivities during Children's Week (Semana da Criança) in October 1965. Once it was clear that Lacerda's candidate to be his successor, Secretary of Education Flexa Ribeiro, would not win the gubernatorial election, Lota began to pressure Lacerda and even military president Castello Branco to legally transform her park commission into a foundation. By turning the park into a foundation, Lota felt that she would be free to operate and oversee the park's development and maintenance even when Lacerda's successor, Negrão de Lima, assumed the governorship. Indeed, one of the last matters that Lacerda attended to before ending his mandate several weeks early, was to legally transform the Parque do Flamengo into a foundation. Soon after, under Negrão de Lima's administration, the decree which Lacerda issued was overturned by Guanabara's legislative

⁶³ Oliveira, 122. This section of Oliveira's story is rather interesting in that it illuminates some of the greater tensions that were voiced regarding the cost and imperial nature of Lota's leadership. As Oliveira suggests, Lota was keen on making the same technology and infrastructure available in the US and other places accessible in Brazil. According to Oliveira, "Lota's firmness, based on passionate commitment and at the same time solidly grounded, silenced the nationalist Luddite-technocrats."

assembly, and Lota abandoned the “park of the century” with much regret and sadness.⁶⁴

3.5 – Drastic Incisions and the Transformation of Space in Rio de Janeiro

The rapid construction of numerous tunnels, viaducts, overpasses, and parks exemplified the technical turn that the urban planning community in Rio de Janeiro embraced since the inauguration of Carlos Lacerda’s administration in 1960. The miles of expressways, tunnels, viaducts, parks, and freeways built and reformed during this five year period managed to acclimate the individual automobile around the city’s topography. With the advent of these new tunnels, freeways, viaducts, and overpasses, certain neighborhoods and the distinctiveness of certain parts of Rio de Janeiro drastically began to change during the 1960s; particularly in neighborhoods such as Rio Comprido and Catumbi that were considered “traditional” and “in the way of cars.”

Both Catumbi and Rio Comprido were wedged between the centro and zona norte and had gradually come to contain a growing number of favelas in the surrounding hills. These two neighborhoods were also composed of individual homes rather than the high-rise apartment and office buildings that increasingly came to characterize the majority of the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 138, 173. Lacerda vacated his mandate early as he became increasingly disillusioned and irritated with President General Castello Branco and the military régime’s decision to cancel presidential elections and extend the General’s mandate by 3 additional years. Consequently, Rafael Almeida de Magalhães finished out Lacerda’s term from the end of October to early December 1965. Lota petitioned and filed various motions in order to uphold Lacerda’s decree and pleaded aggressively with Negrão de Lima to leave the foundation intact. Almost one year later, September 25 1967, Lota died in New York City.

zona norte and sul of Rio de Janeiro. By the 1960s, Catumbi and Rio Comprido were predominantly residential with a small portion of industrial and commercial activity such as textile workshops, print shops, butcher shops, fruit stands, bakeries, and street fairs. While both Rio Comprido and Catumbi were “noble” areas where populated by some of the city’s aristocrats during the late 19th and early 20th century, the majority of the residents of these neighborhoods by the 1960s were renters of the lower-middle class who relied on public transportation. The residents of both areas, particularly Catumbi, included large numbers of immigrants from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, as was reflected in the morphological character of the homes, streets, and commercial activity of the areas. Catumbi and Rio Comprido were also popular destinations for newly arrived migrants from other regions of Brazil, who attempted to maintain a “small city in the metropolis” style of life while in Rio de Janeiro, albeit on the fringe of the central business district.

The problems of these two neighborhoods continued well after the inauguration of the two tunnels that linked the zona norte and zona sul. One case in point is the neighborhood of Rio Comprido and its main avenue, Paulo de Frontin, which served as the north entrance to the Túnel Rebouças. Many apartment buildings and homes along the main corridor of the Avenida Paulo Frontin and the surrounding streets saw their land values drop dramatically because of the traffic, noise pollution, and loss of sunlight due to the location of the tunnel. Following the

construction of the tunnel in the early 1960s, Rio Comprido would later suffer when a large piece of an elevated avenue constructed above the Avenida Paulo de Frontin collapsed and killed several people. The opening of the Túnel Santa Bárbara in Catumbi in 1963-64, and the Túnel Rebouças in Rio Comprido in 1965, 1967, and 1972 respectively, were only the first in a series of drastic incisions that would sacrifice these areas in the name of urban renewal as more projects for urban development would continue to alter drastically the character of these neighborhoods.⁶⁵ A small article published in the *Correio da Manhã* in 1972 clearly underscores the transformation of daily life in these two neighborhoods:

*“As recent as eight years ago, the neighborhoods of Catumbi and Rio Comprido maintained their suburban and residential qualities of life with peaceful surroundings, groups of kids flying kites and playing soccer in the street, as elderly ladies gossip on the sidewalks in front of quaint homes. Consequently, the various neighborhoods of the zona sul and Tijuca have benefited from urban development at the expense of these two neighborhoods...With the opening of the Túnel Santa Bárbara and Túnel Rebouças, both direct zona norte-zona sul routes, automobiles accelerate rapidly and nervously through these traditional neighborhoods...Among the chaos of the loud engines, horn honking, and breaks squealing, these two areas still try to preserve their traditional identity with their uneven sidewalks, villas from the turn of the century, and street vendors selling oranges or fresh sardines to the thousands of automobiles who pass through daily.”*⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See Chapter 6 for a case study on Catumbi. For Rio Comprido see the first part of Chapter 7.

⁶⁶ “Túneis levam tumulto ao Rio Comprido e Catumbi,” *Correio da Manhã* 10 and 11 December 1972, 7.

Neighborhoods on the south sides of the tunnels such as Laranjeiras, Cosme Velho, and Lagoa also suffered problems due to the construction of the tunnels and viaducts. Like Rio Comprido and Catumbi these areas suffered from an increase in noise and air pollution, traffic congestion, and population density due to the construction of high-rises in lieu of one or two story homes. Laranjeiras was also characterized as primarily a residential neighborhood with a mixture of lower-middle, middle, and upper class residents, but the tunnels did not overwhelmingly change the character of the neighborhood. Interestingly, although Laranjeiras and Cosme Velho technically were part of the zona sul, they too became passageways for cars to go from the zona norte to the beaches of the zona sul. Still, both Cosme Velho and especially Laranjeiras had developed significantly in the post 1945 period by expanding cultural, commercial, and leisure activities in the neighborhood. While the tunnels and the viaducts were seen as a nuisance to the neighborhoods, the strong middle and upper middle class community of residents, many of whom owned their apartments and houses, helped to maintain the neighborhood's characteristics. There were, however, residents of Laranjeiras and Cosme Velho who opted to relocate to other areas of the city, notably Ipanema, Leblon, and Gávea, in order to flee the commotion imposed by the dominance of high-rises and increased automobile traffic and pollution.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ For background on the history of Laranjeiras see Hélia Nacif Xavier, "Transformações

As statistics show, the majority of car owners during the 1960s resided in the neighborhoods and administrative regions of the zona sul and Tijuca, with Copacabana in the number one position. In the family section of the Rio daily, *O Globo*, the opening of the tunnels was cited as not only linking the city together geographically, but with making Tijuca a part of the south zone of the city.⁶⁸ This article attributes Tijuca's zona sul "worthiness" to its solid middle class who were more in-tune with the cosmopolitan leanings of the residents of the zona sul, rather than the samba and forms of popular culture of the zona norte and suburbs. While the popular rhetoric of engineers and politicians declared that tunnels such as Santa Bárbara and Rebouças were going to unite the city, this unification was rather superficial and based solely on physical geography.

Geographical theoretician Henri Lefebvre defines the meanings of abstract space, social space, and spaces of representation.⁶⁹ According to Lefebvre, abstract space is above all the space of commodification, while social space is the space of everyday social relations and activities. As Kevin Fox Gotham and other urban sociologists have demonstrated, Lefebvre's work is relevant to the current discussion since he contends

Recentes em um bairro Residencial - Laranjeiras: O papel de legislação Urbanística." M.S. Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1981; *Folha da Laranjeira - Edição Histórica* Ano XIII Abril/Maio 1993.

⁶⁸ See the table at the end of the chapter for the statistics on car ownership during the 1960s in Guanabara.

⁶⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), passim.

that “uses provided by government and business for abstract space, such as the building of a new highway or redeveloping older areas of the city, may conflict with existing social space, and the way residents use and think about space.”⁷⁰ This certainly was the case with the two tunnels, overpasses, and other major roadway projects constructed during Carlos Lacerda’s tenure as the governor of Guanabara as the objective of these two tunnels was to facilitate the flow of **automobile** traffic rather than geographically uniting the city’s population socially and culturally. Consequently, the everyday life and socio-economic space of the neighborhoods of Rio Comprido, Catumbi, and Laranjeiras were greatly altered in order to achieve the goal of making the city more accommodating to the automobile.

Despite the delight that the technocratic and planning community expressed over conquering Rio’s topography and uniting the zona norte and zona sul via tunnels, many Cariocas questioned the short and long term objectives of these tunnels. Even though a resident from the zona norte could now travel to the zona sul areas of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon without going through the centro, the use of an automobile was required to pass through the tunnels. Accordingly, aside from residents of Tijuca in the zona norte, car ownership was significantly lower in the neighborhoods of the zona norte and subúrbios than it was

⁷⁰ Kevin Fox Gotham, Jon Shefner, and Krista Brumley, “Abstract Space, Social Space, and the Redevelopment of Public Housing,” In *Critical Perspectives on Urban Development* edited by Kevin Fox Gotham (Oxford: JAI-Elsevier, 2001), 314.

in the zona sul. Furthermore, the new fleet of buses that debuted in the mid 1960s were prohibited from passing through both tunnels, thereby excluding many of the city's residents from making a direct trip to the ocean beaches of the zona sul without going through the downtown areas.

The advent of the two tunnels clearly reinforced the divisions of Rio's social and cultural space rather than serving as a force of unification. Although Rio's socio-cultural spatial dynamics became more complex by the mid 1970s with the proliferation of favelas in even the wealthiest areas of the city such as Copacabana, Leblon, Ipanema, Tijuca, and Gávea, there was a growing divide between the cosmopolitan zona sul and the working class of the zona norte. Indeed, the zona norte and the subúrbios had a lively cultural scene in their own right, however the media, government, tourism, and real estate industry greatly invested in the development of the zona sul's neighborhoods that combined high-rise apartment and hotel buildings with the splendor of the beach. Even though the tunnels were designed to make the city more accessible and democratic, they in fact fortified existing stereotypes about the city's space and its residents.

When the Túnel Rebouças opened to full capacity in the early 1970s, a new term, além-túnel (those from beyond the tunnel), evolved in order to differentiate residents of the zona sul and everybody else (the ones from beyond the tunnel). This characterization was loaded with

several social, cultural, ethnic, racial, and geographic connotations. Even though car ownership rose significantly during the early 1970s, many residents of the zona norte and subúrbios, of which many were poor, black or mixed-race, did not have the means to purchase automobiles. Additionally, even though the “largest urban tunnel in the world,” united the zona norte and zona sul, it was not until the 1980s that public buses began to transport passengers from the zona norte to the zona sul.⁷¹

In his work on the contemporary geography of class in Rio de Janeiro, geographer James Freeman observes that “transportation systems have become grist for the mill of social distinction precisely because of their very material power to enable and constrain certain uses of public space.”⁷² The realities of these tensions that the tunnel represented in socio-spatial relations among the residents of the zona sul and zona norte is evidenced by a resident of the zona sul who commented: “they (Suburbanos) bring all of their children and food and make an awful mess...next week we will go to a beach only accessible by car.” A resident from the subúrbios countered, “I may be poor but I’m

⁷¹ According to a recent article in *O Globo* the first two bus lines to pass through the tunnel were in 1976. See “Uma Passagem que removeu pedras para unir a cidade,” 5 November 2005. This issue became the subject of intense debate during the 1980s, as new bus lines to transport from the zona norte to the zona sul were seen as the reason for the increase in crime and indecency on the beaches. See “Ligação pelo túnel Rebouças facilita o acesso à praia, *Jornal do Brasil* 15 October 1984, 5.

⁷² James Freeman, “Face to Face but Worlds Apart: The Geography of Class in the Public Space of Rio de Janeiro” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 299-304.

not ugly....Am I banned from the beach just because I'm poor? I'm not going to stop coming just because these dummies think I'm strange."⁷³ Rather than uniting the city's residents and fostering more democratic public spaces, the new expressways and tunnels that were built during the 1960s and early 1970s reinforced the differentiations among the zona sul, norte, and subúrbios. In their ethnographic work on the neighborhood of Ipanema, both James Freeman and Marisol Rodriguez Valle declare that many residents of the neighborhood and zona sul dichotomize the neighborhood's history and composition into "before and after the tunnel."⁷⁴

3.6 Concluding Remarks

The city of Rio de Janeiro was given a major overhaul from 1960 to 1965 through the construction of new expressways, tunnels, parks, public schools, planned housing communities, as well as miles of new sewage and water lines. Many of these projects were drafted during the 1950s, however due to the lack of funds and administrative inefficiency, hardly any of these projects were realized in that decade. Although Carlos Lacerda won the 1960 election for governor by the slightest of margins, he still was intent on implementing an agenda that focused on urban renewal and the rebirth of his native city of Rio de Janeiro.

⁷³ Alan Riding "Brasília got the capital but the beaches stay put," *New York Times* 11 May 1985, 2.

⁷⁴ Freeman, 299-304; Marisol Rodriguez Valle, "A Província da Ousadia: Representações Sociais sobre Ipanema" (Masters Thesis, UFRJ, 2005), 77-80.

Through a creative organization of the state's government, Lacerda was able to directly control the financial and administrative operations of the various entities such as SURSAN, the DER, and COHAB that directed Guanabara's planning activities. This massive urban renewal agenda was primarily financed through city **AND** state tax revenue, with additional help from foreign loans and grants, as well as federal assistance. While foreign loans and donations from overseas entities were criticized by Lacerda's opponents, these loans never exceeded more than 5% of Guanabara's annual spending, as the bulk of this money went to funding the much needed water supply lines known as the Adutora do Guandu. Nonetheless, these minimal loans and donations often exceeded the funds that Guanabara was promised by the federal government as compensation for the transfer of the capital to Brasília.

The major goal of the technocrats of SURSAN and other planning entities was to find solutions to improve the city's overall infrastructure as well as to incorporate the automobile into the city's landscape. Due to Rio's daunting topography, the major solutions to resolve this problem entailed the construction of tunnels, overpasses, viaducts, and new expressways. Although funding had been secured by French investors to build a rapid mass transit system, these plans eventually stalled as Lacerda was not able to gain the necessary financial support and cooperation from João Goulart's administration. Strides were made however in improving public transportation as the old streetcars

(bondes), gradually were removed and replaced with electric and gas buses throughout the city by 1965. Nonetheless, the buses were not permitted to pass through the Santa Bárbara and Rebouças tunnels, which signified the priority given to the automobile.

Interestingly, the majority of urban reforms during Lacerda's tenure were executed in the subúrbios, followed by the zona sul, and zona norte respectively. Conversely, the zona sul received the majority of investment during his period in office, largely due to the fact that 2/3 of the Túnel Rebouças as well as the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo were geographically within the zona sul. Although Lacerda's initiatives did improve the streets, infrastructure, and quality of life in the suburbs, these actions did not help his party's successor in the 1965 gubernatorial election. Aside from his polemical decision to remove certain favelas and relocate their residents to newly constructed housing communities on the periphery of the city-state, many voters still viewed Lacerda as the man who had killed Getúlio Vargas, the "father of the poor." Ironically, Vargas had attempted the same eradication and settlement approach to favelas in the 1940s, but was unsuccessful due to the lack of financial commitment to the project.

The administrative model established by Lacerda as well as the urban planning agenda established by SURSAN and the DER would remain intact during Francisco Negrão de Lima's administration from 1965-1971. Accordingly, Negrão's administration would continue with

the eradication and resettlement of favelas, the building of tunnels, expressways, and above all, the incorporation of the automobile into the city-state's landscape.

**Table 3.1 Summary of the Percentage of Investments by Project
Guanabara 1961-1964**

Projects and Programs	1961-1964
Sanitation Programs	36.11%
Water Supply	20.64
Sewage	10.49
Drainage and Basic Sanitation	3.72
Street Cleaning	1.26
Urbanization, Roadways, and Communications	34.37%
Roads, Expressways, and Tunnels	20.80
Transportation	4.04
Communications	4.05
Traffic and Parking	0.09
Parks	1.60
Other	3.79
Education and Culture	8.89%
Education	8.43
Physical Education and Sports	0.38
Cultural and Artistic Activities	0.08
Social Services	6.46%
Miscellaneous Supplies	0.36
Housing	3.16
Social Assistance	0.70
Public Security	2.03
Penitentiary System	0.21
Health	5.27%
Public Administration	5.01%
Economic Development	3.89%
Energy	3.11
Agricultural Production	0.33
Tourism	0.45

Source:
Estado da
Guanabara,
Mensagem à
Assembléia
Legislativa: 5
Anos de
Governo, 1965.

Table 3.2 Family / Passenger's Cars per 1,000 Inhabitants

Administrative Zones	Number of Cars		Cars per 1,000 inhabitants	
	1957	1964	1957	1964
Zona Portuária	870	2,360	13.68	40.00
Centro	2 010	3 400	24.42	52.31
Rio Comprido	2 690	5 900	19.42	39.07
Botafogo	10 010	21 360	49.70	89.75
Copacabana	14 050	30 200	79.02	124.79
Lagoa	7 390	14 560	59.50	84.75
São Cristóvão	1 810	4 670	19.70	48.14
Tijuca	6 310	13 660	45.43	84.84
Vila Isabel	3 900	9 370	26.32	57.13
Ramos	2 090	4 530	11.72	20.78
Penha	1 410	3 330	7.75	14.17
Meier	3 230	5 450	11.93	17.36
Engenho Novo	2 550	6 400	15.37	35.56
Irajá	870	2 720	3.98	9.41
Madureira	1 810	3 920	6.29	10.54
Jacarepaguá	740	2 620	5.87	15.59
Bangu	740	1 460	3.61	5.05
Campo Grande	470	1 670	3.62	9.13
Santa Cruz	60	450	1.18	5.77
Governador	740	1 970	15.04	28.55
Paqueta	--	--	--	--
Guanabara – Total	63,750	140,000	21.03	37.50

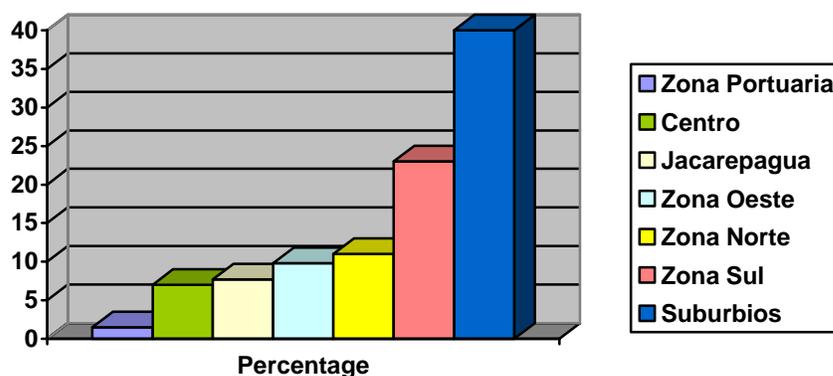
Source: Estado da Guanabara, *Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa: 5 Anos de Governo*, 1965.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Projects by Zone and Year during Lacerda's Government (1960-1965)

Years	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Total
Zones							
SUL	21	22	53	44	61	61	262
NORTE	8	17	22	18	24	36	125
BARRA	2	1	0	0	3	2	8
JACAREPAGUÁ	9	6	16	10	21	24	89
OESTE	27	6	29	9	15	25	111
CENTRO	7	11	21	10	7	12	68
CENTRAL	28	14	33	9	21	15	120
LEOPOLDINA	35	32	63	52	62	56	300
RIO DOURO	4	7	12	6	10	10	49
ANCHIETA	3	5	2	2	1	3	16
PORTUÁRIA	0	1	1	6	4	6	18
TOTAL	144	122	232	166	229	253	1,166

Source: Diário Oficial do Estado da Guanabara/Kleiman, 1994.

Table 3.4 Urban Renewal and Investment per Zone 1960-1965



Zona Portuária	1.5%
Centro	7.0%
Jacarepaguá	7.7%
Zona Oeste	9.8%
Zona Norte	11.0%
Zona Sul	23.0%
Subúrbios	40.0%

Source: Diário Oficial do Estado da Guanabara/Kleiman, 1994

Figure 3.2 Expressway and Roadway Plan during Lacerda's Administration, 1960-1965

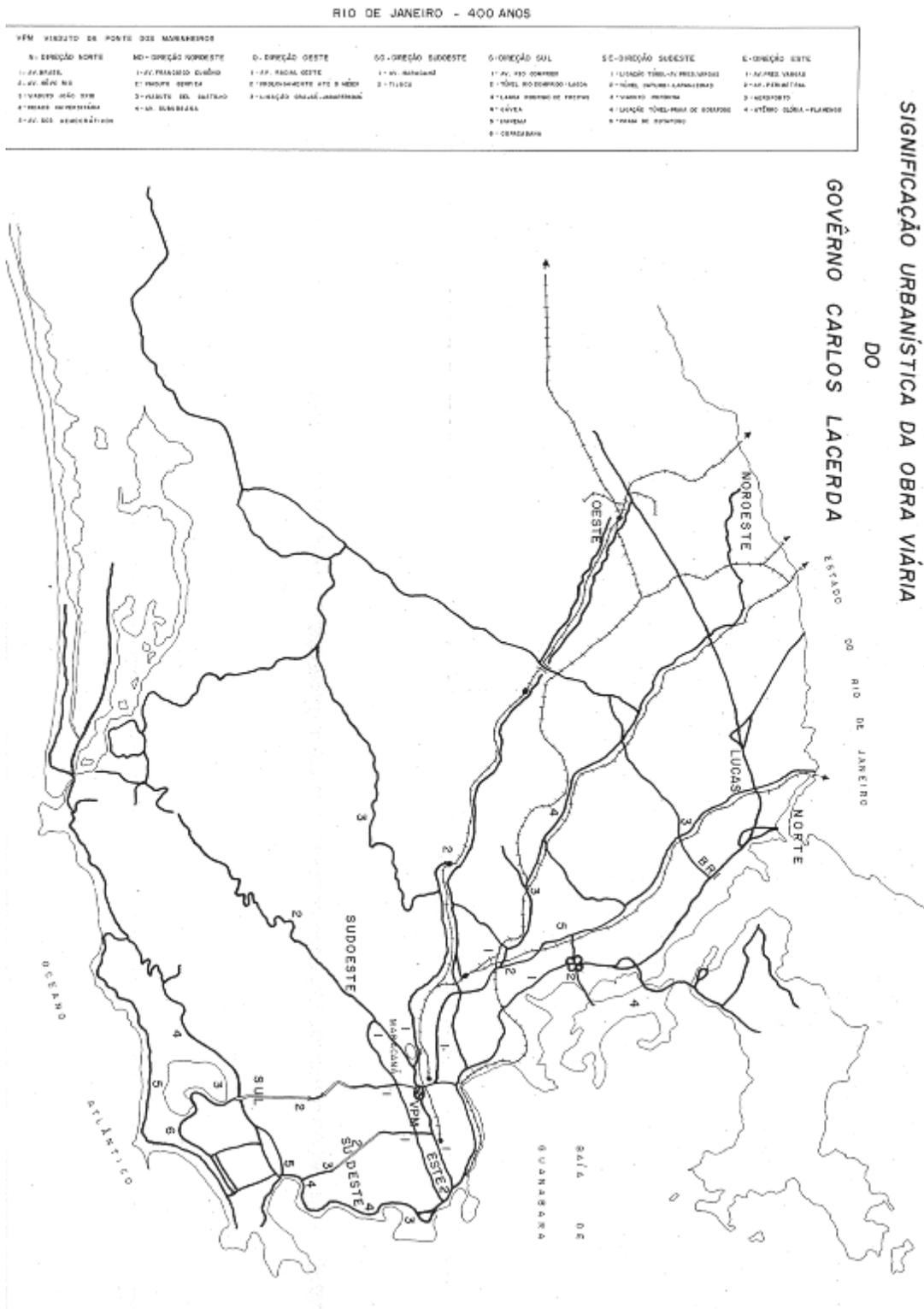


Figure 3.3 Carlos Lacerda: The “Redeemer” of his native Rio de Janeiro (Belacap)



Figure 3.4 Fleet of SURSAN trucks purchased with Alliance for Progress Funds



Figure 3.5 Construction on the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo in the Early 1960s



Figures 3.6 Aterro do Flamengo Construction in the Early 1960s



Figure 3.7 – Construction of the Aterro do Flamengo and Museu da Arte Moderna



Figure 3.8 Honoring JFK with a Statue for the Vila Kennedy Housing Complex



Figure 3.9 Completed Aterro and Parque do Flamengo – Mid 1960s



Figure 3.10 Location for the Túnel Rebouças



Figure 3.11 Construction of the Túnel Rebouças

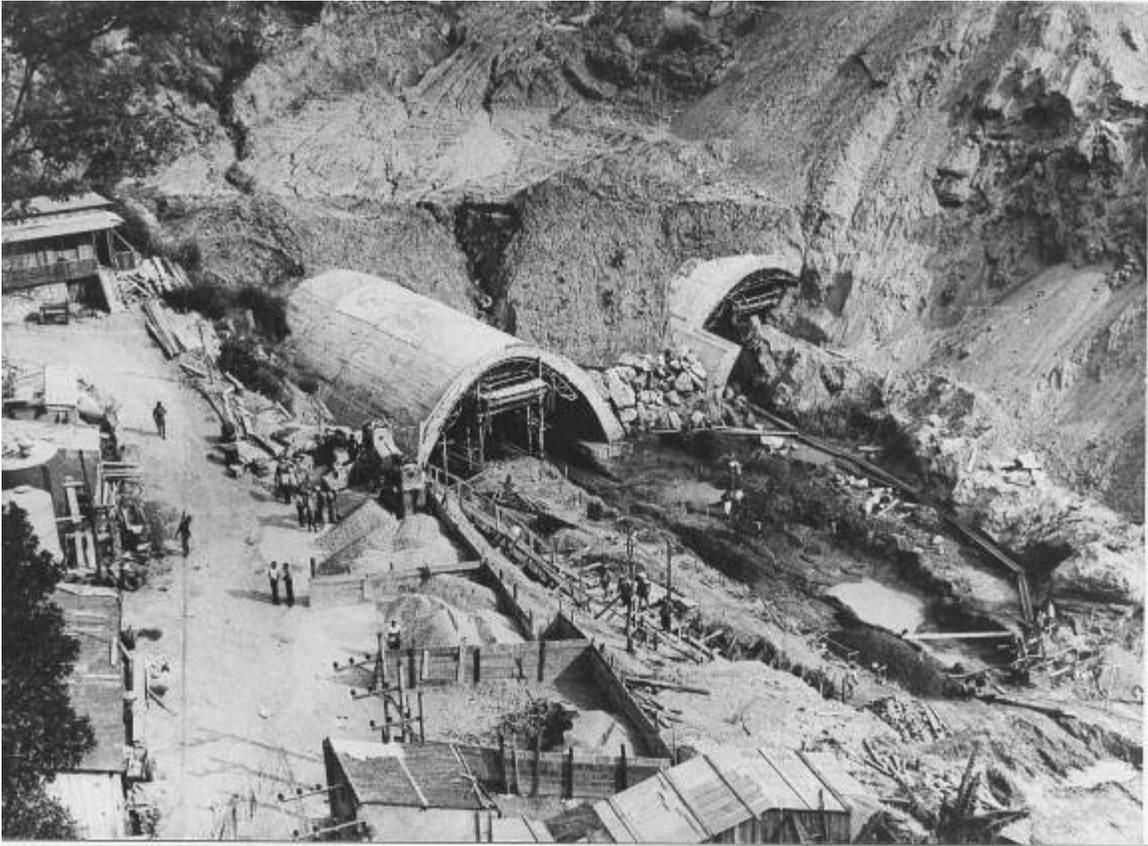


Figure 3.12 - Túnel Rebouças as seen from the Lagoa Side

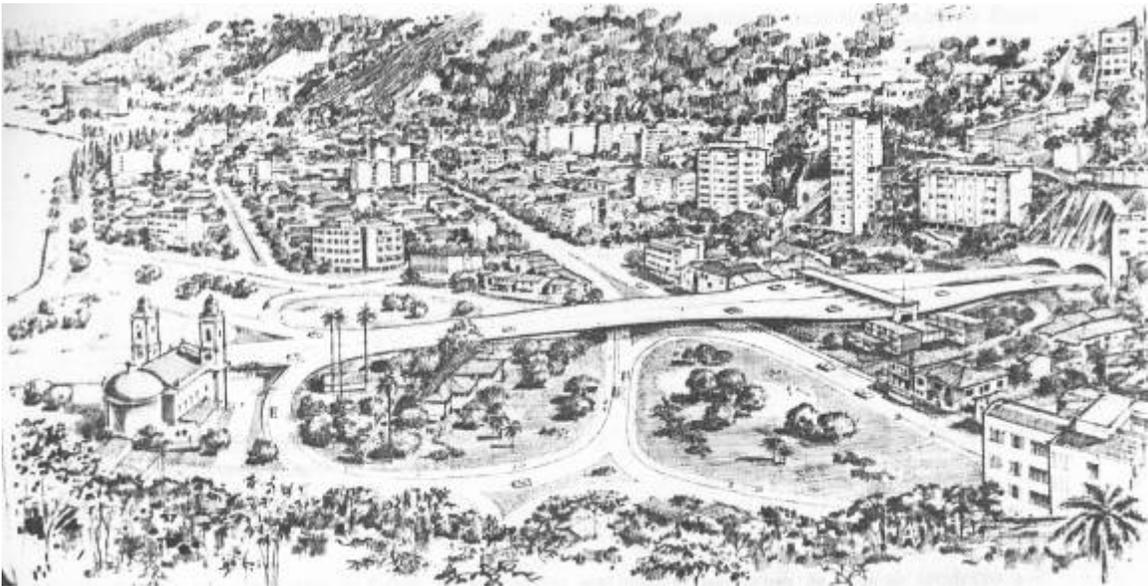
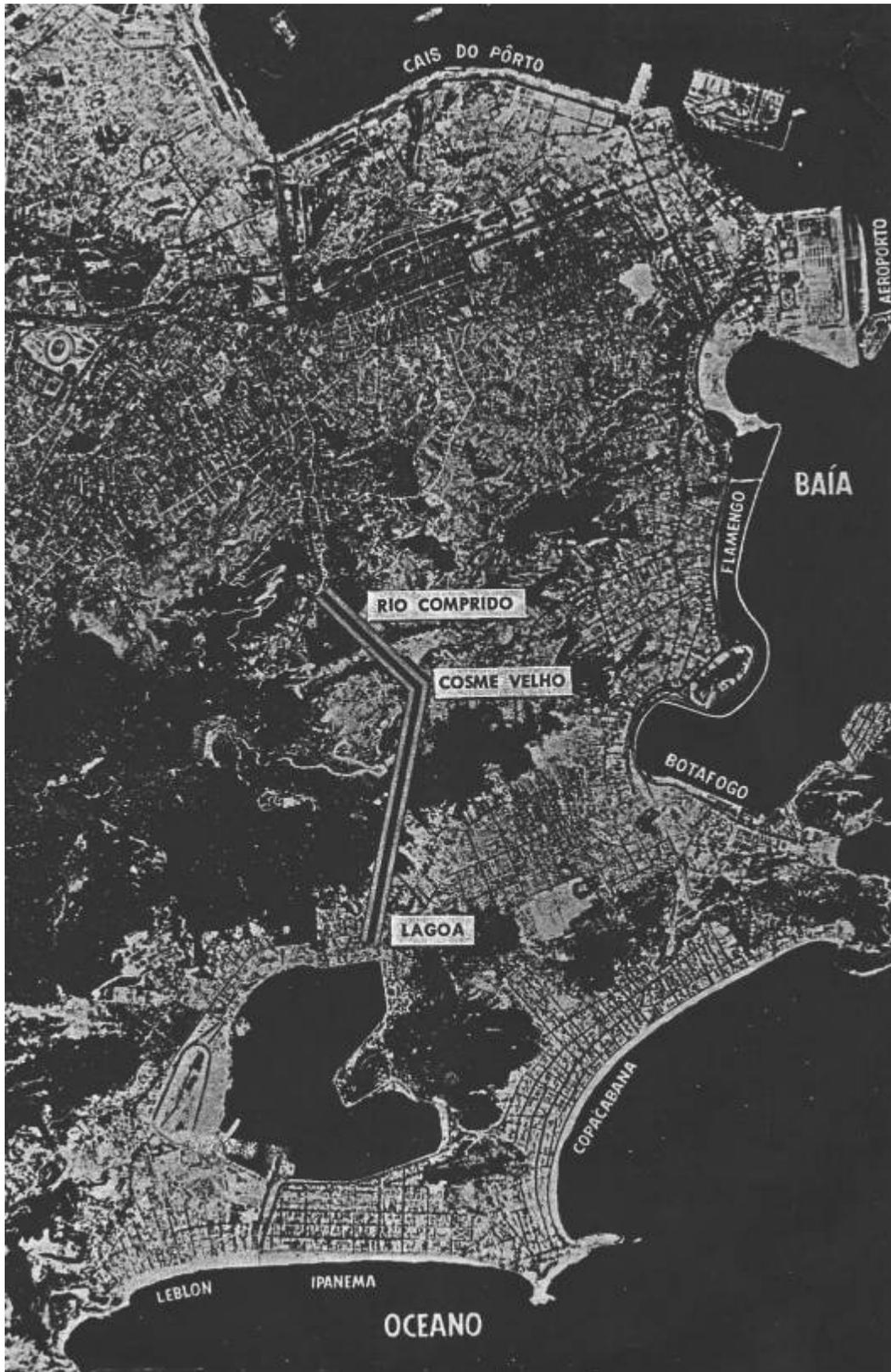


Figure 3.13 – A Map Showing the Rio Comprido – Lagoa Trajectory (Túnel Rebouças)



Chapter 4: O Negócio Grego: Constantinos Doxiadis and the Master Plan for Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro)

While many famous foreign planners and urbanists such as Le Corbusier, Donat Alfred Agache, and Marcelo Piacentini visited and designed plans for Rio de Janeiro throughout the twentieth century, it may be the work of Constantinos Doxiadis (1913-1975) that has had the most enduring impact and influence for the city of Rio de Janeiro.¹ Few people however outside of a small group of planners and scholars have acknowledged Doxiadis' watershed master plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro. Nonetheless, his plan has greatly influenced the transformation of city space and infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro since the late 1960s. Whereas many other planners designed grandiose plans to embellish and beautify the city, Doxiadis' work represented the shift to a more technocratic, quantitative, and "practical" approach to city planning in Rio de Janeiro that was exemplified by SURSAN during Carlos Lacerda's (1960-65) and Negrão de Lima's administrations (1965-71).²

¹There are multiple spellings of Doxiadis' name which can be encountered in the literature. Additionally, for the most complete bibliography of literature on Doxiadis, see the Doxiadis Foundation and archives recently organized online: <http://www.doxiadis.org>

² There is good secondary literature on the presence of foreign planners and their influence on Rio city planning. See Fernando Diniz Moreira, "Shaping Cities, Building a Nation: Alfred Agache and the Dream of Modern Urbanism in Brazil (1920-1950), (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2004); David Underwood. "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991): 130-166; Marcos Tognon, *Arquitetura Italiana no Brasil: A Obra de Marcello Piacentini* (Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1999); Margareth da Silva Pereira, "Pensando a metrópole moderna: os planos de Agache e Le Corbusier

The hiring of the Greek firm by Governor Carlos Lacerda in 1964 generated intense debates and protests from many of Guanabara's architects, engineers, and planners and was heavily covered by the print and electronic media. Although on the surface these debates can be immediately discussed within the framework of the politics of urban planning, nationalism, and power, it is evident that the controversy and debates regarding the Doxiadis Plan highlight the numerous socio-cultural and socio-political tensions that were present in Brazil before and after the military coup of April, 1964.

This chapter will deal with a number of questions surrounding the Doxiadis Plan for Rio de Janeiro. My approach will be to comment upon the numerous plans and proposals that Doxiadis Associates produced for Rio de Janeiro, as well as an analysis of the numerous debates and protests that occurred during the years that the firm worked in Rio de Janeiro, 1964-65. Although Negrão de Lima's administration never fully adopted the Doxiadis Plan, many of the ideas for projects that evolved during his administration were derived from Doxiadis' study. Additionally, since the late 1960s, the Doxiadis Plan has served as a reference tool for the plans and projects such as the construction of the *Linha Vermelha* and *Linha Amarela* expressways during the 1990s

para o Rio de Janeiro.” In *Cidade, Povo e Nação*, edited by Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro and Robert Pechman, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996) 363-375.

implemented by the city government and other entities involved in urban planning.

4.1 - Lacerda, CEDUG, and Doxiadis

Despite the fact that Carlos Lacerda was an extremely well read and well traveled man, even he admittedly was unaware of the résumé that the Doxiadis Associates (DA) had mounted since the mid 1950s. Lacerda, who wrote a nostalgic article to honor Doxiadis shortly after the latter's death in 1975, attributed his knowledge of Doxiadis to a profile piece shown to him by friends that appeared in *The New Yorker* magazine in 1963.³ Soon after reading the piece, Lacerda explained how he sent a telegram to Doxiadis in Athens inviting him to visit Rio and design some sort of project for urban development issues and housing in Rio de Janeiro.⁴ Aside from the details regarding the theory of Ekistics, which was Doxiadis' trademark, the profile piece written on Doxiadis contained biographical information and a thorough summary of Doxiadis' career that obviously appealed to Lacerda.⁵

³For Lacerda's article see Carlos Lacerda, "Doxiadis, Criador e Criatura" *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro) 28 July 1975, Primeiro Caderno. For the profile piece in the *New Yorker* magazine see "Profiles: The Ekistic World: Constantinos Doxiadis," *New Yorker* 11 May 1963: 49-87.

⁴ Lacerda, "Doxiadis, Criador e Criatura." Interestingly, Lacerda favorably refers to this as a second project, while citing Agache's plan for Rio in the 1930s as the first master plan for Rio. Sources discussing the Agache Plan in depth can be seen in footnote 1 of this chapter. There is also evidence from Lacerda's correspondence with Maria Carlota Costallat de Macedo Soares (Lota), that he sought out copies of Doxiadis' publications before formally inviting Doxiadis to visit Rio.

⁵ Konstantinos Apostolou Doxiadis, *Ekistics: An Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1968). It is important to remember that Ekistics was **the** backbone to Doxiadis' career. Over time, he dedicated himself to

Doxiadis was born in 1913 in a heavily populated Greek community in Bulgaria, although his family relocated to Athens a few years after his birth. After completing his undergraduate studies in architecture in Athens, Doxiadis went to Berlin to pursue his doctorate in urban design. Shortly after returning from Germany, Doxiadis served as a corporal in the Greek Army and became a major dissenter to the Nazi occupation of Greece. His education and military service landed him several prominent posts in Greece in the postwar period, including the head of the Marshall Plan and United Nations reconstruction efforts. Despite these prominent positions and international connections, Doxiadis soon became a victim of the numerous Greek administrative turnovers, and left Athens in 1951 for Australia where he became a tomato farmer. After a two-year stint in Australia, he returned to Athens in 1953 to attempt to build an urban planning and design firm from scratch. Doxiadis Associates was founded in 1953, and in a short span of a decade would work in several continents and generate lucrative profits. Through practice and education, Doxiadis and his firm would become

refining, testing, and writing on the subject. According to the journal published by the Athens Center of Ekistics of the Athens Technological Institute, "Ekistics is the science of Human Settlements. The term is derived from the Greek Verb ΟΙ Κ Ω meaning settling down. Ekistics demonstrates the existence of an overall science of human settlements, conditioned by man and influenced by economics, social, political, administrative, and technical sciences and the disciplines related to art. Ekistics is a science whose task is to examine all human settlements from every possible point of view in order to develop skills for the solution of the problems involved." The previous description was quoted from the inner front cover of *Ekistics* Volume 21 Number 122, January 1966 edition.

synonymous with spreading the practice and philosophy known as Ekistics.⁶

The Ekistic approach is a concept that is inseparable from Doxiadis and one that he dedicated his career to refining and developing entrepreneurially and educationally, as he explained to a *New York Times* reporter in 1969:

“The theory of Ekistics has 15 units, progressing from man himself to the space of the room around him, to the house, small neighborhood and large neighborhood, and on to the megalopolis – the smear of today’s converging settlements – and finally ecumenopolis, the urbanized world... We must think of planning as a long-term process; What we decide must be the future. And the decisions must be made on scientific data.”⁷

One particular matter that probably resonated with Lacerda was Doxiadis’ leadership position and involvement in the construction of public housing with funds provided by the Marshall Plan just after World War II. Even though Lacerda was probably most intrigued by the credentials of Doxiadis’ résumé for working in the developing world, the political and ideological values of Doxiadis’ past certainly perked Lacerda’s interest even more as somebody who he could see as an ideological ally in addition to his views on city planning.⁸ This point

⁶ For bio info see <http://www.doxiadis.org> and the article in *The New Yorker*.

⁷ Ada Louise Huxtable, “Urban Planning Boasts a World Supersalesman,” *New York Times* 8 July 1969, 45. At the time of this interview and article, Huxtable mentions that Doxiadis had served as a consultant to more than 100 different city, national, regional administrations and organizations for \$5 million dollars in annual fees.

regarding the trajectory of Doxiadis' career and target clientele for his firm Doxiadis Associates (DA) is highlighted in Ray Bromley's recent article on the Greek planner. Bromley notes in his text,

*“Though Doxiadis tried to avoid petty politics by identifying himself as a planner, designer, and manager, his record of resistance to Nazi occupation combined with his disdain for communism identified him as clearly pro-Western and pro-capitalist...He saw fluency in English and links with internationally oriented Americans as the keys to the reconstruction of Greece and his own success”.*⁹

Thus, soon after reading the profile piece in May 1963, Lacerda and his advisors invited Doxiadis and his firm for a brief visit to Rio de Janeiro in September 1963.¹⁰ Shortly before Doxiadis' arrival, Lacerda asked his trusted advisors to conduct research regarding the Greek firm. The resulting multi-page report contained a good deal of information on the specific projects the Greek firm executed in Greece in addition to many places around the globe including Spain, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Nigeria, India, Lebanon, Pakistan, Syria, Venezuela, and the United States. Additionally, the memo and report contained information regarding the administrative structure of Doxiadis Associates, the

⁸One extremely interesting fact presented in *The New Yorker* biography is that at one point in his career, 90% of Doxiadis' income came from international contracts and jobs.

⁹Ray Bromley, “Toward Global Human Settlements: Constantinos Doxiadis as Entrepreneur, Coalition Builder and Visionary,” in *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plan*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (West Sussex: Wiley, 2003), 319.

¹⁰Letter transcription of a cable message from Carlos Lacerda to Constantinos Doxiadis 19 August 1963. Available in the Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CCL) – Universidade de Brasília.

number of employees and their credentials, as well as the locations of their overseas offices in cities such as Frankfurt, Washington, DC, Karachi, Madrid, and London.¹¹ Furthermore, a brief memorandum was presented to Lacerda concerning the status of Greco-Brazilian relations and other pertinent public relations material. One interesting item was the advisement to refrain from expressing any sort of opinion regarding the tensions that existed between Greece and Turkey over the situation in Cyprus.¹²

On January 7 1964, the state of Guanabara and the Greek firm of Doxiadis Associates signed a detailed contract with the intention of producing a growth management plan for the city-state of Rio de Janeiro. The research for the plan commenced on February 1, 1964, and commanded an unprecedented amount of fiscal and personnel resources. Aside from contracting the Greek firm, Lacerda created the Comissão Executiva do Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da Guanabara (CEDUG) that was to oversee and assist in the research, data collection, and design of the master plan.¹³ Americo Fontenelle and Hélio Modesto

¹¹ “Projetos Estudados e/ou Supervisionados por Doxiadis Associates.” Internal memo – CCL. The memo mentions that Doxiadis Associates contained around 500 employees, of which 300 worked at the headquarters in Athens and around 200 around the world. At the time of the memo (late 1963), the firm had worked in 18 different countries. By the time of his death in 1975, the firm would eventually design and work in over 40 countries.

¹²Undated memo from 1963 – CCL. Lacerda is advised in this report to avoid any sympathetic alliance with the Greek position vis-à-vis Turkey and is urged to suggest that the actions of the United Nations is the appropriate course for such actions.

¹³CEDUG can be translated as the Executive Commission for the Development of the State of Guanabara was created by Decreto “N” no. 159 on March 19, 1964.

were subsequently responsible for coordinating the activities and interaction of CEDUG with the Greek firm. It is also noteworthy that the majority of data collecting, design, and planning of the Doxiadis Plan was an equitable endeavor conducted by both Greek and Brazilian professionals in Rio and Athens, and that Constantinos Doxiadis' (Dinos) involvement was essentially that of a consultant and CEO than a researcher who collected data. Nonetheless, Lacerda was eager to use Doxiadis' reputation as one of the world's prominent planners in order to give credibility and approval to his administration's ongoing and future urban renewal campaigns in Rio de Janeiro.

The language of the contract signed between the government of Guanabara and the Greek firm dealt with issues such as proposed timelines for portions of the plan, as well as many details regarding financial and other material resources. According to the contract, each Greek consultant working in Rio de Janeiro was to be paid an annual salary of US\$27,000 a year plus all living expenses for their family - an exorbitant salary and benefits package for the mid 1960s in Brazil. Additionally, consultants working on the Rio plan in Athens were to be paid \$17,000 a year. Aside from these extravagant salaries, the state of Guanabara pledged to pay all office, living, travel (including round-trip airfares for spouses and children), and research expenses that were to be incurred during the two-year length of contract. Although financial

Information on this legislation can be found in José de Oliveira Reis, *A Guanabara e Seus Governadores*.

details are not entirely accurate, it has been estimated the Doxiadis Plan cost roughly US\$700,000 excluding some small incidentals to produce.¹⁴

4.2 - “O Negócio Grego”

*The foremost demonstration of ignorance that one can display is that urban development is exclusively an art and skill for architects and engineers -which constitutes in art and technique an arena for the exhibition of your xenophobia...The contract with Doxiadis has been signed and will be honored in spite of your protests and notes -which underlines your organization’s need to improve not only its technical proficiencies, but its moral ones as well.*¹⁵

After the contract was signed between the two parties, the Rio press reported to the public that the Greek and Brazilian consultants would begin working in Rio and Athens at the beginning of February 1964. These initial reports soon led to heated debates, battles, and exchanges between Carlos Lacerda and numerous Brazilian and Carioca engineers, architects, and planners who had no previous knowledge regarding the contract signed with Doxiadis Associates which can largely be attributed to the flexibility and power that Lacerda had attained as the governor of a city-state. These debates and exchanges were made extremely accessible in the press throughout the months of January and

¹⁴ Carlos Lacerda, “Doxiadis, Criador e Criatura” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro) 28 July 1975, Primeiro Caderno.

¹⁵Letter from Carlos Lacerda to Maurício Roberto, President of the Architects Institute, February 1964. CCL. An informative summary and detailed history of the press coverage of these debates can be seen in David Mars, “Greeks in Guanabara: A Case History” in *Perspectives of Brazilian State and Local Government*, editor, Ivan Richardson (Los Angeles: International Public Administration Center, University of Southern California). The above quote is also stated by Mars on Page 129.

February 1964 and became labeled as “*O Negócio Grego*” by numerous journalists reporting on the situation.

The two main figures who publicly opposed the hiring of Doxiadis were the presidents of the Instituto de Arquitetos Brasileiros– Guanabara Division (IAB-GB, Maurício Roberto) and the Clube de Engenharia (Hélio Almeida). Throughout the month of January 1964, these debates and exchanges were fully covered and documented by the press in Rio as well as nationally. Many others, including Lacerda’s political opponents registered their displeasure at the hiring of the foreign firm. Notable sympathizers with IAB-GB and CE were President João Goulart, former President Juscelino Kubitschek, as well as other professional associations from other states across Brazil. They manifested the same disapproval that their Carioca colleagues exhibited regarding the contract by sending letters and telegrams to Lacerda. The leading publications that were sympathetic to those outraged by Lacerda’s hiring of Doxiadis were the *Correio da Manhã* and the *Última Hora*. Since the 1950s, these two newspapers were consistently in opposition to Lacerda’s politics and agenda; hence many of the official telegrams and memos exchanged among Lacerda and his detractors were openly published in these two dailies, which only added to the tension between the two sides.

The key reasons cited by those who vehemently opposed the hiring of the Doxiadis Associates firm stemmed from the fact that they saw the contract as a threat to national (Brazilian) forms and planning practices.

In their messages to Lacerda, both Maurício Roberto (IAB-GB) and Hélio Almeida (Clube de Engenharia) expressed repeatedly how the hiring of a foreign firm directly undermined, discouraged, and intensely insulted Brazilian engineers and architects. The main criticisms by the outspoken detractors of Lacerda expressed how Brazil possessed extremely reputable planners who were certainly capable of providing the necessary “know-how” to project and manage Rio’s urban growth. With the inauguration of the newly constructed capital of Brasília noticeably fresh in the minds of Brazilians, as well as the history of planning successful new cities such as Belo Horizonte (1897) and Goiânia (1940), these concrete examples *justifiably* served as reputable proof for various architects and engineers who asserted the competency and brilliance of Brazilian architects and urban planners.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to also understand that Lacerda was not only the most vocal opponent of *Getulismo* during the 1950s, but one of the fiercest critics of Kubitschek’s decision to build Brasília. This contempt for Brasília was further compounded through Lacerda’s devotion to his native city of Rio de Janeiro and the fact that one of Brasília’s chief architects, Oscar Niemeyer, was a dedicated communist. Another major issue for those who opposed Lacerda’s hiring of the Greek firm was that even though they were “international experts” of urban growth problems, a foreign firm such as Doxiadis Associates could not

have the best possible solutions or first-hand knowledge to remedy and plan the development of the city-state.¹⁶

Lacerda's political rivals also continued to denounce his proclivity for dealing with foreign aid, loans, and capital, to develop Rio de Janeiro, despite the fact that these funds never comprised more than 5% of Guanabara's annual spending.¹⁷ In the minds of many Brazilians, the hiring of Doxiadis Associates signified an imperial presence from the pre-Vargas years, which they felt undermined national values and regard for the recent achievements of Brazilian architects and engineers. An article regarding the hiring of Doxiadis in the socialist newspaper, *Novos Rumos*, claimed that Doxiadis and his firm were intimately linked to international imperialist endeavors since the time of the Marshall Plan to its continuous work in the underdeveloped nations of Africa and Asia where he exploits and puts national architects and engineers to work for his dubious causes.¹⁸

The Clube de Engenharia added that the signed contract was illegal according to a 1933 decree that required any foreign firm working in Brazil to be registered with the appropriate commissions of

¹⁶ There are many newspaper articles that can be cited that contain similar and often repetitive information regarding the disapproval of the contract. One good example that summarizes the opposition's opinion are "Arquiteto Brasileiro Tem "Know-How" Para Seu País" *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro) 6 February 1964: Primeiro Caderno.

¹⁷ See Chapter 3 for background on this information.

¹⁸ "Arquitetos Reagem à Importação de Estrangeiros Para Guanabara." *Novos Rumos* (Rio de Janeiro) 7-13 February 1964, p. 7. Also see Bromley, p. 318-320 for Doxiadis' early involvement with the Marshall Plan and UN efforts.

engineering and architecture.¹⁹ Moreover, the Instituto dos Arquitetos argued that a copy of the contract was not even made available to the public for analysis.²⁰ Lúcio Costa, one of the architects responsible for the design of Brasília, declared that Doxiadis was a “show-off whose philosophy of urbanism was obsolete, and lacked prestige in the international community.”²¹ Oscar Niemeyer, another creator of Brasília, added more fuel to the fire when he declared that he personally was not acquainted with Doxiadis nor was he aware of the Greek firm having any form of prestige in the international community. Yet, it is rather ironic that Niemeyer and Costa decided to sympathize with the nationalist positions of the IAB and the Clube de Engenharia and their protestations of cultural imperialism when both Niemeyer and Costa in particular worked in the developing world in places such as Ghana and Lebanon. These logical inconsistencies were not missed by Lacerda who accused his opponents in the media of opposing the contracts out of insecurity, xenophobia, leftist (communist in the case of Niemeyer) political propaganda, and technocratic ignorance. According to Mauro Magalhães, the height of Lacerda’s refutation to his critics occurred on the live television show, *Falando Francamente*, in early 1964. During this

¹⁹“Illegal o Contrato,” *Última Hora* (Rio de Janeiro) 22 January 1964.

²⁰The contract was finally published in the Rio daily *Correio da Manhã*. See “Contrato com Doxiadis” *Correio da Manhã* 31 January 1964: pg 3. Previously the IAB-GB received a copy upon request. Reported in “IAB Recebeu do Governo o Contrato” *Correio da Manhã* 19 January 1964: 2

²¹Lúcio Costa Fala Sobre Doxiadis.” *Correio da Manhã* 4 February 1964, 1.

lengthy television forum, Lacerda took the opportunity to denounce Hélio Almeida's opposition to the hiring of Doxiadis Associates. Aside from serving as the president of the Clube de Engenharia, Almeida was also President João Goulart's Minister of Highways and Roads. Lacerda maliciously accused Almeida of mounting an "unsubstantiated" mobilization campaign against his decision to hire Doxiadis, while also holding him personally responsible for sabotaging Guanabara's plans to build a much needed subway system.²² Lacerda also inquired why professional associations such as the Clube de Engenharia were not outraged when Soviet engineers came to work as consultants for the nationally run company, Petrobras. In response, Lacerda's opponents asked why he arbitrarily hired the Greek firm instead of holding an open competition for a new growth management plan. After all, had he not spent a good part of his term in office declaring that favors, nepotism, and a lack of competition for contracts and jobs fostered an inefficient government and workforce? Clearly, members of the IAB-GB and Clube de Engenharia were eager to publicize Lacerda's blatant violation of his own principles.

Carlos Lacerda and many others involved with urban planning in the government consistently defended the hiring of Doxiadis Associates by maintaining that the knowledge, philosophy, and resources that the Greek firm employed such as the use of computers, data extrapolation

²² Mauro Magalhães, *Carlos Lacerda: O Sonhador Pragmático* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1993), *passim*.

and analysis, and traffic engineering were either underdeveloped or non-existent in Brazil.²³ Furthermore, he suggested that if Brazilians had the “know-how” necessary to propose such a plan, with the same philosophies, techniques, and skills employed by the Greek firm would be taught in Brazilian planning schools. The Governor continuously claimed that the attacks against the hiring of the firm had nothing to do with urbanism and planning, but were motivated by political and ideological preferences.

Lacerda’s commitment to rebuilding Rio in the early 1960s must always be placed within the broader context of his ambitions to run for the presidency in 1965. Lacerda avidly attempted to show the United States that he supported the foreign policy agenda they had adopted towards Latin America since the Cuban Revolution of 1959; especially vis-à-vis the Quadros and Goulart administrations. Lacerda hoped that his anti-communist and progressive democratic policies would appease the United States, and consequently benefit his current administration through favorable loans, aid, and grants. The evidence presented in chapter 3 suggests that foreign loans and grants played a minimal role in the overall expenditures for Guanabara’s urban redevelopment; however many nationalists, particularly on the left (PTB), did not approve of these

²³Lacerda went to the papers to explain his point of view regarding the plan. See “O Governador da Guanabara Rebate Críticas ao Contrato da Doxiadis” *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro) 3 February 1964, p. 6.

loans and grants as they would be paid for by raising taxes and symbolically selling out to the United States.

Portions of the money that Guanabara received from the Alliance for Progress were utilized in the construction of new public housing complexes in the distant suburbs of the state such as Vila Aliança and Vila Kennedy, though several officials from the USAID questioned the architectural design of the homes. During a meeting regarding the status of and controversy surrounding the contract with Doxiadis Associates, Lacerda specifically mentioned that the opinion of an international expert such as Doxiadis regarding housing and urban development could make a difference in securing more aid from the United States' Alliance for Progress and other international investors for the urban development of Guanabara:

“We prefer that individuals have their own homes and that they do not reside in favelas. Mr. Doxiadis visited the Vila Aliança Housing Complex and declared that the style of homes we have built in these complexes indeed has value - contrary to the type the Alliance for Progress has suggested. The opinion of Mr. Doxiadis is a critical form of international credibility that supports our use of US loans, in spite of their wishes for us to build more complete residences. If we are to secure more loans in the future, the hiring of Doxiadis can help solidify and give enormous credibility to the validity of our approach.”²⁴

These forms of credibility and acceptance, in addition to popular support, were certainly factors and tools that Lacerda knew he needed to unite his own party (UDN) as well as political centrists (PSD) in order

²⁴ Contrato Doxiadis – Reuniao Realizada em 3/2/1964 – 18hs e 30 minutos. Page 5. Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CCL) – Universidade de Brasília.

advance his own future political aspirations that included running for the presidency of Brazil. Additionally, the contracting of Doxiadis' firm in Brazil also served as an indication that Lacerda could negotiate and secure internationally reputable personnel to improve Rio and Brazil. Nonetheless, the hiring of Doxiadis to project Rio's urban growth until the year 2000 was extremely worrisome to many nationalists and leftists in Brazil.

Although many of the initial debates regarding the Doxiadis contract had to do with urban planning and development, they also speak to the larger realm of transnational values, cultural politics and power, and social, political, and cultural divisions that had emerged in Latin America particularly since the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The recent urban planning theory literature has considered the numerous issues that arose regarding foreign planners, locals, and the diffusion of planning models.²⁵ In many ways, the work of Doxiadis Associates in Guanabara encapsulates several of the tensions that developed between foreign experts and local professionals. With many Brazilians working as researchers and coordinators in conjunction with the Greek firm's consultants, one might argue that the presence of Doxiadis Associates operated within the rubric of helping fortify the local planning skills and

²⁵ Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (West Sussex: Wiley, 2003); Stephen Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (West Sussex: Wiley, 2002); Bishwapriya Sanyal, editor, *Comparative Planning Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2005).

techniques of Brazilian planners. Additionally, it is credible to suggest from examining some of Lacerda's confidential testimony, Doxiadis' hiring was meant to show the international community and Lacerda's critics that the planning agenda that was well underway before the arrival of Doxiadis Associates in 1964 was logically and urbanistically sound. Moreover, as Nasr and Volait suggest, the justifications and motives for the inviting of a foreign expert is an understudied subject in planning history.²⁶ Doxiadis' experience of working in the developing and developed world and pro-western ideological views undoubtedly meshed with Lacerda's contempt for communism, corruption, and administrative inefficiency. Furthermore, both Doxiadis and Lacerda were extremely cultured, fluent in several languages (English notably), and possessed charismatic personalities which in certain ways benefited each individual politically and entrepreneurially. In other words, the relationships between the foreign/local dimensions in the case of Doxiadis Associates cannot be explained solely with reference to urban planning. Rather, they must be considered as a smaller slice of the broader tensions and divisions that were omnipresent in Brazilian society before and after the military coup of April 1964.

4.3 - The Plan

"The main objective of the Plan is to create a framework for the infrastructure that will permit the future balanced growth of the

²⁶Nasr and Volait, xviii-xix.

city, and will help solve the problems of the present city, without unduly destroying its charm and character.”²⁷

The Doxiadis Plan for Rio de Janeiro/Guanabara was different than any other one that the city had seen during the twentieth century. The Doxiadis Plan, which was not concerned with aesthetics, beautification, and design, was a highly technical plan that offered long-term (up to the year 2000) and short-term solutions to problems in the growing metropolis of Rio de Janeiro through the aforementioned model of Ekistics. The plan used polychromatic maps, lines, and designs in reference to transportation networks, land use, zoning, and settlement patterns, and revolved around the framework of Ekistics and the idea of the hierarchy of communities. The plan proposed two standard goals:

1. To create the necessary framework for the physical infrastructure that will permit the future healthy growth of the city of Rio and the State of Guanabara
2. To solve the pressing problems with the existing tissue of the city without doing undue violence to the quality, beauty charm and character of the city.”²⁸

Revolving around an Ekistic principle known as the hierarchy of communities, the study identified nine distinct community levels that “locate work, residential, and recreational uses in a functionally related manner in accordance with the general pattern of the urban area as a whole.” The hierarchy of communities was established from Class I to

²⁷ CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates, *Guanabara: A Plan for Urban Development* (Rio de Janeiro: The State of Guanabara, Document Dox-Bra A6, 20 November 1965.) VII. A short abstract of the plan can be found in *Ekistics* 21:122 (January 1966): 59-69.

²⁸ Doxiadis Associates and CEDUG, 258.

Class IX: Class I - cluster of houses; Class II - small neighborhood; Class III-Sub-Neighborhood; Class IV -Neighborhood or Human Community; Class V - Metropolitan District; Class VI - Major Community; Class VII - Metropolitan Community; Class VIII - Metropolitan Area; and Class IX - Megalopolis.²⁹

According to the authors of the study, one of Guanabara's major problems was the amount of time consumed in commuting to locales of employment, residence, and recreation. Another focal point of the Doxiadis Plan was to develop and renovate Guanabara's total infrastructure (utilities such as gas, electric, water), transportation systems, and open space as well as to create new employment and recreation centers in newly urbanized areas. Furthermore, the plan stressed the decentralization of over-saturated commercial, residential, and recreational areas by "providing a framework for the creation of new employment and recreation centers in the areas to be urbanized in the future; as well as for the gradual decentralization of existing over-concentrated employment and recreation centers, so that these may be closely related to areas of residential development."³⁰

The Doxiadis Plan was very concerned with the viability of the central business district (centro in the case of Rio) and subsequent expansion of commercial activities of Guanabara. Despite the

²⁹ Table 40: Hierarchy of Communities, *ibid.* 185.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 258.

recommendations of the plan's authors and researchers that Guanabara's urban infrastructure should be reorganized in a more decentralized pattern, they widely acknowledged that Rio's Central Business District would continue to "be the main focal point around which urban development and growth will take place."³¹ The plan's authors attributed some of Rio's economic growth problems to its outdated urban infrastructure, as well to an overburdening on the city-state's CBD. Aside from proposing that the immediate areas (Mangue, São Cristóvão) surrounding the CBD be utilized to accommodate the future growth of the functions of the CBD, the plan also stressed that many of the CBD services and functions be redistributed throughout the city in order to better serve the city's residents.

The concerns that had been expressed since the 1950s regarding Rio's economic and industrial growth were also of importance in the Doxiadis Plan. The areas on the periphery of the state were proposed to host the plants and factories of heavy industry, while spaces along Guanabara's transportation routes should be reserved for utility and service industry in order to serve the city and its residents efficiently. The plan also stressed that the opening of a new port at the Baía de Sepetiba would be advantageous not only for economic growth, but for the burdens placed upon the existing port areas of Saúde, Santo Cristo,

³¹ Ibid., 256.

and Gamboa, which were located too close to the CBD, and considered to be deteriorated neighborhoods.

The emphasis on the expansion of Guanabara's road and highway system is the most ambitious feature of the Doxiadis Plan. Synchronized with other features of the plan, one of the objectives of the new proposed expressways was to solve the inadequate configuration of space and services that many Cariocas experienced, but to also properly inspire and control the future growth of the city-state and greater metropolitan region. Using dressed-up urban planning terminology, the following quote contextualizes an obvious recommendation for the development of roads in Guanabara:

“The proposed main road network follows basically a grid pattern adapted to the physiography of the state. By a gradual transformation of the presently existed radial system which converges upon the Central Business District into a grid system of North-South and East-West arteries, a favourable setting is created for a more balanced urban growth and traffic distribution.”³²

The Doxiadis Plan considered the improvement and construction of new freeways and expressways in Guanabara a priority in the first five years of its implementation (1966-1971). Moreover, aside from proposing the initial new construction of 59.5km of expressways, they also encouraged the widening, paving, construction of medians, and interchanges along the existing main arteries of the city-state.³³

³² Ibid., 265.

³³ Ibid., 344-346.

The plan's focus on the improvement of traffic throughout the city state by means of remodeling and constructing new expressways did not signify that the planners had completely neglected the role of mass transportation. The authors clearly stated that Rio was greatly in need of a metro (subway) system, as well as the need to reconfigure the bus and suburban train systems. While the question of car ownership and the use of the private automobile is a variable that is emphasized and privileged throughout several facets of the plan, the proposals concerning mass transportation state that it "should be organized to provide inexpensive, fast and convenient movement in order to be able to compete with the private car, especially as far as movements to and from work are concerned."³⁴ In his study on the evolution of transportation in Rio de Janeiro, scholar Josef Barat claims that one of the problematic parts of the Doxiadis Plan was its overwhelming emphasis on the automobile and expressways, with not enough attention paid to the role of public transport in the urban development of the city-state.³⁵

Questions and solutions for the constant growth and presence of favelas throughout Rio de Janeiro was also a central focal point of the

³⁴ Ibid., 265. Numerous efforts to construct a subway in Rio had stalled since the 1950s. Early into his administration, Lacerda had secured enough financing from French investors to begin construction on a metro system, however he did not receive the backing of the federal government, hence the aggressive attacks on Hélio Almeida of the Clube de Engenharia and Ministro de Viação. A future study was commissioned by Negrão de Lima in 1968 on which agreements were signed in order to build a much needed mass transit system.

³⁵ Josef Barat, *Estrutura metropolitana e sistema de transportes: Estudo do Caso do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: IPEA, 1975), 223-225.

Doxiadis study. By examining the demographic conditions surrounding the growth of favelas, the plan considered the long-term efforts needed in the way of financing, construction, and maintenance that were needed to alleviate the growth of favelas. In 1964, the researchers calculated that approximately 405,000 people resided in 211 favelas, with an annual growth rate of 6.2 percent.³⁶ Furthermore, the plan recognized that those who resided in favelas were not social outcasts in the city, and that more adequate forms of housing that were *accessible* to the favelas residents' places of employment throughout the city were vital considerations in the construction of housing. The plan recommended that "space for the relocation of the favela population in new well-organized communities must be found within each of the existing communities of the city as well as the new areas to be opened to urban development." The Doxiadis Plan set up a 15 year program that they considered would be of great help to solving the favela problem in Rio de Janeiro. While the State of Guanabara already had begun the relocation through its housing agency COHAB in 1962, the Doxiadis Plan envisioned the construction of 126,000 dwellings that would eventually house 600,000 people. Furthermore, the plan suggested that the State Government, private investors, and the favela residents through creative

³⁶ Ibid., 349. Again, while these numbers are of the most accurate of the time period, it is important to keep in mind the underreported residents or the constant growth of new favelas.

and generous financing, be the actors responsible for the construction of new housing throughout the city.

As much as the Doxiadis Plan dealt with the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro on a macro level, it also identified two distinct areas that were ideal for urban renewal. The two targeted areas in the plan for urban renewal were Copacabana in the zona sul, and the other was the area known as Mangue between the centro and the zona norte. Copacabana was a densely populated upper and middle class neighborhood that mixed high rise office buildings, large avenues, apartments, hotels, stores, bars, and cafés, with the natural splendor of the beach that served as a postcard image for the city. It was Rio's most cosmopolitan area and the symbol of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil to the international community during the 1950s and 1960s, albeit densely populated and growing haphazardly.

In order to solve the haphazard patterns of development and traffic congestion caused by the increasing amount of automobiles and new buses, the Doxiadis Plan envisioned a new utilization of space within the immense neighborhood.

“The only solution to the problems of Copacabana is to organize the space and group various related functions in a radical way. There should be a complete separation between pedestrians and vehicles. The functions, uses and movements of pedestrians should be gathered together in areas that will be safe from traffic

*and be agreeable and relaxing. This can only be achieved by a vertical separation between man and the car in Copacabana.*³⁷

Thus, the proposed plan for Copacabana suggested the creation of a new style of buildings that designated several levels for residences, parking, shopping, and leisure activities.³⁸ The planners were deeply concerned with the hazards and problems that the intense auto traffic generated in the densely populated neighborhood, thus the proposed idea entailed that roads should be for cars and not pedestrians. Hence, commercial, residential, and leisure activity would be reorganized so that it was as far as possible from the street. This concept of building and design ironically went entirely against the grain of Rio's urban character, as the street had always served as the main arena for socio-cultural relations among people of all social classes. The plan for Copacabana, which focuses on the redistribution of space in the neighborhood, also considers the decline of open space in the neighborhood. While reforming the beach areas along the Avenida Atlântica is suggested together with an increase in playgrounds, this seems to be a secondary concern in the plan. Rather, the design schemes are undoubtedly preoccupied with incorporating the automobile into the fabric of Rio's most populous and vibrant neighborhood, as well as finding solutions to alleviate the pressures on the neighborhood's infrastructure.

³⁷ Doxiadis Associates and CEDUG, Chapter 2. An extremely concise report on the CEDUG and Doxiadis proposal for Copacabana can be accessed in *Ekistics* 21:124 (March 1966):208-209.

³⁸ See the diagram in the appendix for an example of a proposed block building.

The plan for Mangue was slightly different. While Copacabana was growing exponentially and vertically, the greater area of Mangue (Estácio, Catumbi, Praça Onze, and surrounding favelas) was gradually decaying and turning into a high speed passageway for cars flowing from the zona norte and zona sul. The deterioration of the area began during the 1950s primarily due to the construction of the Túnel Santa Barbara and its accompanying overpasses and viaducts.³⁹ Doxiadis' plan for Mangue called for a renovation of the area that would preserve some of its remnants, but mainly called for redevelopment by constructing new housing complexes and office buildings. Located on the fringes of the centro, Mangue was seen by the authors of the plan as an ideal and strategic location for the extension of the oversaturated CBD.

Similar to Copacabana, the plan for Mangue involved a complete reorganization of the streets and building patterns in the area. Whereas the plan proposed to separate pedestrians from cars in Copacabana, the idea in Mangue was to verticalize and construct high rise office towers and apartment buildings. The greater Mangue neighborhoods of Estácio and Catumbi were largely categorized by one or two story buildings, of which many dated back to the previous century and were in a range of physical conditions. Furthermore, while Copacabana was a cosmopolitan neighborhood that offered numerous residential and recreation options, many parts of Mangue were occupied by a precarious mix of lower middle

³⁹For a detailed analysis of the plan for Mangue see chapter 6 regarding Catumbi.

class families, workers, immigrants, gypsies, prostitutes, and migrants of many different ethnicities. The Doxiadis Plan saw this section of the city as ripe for urban development:

“It is very probable that the plan for Mangue will propose a different internal street system and larger size blocks more compatible with the function and design of large scale central area building complexes, to permit the erection of modern office, commercial or residential buildings. Therefore, it would seem necessary for the reparcellation of the land.”⁴⁰

The Doxiadis Plan was finished too late in 1965 for it to be officially approved by Guanabara’s legislative assembly partly because Lacerda vacated the governorship early over his disgust with General Castello Branco and the military regime. Even if the plan had been approved by the legislative assembly, it is highly unlikely that subsequent administrations for the following thirty years would adhere to the programs, financing, and growth management schemes that were proposed and outlined in the plan. While the study produced by CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates certainly contained many interesting proposals, it was impractical, even in a country with extreme material resources and without political and economic turmoil, for it to be adopted in its entirety. Doxiadis Associates was commissioned for hundreds of studies similar to the one for Guanabara, and they were continuously optimistic and committed to the notion that their Ekistic model was the path to achieving a positive urban renewal experience, even if they were well

⁴⁰ Doxiadis Associates and CEDUG, 312.

aware that long-term financial commitments to such plans were unrealistic for their clients.

Aside from proposing a myriad of urban development strategies, another purpose of the Doxiadis Plan was to help institute an organizational framework for planning in the city-state. While Carlos Lacerda's administration had made tremendous strides in reforming the city-state, they still did not have an official department of planning. Rather, they had relied upon various secretaries, mixed enterprise companies such as SURSAN, and foundations to urbanize and develop the city. The Doxiadis Plan recommended that a formal planning department be created in order to improve the organization and efficiency of urban renewal and planning within Rio.

The Doxiadis study was not just another plan that "*ficou na gaveta*."⁴¹ Francisco Negrão de Lima, Lacerda's successor, neither outlawed nor legalized the plan, but evidently followed advice from planners and urbanists who participated in the CEDUG and Doxiadis venture. Numerous ideas from the plan such as the re-urbanization of the Avenida Atlântica in Copacabana, and the construction of the Cidade Nova in the vicinities of Mangue, Catumbi, and Estácio in 1967 were two critical projects that Lacerda's successor brought to fruition starting in 1967.⁴² Although initially they might not have admitted to deriving their

⁴¹ A Brazilian (Portuguese language) expression for something that sits in a drawer and collects dust.

ideas from the Doxiadis Plan for political, ideological, or professional reasons, it is obvious that the root of their ideas came from the 1965 master plan. In the case of the Mangue and Cidade Nova redevelopment plans, the actual execution of the projects *liberally* followed the initial proposals and recommendations, especially regarding matters such as displacement, affordable housing, and compensation for expropriated properties. As I will investigate in Chapter 6, many urban planning and development entities selectively borrowed ideas from the Doxiadis Plan, largely at expense of some of Rio's residents.

Several stories concerning actual hard copies of the Doxiadis Plan have emerged over the years since its publication in 1965. In a recently published interview, Pedro Teixeira Soares, a former SURSAN architect, recalled how Negrão de Lima and his advisors demanded that every encountered copy of the plan be confiscated and hidden in an abandoned house in Vila Kennedy which was one of the hallmarks of the favela resettlement program built during Lacerda's administration. Several others have memories of finding copies of the plan in elevator shafts in city hall; however presently it is extremely difficult to encounter an original copy of the plan in used book stores in comparison with other studies such as the Agache plan of 1930.⁴³ Negrão de Lima's

⁴² See Chapter 6 regarding the detailed case study regarding this redevelopment project.

⁴³ Lacerda commented how Chagas Freitas, the third and final governor of Guanabara, though about reinstating the plan. According to Lacerda, copies of the plan were often encountered hidden in the elevator shafts of the main government administrative building in Guanabara; Pedro Teixeira Soares interview by Américo Freire, Carlos

administration also produced a less ambitious plan for the city in 1970 entitled *Rio Ano 2000*.⁴⁴ This plan was a much smaller volume, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and addressed topics such as urbanization, education, energy, and science. Similar to the Doxiadis Plan it was designed to project Rio's growth until the year 2000 and was never implemented or adopted with any success.

Even though the presence of planners in Rio such as Agache, Le Corbusier, and even Piacentini have generated more discussion than Doxiadis within planning history circles, the plan itself has still left a remarkable imprint on many of the planning agendas and projects in Rio de Janeiro since the mid 1960s. Many of the projects and proposals that are presented in the plan from 1965 came to fruition during the 1990s such as the construction of two expressways, the Linha Vermelha and Linha Amarela. For over a generation the two volume study produced in tandem by the Greek firm and Brazilian researchers has served as a vital source for data and statistics regarding population, housing, infrastructure, technology, and other sociological variables for scholars conducting research on Rio in the 1960s. This extensive statistical data and research also displays the new technocratic approach to planning that took hold in Rio de Janeiro and internationally with the advent of

Eduardo Sarmiento, Lúcia Lippi, and Marly Motta (Rio de Janeiro, 12 June 2000 and 16 October 2000). *Capítulos da Memória do Urbanismo Carioca*, organizadores, Américo Freire and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca, 2002)

⁴⁴Estado da Guanabara/Comissão do Ano 2000/Secretaria de Ciência e Tecnologia, *Rio Ano 2000* (Rio de Janeiro: Estado da Guanabara/Secretaria de Ciência e Tecnologia, 1970).

the automobile and newly developed computer systems that offered a scientific rationalization to urban planning models.

Ultimately, the merit and the multi-faceted implications of the plan's proposals can be evaluated endlessly and debated, however the tensions and fierce debates regarding the presence of the Doxiadis Associates firm working in Guanabara should never be forgotten. Not only did the debates represent the conflicting interests that those immediately and professionally involved in urban planning possessed, but those that many ordinary Brazilians held concerning multiple everyday life issues before and after the military coup of 1964.

Figure 4.1 Polychromatic Schemes of the Doxiadis Plan

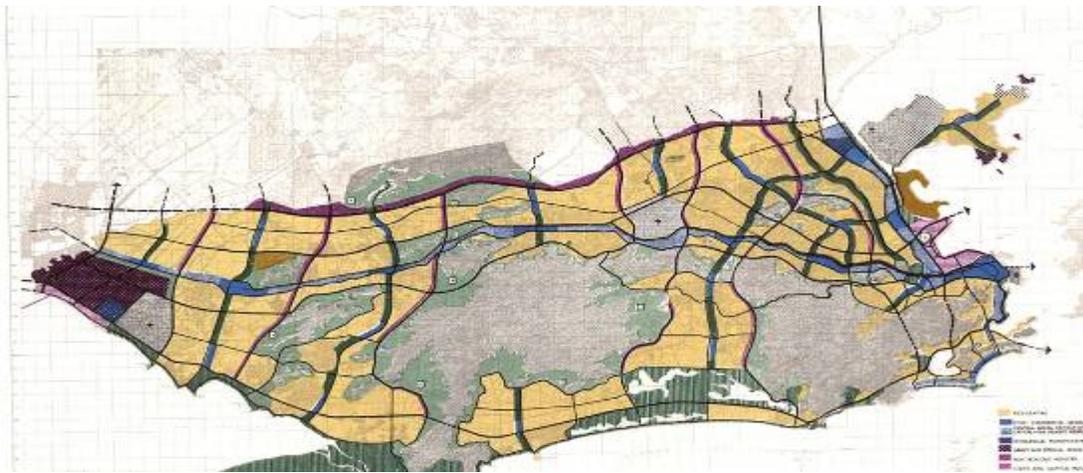


Figure 4.2 Political Cartoon Mocking Lacerda

Jaguar e o Negócio Grego

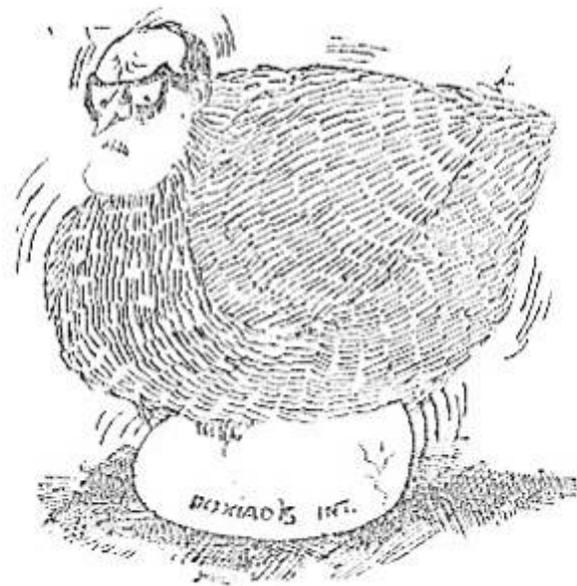


Figure 4.3 Planned Phases for the Doxiadis Plan until the Year 2000

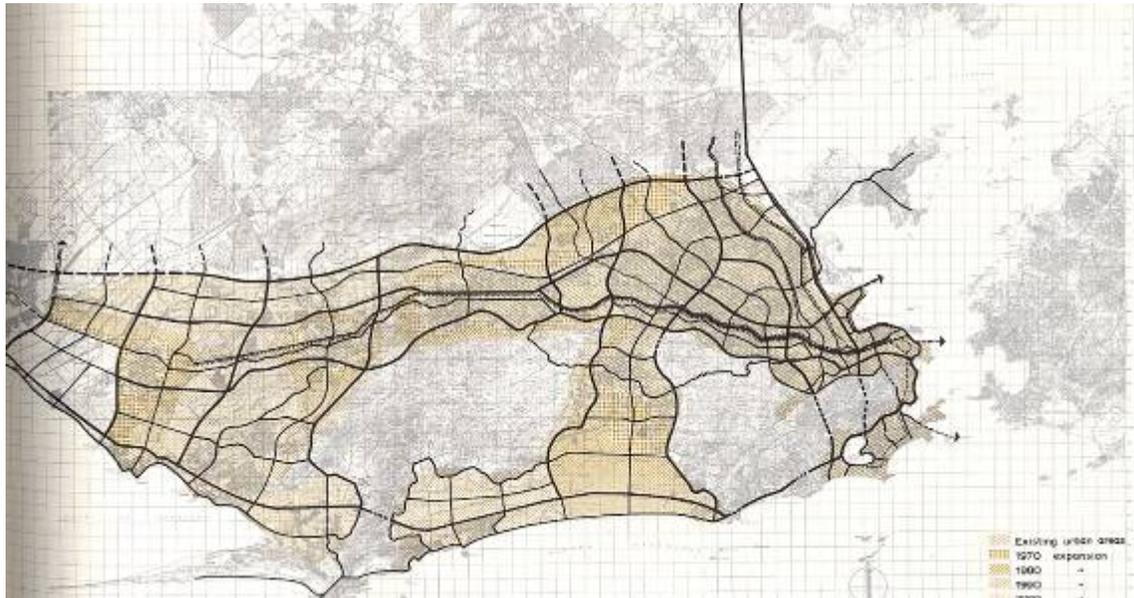


Figure 4.4 Doxiadis Zoning Analysis of Mangue

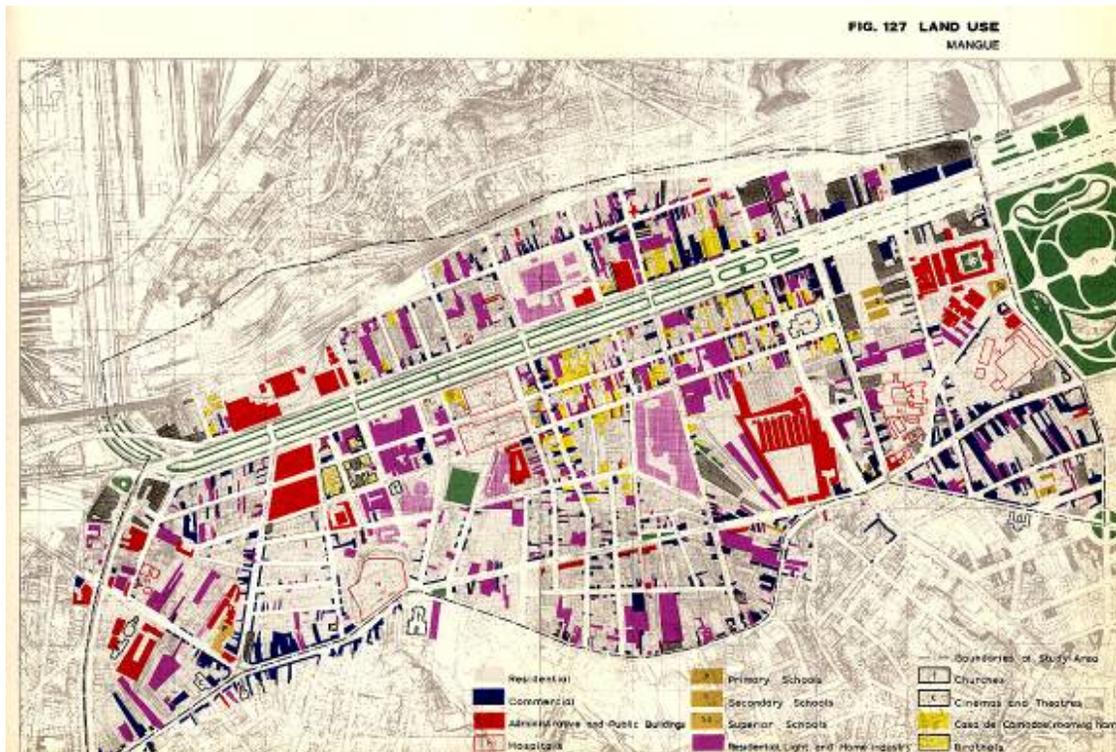


Figure 4.5 Building Conditions of Mangue: The Majority Evaluated as Deteriorated

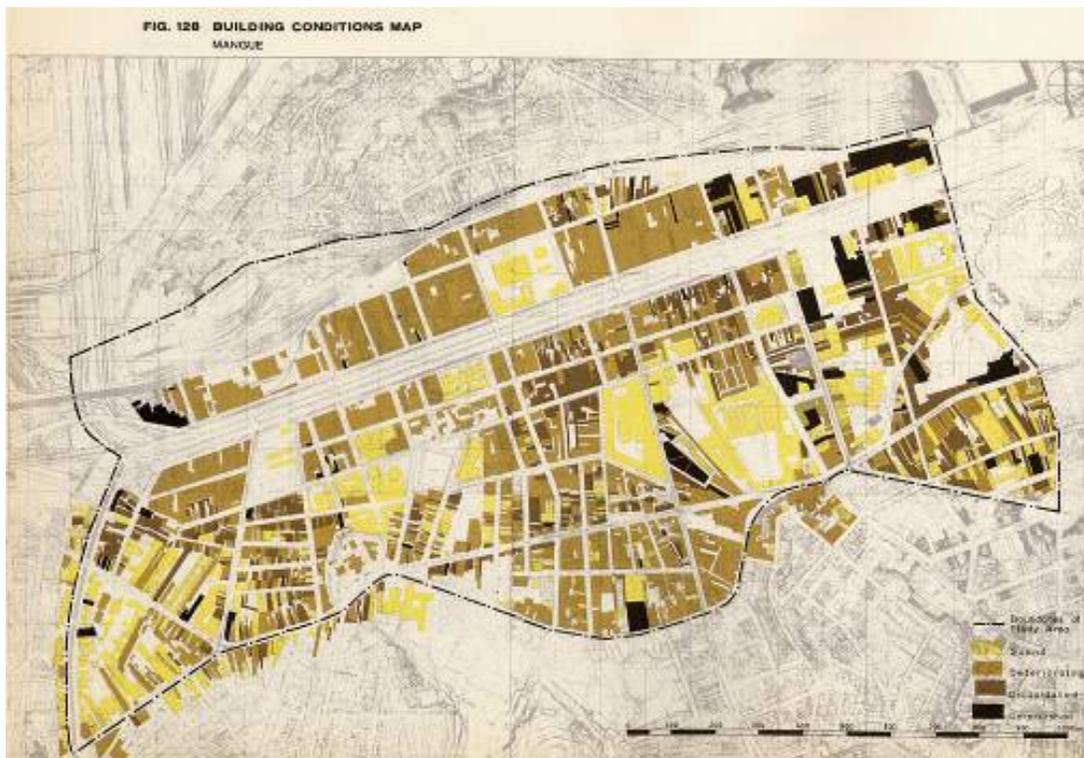


Figure 4.6 The Favela Housing Programs of the Doxiadis Plan

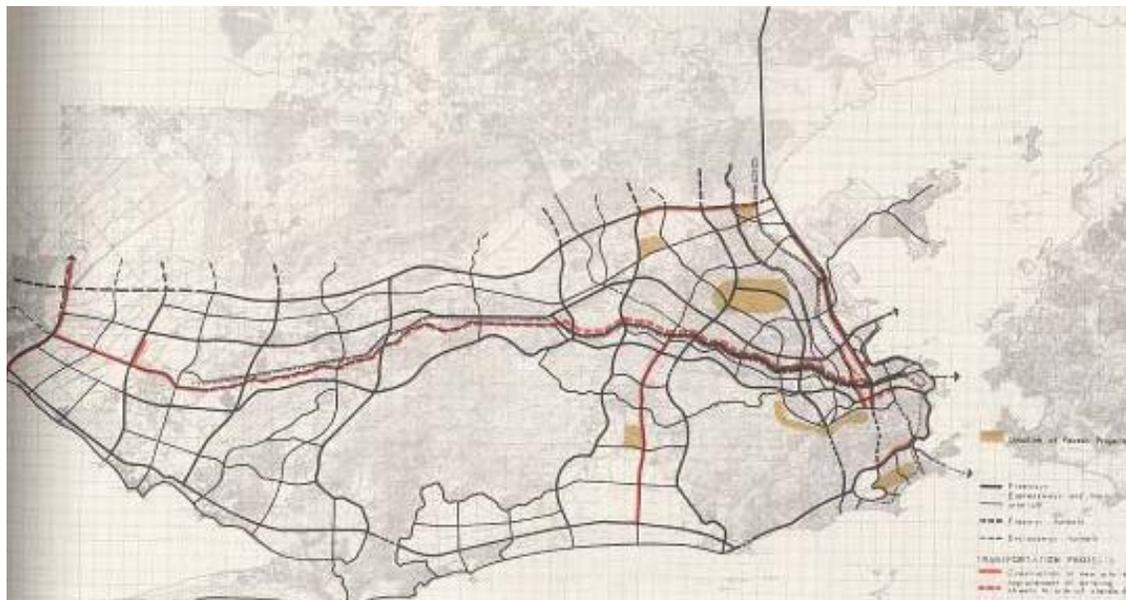


Figure 4.7 Population Density of Copacabana

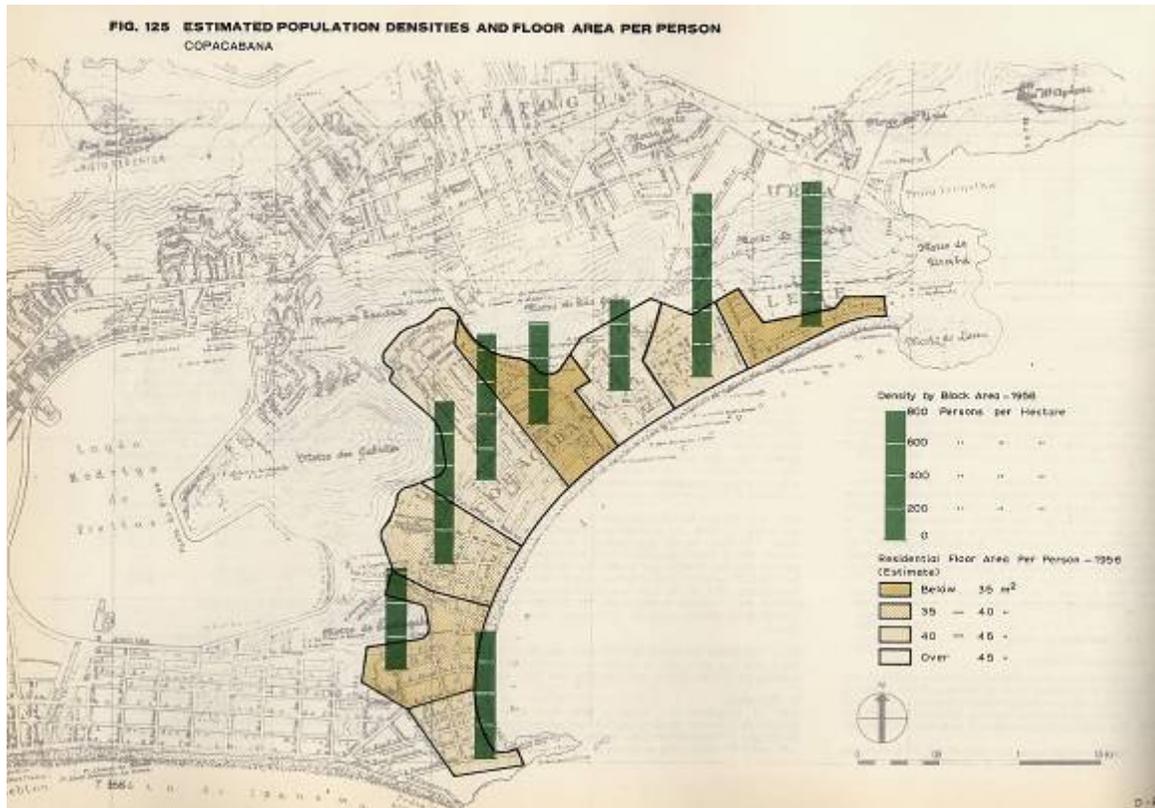


Figure 4.8 Panoramic View of Verticalization in Copacabana

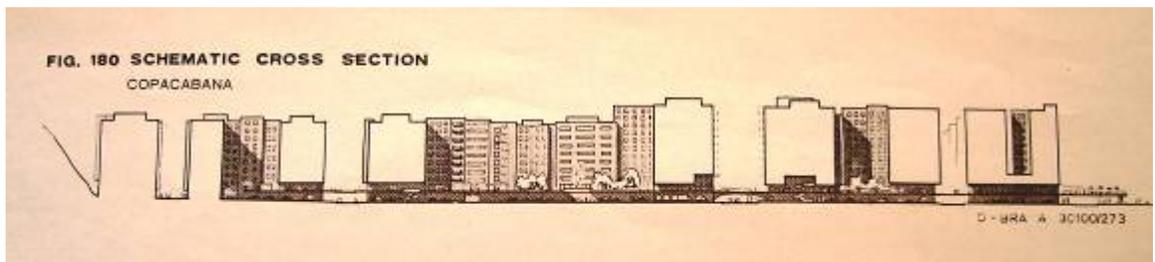
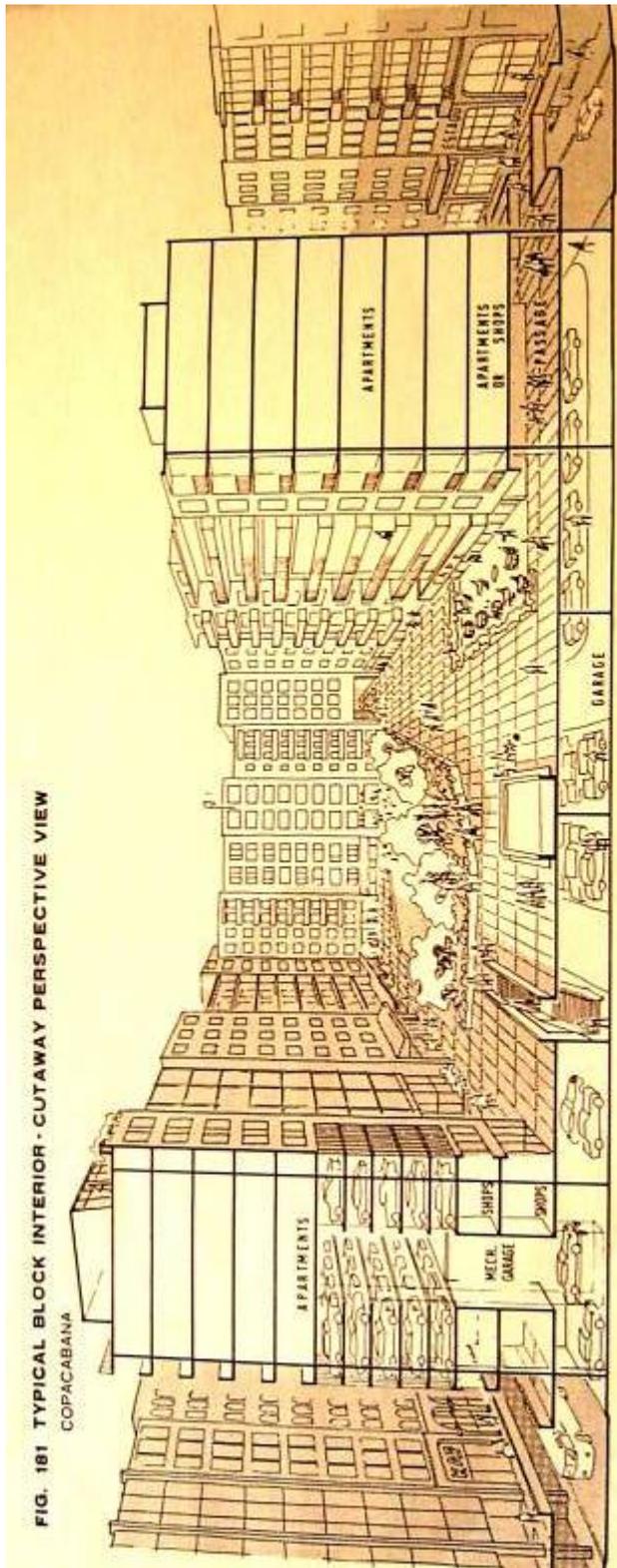


Figure 4.9 Proposed Super-Block for Copacabana – Separation of Street and Cars



Chapter 5 – Urban Renewal during Negrão de Lima’s Administration: 1965-1971

Through the construction of new tunnels, parks, schools, expressways, housing complexes, and new water and sewage systems, the city of Rio de Janeiro achieved what appeared to be a miraculous amount of progress in a five year period during Carlos Lacerda’s administration (1960 to 1965). Despite the different party affiliations between the first and second governors in Guanabara, much of the administrative organization and urban planning agenda established during Lacerda’s administration (UDN 1960-65) was continued under Negrão’s from 1965 to 1971 (PSD/PTB). Moreover, it was during these five years that Brazil changed from a democratic republic to a repressive military dictatorship. Ultimately, by the end of Francisco Negrão de Lima’s term, the city was remarkably different spatially, socially, and culturally than 11 years before when it was still the federal district.

One main reason for this continuity can be attributed to Negrão’s commitment to SURSAN which he established during his brief stint as the mayor of Rio in 1957. Many of the engineers that worked for SURSAN during Lacerda’s mandate continued to be employed in the autarquia during the Negrão years, as Guanabara continued to grow demographically and spatially. The Negrão years were filled with questionable policies and an ambitious urban planning agenda, yet the difference is that Negrão avoided being personally identified with the more controversial policies, whereas the debatable matters during

Lacerda's government were directly related to the governor. Much of this may be attributed not only to the drastic differences in personality, but to future political aspirations. While Negrão de Lima had an extensive federal and diplomatic service record, Lacerda had hoped to use his accomplishments and experience as the governor of Guanabara to catapult him to the presidency. But, Lacerda's personal ownership of the entire agenda and programs for the state of Guanabara made him an easy target for his critics. Both governors were also in power when the national political climate changed dramatically. The Lacerda years (1960-65) are divided by the military coup (post April 1964); whereas the second half of Negrão's administration was marked by the most repressive phase of the military dictatorship (post 1968).

Lacerda could have been remembered for his tunnels, expressways, parks, water works, overpasses, and public schools, but his legacy is still dominated by the image of the controversial journalist and politician who was viewed as a loose cannon. This controversial nature of his legacy is compounded by his rivalry with Getúlio Vargas, his initial support for the military régime (which eventually imprisoned him), the eradication of the favelas, and his anti-communist agenda and fiery speeches presented worldwide.¹ For many years, Lacerda has been seen as the enemy of the left and "popular" classes, while Negrão has

¹ As Mauricio Perez mentions in his recent work on Lacerda's legacy as an administrator, the initial idea of the eradication and relocation programs of the favelas began in the early 1940s during Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo, however it was ultimately Lacerda's administration that took this approach to a larger scale.

been portrayed as the *senhor simpático* who made the public feel at ease and caused little friction amongst his peers.

Many revisionist accounts now regard Lacerda, unlike his populist rivals, as an efficient and gifted administrator whose policies produced many positive changes in the landscape of Rio de Janeiro.² Although Lacerda was always concerned with making progress in improving the zona norte and subúrbios, research shows that the significant improvements made in the infrastructure of that area of the city ultimately did little to burnish his legacy or to ensure the future success of his party in the 1965 gubernatorial election.³ The seeds of support that Getúlio Vargas, the PSD, and PTB had cultivated in the 1950s were still deeply entrenched and left little hope for electoral success for the UDN in sections of the zona norte and subúrbios.

Another assessment of Lacerda's gubernatorial term cites his failure in getting his party's candidate to retain the gubernatorial seat in the 1965 election. Marly Motta largely attributes this to the fact that Lacerda's hand-picked successor, Rafael Almeida de Magalhães (Rafa), was barred from running by more conservative factions of the party for

² For more on Lacerda's legacy within the realm of urban planning see the previously cited article in chapter 3 in *Veja Rio* from 1995. Furthermore, while Lacerda was an elected politician, there are many similarities between him and Robert Moses in New York City. While both were extremely polarizing and ambitious public figures, they also left behind a certain benchmark to which future planning generations aspire to match. An interesting perspective on Moses' legacy can be read in Floyd Lapp, "Robert Moses: Visionary or Villain?" *Papers in Planning* 04.01 Columbia University School of Architecture, Urban Planning Department.

³ See the table in Chapter 3 for statistics in the number of public works by zone in the city.

the reason that he was living out of wedlock with his girlfriend. Consequently, Lacerda's Secretary of Education, Flexa Ribeiro, became the UDN's candidate in 1965 against the PSD candidate of Francisco Negrão de Lima instead of Rafa.⁴ With the PSD and PTB joining forces, Negrão's candidacy was more than enough to defeat the watered down candidacy of Flexa Ribeiro. With the aftermath of the military takeover, Lacerda's policies and personality, and Vargas' legacy still a major factor in the working class areas of the city-state, Negrão coasted to a victory by capturing 49.5% of the vote, versus Flexa Ribeiro's 37.6%.⁵ Whereas the working class vote was divided in the 1960 election between two candidates and parties, the PSD/PTB party took the overwhelming plurality of votes in the 1965 election, as well as drawing the more conservative middle class ones as well. Military leaders were banking on a UDN victory which they felt would stabilize leftist insurgency, however they were not willing to risk any gains by the "left," thus they decided to suspend political parties as Negrão de Lima was elected to office.

⁴ Flexa Ribeiro, in addition to serving as the Secretary of Education under Lacerda, was also the father in-law of Lacerda's son, Sebastião. In his *Depoimento*, Lacerda notes how he later revealed to Flexa that he knew he would never win the gubernatorial election in 1965 and that his own chances to become president would be slim as the military was banking on a UDN victory in Guanabara to at least entertain some form of eventual elections for the presidency. Ultimately, Lacerda fell out of favor with the military and had his political rights suspended for ten years by the military in 1968. This was largely due to his protests against the military regime, and his founding of a movement called the *Frente Ampla* with his former political foes, Juscelino Kubitschek and João Goulart.

⁵ Marly Silva da Motta, *Saudades da Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000).

Ironically, Negrão de Lima was a longstanding friend of General Castello Branco, the first military president from 1964-1967.⁶

While there is a wealth of literature on the political career of Lacerda and Chagas Freitas, very little literature exists on the political career of Francisco Negrão de Lima. Born in Minas Gerais in 1901, Negrão de Lima established his political and diplomatic career in the 1930s when he was a federal deputy for the state of Minas Gerais, and later was sent to head the Brazilian Embassies in Venezuela and Paraguay in the early 1940s. When Vargas returned to power democratically from 1951-1954, Negrão served as the Minister of Justice from 1951 to 1953. Negrão, who was a staunch supporter and ally of fellow *Mineiro*, Juscelino Kubitschek, was appointed mayor of the Distrito Federal (city of Rio de Janeiro) from 1956-1958. It was during his brief tenure in this position that the influential and powerful *autarquia*, SURSAN (A Superintendência de Urbanização and Saneamento) was established to coordinate and plan the city's urban renewal agenda. In 1958, Negrão accepted Kubitschek's offer to serve in his cabinet as the Minister of International Affairs, which then landed him in Lisbon to serve as the Brazilian Ambassador to Portugal until 1963.⁷

⁶ With the passage of Institutional Act Number 2 (AI-2), political parties were cancelled and the two official party system was established. ARENA – the official party of the military dictatorship; MDB – the official opposition party.

⁷ Fundação Getúlio Vargas – CPDOC, *Dicionário Histórico Biográfico da FGV – CD Rom Version*, “Francisco Negrão de Lima” (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002). Negrão was also involved in traveling across Brazil in early 1937 in order to confer with various governors and leaders over Vargas' plans to stay in power instead of holding

In many ways, Negrão de Lima's ascendancy to the second governorship of Guanabara is rather peculiar. Like many national-level politicians and technocrats of his generation, Negrão lived and spent his daily life in Rio de Janeiro, yet was never formally involved in local politics aside from his brief stint as mayor of the federal district.⁸ Moreover, his position as the mayor of Rio de Janeiro from 1956 to 1958 was essentially an act of patronage by his longstanding friend President Juscelino Kubitschek.⁹ Negrão's presentation of himself as a level-headed and calm individual, vis-à-vis that of Lacerda and the military régime certainly instilled some confidence in the voters in the October 1965 election.

The beginning of Carlos Lacerda's term in office as the newly elected governor of the state of Guanabara was spent organizing Guanabara's administrative structure. The majority of this newly created structure, such as the creation of regional administrations and the use of mixed enterprises such as SURSAN, COPEG, and the DER-GB to coordinate urban planning and development were inherited and retained by Negrão's administration in order to continue with

presidential elections. Known as the "Negrão de Lima Mission," this plan ultimately was a crucial factor in Vargas' installation of the Estado Novo from 1937 to 1945.

⁸ In *Saudades da Guanabara*, Motta discusses how Negrão de Lima, unlike Lacerda and Chagas, lacked the ambition to campaign and attend functions to obtain votes. In his *Depoimento*, Lacerda categorizes Negrão as a lazy and apathetic figure who was directly linked to the Estado Novo. While this is not surprising due to Lacerda's disdain for the Getulistas, he does credit Negrão with continuing with the development of Guanabara.

⁹ Negrão de Lima was the cousin of Sarah Kubitschek, the wife of Juscelino.

transforming the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, despite the differences in party affiliation, the second government of Guanabara would continue to use and expand the administrative framework established by the Lacerdistas. Nonetheless, the beginning of Negrão's term was spent rectifying the budget and personnel problems that loomed from Lacerda vacating his mandate two months early.¹⁰ Working out these two problems were the top two priorities early into Negrão's term, however they soon took a backseat to an unforeseeable catastrophe.

5.1 Environmental Disaster

“1966 began amid sweltering temperatures, as the beaches in Rio were packed with the promise of a joyful summer. However, on January 10, 1966 a massive storm hit the city resulting in the loss of electrical power and telephone service, along with incessant flooding that caused multiple hillsides and buildings to collapse and fall; 117 people were killed and over 50,000 people dislodged...The storms lasted for three days as over 10,000 of the dislocated people were transferred to the Estádio Municipal (Maracanã) and given vaccinations and healthcare, while relief efforts to remove obstacles from the city's streets took weeks. The same disaster occurred at the beginning of 1967 when a colossal storm on January 22 caused massive flooding which eventually caused the city to lose water service as the new water supply system of Guandu became contaminated. An even more powerful storm on February 22 caused buildings to collapse in Laranjeiras as rocks from the top of the surrounding hillsides eventually killed 116 people and caused 1,700 people to relocate to the periphery of the state.”¹¹

¹⁰ In an interview near the end of his mandate, Negrão de Lima commented on how the offices and supplies within the government offices were in complete disarray. See document Arquivo Negrão de Lima – CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹¹ A very interesting book on the life and work of Raymundo de Paula Soares, the Director and President of SURSAN during Negrão de Lima's administration, was published in small quantities. *Engenheiro Paula Soares: Antevisão Urbana – Uma Visão Humana*. (Rio de Janeiro: Programação Visual Desenho Industrial Ltda. 1997), 4-5. Paula Soares is also a prime example of someone who worked for SURSAN during both

Shortly after Negrão assumed the governorship of Guanabara, the city of Rio de Janeiro was hit with powerful storms that resulted in serious flooding and the interruption of utility service for several weeks. Many residents, particularly favelados, either completely lost their homes or were temporarily displaced because of the natural disasters. The floods of 1966-67 caused major problems in all areas of the city, predominantly in the neighborhoods of Santa Teresa and Laranjeiras in the zona sul, Grajaú in the zona norte, and Anchieta in the subúrbios. Additionally, the majority of displaced residents and deaths occurred in the favelas that had mushroomed throughout Guanabara's hillsides since the early 1950s.

Various relief drives took place in order to provide medical care and temporary housing for the various victims that were displaced from the storms. While state and federal forces worked to clear the debris from the streets and clogged sewer lines, relief efforts across the city were coordinated at the large soccer stadium, Maracanã, and other venues such as public schools and churches in order to help displaced victims. In order to provide temporary and long-term housing for some of the displaced residents the state government of Guanabara began to lodge several thousand people in the newly finished housing complex called

the Lacerda and Negrão de Lima administrations which is indicative in the similarity of the approach towards urban renewal that was employed by both governors.

Cidade de Deus (City of God).¹² Located in the underdeveloped region of Jacarepaguá, many of the initial inhabitants of the Cidade de Deus soon opted to return to the favelas of the zona norte and zona sul which were located near better opportunities for employment and public transportation services instead of staying in these new housing communities. Nevertheless, Negrão's administration quickly began to expand the favela eradication campaign that started during Lacerda's administration. While Lacerda is often identified as the public figure and chief enemy of the favelados, it ironically was Negrão de Lima's administration, in tandem with the federal government, that eliminated more of Rio's favelas, particularly in posh areas of the zona sul.¹³

In order to further assist storm recovery efforts, Negrão de Lima issued a decree in May 1966 that established the Instituto Geotécnica. This newly founded institute became a division of SURSAN and was assigned to surveying the conditions of the city's hills, slopes, and geological conditions in the aftermath of the storms of 1966 and 1967. The primary responsibility of the Instituto Geotécnica was to repair the hillsides throughout the city, and to also apply preventative maintenance

¹² "New Housing Due to Open in Rio for Flood Victims," *New York Times*, 13 February 1966, p 13. Recently, the history of this community has become known worldwide through the novel and subsequent film based on the life experiences of one resident. See Paulo Lins, *Cidade de Deus* 2nd Edition (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002).

¹³ For general overview of the eradication and resettlement approach during Negrão's administration see Licia do Prado Valladares, *Passa-Se Uma Casa: Análise do Programa de Remoção de Favelas do Rio de Janeiro*, 2nd Edition (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1980); Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

measures that would avoid further catastrophes in the event of future storms. Through detailed studies and reports, the various geologists and scientists of the Instituto Geotécnica concluded that the growth of favelas and tunnel excavation had gradually aided in the deterioration of the physical foundation of Rio's hillsides which exacerbated the numerous mudslides that resulted from the record amounts of precipitation in 1966 and 1967.¹⁴ Nonetheless, even after the environmental disasters of 1966 and 1967, many of the city's displaced residents would return and reconstruct homes in the city's favelas for the lack of viable alternatives, while the state would continue with the "conquest" of the city's topography by building more tunnels. The storms certainly caused major personal inconveniences for all social classes through the loss of residences and unreliable utility services. The storms and flooding also adversely impacted the commercial and retail sectors within Guanabara. Still concerned with the retention of industry within Guanabara, Negrão de Lima, SURSAN, and COPEG declared that they were fully committed to rebuilding Guanabara and that the "rain was the sole culprit" of Rio's problems.¹⁵

¹⁴ "SURSAN aplicará 3 bilhões este ano principalmente em obras contra enchentes," *Jornal do Brasil* 6 January, 1967, p 5. Two examples of these detailed reports can be found in SURSAN, *Os Aguaceiros e as Encostas da Guanabara*, 1966; Presidência da República and Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas, *Os Movimentos de Encosta no Estado da Guanabara e Regiões Circunvizinhas*, 1967.

¹⁵ "Negrão diz aos empresários que chuva é única culpada de tudo," *Jornal do Brasil* 6 April 1967.

5.2 The Febre Viária Continues

Amidst the chaos caused by the storms that wrecked havoc on the city in early 1966 and 1967, SURSAN and the DER-GB continued their plans to expand Guanabara's network of roads. Before beginning entirely new projects, finishing touches were put on the Túnel Rebouças and several of the viaducts and overpasses that began during Lacerda's term, while work also was continued on the upgrading of the water and sewage systems - especially in the aftermath of the storms of 1966 and 1967. Likewise, the eradication and relocation of favelas increased as the city's population began to approximate 4 million. With increased population density in certain regions of the city-state such as Copacabana, Tijuca, and many of the subúrbios along the rail lines, certain plans were devised in order to foster development in the western regions of Guanabara such as Jacarepaguá and Barra da Tijuca. The development of these two areas was envisioned to alleviate the core areas of the city-state from population pressure as well as to generate more industrial activity within the city-state. Unlike other cities in Brazil such as São Paulo or Belo Horizonte that were able to continue growing outward, Rio was continuously hampered by its topography.

In order to urbanize and develop these two regions of Guanabara, a new massive network of roads, tunnels, and expressways were constructed, as access to both Barra da Tijuca and the majority of Jacarepaguá from the zona norte and zona sul was extremely limited via

the narrow Avenida Niemeyer even in the mid 1960s. Similar to the other ambitious expressway lines and tunnel that were constructed during Lacerda's government, SURSAN and the DER used city-state funds along with funds from DNER in order to construct the Auto Estrada Lagoa-Barra to provide access from the zona sul to Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá. Like the Túnel Rebouças, the Auto Estrada Lagoa-Barra was technically a portion of the federal highway BR101 (Rio-Santos) and part of Guanabara's network of expressways known as the Anel Rodoviário (Ring of Roads).

The Lagoa-Barra connection extended along a stretch of 10.5km, navigating via tunnels through mountains in three separate segments: Lagoa-Rocinha, Rocinha-São Conrado, and São Conrado-Barra da Tijuca. Together with tunnels, viaducts, and suspension bridges, portions of the Lagoa-Barra expressway hovered over parts of the ocean thereby offering a panoramic view of the beaches of São Conrado and Barra da Tijuca. The first portion of this large-scale project began in early 1967 with the excavation of the .66km long Túnel Joá and the .86km Túnel do Pepino which connected São Conrado with Barra da Tijuca.¹⁶ Unlike the other tunnels throughout the city, the Túneis Joá and Pepino contained two different levels for traffic going in each

¹⁶ "Começam em Janeiro as Obras do Túnel de Dois Andares no Joá," *O Globo* 20 December 1966; "Escavados os Primeiros 45 metros do Túnel do Joá," *O Globo* 5 December 1967; "Estado inicia em fevereiro a Construção do Túnel Joá," *Jornal do Brasil* 13 January 1967, p. 5.

direction.¹⁷ Soon after the excavation began on the Túnel Joá, construction also began on the Túnel Dois Irmãos, which linked Gávea to São Conrado by passing through the Morro do Capado in the vicinity of the gigantic favela of Rocinha. Throughout the construction of the Túnel Dois Irmãos, several thousand favela homes were razed in Rocinha as excavation made certain areas of the hillsides unstable for housing. Many of these residents were offered homes either in the existing favela or in a new planned housing community in the nearby zona sul or more distant suburbs.¹⁸

With its beautiful serene beaches and virtually uninhibited open space that was eight times larger than Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon combined, Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá were seen as ideal locations for new housing and economic development initiatives in Guanabara. In order to coordinate these new growth initiatives, Negrão de Lima's administration hired the famed architect and planner, Lúcio Costa to devise a growth development strategy plan for Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá in 1969. The ultimate goal of this plan was to avoid the haphazard growth that had plagued areas such as Copacabana since the 1950s. The decision to urbanize and develop areas such as Barra and Jacarepaguá coincided with the upswing in purchasing power for the

¹⁷ See the figure at the end of the chapter for a sketch of the tunnel's design. This design approach was also utilized in the reforming older tunnels in the city and in the Viaduto da Mangueira.

¹⁸ "Obra Acaba Barracos na Rocinha," *Jornal do Brasil* 13 January 1967, p 5.

middle and upper classes in Brazil, during the period known as the “Brazilian Economic Miracle.” From 1968 to 1973, the Brazilian economy grew significantly after years of hyperinflation that resulted from austerity measures implemented by the military régime from 1964 to 1967. While Brazil’s industrial production, exports, GDP, and GNP increased, the grave differences in the distribution of wealth caused the new economic benefits to overwhelmingly benefit the upper and white-collar middle class. Accordingly, realtors, construction companies, land speculators, and the state concentrated on Barra as a fertile area for growth and profitability. Conversely, working class and poorer areas of the metropolitan region such as the ever-growing Baixada Fluminense were neglected and still lacked vital infrastructure such as water supply, electricity, and adequate sewage systems into the early 1970s.

Costa’s plan for Barra and Jacarepaguá, which was not based on any detailed or technical research, divided the regions into specific areas for housing, leisure, commerce, and industry while also preserving the natural beauty of the beach.¹⁹ Costa argued that vast amounts of open space should be maintained between high-rise condominiums and buildings so that growth and land use could be monitored. Additionally, Costa insisted that along with the development of a sufficient network of roads that connected Barra to the rest of the city, access to the area via

¹⁹ A nice concise history of the Barra da Tijuca area with a reprint of Lúcio Costa’s report is Ayrton Luiz Gonçalves, *Barra da Tijuca, O Lugar* (Rio de Janeiro: Thex Editora, 1999).

rail and metrô (subway) was critical for the area's development. Similar to his plans for Brasília, Costa envisioned that the streets should primarily serve for the flow of traffic, rather than an arena for socio-cultural interaction.²⁰ Thus, while Barra da Tijuca was viewed as an extension of the zona sul via new tunnels and roads, it also projected a new form of lifestyle for Rio's upper-middle classes; one where social and cultural interaction were contained within the confines of the condominiums rather than the streets.

While Barra began to develop in the early 1970s through public and private development ventures, very little was ever followed from Costa's plan for the region. Development in the form of exclusive high-rise condominiums began to proliferate by the mid 1970s; however it was not until the mid 1980s that the region began to significantly grow and develop into a region densely occupied by exclusive gated communities, upscale shopping malls, movie theatres, supermarkets, and restaurants. Many working class and poorer residents did in fact settle in Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá in order to work as construction laborers or in the blossoming service economy. The majority of the new residents of the region however, tended to be of the upper and upper-middle class, who opted to relocate to Barra for more open space, the beach, and a refuge from the street chaos in neighborhoods such as Ipanema, Copacabana,

²⁰ Rosemere Santos Maia, "A Produção do Espaço em Áreas de Auto-Segregação: O Caso da Barra da Tijuca," *Anuário do Instituto de Geociências - UFRJ* 21 (1998): 39-75; Gerônimo Leitão, *A Construção do Eldorado Urbano: O Plano Piloto da Barra da Tijuca e Baixada de Jacarepaguá - 1970/1988* (Niterói: Editora UFF, 1999).

or Tijuca. Since the end of the “economic miracle” in the early 1970s, crime, violence, inflation, and the proliferation of favelas throughout all neighborhoods of the city increased significantly as socio-spatial tensions throughout the city intensified. In order to escape from the commotion and perils of the streets of the zona norte or zona sul, many wealthy residents opted for a lifestyle of insularity and “voluntary-segregation” by purchasing an apartment in one of the exclusive condominiums of Barra.²¹ Subsequently, many of these new high-rise gated communities contained their own security personnel, supermarkets, and shuttle service, thereby fortifying these values of insularity and voluntary-segregation.

5.3 Piecemeal Reforms

One reform that significantly transformed the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro during Negrão de Lima’s administration was the reform and expansion of the beach areas in Copacabana along the postcard Avenida Atlântica. As mentioned in previous chapters, Copacabana was the most densely populated area of the city by the 1960s, which was attributed to a lack of zoning, incessant high-rise building, and the intense circulation of automobiles. The reforms along the Avenida Atlântica were coordinated by SURSAN along with consultants from the

²¹ Maia, *passim*. For some historical background on this form of auto-segregation in Brazil see Teresa Caldeira, “Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation,” In Setha Low, editor, *Theorizing the City*. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1999): 83-107.

Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil de Lisboa of whom they had previously worked with in the building of the Aterro and Parque do Flamengo.

According to the technical planning literature, there were several environmental, economic, spatial, and social motives to remodel Rio's most famous locale. One of the main explanations for the redevelopment of the Avenida Atlântica was to help conserve the stability of the various apartment buildings, hotels, and other establishments that were threatened by undertows and erosion. Furthermore, there was a need to construct a new sewage line, as the water and sand was polluted from inadequate sanitation infrastructure. By widening the avenue, it would be possible to install this new sewage line as well as establish a more precise boundary between the street and the beach. The redevelopment campaign also stressed more spaces for leisure, athletic, and cultural activities for the city's residents and tourists. Lastly, the widening of the avenue was recommended in order to alleviate the intense flow of traffic and to provide adequate parking spaces for the rapidly increasing presence of automobiles.²²

The 8 million dollar remodeling of Avenida Atlântica began on October 22, 1969 in front of the Leme Palace Hotel and took nearly 18

²² *Engenheiro Paula Soares: Antevisão Urbana – Uma Visão Humana*, 9; “GB Debate Praia Maior para Copa,” *Correio da Manhã* 8 June 1968; “A Nova Copacabana,” *Revista de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara* (Jan-Jun 1969): 7.

months to finish.²³ Many members of the Clube de Engenharia had mixed emotions about the project, arguing that widening the Avenida Atlântica and building another lane for traffic would only make the neighborhood and beach area more chaotic. Famed Brazilian architect Sérgio Bernardes also suggested that the remodeling of the avenue would only aggravate the problems caused by population density, and that the redevelopment plan needed to accommodate humanity instead of vehicles. Aesthetically, the reformed beach and widened avenue was given its signature style through the design of mosaic sidewalks by Brazilian landscape architect, Roberto Burle Marx.

This project turned Rio's most popular area into a temporary state of chaos with its heavy machinery, construction supplies, and never-ending noise from construction. Even before the project was begun, many planners, residents, and business owners were wary of the short-term consequences for the economic and traffic conditions for the neighborhood. Nonetheless, despite ongoing construction for an extended period of time, Copacabana's beach still continued to be the hub for many Cariocas and tourists both from Brazil and abroad. The following quote from the *New York Times* characterizes the atmosphere in Copacabana amidst the major redevelopment campaign along the Avenida Atlântica, as well as providing a contextualization of the socio-

²³ "Obras de Copacabana Têm Início às 10 Horas," *Correio da Manhã* 22 October 1969.

spatial dynamics of Rio in the early 1970s, albeit from the viewpoint of the journalist:

“The 8 million dollar local-government project to extend Copacabana Beach about 100 yards into the Atlantic and build a new road and sewer line along the beach has resumed its noisy process. That and conflicting reports that the water at several beaches has been polluted by sewers overburdened by the city’s growth have changed some beach-going habits. Nonetheless, the troubles have not altered the way the beaches reflect the city- and its social divisions-like a huge, sandy backyard...Despite the obstacle course of pipes, dikes and machines, Copacabana is crowded on weekends with families and tanned young men and girls who cannot afford to live in the crowded apartment houses rising behind the beach. They come out of the small apartments and dingy houses that alternate with machine shops and garages in the older residential districts north of the city center and take buses to the beaches. The rough sand at Ramos beach, deep inside Guanabara Bay, has been as crowded as Coney Island on a hot Fourth of July, though there is a scum of obvious pollution. Poor families, many in flapping, unstylish bathing suits, take the buses to Ramos from the jumbled industrial slums still farther to the north. Middle class families, which bought more cars last year than ever before, have been using them to get to unpolluted ocean beaches farther south. For the first time in memory there have been sweaty traffic jams each hot Sunday on the roads leading south to the 10 miles of relatively unspoiled beach at Barra da Tijuca...Still on fashionable Ipanema Beach, people whose names are seen in the social columns gather in front of apartments that can rent for as much as one thousand dollars a month. They sprawl on the same reed mats used by picnicking families at Barra da Tijuca and by the noisy poor at Ramos Beach.

Since Agache’s plan for Rio in 1930, Brazilians and foreign planners had written several plans for Rio’s subway (metrô). In 1968, the decision to approve a plan and begin construction finally came to fruition. The 1968 plan superceded previous agreements made during Lacerda’s administration with a French firm to construct and partially finance the metrô, which had been opposed by the federal government

and those with stakes in other spheres of public transportation, particularly the bus companies. The 1968 plan was a study that was prepared in 5 months by the Brazilian Companhia Construtora Nacional S.A. and the German firms of Hochtief Aktiengesellschaft and Deutsche Eisenbahn Consulting GmbH.²⁴ The mixed-enterprise Companhia do Metropolitano do Rio de Janeiro, (a subdivision of the Secretaria de Serviços Públicos) was established in 1968 in order to coordinate the construction and implementation of the main metrô line that would run from Ipanema in the zona sul to Praça Saenz Peña in Tijuca of the zona norte.²⁵

Interestingly, financial assistance was promised by both military presidents Costa e Silva and Médici to assist Guanabara in realizing the implementation of a mass transit system despite Negrão de Lima's opposition to military rule.²⁶ Moreover, Rio was at the center of some of the most spirited organized forms of protests and insurgency against the policies of the military dictatorship in the late 1960s during Negrão de Lima's term. Consequently, the military régime began to expedite the full occupation of Brasília in order to escape the "subversive" climate of

²⁴ Companhia Construtora Nacional S.A. and Hochtief Aktiengesellschaft für Hoch- und Tiefbauten vorm. Gebr. Helfmann and Deutsche Eisenbahn Consulting GmbH., *Metro Rio: Study of the Technical and the Economic Feasibility of the Metro of Rio de Janeiro*. (Guanabara: Estado da Guanabara, 1968).

²⁵ "Aprovada Linha-1 do Metrô Carioca," *Correio da Manhã* 13 June 1968.

²⁶ This information can be found in the Arquivo Francisco Negrão de Lima at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV-CPDOC) in Rio de Janeiro document# NL 66.04.04.g – "Discurso do Governador Negrão de Lima pronunciado hoje pela manhã no Jardim da Glória, por ocasião da solenidade de inauguração das obras do metropolitano carioca." No date given.

Rio de Janeiro. Nonetheless, many federal and state-level technocrats argued that the metrô would be another mechanism to help increase economic and industrial activity within Guanabara and the greater metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro.²⁷ Even though Rio had significantly improved its infrastructure and developed plans to generate more industrial activity within the state, many local and federal technocrats were still uncertain regarding the economic viability of Guanabara as industrial growth was still very marginal since the city-state's creation in 1960.

The advent of new expressways, tunnels, viaducts, and modern buses did nothing to alleviate all regions of the city from traffic congestion. The core and periphery of the city continued to grow exponentially as greater Rio's population in 1968 was close to 6 million. According to the diagnostics of various demographic studies during this time period, it was predicted that the greater Rio's population would grow 26% by 1975, and subsequently double by 1990 (11.6 million residents).²⁸ The new metrô system was seen as the most viable option to relieve the main corridors of the city from brutal traffic congestion to be expected from this population explosion.

Since the 1950s numerous debates emerged among Rio's planning community over the practicality of the metrô. Many engineers,

²⁷ Costa e Silva Promete a Negrão Ajudar a Construir o Metrô," *Jornal do Brasil* 18 April 1967.

²⁸ *A Experiência da Guanabara*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Laudes, 1970), 99.

politicians, and residents opposed the construction of a metrô by arguing that upgrading and modernizing the existing train lines (Central, Leopoldina) was more feasible and cost-efficient. Similar to certain episodes during Lacerda's term in office, engineers and architects of the Clube de Engenharia opposed the creation of the Companhia Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro on the grounds of not being invited to participate in the design and configuration of the metrô system. Likewise, they objected to the involvement of German firms in the design process, as well as the fiscal arrangements established with the federal government in order to pay for the project. While many were in favor of the project, many then objected to the layout and location of the stations and lines. As Maria Lais Pereira da Silva notes, while previous disagreements centered on the upgrading of the railway lines, the post 1968 discussions were over the layout and locations of the metrô's stations and lines.

The involvement of the federal government in state-level urban development projects such as Rio's metrô in the late 1960s displays the changes that occurred nationally with the new policies of the military dictatorship after 1967. Prior to 1967, governors such as Lacerda had the ability to negotiate independently with foreign lenders to fund urban development projects. With the escalation of the military regime's arbitrary power, the federal government assumed a more meddlesome

approach in the daily operations of state and municipal governments.²⁹ Perhaps another reason for federal involvement was the economic impact of the project. Almost ninety percent (90%) of material for the construction of Rio's metrô such as the iron for tracks, motors, engines, and trains would be produced nationally. The electronic components of the project relied on foreign manufacturers.³⁰

Many transportation scholars and residents argued that the construction of a new mass transit system would have very little impact on the traffic problems within the city. In his work on the social significance of the metrô lines in Rio, Josef Barat assesses how the various delays in constructing the metrô impacted the millions of the lower class by the early 1980s:

“Had the Rio de Janeiro Metro been implemented from the beginning of the century, as was the case for several large cities in the world, it would have ensured consolidation of the urban site, causing the evolution of the modal participation of trips to be more consistent...The rise of the road-oriented policies in the country, along with the implementation and expansion of the car industry, have contributed to the imbalance in the modal distribution of trips...The non-construction of the Metro at the best time and the increase in competition between buses and tramways – finishing in an extension of the system – coupled with increasing motorization and population growth, have created saturation of streets and avenues with the subsequent congestion that has been such a dominant feature since the 1960s...The slow and discontinuous implementation of the Rio de Janeiro Metro System is a typical case of the disregard by transport authorities of the low-income population’s basic needs...Since 1968 successive state and federal

²⁹ Maria Lais Pereira da Silva, *Os Transportes Coletivos na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, 1992), 100-103.

³⁰ “Metrô Carioca terá 90% de Material Brasileiro,” *Jornal do Brasil* 18 April 1967.

have had diverse and contradictory attitudes in relation to the Metro system as a social priority.”³¹

Initial construction of the primary line (Ipanema-Tijuca) of the Metrô began shortly before Negrão de Lima’s term ended in March 1971, and it was not until the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro fused in 1975 that construction of the tracks and stations gained momentum. Much like the massive tunnels, expressways, and viaducts constructed in the early 1960s, the execution of the Metrô aided in the displacement of almost 300 families as well as the demolition of almost 1,500 residences and buildings throughout the city.³² Furthermore, as the next chapter will vividly demonstrate, the majority of areas that were adversely impacted by these new forms of urban infrastructure were predominantly inhabited by the lower-middle classes.

Portions of the Botafogo-Tijuca (formerly Ipanema-Tijuca) line were eventually opened to passengers in 1979, with the complete line operating by 1981. Segments of a complimentary second line from Estácio to Irajá were also opened in 1981; however it was not until the late 1990s that this second line began to reach the subúrbios of Irajá and the Baixada Fluminense. Importantly, it was not until the late 1990s that the Metrô even reached Copacabana, due in part to

³¹ Josef Barat, “Rio de Janeiro Mass Transportation System: The Social Role played by the Metro Lines. *International Journal of Social Economics* 17:9 (1990): 34, 39.

³² According to Maria Lais Pereira da Silva, p. 106-107, these forms of demolition and displacement occurred throughout all regions of the city, however they were more common in the centro and subúrbios.

expressways that were designed in the 1960s such as the Linha Vermelha and Linha Amarela being given priority over the extension of a mass transit system that would serve all segments of the population. The lack of commitment to building the Metrô and the upgrading of railways for several decades clearly reinforces how planners of the 1960s and subsequent generations emphasized the role of the automobile largely at the expense of the millions of the lower socio-economic classes.

Although the majority of the construction for the Rio-Niterói Bridge from 1969 to 1974 (officially known as Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge) was mainly the responsibility of the DNER, it clearly had spatial, economic, and political consequence for the city-state of Guanabara. This 13 km bridge was built in order to directly link the city of Rio de Janeiro (Guanabara) to the city of Niterói (state of Rio de Janeiro) across the Guanabara Bay.³³ Although many Cariocas and Fluminenses (people from the state of Rio) commuted to each respective city for work, school, and leisure, this was mostly done via ferryboat across Guanabara Bay. The purpose of the new bridge was to provide rapid, direct access between the two cities and also to help trigger economic and industrial growth in the greater metropolitan region. Similarly, the bridge also synchronized with Guanabara's new expanding network of roads and the new federal highway plans.

³³ For an overview of how the urban reforms of Niterói mirrored Rio de Janeiro's, see Marlice Nazareth Soares de Azevedo, "A construção da Cidade na primeira metade do século 20: Niterói, Espelho do Rio." In *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965* (São Paulo: Studio Nobel/FAUUSP/FUPAM, 1999): 71-82.

Declared the longest suspension bridge in the world, the Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge was essentially a massive concrete slab elevated above the picturesque Baía da Guanabara. Despite the bridge's lack of aesthetic beauty, it still does not detract from the scenery of the bay and views of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói. In many ways, the bridge is a prime example of technocratic planning that had been adopted in Guanabara and by the federal (military regime) during the late 1960s and 1970s. A technical publication by ECEX, the construction firm responsible for the construction of the bridge in the early 1970s, underlines the technocratic mentality of planning which stressed the development of national, state, and municipal roads:

“The Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge materializes a secular aspiration of the people in Rio de Janeiro, Niterói, and other neighboring cities. Its construction was entrusted to ECEX – Empresa de Engenharia e Construção de Obras Especiais – an entity attached to the Transports Ministry through the DNER, the Brazilian Federal Highway Department. The Bridge links Ponta do Caju in Rio de Janeiro to Avenida do Contorno in Niterói, across Guanabara Bay, and it is an integral part of BR-101, a coastal highway connecting the cities of Touros and São José do Norte. Prior to the bridge construction, the highway traffic between Rio and Niterói was accomplished either through a 110 km long peripheral road around the bay or utilizing a ferryboat system. In addition to causing less interference with the local and long run sea traffic, the route selected for the Bridge presents other advantages over the other alternative studied, providing a lower overall cost and effecting the construction through peripheral areas of Rio and Niterói, thus releasing the respective urban centers from the burden of the heavy highway traffic...The travel time from downtown Rio to downtown Niterói is approximately two hours along the Rodovia do Contorno, or one hour and sixteen minutes using the ferryboat system. Through the bridge, only seventeen minutes are required.”³⁴

³⁴ ECEX, *Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge*, No date given. Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (AGCRJ) – Coleção Oliveira Reis.

Despite the geographical proximity between Rio de Janeiro and Niterói, there was very little common ground culturally and politically between the two cities and their surrounding areas. However, the ultimate goal of the bridge was to help bolster the economies of the two regions, as politicians and economists were still concerned with the viability and diversification of Guanabara's industries. Although Guanabara was still the second largest industrial center of Brazil after São Paulo, more concerted efforts were made in the late 1960s to study and develop deeper economic relations with the bordering state of Rio de Janeiro. The construction and subsequent inauguration of the bridge clearly foreshadowed what was to occur in April 1975; the fusion of the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro. I will discuss this matter in detail in the final chapter, however the explanations and basis for the fusion between the two states were indicative of the economic and geopolitical agendas of the military dictatorship as well as several state and municipal politicians and several influential commercial and business representatives.

In a span of approximately ten years (1961-1971) the city of Rio de Janeiro experienced its most intense phase of urban development as well as demographic growth. Aside from the differences in party affiliation, personality, and political ambitions between Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima, both governors were highly committed to rebuilding, developing, and improving the landscape and infrastructure

of the new city-state. The majority of this development was overwhelmingly accomplished with financial resources collected through city-state taxes; with a small portion coming from federal funds (DNER) and foreign loans and grants.

There are two key elements to understand the continuity of urban reforms between the Lacerda and Negrão administrations. The first aspect is the role that was played by mixed-enterprise entities such as SURSAN and the DER-GB. SURSAN was the major executor, planner, and supervisor of the road, water, sewage, park, and other forms of urban development during the 1960s. Accordingly, many of the technocratic personnel were employees of SURSAN during both administrations in the 1960s. Since SURSAN paid market-value salaries to their employees, many young and ambitious engineers and architects opted to work for the autarquia instead of working in the private sector. While SURSAN was a part of the executive and state government, it essentially was exempt from any direct meddling from members of Guanabara's Legislative Assembly. As noted in chapter 2, autarquias such as SURSAN were often privileged due to their mixed-enterprise nature. Another critical element for understanding how Rio de Janeiro's urban development blossomed under both Lacerda and Negrão is the consideration of the administrative structure of Guanabara's government. While Negrão de Lima had very little in common with Lacerda politically, he strategically utilized the administrative model

created by his predecessor to govern and coordinate the city-state's daily operations and urban development. The majority of these urban reforms were made to improve the quality of life for the city and its residents, while also trying to configure a new network of roads that would allow for the efficient and systematized flow of traffic. Symbolically, through urban reforms in the 1960s, many politicians, technocrats, and Cariocas wanted to show that Rio, still was, the de facto capital of Brazil.

Figures 5.1 – The Viaduto do Méier Facilitating Connections for Cars



Figure 5.2 Construction Beginning on the Túnel Joá



Figure 5.3 Design of the Double-Decker Túnel Joá

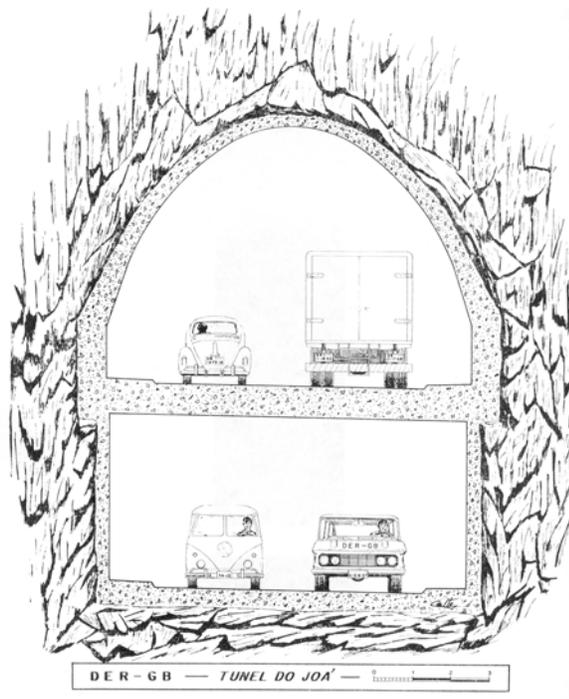


Figure 5.4 Double-Decker Viaduto da Mangueira

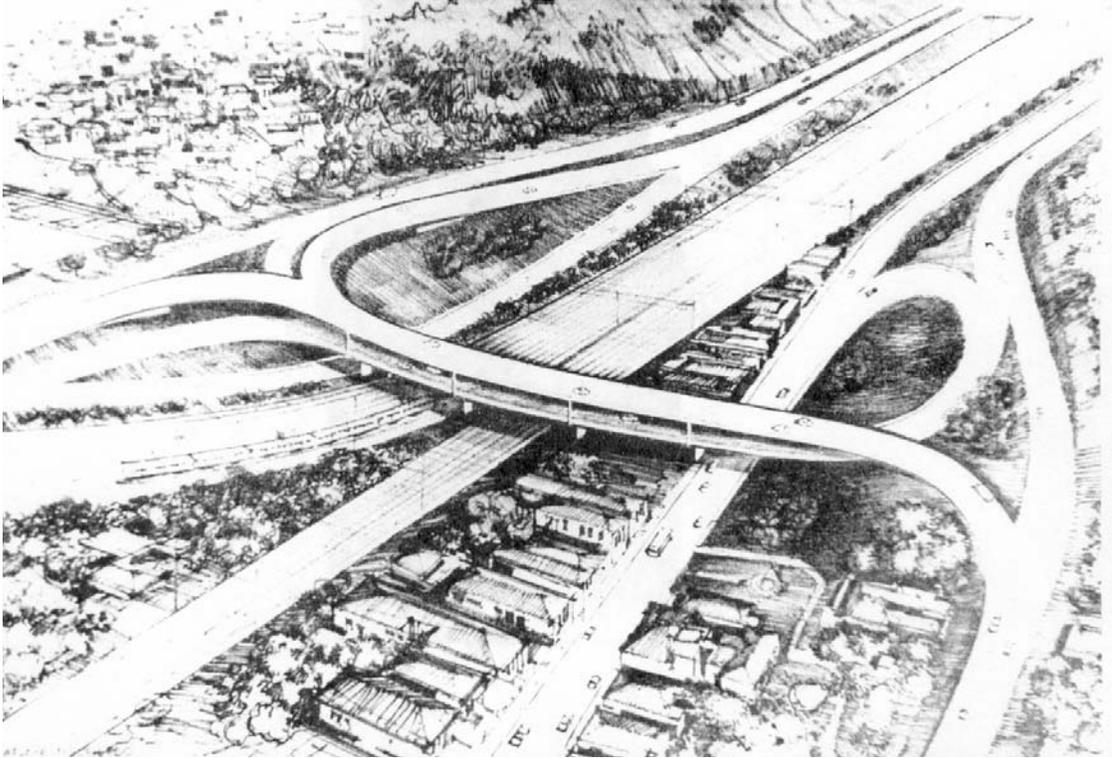


Figure 5.5 Viaduto along the Praia de Botafogo



Figure 5.6 Reforms along the Avenida Atlântica in Copacabana – Late 1960s



Figure 5.7 More Reforms along the Avenida Atlântica



Figure 5.8 Avenida Atlântica – Detailed View of the Reforms



Figure 5.9 The Building of an Additional Lane along the Avenida Atlântica



Figure 5.10 Work on Roberto Burle Marx's famed sidewalks along the new Avenida Atlântica



Figure 5.11 More Views of the Avenida Atlântica and the Redesigned Sidewalks



Figure 5.12 The Avenida Atlântica Remodeled



Chapter 6: A Neighborhood in the Way of Cars

Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s can be remembered as a time and place of intense urban growth where residents saw a huge expansion in the physical infrastructure of the city. Urban planners, architects, and engineers managed to conquer Rio's topography and remedy, albeit temporarily in several cases, Rio's intense population pressure, circulation of traffic, and other infrastructural challenges such as water supply, public schools, and paved streets.

Furthermore, many consider the Rio of the 1960s as an *Época de Ouro* (Golden Age) with the high rise boom in areas such as Ipanema, Leblon, and the newly remodeled Copacabana. The late 1950s and early 1960s were the heyday of the world-renowned Bossa Nova, Tom and Vinícius' *Garota de Ipanema*, as well as the brief existence of ZiCartola and halcyon days of the Escolas de Samba of the Zona Norte such as *Portela*, *Mangueira*, and *Império Serrano*. While many Cariocas embraced the new modernity of tunnels, expressways, bridges, overpasses, parks and new forms of transportation, many were not able to directly benefit from some or all of the new improvements in infrastructure. The city's population grew by almost 200% from 1950 to 1970, but so too did the population of people residing in the city's favelas. The history, growth, eradication and resettlement campaigns, and elements of everyday life in the favelas have been well documented by numerous scholars, activists, and artists and certainly must be mentioned when discussing the city of

Rio de Janeiro in that era. Despite the interest in the world of favelas, and to a lesser extent, the world of the beach, Bossa Nova, and the Escola de Samba, little work has been done about the millions living in the middle and working class neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro and how they embraced, reacted, and “negotiated” the new forms of urban development under Carlos Lacerda, Francisco Negrão de Lima, and Antônio Padua de Chagas Freitas from 1960 to 1975.

On the surface, many members of the middle class and working class did in fact welcome the improvements in the city’s network of roads that permitted a fairly rapid journey between the zona norte and zona sul as well as relieving some of the traffic congestion of the centro which dominated the cultural and social life of the city until the mid 1940s. With the increasing presence of the personal automobile within the city, those who lived in the middle class areas of the zona norte such as Tijuca, Grajaú, and Vila Isabel could easily drive to the beach neighborhoods of Copacabana and Ipanema to enjoy the beach and also frequent the new movie theatres, restaurants, and clubs that quickly rivaled the cultural life of the downtown that used to predominate in the centro prior to the 1950s.

However, there were many people of the working and middle classes who were rather skeptical about the new urban development. As an example, the new tunnels and network of roads and expressways that were supposed to alleviate the city’s horrid traffic congestion were mainly

intended for automobiles and not the new buses that replaced the streetcars in the mid 1960s. A report from a Rio newspaper in 1965 noted how the increase in car and bus traffic adversely impacted several of the city's neighborhoods such as Catumbi

“The Túnel Santa Bárbara brought about an extraordinary improvement to the north-south flow of traffic in the city, but the main access roads via Catumbi are unable to sustain rush hour traffic...When the traffic entering or exiting the tunnel is extremely congested, cars and local buses completely cover the Rua Catumbi and adjacent streets which is increasingly resulting in accidents.”¹

As evidenced from the above quote, many traditional and working class neighborhoods were drastically incised in order to accommodate many of the new expressways, overpasses, tunnels, residential and business complexes that comprised the urban development initiatives of the 1960s and early 1970s. Whereas many neighborhoods and their residents were not entirely opposed to urban development and its possible positive consequences for the city, they were wary of how certain areas of the city were completely neglected or subordinated to larger plans and suffered neglect in Rio's rapid urban development in the 1960s. Consequently, what emerged were contesting interpretations of abstract and social space within the city, to cite the terms of geographer Henri Lefebvre. Synthesizing the arguments of Lefebvre and other

¹ “A “Garganta” do Catumbi,” *O Globo* 20 July 1965. While buses did not travel through the Túnel Rebouças until the late 1970s and early 1980s with frequency, there is evidence that buses did circulate through the Túnel Santa Bárbara in the early 1970s as documented in the *O Catumbi*, the official newspaper of the Associação de Moradores do Catumbi.

urbanists, Kevin Fox Gotham suggests that “abstract space is the space of state actors who are interested in the abstract qualities of space including size, width, area, and profit. In contrast, “social space” is the space of everyday lived experience, an environment as a place to live and call home.”²

What I have written thus far can be said of any major city that experienced large urban renewal campaigns during the twentieth century and there are probably many case studies that I could cite to draw a parallel to the history and experience of the neighborhood of Catumbi, located on the fringe of the centro and zona norte of Rio de Janeiro.³ However, in this chapter I will tell a story of a neighborhood and its

² Kevin Fox Gotham, Jon Shefner, and Krista Brumley, “Abstract Space, Social Space, and the Redevelopment of Public Housing,” In *Critical Perspectives on Urban Development* edited by Kevin Fox Gotham (Oxford: JAI-Elsevier, 2001), 314. This article offers a very good synthesis of the scholarship pertaining to the theoretical discussion of spatial relations. For some samples of this literature see David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991); Milton Santos, *A Natureza do Espaço* (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1999); Michael Peter Smith, *Transnational Urbanism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); and Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London: Verso, 1989).

³ Berman’s chapter on Modernism in New York and his tale of Robert Moses’ Cross-Bronx Expressway is analogous in many ways to the experience of urban renewal in Catumbi during the 1960s and 1970s, although in a different political and national context. The literature on urban renewal in the United States is extensive. For some examples see Joel Schwartz, *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and the Redevelopment of the Inner City* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993); Jon Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1990); Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver, Editors, *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1996); Jon Teaford, “Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath” *Housing Policy Debate* 11:2 (2000): 443-465; Christopher Silver, “Neighborhood Planning in Historical Perspective” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51:2 (Spring 1985): 161-74, M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming The Rational Dream: The Myth Of American City Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983); Steven V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (West Sussex and New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2002).

residents that I believe contextualizes many of the broad factors and elements regarding urban development in Guanabara that I have discussed in the previous chapters.

6.1 Revisiting Catumbi

The story and history of Catumbi is not unknown to scholars who have written on Rio de Janeiro or even to the cariocas who remember the late 1960s. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos and his team at the Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (IBAM) studied and produced a variety of articles, books, and even a documentary regarding the neighborhood. Furthermore, *Catumbi: Rebelião de Um Povo Traído* published by journalist Guida Nunes in 1978, dramatically depicts the struggles of everyday life in Catumbi from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s. These two works are indispensable and need to be cited in order to tell the story of Catumbi and frame and position its importance within the context of the history of urban development in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the 1960s.

Operating in an interdisciplinary fashion, the work of Carlos Nelson primarily focuses on the dynamics of the neighborhood association as an urban social movement.⁴ As a work geared towards an academic audience, Carlos Nelson's study integrates and critiques anthropological and sociological theory of social movements and urban space, yet still leaves a void in placing the significance of Catumbi within

⁴ Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, *Movimentos Urbanos no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1981).

the broader scale of urban development in Rio de Janeiro, although he does connect Catumbi's movement with two other case studies of neighborhood mobilization in Rio.⁵ While the neighborhood's newspaper is a key source for Carlos Nelson, he also focuses on his personal experiences from the period in which he and a group of consultants were contracted by the *Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores do Catumbi* to analyze Guanabara's redevelopment plans.

Guida Nunes' story is reconstructed mainly through the various newspapers that vibrantly chronicle the dedication and perseverance that the residents of Catumbi possessed in resisting the destruction of their neighborhood. Nunes' account romanticizes the story of the neighborhood's struggle from the day that certain residents learned of the plans to start the urban renewal campaigns for the Cidade Nova in 1967, until the late 1970s. Nunes vividly depicts the everyday life of the neighborhood's residents and their concerns, struggles, and cynicism towards the numerous actors involved in the reconfiguration and dismantling of the neighborhood's infrastructure. While Nunes focuses mainly on the people who were involved in the foundation of the neighborhood association and subsequent newspaper, she chose to use fictitious names in order to protect the privacy of those individuals

⁵ The two other movements are the favelas of Brás de Pina and Morro Azul.

involved in the struggle. Canvassing the newspapers from the time period however does make it easy to reveal the identity of Nunes' characters.⁶

While the works of Guida Nunes and Carlos Nelson are certainly vibrant and offer the reader a strong sense of the social and cultural life of the residents and their struggle, connections between the broader significance of Catumbi in the social, cultural, and spatial reconfiguration of Rio de Janeiro during the 1960s and 1970s is often insufficient or presumed by the authors. There have been a few case studies written concurrently with the work by Carlos Nelson and Guida Nunes that have focused on the actual planning policies surrounding Catumbi.⁷ These studies analyzed the plans that razed a good part of Catumbi, utilizing the theoretical frameworks of scholars such as Manuel Castells who were in vogue in the 1970s. Whereas Carlos Nelson looked

⁶ Published in 1978, the majority of the story was most likely written while Nunes resided in Catumbi. Aside from her other publication on Rio's favelas, very little is known regarding the author, aside from the fact that she now resides in Portugal. Nunes' writing on the various dilemmas, problems, and concerns regarding the neighborhood's residents is certainly provocative and alive with imagery. Nunes' account is limited to the struggles of the neighborhood and contains very little reference to the historical origins of the neighborhood's situation in the context of urban renewal. Furthermore, although the main planning commissions such as SEPE (A Superintendência Executiva de Projetos Específicos) and CEPE (Comissão Executiva de Projetos Específicos) are mentioned throughout the novel, Nunes rarely mentions any names of those in power, even if they are fictitious. This may be evidence of the climate of censorship during the military dictatorship of the 1964-1985 period, rather than lack of interest or omission by the author. Moreover, both Nunes and Carlos Nelson do mention the fact that the main parish priest, Father Mário (named Oimar in Nunes' account) was tortured and imprisoned by the military for almost two months due to their view of his social activism in Catumbi's neighboring favelas of São Carlos, Coroa, and Morro do Catumbi as being "subversive" of the military's ideological agenda, although questions of censorship may have figured somewhat into what Nunes' account, there are elements of the horrors of everyday life aside from the dilemmas that the city-state's urban renewal campaign presented.

⁷ Fania Fridman, "Prática de Planejamento: o Caso do Catumbi na cidade do Rio de Janeiro" (Masters Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1980).

at the internal dynamics of the neighborhood movements from an anthropological and sociological perspective, the work of Fania Fridman examined the evolution and role of planning and real estate legislation mainly from 1900 to 1980, by utilizing Catumbi as a case study.

While conducting my field research in Rio de Janeiro, I established contact with several residents and members of the *Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores do Catumbi* of Catumbi. After being warmly accepted and given help and access to the numerous volumes of newspapers, pamphlets, and other material in the neighborhood association's small community library on the Rua Valença, I determined that the story of Catumbi was still worth reconsidering within the **historical** context of the urban planning and renewal of the 1960s and 1970s in Rio de Janeiro. I strongly believe that Catumbi's place in the larger realm of the transformation of urban space in Rio de Janeiro has not yet fully been exhausted. Whereas others have chosen to isolate Catumbi, or in the case of Carlos Nelson, compare it with the mobilization efforts of the residents of certain favelas, I decided that the dilemmas of Catumbi could be told within the broader context of urban planning in Rio de Janeiro during the Guanabara period, especially during the administrations of Negrão de Lima and Chagas Freitas.

My choice to focus on Catumbi stems from various concerns. First, its geographic location on the fringe of the centro always made it an attractive target for redevelopment schemes, especially once the Túnel

Santa Barbara gave the neighborhood more direct access to the zona sul. Additionally, the socio-cultural characteristics of Catumbi are rather complex and interesting. In the 1960s, the residents of Catumbi were mainly comprised of first and second generation Portuguese and Italian immigrants, with an increasing number of diverse migrants from other regions of Brazil, particularly Minas Gerais. Catumbi was also at the crossroads of Rio's demographic explosion by being located near the centro as well as being surrounded by large favelas (Catumbi, Coroa, São Carlos) which were constantly growing with residents mainly of African descent. The internal dynamics of the neighborhood's residents' view of Catumbi as a "small city within the metropolis" often went against the grain of the modernization and renewal schemes envisioned by planners and politicians who increasingly neglected to incorporate social planning into their agendas.

Another aspect that I feel makes Catumbi an interesting case study is within the actual movement itself. The neighborhood association, which was founded informally as a commission in 1967 and later legally recognized in 1970, declared itself as the first such type organization in Brazil. Furthermore, the members of the neighborhood association declared that their movement, goals, and ideas were apolitical. This fact is interesting (if unsurprising) due to the fact that the founding of the organization and the establishment of the newspaper, *O Catumbi*, occurred during the repressive hard-line régimes of Costa e Silva and

Médici. While *O Catumbi's* content was certainly susceptible to the same censorship rigors of the military régime, its content regarding urban development and the degradation of the neighborhood due to the construction of an overpass, expressway, and housing complexes, represent viewpoints that were often unavailable in the mainstream press, as well as those in the planning community who treated urban development solely from a technocratic perspective.

The plans to construct a new residential, administrative, and commercial area known as the Cidade Nova is widely blamed for the demise of Catumbi, in conjunction with the plans to connect the Túnel Santa Bárbara with routes such as the Avenida Presidente Vargas, Avenida Brasil, the zona portuária, and the Rio-Niterói Bridge. Simultaneously, massive urban renewal projects such as the renovation of the Avenida Atlântica in Copacabana, the construction of the Túneis Dois Irmãos and Joá in order to facilitate the expansion of the city to Jacarepaguá and Barra da Tijuca were being implemented.

6.2 The Character of a Neighborhood

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, most residents and visitors to the city of Rio de Janeiro would be hard pressed to distinguish the singularity of the neighborhood of Catumbi. Beginning with the construction of the Túnel Santa Bárbara and subsequent overpasses and viaducts, followed by the construction of the Cidade Nova by state and

federal planning agencies, the area of Catumbi lost all of its unique character, and simply became another “neighborhood in the way of cars.”

Located on the outskirts of the centro, and wedged between the neighborhoods of Santa Teresa, Estácio, Rio Comprido, Praça Onze, and the Avenida Presidente Vargas, the bairro of Catumbi was typically classified as a “traditional” neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. The area was originally populated mainly by aristocratic families, who resided in lavish houses and mansions until the mid to late nineteenth century, when the neighborhood gradually expanded and was transformed socially with the addition of smaller-scale enterprises producing furniture, fixtures, tiles, and print material. With the growth of various small factories and plants that flourished in Catumbi, the residential character of the neighborhood changed significantly.

From the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth century, the neighborhood’s residents mostly belonged to the middle and lower middle classes who either worked or owned businesses within the neighborhood. A large portion of Catumbi’s population resided in one and two-story homes which were designed in the style of homes found in Portugal and Italy with colorful tiles (*azulejos*), balconies, and fences. Throughout the twentieth century, Catumbi remained one of the major residential and settlement destinations of Portuguese and Italian immigrants in Rio de Janeiro. Along with a strong immigrant population, Catumbi also became the choice home turf of gypsies in Rio de Janeiro. The diverse

socio-cultural composition of Catumbi was also enhanced by the high levels of migrants from other areas of Brazil who chose to reside in Catumbi or one of the neighboring favelas of Catumbi, Coroa, or São Carlos. By the mid 1960s, almost 75 percent of Catumbi's residents, who were predominantly lower-middle class, were renters rather than property owners.⁸ Catumbi's character was more reminiscent of a small town where places like the local market, butcher, pharmacy, bar, barber, and salon were integral to the community. Numerous families and residents came directly from places such as Portugal, Italy, Minas Gerais, and southern and northeastern Brazil which over time contributed to the area being a "pleasant multi-racial neighborhood where honest working class people resided"⁹

Throughout the twentieth century, Catumbi was the cradle for some of the most famous samba and cultural activities of the city, most notably the revered *Blocos Carnavalescos: Bafo da Onça* and *Vai Quem Quer*. This traditionalism also was attributed to the various bakeries, street fairs, markets, and hardware stores that distinguished everyday life in Catumbi from the more cosmopolitan areas of the centro and zona

⁸ Célio Bermann, Fania Fridman, and Paulo Sérgio Paes de Barros, "O Problema Habitacional nas Áreas em Processo de Renovação Urbana- Um Estudo de Caso: O Bairro do Catumbi no Rio de Janeiro." Paper presented at the Simpósio sobre Barateamento da Construção Habitacional – BNH, Salvador, Bahia March 26-31, 1978. According to the authors on page 5, the main Italian immigrants originated from Calabria, while there were about 400 families of gypsies. The Portuguese immigrant community steadily grew throughout the twentieth century, especially in the Post World War II period during Salazar's reign.

⁹ Paula Pinto, Handwritten notes regarding the history of Catumbi, 4 June 2002. Biblioteca da Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores de Catumbi, Rua Valença 7, Catumbi, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil.

sul. Catumbi's character and history is contextualized through the testimony of several of the neighborhoods residents:

“Catumbi possessed the ideal qualities to develop into a haven for tourists with its eclectic 19th century architecture, famed cemetery (São Francisco de Paula) where famous barons and dukes are buried, numerous carnival groups, artisans, and setting for the novels of Machado de Assis...According to Giuseppe Giambattista, the editor in chief of O Catumbi, the largest concentration of Rio's Italian immigrants reside in Catumbi, and Portuguese immigrants comprise 50% of the neighborhoods population...Silvio Catalado, the president of the Associação de Moradores, along with other small scale merchants, was forced to move his original eyeglass store because of the large-scale demolition...Two Portuguese brothers, José and Francisco Gomes, have lived and owned a bar on the Rua Emília Guimarães for 27 years and commented – “Catumbi used to be very calm before they opened more passageways to the favelas, as well as the new freeways and tunnels. Our bar had very little clientele from outside of the neighborhood primarily because Catumbi was out of the way before the tunnel opened. Not even taxi drivers meandered this way.””¹⁰

Due to an inadequate infrastructure for sewage city-wide, Catumbi typically was a neighborhood that experienced serious flooding problems until the mid twentieth century. These flooding and sewage problems exacerbated sanitation problems within Catumbi's streets, which caused the neighborhood to reek from the overflowing of the Rio Papa-Couve, as well as accounting for the ubiquitous presence of rodents. The canalization of the Rio Papa-Couve and an improved drainage system were finally implemented by SURSAN during Carlos Lacerda's

¹⁰ Vivian Wyler, “Catumbi, O Passado Reconstruído Pelos Moradores,” *Jornal do Brasil* 26 September 1979.

administration in 1963.¹¹ Ironically, these efforts by SURSAN and the administration of Carlos Lacerda in 1963 coincided with the opening of the Túnel Santa Bárbara to traffic. While environmental concerns such as flooding, sewage, and the paving of streets were addressed, matters in relation to the increased circulation of cars and noise pollution became the primary threat to the character of the neighborhood.

The opening of the Túnel Santa Bárbara in 1963 certainly changed the social, economic, cultural, and environmental landscape for Catumbi and its residents. As the number of automobiles circulating through Rio's streets and expressways grew, it became increasingly evident that the layout of neighborhoods such as Catumbi and Rio Comprido was not prepared or conducive for heavy automobile traffic. As cars became more prominent in the streets of Catumbi and Rio Comprido, the residents and proprietors were still determined to carry out their daily activities and rituals in a neighborhood composed mainly of one and two story homes, as well as small streets where children played soccer and other games. By the mid 1960s, the image of Catumbi and Rio Comprido transformed from neighborhoods that were "traditional" to "neighborhoods in the way of cars."

6.3 Technocratic Evaluations

The chaos caused by the opening of the Túnel Santa Barbara alone was sufficient for Catumbi to lose part of its character and sense of

¹¹ "Amanhã o Governo Carlos Lacerda entrega à Guanabara o Nôvo Catumbi." *Diário de Notícias* 28 de Julho 1963, 12.

identity by the mid 1960s. Many of the residents of these neighborhoods were aware that the quality of life within the neighborhood would be adversely impacted by the tunnel, however nobody was prepared to witness what would transpire over the subsequent decades to greater Catumbi.

The roots of urban renewal in Catumbi are deeply entrenched in the plan that was presented by CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates at the end of Carlos Lacerda's term in office in 1965.¹² While Carlos Lacerda (UDN) and Francisco Negrão de Lima (PSD) were from different political parties, there were various planners, architects, and engineers who worked in Rio's urban renewal and development departments during both administrations. Despite the fact that many of the actual ideas regarding urban renewal in Catumbi were partly conceived during the research and writing of the Doxiadis Plan in 1964-65, a continuity among many technocrats and policy makers who worked in both the Lacerda and Negrão administrations helps explain many of the decisions that led to the subsequent transformations in Catumbi from the late 1960s to the early 1980s.

The highly ambitious and detailed Doxiadis Plan highlighted two areas of Rio that could be targeted for urban renewal: Copacabana and Mangue. According to the Doxiadis Plan:

¹² See Chapter 4, "O Negócio Grego," for in-depth information on the politics and outline of the plan.

“The community of Mangue lies directly in the path of anticipated expansion of Rio’s Central Business District (CBD)...It is a neighbourhood dating from the 18th century that has become blighted as a result of physical deterioration, functional obsolescence and haphazard development in response to economic, technical and social change. Today the area is characterized by a mixture of land use, primarily low and middle income residences combined with commerce and industry of all sorts, most of which are in some stage of decay. Other areas around the CBD of Rio are also showing similar signs of deterioration such as the older areas of Catumbi, Saúde, Lapa, Catete, and São Cristóvão...Since it lies within the path of Central Business District expansion it must be changed from certain points of view in order to facilitate this expansion.”¹³

The authors and researchers of the Doxiadis Plan not only saw Catumbi and its environs as hindering the growth process of the city-state, but identified it as an archaic area based upon the morphological conditions of the neighborhood. The view that Catumbi was a blighted area which was ripe for redevelopment led to several recommendations within the Doxiadis Plan. Even though the Doxiadis Plan was never legally approved, mainly due to its completion near the very end of Lacerda’s mandate, those very recommendations by a team of experts ironically seemed convincing enough to urban planners and Negrão de Lima. Less than two years after the Doxiadis Plan was finished and heavily criticized for the socio-cultural implications it had for the Brazilian planning community, the technocrats of Guanabara began to implement some of the plan’s development schemes.

¹³ CEGUG and Doxiadis Associates, *Guanabara: A Plan for Urban Development*, 308. Catumbi is considered part of the greater Mangue area.

The Doxiadis Plan ultimately proposed the reorganization of land use in the Mangue region. The Doxiadis Plan suggested that Catumbi's blight would be solved over time, through the construction of better forms of residential, commercial, and light industrial structures. The plan's authors proposed that constructing newer buildings that were more in concert with the city-wide reorganization of space would solve the land use issues and conditions of blight in Catumbi. Moreover, the hallmark of the Doxiadis Plan was the various transportation networks that would improve the city-states spatial dynamics:

“Four major transportation improvements are called for by the Master Plan. All four affect the Mangue area...A (second) major roadway proposed by the plan is an arterial that passes through Mangue along the Rua Marques de Sapucaí, which is intended to join the exit of the Laranjeiras Tunnel with the port area. A (fourth) arterial road proposed by the Master Plan passes along the northern boundaries of the Mangue area on the other side of the railway tracks and links the Avenida Guanabara with the Praça Mauá.”¹⁴

The debates surrounding the Doxiadis Plan revolved around many issues, however there certainly were planners and politicians of several political persuasions that believed that several components of the plan had some merit. During Francisco Negrão de Lima's administration many of the schemes devised in the Doxiadis Plan were incorporated into the intense urban renewal and development agenda that began in early 1960s with the election of Carlos Lacerda. The plans outlined in the Doxiadis Plan for Mangue became a reality for the residents of Catumbi

¹⁴ Ibid., 309.

in late 1966 with the creation of the first CEPE-1: A Comissão Executiva de Projetos Específicos. Based upon decree 1.476 in 1963 which stipulated that “Comissões Executivas de Projetos Específicos would be created by an act of the State Governor with the intention for the study and implementation of projects that merit special attention or which do not fall within the capacity of existing secretaries,” CEPE-1 was initially established in order to improve the quality of life in favelas and the recuperation of neighborhoods in decay.¹⁵

Soon after the creation of CEPE-1 was announced by Negrão de Lima’s administration, it was soon declared that the main priority of this special commission was to plan and urbanize an area of approximately 110 hectares between the Praça Onze de Junho, Praça da Bandeira, and Largo do Estácio, and the entire neighborhood of Catumbi. This urbanization project which became known as the Cidade Nova, which also included a new administrative complex for the state’s offices, was the chief responsibility of this new commission. Eventually, CEPE-1 was transformed into SEPE-1 (A Superintendência de Projetos Específicos)¹⁶ and the plans for the construction of the Cidade Nova became a reality in the early months of 1967. As outlined by Negrão de Lima’s administration, SEPE-1 was to coordinate the re-urbanization of the area

¹⁵ *A Experiência da Guanabara*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Laudes, 1970) 75-76. This source is a collection of official state memos and messages from the Governor Francisco Negrão de Lima.

¹⁶ For the purposes of consistency, hereafter, I will refer to CEPE as SEPE (A Superintendência de Projetos Específicos).

designated as the Cidade Nova, which also included the ambitious link between Botafogo in the zona sul with the zona portuária (Linha Lilás) by building a gigantic elevated overpass that would extend from the Túnel Santa Barbara in Catumbi for the purposes of being able to pass over Avenida Presidente Vargas. Furthermore, the Botafogo-Cais do Porto link was just one of the many routes in Guanabara's road planning that began to be realized during Carlos Lacerda's administration from 1960 to 1965. Negrão's administration continued to plan Guanabara in the same fashion as Lacerda's, thus the improvement and building of infrastructure such as roads, expressways, and freeways was central to their development schemes. Routes such as the Botafogo-Cais do Porto were planned and implemented not only to foster the better circulation of traffic within Guanabara, but also to help generate economic development and provide easier access to neighboring states such as Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and ultimately São Paulo.¹⁷

SEPE was also in charge of the sale of state properties, of which 40 percent of the revenue was to be used to help build the state's new administrative center.¹⁸ Aside from planning and supervising the development process in the Cidade Nova, SEPE gradually integrated

¹⁷ Again, it is vital to keep in mind that questions regarding the economic viability of Guanabara due to its city-state status (the city of Rio de Janeiro) were constantly a central concern. Plans to construct a bridge with the neighboring state of Rio de Janeiro would come to fruition in 1969. Routes such as the Botafogo-Cais do Porto eventually would be part of the greater scheme that helped connect Guanabara with other Brazilian states.

¹⁸ *A Experiência da Guanabara*, 76.

housing projects into their sphere of Rio's development. The most notable of these housing projects was labeled Unidade-Habitacional n° 2, which was planned in accord with the federal housing agency BNH-Banco Nacional de Habitação in areas surrounding Catumbi which the state "acquired". This and other subsequent housing projects in the vicinity of Catumbi (co-ops) were to be built in order to house lower-middle income groups, particularly those who were members of trade unions and professional organization such as police officers, fire and rescue workers, electricians, military officers, and bank workers. The first stage of the SEPE-BNH project was designed to house approximately 2,600 people in various apartment buildings of both four and fourteen stories.¹⁹

In late 1966 and early 1967, the press began to divulge the plans of SEPE and BNH to redevelop and expropriate Catumbi. These reports sparked a novel form of community mobilization unique in Rio's history that is still very much active today. While I have noted that Carlos Nelson and Guida Nunes have provided us with lively, informative, and scholarly interpretations of the urban social movement created by the *Associação de Moradores*, my focus in the rest of this chapter will be to consider what major issues and questions concerning Rio's urban development engaged the attention of Catumbi's residents.

¹⁹ Ibid., 76-77.

6.4 The Catumbiense Response

The *Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores do Catumbi* was officially founded on January 21, 1970 with the purpose of being a legal entity to represent the neighborhoods interests' in response to the agenda of state and federal authorities. The subsequent publication of a monthly newspaper, *O Catumbi*, began in April 1971, "to symbolize the residents' protests against the inhumane nature of expropriation and displacement and to fight for the right to be included in the new housing plans."²⁰ Although the founding of the *Associação de Moradores* (AMC) was not made official until 1970, in early 1967 residents of Catumbi were already organizing their mobilization efforts against the multiple plans of urban development which threatened their neighborhood.

The earliest meetings of the unofficial AMC were held in 1967 at the neighborhood church, Nossa Senhora da Salette on the Rua Catumbi.²¹ These early meetings were attended by hundreds of people and were held to address the recently discovered news of SEPE's massive urban renewal program for the neighborhood. A key figure in the early stages of the movement was Father Mário Prigol, a progressive priest who

²⁰ "Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores do Catumbi" *O Catumbi* Abril 1971, 5.

²¹ The church's name is often spelled either as Salete or Salette and was founded by Catholic missionaries led by Father Clemente Moussier. According to the church's bulletin *Nova Dimensão*, No. 181 Ano 29, Abril de 1994, which they spell Salette, the church's construction began in 1918 and the first part of construction was finished in 1927.

later would be tortured by the military regime over a period of 45 days. While Father Mário never was an active member in the neighborhood movement, his involvement in social welfare campaigns in Rio's favelas, combined with his progressive theological training that stressed social activism, was an important influence on the early stages of Catumbi's mobilization efforts against SEPE's redevelopment plans. Nevertheless, the members of the neighborhood association frequently reiterated that their movement was both apolitical and without any links to a particular political party.

The previously mentioned SEPE plan was solidified by a law that identified Catumbi and its surrounding areas as zones to be expropriated by the state of Guanabara in partnership with the BNH in order to build housing complexes for various co-ops of workers or employees such as electricians, bank workers, barbers, and police officers. This housing initiative, in conjunction with existing and future planned expressways and transportation projects such as the Botafogo-Cais do Porto freeway, would cause thousands of people in Catumbi to lose their homes and businesses, in addition to their sense of community.

While there were several issues that caused outrage among the residents of Catumbi, the issues surrounding displacement and exclusion from the new housing plans were paramount in their struggles during the late 1960s and early 1970s. There was also anger over the evaluations regarding the condition and value of properties which were

performed by SEPE's patrimonial department in conjunction with the Secretary of Finances, since these entities rarely offered fair market values for the land and buildings that were taken over by SEPE for the purposes of redevelopment. The topic of reasonable property compensation was continuously debated as SEPE evaluated and categorized the majority of the neighborhood as blighted. Additionally, many property owners claimed that they never received the full payment of their compensation as was stipulated in the evaluations by SEPE. The directors of SEPE, however, viewed the amounts offered to property owners as a good deal and declared that their calculations could be taken to court in case the proprietors deemed them unfair.²² The SEPE and BNH apartments were to be constructed in the form of super-block and high-rise condominiums, but these new apartments were for the aforementioned cooperatives instead of the current residents of Catumbi. Thus, the state not only offered devalued compensation for the expropriated land and buildings, but also the new Catumbi was destined for people who were outsiders to the community.

The lack of any form of planning regarding displaced residents as well as the struggle to remain and participate in the "new" Catumbi were the main matters in the neighborhood's struggles with state and federal authorities such as SEPE and BNH. The most active years of Catumbi's struggles (1967-1975) took place during the most repressive years of

²² "CEPE Julga Bom Negócio Desapropriar o Catumbi," *Diário de Notícias* February 2, 1967, 7.

Brazil's military dictatorship, thus it should come as no surprise that no consultation with citizens, especially those of the lower-middle class, was not incorporated in any form of planning. Despite the apolitical declarations of the movement, the level of activism that the Associação de Moradores generated through their newspaper and organized protests and assemblies was remarkable in a period with top-down techno-bureaucratic regimes and highly censored media outlets.

“We are not against progress - quite the contrary - yet we would like to see that we can participate in a development program that is humane and permits that families who have lived here for decades, continue to reside here and have the opportunity to acquire the necessary property and financing promised by the BNH.”²³

This statement encapsulates the feelings that many of the residents of Catumbi held regarding urban development and its consequences for their neighborhood and the city as a whole. The fact that the government and planning commissions did not put any thought into the displacement of individuals and families clearly displayed the absence of any social welfare considerations in the planning schemes. This lack of planning is peculiar, as the SEPE plan to bulldoze and redevelop Catumbi had its roots in the Doxiadis Plan. That plan **did** stipulate that provisions regarding the displacement of people and families should figure into any renewal programs. The following quote, taken from the redevelopment proposals for Mangue visibly demonstrates

²³ Sylvio Catalado “Oito Anos de Luta” *O Catumbi* 1974.

how the matter of displacement should be considered in the implementation of any redevelopment scheme.

*“One aspect of redevelopment that is of particular importance and for which a plan should be drawn up is the relocation of the population that will be displaced by renewal action. The development of relocation schemes will be necessary in order to relocate people, industry, and commerce that are to be displaced to achieve the functional reorganization that must take place within this urban area. It therefore may be necessary to provide alternative housing and other facilities before people are asked to shift from their places of work.”*²⁴

Once the news spread through the neighborhood regarding the redevelopment of Catumbi which would eventually cause the demolition and displacement of thousands of homes, meetings were held at the Igreja Nossa Senhora da Salette in January 1967 to organize a movement to oppose SEPE’s plans for the Cidade Nova. The subsequent circulation of a flyer listing the perceived injustices, and indicating the actions proposed by the residents of Catumbi was distributed throughout the neighborhood: *Catumbi e Adjacências serão Arrasados! (Catumbi and Neighboring Areas will be Demolished!)*

This flyer along with the future creation of the *Associação de Moradores* and the monthly periodical *O Catumbi* conveys the major issues, problems, viewpoints, opinions, and sentiments that many of the residents of Catumbi maintained in their struggle against urban renewal.

“The commission of the residents of Catumbi – which represents the proprietors, renters, merchants, and industrialists of the neighborhood – after studying the various laws and decrees

²⁴ CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates, 312.

*concerning CEPE-1, a branch of the Government of Guanabara, hereby present the ways and means that the responsible authorities intend on executing their plan for the Cidade Nova...While CEPE-1 intends to build housing for new residents, why can't they use the money we paid in taxes for adequate services such as better garbage and sanitation, improved sidewalks, sewage and drainage, to improve the organic growth of Catumbi?...CEPE-1 intend to demolish the majority of Catumbi, except for the preservation of the cemetery, the church (Nossa Senhora da Salette), and the dwindling factories of large companies, while neglecting the smaller ones. These cleared areas will be used to construct high-rise apartments and super-blocks similar to those in Brasília (citing law 1,236 of January 4, 1967, article B), while other lots will be sold to cooperatives through the Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH – article B) **as well as to private real estate firm selected by CEPE-1 (!)**. The sale of these lots will not only transform CEPE-1 into the largest real estate agency in the city but also make it possible to finance the construction of overpasses, viaducts, schools, pools and open spaces where new residents will benefit...How long will it take – resident of Catumbi – for your moment to sacrifice for progress - nobody exactly knows...These are CEPE's intentions, residents of Catumbi. If you agree, applaud your program. **IF YOU DO NOT, SPEAK OUT.**²⁵*

The various concerns the residents and commission voiced regarding SEPE's initiatives resulted in multiple meetings with authorities of SEPE, BNH, and the press. Clearly, both the state and federal authorities underestimated the resourcefulness and commitment to resistance that the residents of Catumbi mustered. With the tense

²⁵ "Catumbi e Adjacências Serão Arrasados." Flyer encountered in the Biblioteca da Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores de Catumbi, Rua Valença 7, Catumbi, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. According to Marta T S Arretche, "the BNH (Banco Nacional de Habitação) was created in 1964 as a second line credit bank, that is to say it did not deal directly with the public. Its function was to deal in credit transactions and to manage the Employment Guarantee Fund (FGTS) through private and/or public banks and agents such as housing companies and water and sanitation companies. The BNH was the principal federal institution for urban development in Brazilian history, in its capacity as manager of the FGTS and as the body in charge of devising and implementing the Financial Housing System (SFH) and the Financial Water and Sanitation System (SFS). It was abolished by presidential decree in 1986." Available <http://www.mre.gov.br/cdbrasil/itamaraty/web/ingles/economia/saneam/planasa/bnh/index.htm> Accessed March 27, 2006.

political climate in Brazil as a result of the policies of the military régime, the movement that emerged in Catumbi repeatedly professed its apolitical nature. In the infancy of the neighborhood movement, several of these declarations were made to the mainstream press, in order to respond to claims made by Humberto Braga, Secretária do Governo, regarding the political nature of the resistance displayed by the neighborhood's committee and movement.²⁶ When pressured on this subject matter by the press (print, television, and radio) government officials such as Braga consistently maintained that just compensation was offered by SEPE and that the majority of residents were willing to cooperate. Moreover, in a comment given to the *Jornal do Brasil*, Braga himself reiterated that the distinction between proprietor and resident was an important distinction when discussing the matter of expropriation and compensation.²⁷ The director of CEPE-1, Enilton Vieira, declared that while these contested compensation values could be taken to court, ultimately "the area demarcated for expropriation will be developed into a new, comfortable, and modern neighborhood, where the residents will be property owners."²⁸ Through rhetoric, planning

²⁶ For two examples see: "Moradores do Catumbi fazem Carta ao JB afirmando que o movimento não é político." *Jornal do Brasil*, February 2, 1967, p. 15 and "Catumbi adere em massa ao movimento contra demolição e renova apêlo Governo." *Jornal do Brasil*, February 3, 1967, 7.

²⁷ "Catumbi adere em massa ao movimento contra demolição e renova apêlo Governo." *Jornal do Brasil*, February 3, 1967, 7.

²⁸ "CEPE Pagará Indenizações Justas e a Vista no Catumbi," *A Notícia* 23 February 1967.

schemes, and legislation, Guanabara's technocrats and politicians attempted to "assign certain negative imagery, metaphors, and symbols to a space thereby stigmatizing inhabitants, their culture, and social relations."²⁹ The state's negative depiction of Catumbi was generated through their devalued assessment of the bairro's buildings as well as attributing the neighborhood's decline partly to a high proportion of renters who were deemed incompatible with modernity.

1967 was certainly a turbulent year for many of the residents and those who owned property in Catumbi and the surrounding areas which comprised the Cidade Nova. Many were faced with the dilemma on where they would reside after SEPE took over and demolished their homes and businesses. Aside from taking away their homes, SEPE often gave people too little time to make arrangements to leave their homes and to find suitable places to live. While many still wanted to remain and live in the "revitalized" Catumbi, very few of the residents would be able to afford or financially qualify for the new apartments that SEPE and BNH were planning to construct.

6.5 The Ups and Downs of the Struggle

The first few years of the AMC's struggle were spent negotiating with the state (SEPE) and national government (BNH) over the redevelopment schemes that concerned hundreds of families throughout the neighborhood. Despite several meetings with the directors of SEPE

²⁹ Kevin Fox Gotham, Jon Shefner, and Krista Brumley, 325.

and even Governors Francisco Negrão de Lima and Chagas Freitas, the state did not offer any solution regarding the construction of housing for displaced residents of Catumbi. Due to the lack of cooperation from the state government, the AMC tried negotiating directly with the directors of the BNH over the possibility of obtaining areas for the construction of co-ops for the displaced residents of Catumbi.

The new apartments and co-ops built by SEPE and BNH were earmarked for members of trade and professional unions that qualified for financing through the SFH-BNH national housing policies. Subsequently, the AMC inquired about the possibility of turning the AMC into a cooperative as there were no provisions that prevented the BNH from recognizing the AMC as a viable entity. Subsequently, the BNH finally offered the AMC land for the construction of a co-op for some of the families displaced through renovation of Catumbi. Although only a small fraction of the displaced population would gain residences through this deal brokered with the BNH, it was a watershed for the BNH/SFH policy nationwide: cooperatives were no longer exclusively designated for unions or professional organizations - neighborhood associations were also eligible. Consequently, the AMC began to establish an amicable relationship with the BNH (federal government), while the government of Guanabara was rather indifferent to the serious concerns of the bairro's residents. Accordingly, the AMC's movement began to direct its animosity against the government of Guanabara and SEPE, while highly

praising the BNH and federal authorities for their approachability, albeit highly techno-bureaucratic.³⁰

The first coop, built primarily for displaced residents along the streets of Dr. Agra and Itapiru, “O Catumbi,” was officially inaugurated by Governor Chagas Freitas on September 30, 1971. Built along the Rua do Chichorro, this co-op contained 9 blocks with a total of 72 apartments.³¹ Even after inaugurating these new apartments, almost 3,000 families that did not completely abandon the area still were in need of new homes. Even before Chagas Freitas became the governor of Guanabara, he published editorials in *O Dia* and *A Notícia*, two popular dailies which he owned. Printed in early 1967, one particular editorial was entitled: “Demolir é Fácil” (“To Tear Down is Convenient).”³² Along with being a journalist and owner of two newspapers, Chagas Freitas was a populist politician who practiced a clientelistic style of politics. His ascendancy to the governorship of Guanabara was seen as a positive sign for the AMC, even though they continuously declared that their movement would never support the candidacy of any politician. Various editorials and front page articles in *O Catumbi* declared that “the

³⁰ These sentiments can be viewed in the first six editions of *O Catumbi*, as numerous articles and editorials praise the policy and receptivity of the BNH. Also see Santos, *Movimentos Urbanos no Rio de Janeiro*, 162-163.

³¹ “Catumbi Inaugura 1º Conjunto Residencial,” *O Catumbi* September 1971; “Primeira Etapa Vencida,” *O Catumbi* October 1971. The area is also known as the Ferro do Engomar.

³² This editorial was reprinted on the front page of the first edition of *O Catumbi* in April 1971.

governor understands the problems of Catumbi and promises solutions.”³³ Near the end of Chagas’ term in 1974-75, the AMC had clearly realized that Chagas too was indifferent, insensitive, and unresponsive to Catumbi’s problems. A front page editorial from the October/November edition of *O Catumbi* neatly summarizes the disintegration of Chagas’ relationship with the residents of Catumbi:

*“The residents of Catumbi were elated with your victory for the governorship of Guanabara in 1970 as a result of the compassion you displayed through your newspaper editorials...Your words inspired us to unite and fight the injustices that were brought upon us by the various authorities...During our first meeting with Your Excellency in March 1971, you passionately declared, “now I’m in a position where I can finally make something happen.” Since that initial meeting in 1971, we have been patiently waiting for solutions regarding housing, more schools, better public transportation, and infrastructural improvements that you all too often promised...As the lights start to dim on your administration, we sit here perplexed as our primary mission will always be to find solutions to improve the quality of life for the residents of Catumbi.”*³⁴

Many of the residents who still maintained their homes or were not yet affected by the urban renewal schemes of the state, focused their attention on other pressing issues such as the lack of public schools, access to public bus transportation, declining commerce, and coping with the chaos that the tunnel, expressways, and vast construction brought to Catumbi. A common slogan was repeatedly posted throughout the neighborhood which conveyed the state’s policies towards Catumbi:

³³ “Governador, Sensível aos Problemas de Catumbi, Promete uma solução,” *O Catumbi* January 1972.

³⁴ “Toda a Verdade de Oito Anos de Lutas,” *O Catumbi* October/November 1974, Front Page Editorial.

“Transportation, Schools, Housing, Policing, and Improvements...No! Devastation and Displacement...Yes! Several editorials published in *O Catumbi* itself criticized the publication of the AMC for not dedicating enough coverage to the lighter side of daily life in the neighborhood. Accordingly, the paper began to dedicate more space to issues regarding health, culinary tips and recipes, fashion, beauty, sports, music, and literature.

There was also a gradual change in the social character of the neighborhood, as many new residents from outside Catumbi started to move into the various housing co-ops built by the BNH. While the popular rhetoric of leaders and members of the AMC was that existing and new residents were always welcome to join the association, this clearly was a contested issue as several articles in *O Catumbi* were dedicated to developing strategies to foster a more harmonious relationship among longtime and new residents of the neighborhood.³⁵ Established Catumbienses wondered if the newer residents understood the dynamics and plight of their struggle, whereas newer residents suggested that the concerns of the AMC such as displacement and preserving the area’s character were not their concern.

This issue became even more complex as the favelas that surrounded Catumbi began to grow considerably. Long-established residents of Catumbi prided themselves on the cordial race relations of

³⁵ For an example see the article entitled “O Relacionamento com os Nossos Vizinhos e Novos Moradores,” *O Catumbi* October 1971, 14.

the neighborhood, however the increasing presence of Afro-Brazilian *favelados* in the daily **street** life of Catumbi, contributed to several articles in *O Catumbi* denouncing racism and promoting better relationships and understanding of the *favelados*. Consequently, many of these favelas such as the Morro do Catumbi began to form their own community associations in order to organize their principal strategies for improving their standard of living.³⁶ Many transients from the surrounding favelas and throughout the city, such as vagrants, transvestites, and prostitutes temporarily began to inhabit some of the vacated homes and dilapidated buildings that were targeted for demolition, which contributed to concerns over the quality of life in Catumbi.

The aspirations to transform the entire neighborhood of Catumbi into a co-op were never fully realized. Despite promises from Chagas Freitas and other authorities to provide viable solutions for the residents, demolition and renewal schemes continued throughout the 1970s. The construction of the various viaducts and overpasses that complemented the access to the Túnel Santa Bárbara and the Cais do Porto-Botafogo thruway also coincided with the construction of yet another tunnel (Túnel Frei Caneca-Henrique Valladares). The plan for this tunnel was put into action in order to complement the circulation of vehicles from the centro to the zona norte known as the Via Paralela da Tijuca.

³⁶ Elizabeth Orsini, "Memórias do Catumbi," *Jornal do Brasil* 8 October 1985, Caderno B, 7.

Instead of traveling along the increasingly congested Avenida President Vargas, the new tunnel facilitated a new passageway that extended from the centro via Catumbi, Cruz Vermelha, Estácio, Rio Comprido, and ending at Rua Uruguai in Tijuca.³⁷ Once again, portions of Catumbi were sacrificed in order to facilitate the primary mission of Rio's planners: remodeling the city in order to accommodate the automobile.

The AMC's consistent mobilization efforts over the span of ten years (1967-1977) spawned very few victories, as Catumbi's streets were at the confluence of many of the new networks of roads that had been under construction since the Lacerda administration. Many displaced residents eventually decided to abandon Catumbi altogether, as their financial situations did not permit them to purchase an apartment in the new cooperatives built by the BNH. Even though these co-ops were built primarily for the working class, only approximately 20 percent of Catumbi's residents were ever able to enter into these new housing associations.³⁸ Even many of the initial residents who were homeowners and financially eligible to enter into one of the co-ops resented the fact that they had to buy back what was theirs in the first place. They suggested that the construction of super-blocks and apartments was detrimental to the neighborhood's character, as the Catumbiense identity was one where the streets and sidewalks were integral to the social,

³⁷ This tunnel would eventually be named Túnel Martim de Sá and was finished in 1977. See "O Mais Velho Túnel Novo," *O Catumbi* August 1972, 1, 8.

³⁸ Célio Bermann, Fania Fridman, and Paulo Sérgio Paes de Barros, annexo.

economic, and cultural vitality of the neighborhood. Many of these new co-ops also contained various social service personnel for the purposes of providing orientation and social welfare assistance. Members of the AMC argued that the residents of Catumbi were self-sufficient and did not need “outsiders” to show them how to manage their lives as they proudly raised generations of responsible citizens.

Even after ten years of drastic incisions and catastrophic demolitions throughout the region, Catumbi’s residents would suffer yet again at the expense of a newly planned arena for Carnaval known as the Passarela do Samba or Sambodromo. Eventually inaugurated for Carnaval in the early 1980s, this open-air stadium designed by Oscar Niemeyer became the new venue for Rio’s famed Carnaval processions. By the late 1970s, Rio’s Carnaval had become increasingly more lavish, commercialized, and highly geared for international tourists. Due to the increase in the size of the Carnaval processions, the new city government³⁹ of Rio de Janeiro opted to remove the pre-Lenten festival from the city’s streets and to construct a stadium as near as possible to the original cradle of samba: Estácio, Catumbi, and the Praça Onze. Ironically, due to the constant demolition throughout the 1970s, some of Catumbi’s revered Carnaval associations such as the Bafo da Onça had their buildings “compromised” in order to make way for the plans of the Cidade Nova. Subsequently, these traditional cultural associations were

³⁹ After 1975, the state of Guanabara fused with the state of Rio de Janeiro. The city of Rio de Janeiro would become the capital of the new state of Rio de Janeiro.

forced to abandon the neighborhood altogether, thereby eliminating part of the neighborhood's cultural history and identity.⁴⁰ In order to construct the new Sambodromo, a venue that was to be used only three days out of the year, almost 350 families and 50 commercial buildings were removed. Finally on March 14, 1980, nearly 13 years after the initial demolition and expropriation of Catumbi began, Mayor Israel Klabin signed a law that prohibited any future plans from expropriating buildings and homes at the expense of the residents of Catumbi.⁴¹

6.6 Catumbi's Broader Connections

On the surface the AMC's movement might appear to be rather insular, as they were immediately concerned with how the febre viária and urban renewal schemes of the state and federal authorities threatened their survival and homes. Considering the history of urban renewal in Catumbi however, illuminates many of the broader social, cultural, and political issues relevant to Brazilian and Latin American history during the 1960s and 1970s. By perusing various editions of their official publication, *O Catumbi*, it is possible to uncover many matters that enhance our understanding of urban planning and Brazilian society during the height of the military dictatorship.

⁴⁰ Santos comments that several of the leaders of these associations such as the Bafo da Onça were indifferent to the struggles of the AMC primarily due to their solid relationship with various politicians.

⁴¹ "A Luta Continua," *O Catumbi* July/August 1991.

The events that occurred in Catumbi exemplify the top-down, techno-bureaucratic nature of urban planning during the 1960s and 1970s. This “undemocratic” and “top-down” approach relied heavily on technical schemes that were unilaterally implemented, often on a piecemeal basis, without any consultation of the communities that it would impact. While the repressive nature of the military dictatorship contributed to this abuse of power by numerous technocrats, planners, and politicians, it also demonstrates how these planners believed that their training, methods, and education were the ultimate tools for modernizing society. Urban residents across Brazil, not just Catumbienses, reacted to the deficiencies in these planning practices, which did not prioritize social or humanitarian considerations in their schemes.⁴² The plans that SEPE implemented for the construction of the Cidade Nova were selectively adopted from the Doxiadis Plan, as evidenced by entirely neglecting the need to consider alternative housing solutions for displaced residents.

The pinnacle of the AMC’s negotiations with state and federal authorities coincided with the most repressive years of the military dictatorship under Costa e Silva and Médici, which certainly clarifies why they continuously claimed that their movement was apolitical and not affiliated with any specific politicians or party (ARENA or MDB in this case). Nevertheless, it is remarkable the degree of eloquence, creativity,

⁴² “Precisamos Humanizar os Técnicos,” *O Catumbi* December 1971, 5.

and severe criticism that was produced by the AMC through the publication of *O Catumbi* during an extremely repressive period when the media was highly censored. While the mainstream print and electronic media did investigate Catumbi's problems and the broader implications that urban development had for the city and its residents, their description and insight lacked the ingenuity and expressiveness that the members of the AMC generated through their newspaper and documentary film.⁴³ These experiences subsequently fortified their own ideas regarding urban development, and therefore challenged the dominant notion that urban planning was exclusively for engineers and architects. Through the publication of *O Catumbi*, numerous women, men, and children significantly contributed to the understanding of the broader implications of urban development in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the social, political, and cultural climate in Brazil during the military dictatorship.

Aside from declaring their movement apolitical, the character of the AMC was heavily inspired by the morals and values of its strong immigrant population who were predominantly Roman Catholic. As military dictatorships gradually proliferated throughout Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, many Catholic clergy began to oppose these highly

⁴³ With the publication of Guida Nunes' novel and two books by Carlos Nelson, many of the members of the AMC gained notoriety and were invited to speak to university classes and participate in Round Table discussions. An example of a proceeding can be seen in Alvaro Costa e Silva, "Catumbi Arrasado Pede Socorro," *Revista de Administração Municipal* 25 (Julho-Setembro 1978) : 80-89.

repressive authoritarian regimes. Heavily influenced by the principles and mission of the Vatican II conference in the early 1960s which advocated eradicating socioeconomic inequalities and fighting discrimination (Liberation Theology), Catholic priests such as Father Mário preached a stronger sense of awareness and community among the Catumbienses. While he always preferred to be a silent participant in the movement, Father Mário's theological philosophy and progressive politics clearly left an imprint on the AMC as the hundreds of articles published in *O Catumbi* advocated the importance of faith and drew upon parallels to the bible.⁴⁴ Other than Father Mário, there have not been any reports of any members of the AMC being arrested or tortured due to their protestations over the urban renewal schemes of the Cidade Nova. Moreover, Father Mário's torture by the military is largely attributed to his involvement with favelados and other Catholic workers movements.

Despite the precedent set by the AMC for being recognized as a cooperative, very few people who wanted to stay in Catumbi had the financial means to do so. The new apartments built by the BNH were extremely modest, however most Catumbienses previously rented their homes and did not meet the minimum income requirements to be able to purchase one of the new residences. While the majority of Catumbienses were considered to be part of the lower middle class, they still lacked the

⁴⁴ A good example can be seen in the December 1971 edition of *O Catumbi*, as the majority of the articles deal with Christmas wishes for a prosperous future in Catumbi. Santos mentions that the state tried to co-opt Father Mário and other members of the parish before publicizing their redevelopment plans for the Cidade Nova.

purchasing power of waiters, cab drivers, bank workers, military personnel, electricians, and barbers (also considered lower middle class) who were unionized or organized into established cooperatives. While most of the families displaced attempted to remain in the neighborhood by staying with relatives, many were either forced to relocate to the periphery of the city where housing was cheaper than in some of the surrounding favelas.

Many present-day Cariocas or visitors to the city of Rio de Janeiro would be hard pressed to distinguish Catumbi among the numerous expressways, tunnels, favelas, viaducts, ramps, and Sambodromo. Many of the high-rise condos built by the BNH and SEPE during the 1960s and 1970s are presently in a state of decay, located between the non-stop flow of vehicles and gunshots heard from the neighboring favelas. Strolling along what remains of the neighborhood after the drastic incisions of the 1960s and 1970s, it certainly is not easy to recognize the unique morphological and social characteristics of what was a “small town within the metropolis.” While the AMC’s tactics, strategies, and agenda did not always produce concrete and favorable results, it foreshadowed the shift, albeit too late for Catumbi, to a model of communicative planning that would develop in the late 1980s and 1990s by incorporating voices from the government, planning community,

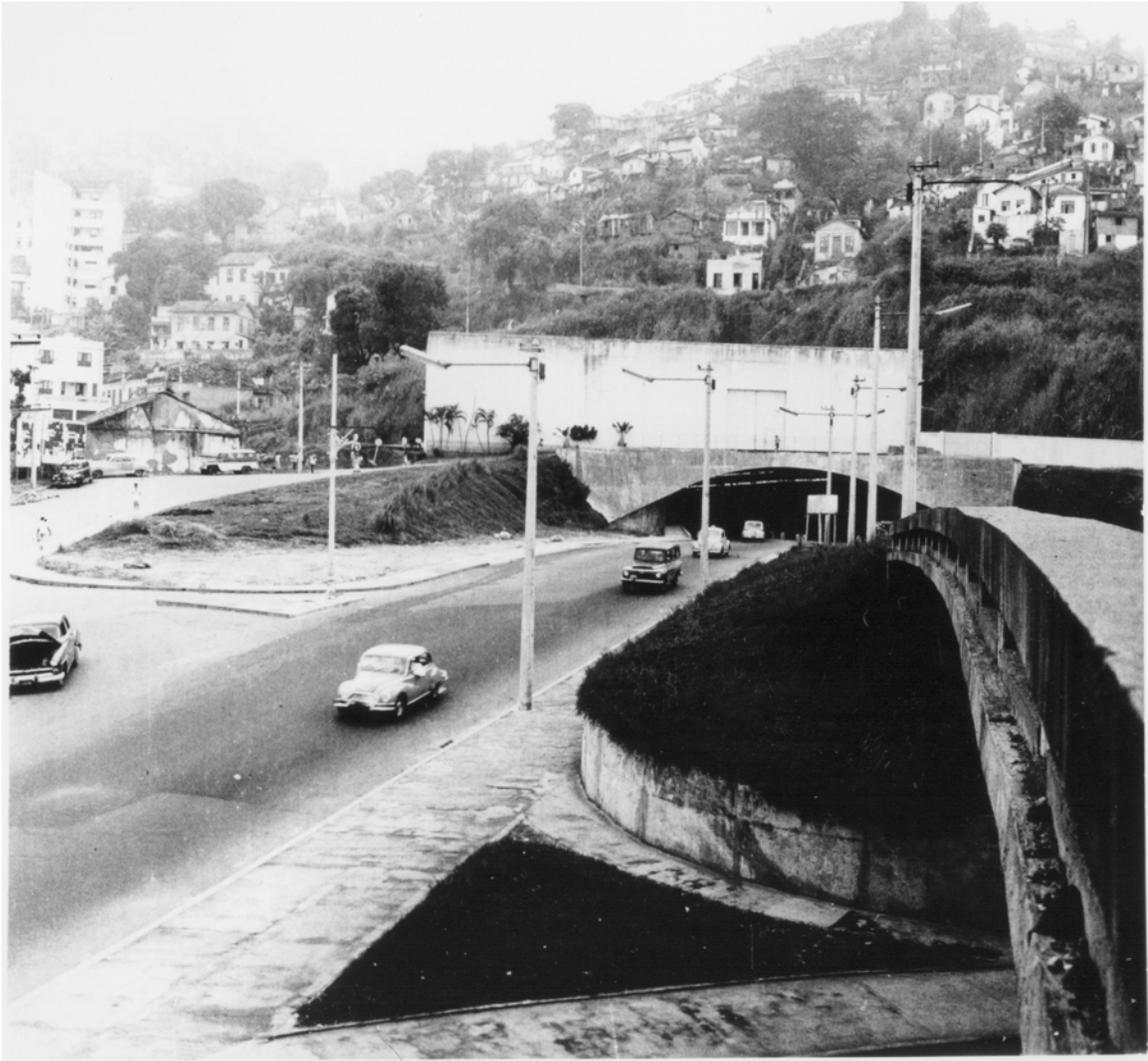
private industry, as well as residents.⁴⁵ Almost 40 years later, the AMC is still extremely active and still proud of the precedents that they set for other neighborhood and community organizations throughout Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Likewise, the history and experiences of the AMC and the residents of Catumbi offer a greater understanding of the broader complexities of daily and urban life during Brazil's long military dictatorship.

⁴⁵ Two recent examples of this in Rio de Janeiro are the Rio-Cidade and the Favela Bairro Program. More information regarding the Favela Integration programs can be seen in: Ayse Pamuk and Paulo Fernando A. Cavallieri, "Alleviating Urban Poverty in a Global City: New Trends in Upgrading Rio de Janeiro's Favelas." *Habitat International* 22:4 (1998): 449-462 and Mauro Manfrin, "Programmi per una Città Indivisa: Favelas e Recupero Urbano" *Spazio e Società* 90 (April-June 2000): 14-23. For information on the communicative planning model see Judith E. Innes, "Information in Communicative Planning" *Journal of the American Planning Association* 64:1 (Winter 1998): 52-63

Figure 6.1 Rua do Chichorro in Catumbi late during the late 1950s



**Figure 6.2 The Túnel Santa Bárbara Cutting Through the Heart of Catumbi
Mid 1960s**



Chapter 7: Reconsidering Guanabara - Concluding Remarks

During the administrations of Carlos Lacerda and Negrão de Lima the city-state of Guanabara continued to grow demographically while attempting to reform and expand the infrastructure of the city of Rio de Janeiro. It was during Carlos Lacerda's and Negrão de Lima's administration that certain reforms such as the Túnel Santa Bárbara, Túnel Rebouças, the Aterro do Flamengo, the reform of the beach along the Avenida Atlântica in Copacabana, and the expansion of the city to Jacarepaguá and Barra da Tijuca changed the city's spatial and locomotive conditions. Aside from the millions of dollars invested in expressways, tunnels, and parks, the government of Guanabara also invested copious funds into the building of schools, the supply of water, and sewage. Indeed, both administrations made great strides in establishing an urban reform and development agenda that certainly transformed the city-state's spatial dynamics. Nevertheless, there were segments of the population that opposed many of the urban planning programs initiated by the two administrations of Carlos Lacerda and Negrão de Lima.

In the previous chapters I have documented the methods that Lacerda and Negrão utilized in order to reform and redevelop Rio de Janeiro's urban space. It was during Lacerda's term that the government of Guanabara received millions in dollars of transnational aid from agencies such as the Inter-American Developmental Bank and the

Alliance for Progress. Along with savvy politics and negotiation, Lacerda was able to use these funds, in addition to city-state and federal funds, to design, begin, and complete urban reform projects. The supervision and role of the city-state entity, SURSAN (A Superintendência de Urbanização e Saneamento), in both Lacerda's and Negrão's governments was critical to the establishment, direction, and supervision of the most important urban development projects from 1960 to 1970. SURSAN was originally established in 1957 when Negrão de Lima was the mayor of the Distrito Federal, and it was unquestionably the major city-state entity in overseeing and reshaping Rio's urban space during the 1960s.

Carlos Lacerda spent the early years of his administration in organizing the administrative structure of the new city-state, by focusing on decentralization of administrative districts (*regiões administrativas*) and the creation of secretariats. The organizational scheme created by Lacerda was mostly maintained and expanded by Negrão de Lima, despite the political differences between the two governors. The continuity in the engineers, planners, architects, and technocrats who worked for SURSAN is one of the major reasons for the strides in redevelopment of the new city-state in the 1960s. While the city-state of Guanabara did have many small departments such as public works, transportation, garbage and sewage, urbanism, tunnels, and roads, most of these reported to SURSAN, rather than an official department of planning.

As much as Guanabara was an anomaly in the Brazilian federation for being a state with one municipality (Rio de Janeiro), so too was the administrative structure that it employed. The use of city-state owned companies and autarquias such as SURSAN, COHAB, SEPE, DER-GB, and COPEG to carry out major developmental projects and daily planning operations were more common to cities than states during the 1960s. Thus, while Guanabara was a state in the Brazilian Federation, the fact that it was a new state with one municipality made its existence very unique. Lacerda and Negrão were able to govern, urbanize, and reform the city-state using tactics and strategies that still treated Guanabara like a city instead of a full fledged state. This afforded them much more power and flexibility to implement their agendas. With the indirect election and new administration of the third and final governor of Guanabara, Antônio Padua de Chagas Freitas, these administrative would disappear while several geo-economic and political concerns would supersede the urban planning agendas that were established during Guanabara's first two administrations.

7.1 The Arrival of Chagas

Both Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima were popularly elected as the governors of Guanabara in 1960 and 1965 from different political parties. Due to the arbitrary institutional acts passed by the authoritarian military regime that cancelled political parties and set up a two-party system with an official military party (ARENA) and a legal

opposition (MDB – Movimento Democrático Brasileiro), state governors from that point on were elected indirectly rather than strictly through popular vote. Guanabara, already considered unique in the Brazilian republic due to its city-state status, also became an exception among the other states within Brazil by electing the only governor from the legal MDB opposition party in 1970, Antônio Padua de Chagas Freitas. Thus, while all other Brazilian states such as São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and the neighboring state of Rio de Janeiro were all governed by members of the official party of the military régime (ARENA), Guanabara was the only state that overwhelmingly voted, albeit indirectly, for a leader from the legal opposition party.¹

Chagas, similar to Carlos Lacerda, was the owner of two popular daily newspapers, *O Dia* and *A Notícia*, and also held various political positions within the old Distrito Federal, as well as at the national level. The work of Marly Motta, Carlos Sarmento, and Marieta Moraes Ferreira has carefully analyzed the political career of Chagas Freitas, in addition to the creation and implementation of his political machine known as Chaguismo, which was heavily based upon patronage and clientelism. Aside from the obvious fact that Chagas Freitas was not elected directly like his predecessors, the last administration of the state of Guanabara

¹ For background on the political career of Chagas Freitas see Carlos Eduardo Sarmento, organizer, *Chagas Freitas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getulio Vargas, 1999) and Francisco Manoel de Mello Franco, *O Governo Chagas Freitas: Uma Perspectiva Nacional Através de Uma Experiência Local* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1977).

was remarkably different in regards to urban development than the first two governments led by Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima.

While there were certainly projects and initiatives to continue and complete from Negrão's administration, the focus and priorities of the last administration of Guanabara changed significantly from 1971 to 1975. Several explanations for the divergence of Chagas' administration from the approaches taken by Lacerda and Negrão regarding urban development and planning exist, and it is vital to consider both the local and national forces that aided in the departure from the previous administration's strategies.

Despite the massive efforts that Lacerda's and Negrão's administrations employed to solve the increasing flight of industry from Guanabara, the question regarding the city-state's economic viability reemerged during the early months of Chagas' tenure in office. This question regarding the sustainability of Guanabara, which periodically resurfaced since the late 1950s, was also supplemented with the questioning of the governing and administrative structures that were utilized by Lacerda and Negrão. Those who continuously opposed or questioned Guanabara's existence on both the local and national level argued that the administrative structure and tactics used by Lacerda and Negrão were still reminiscent of a city rather than a state. Thus, if Guanabara indeed was a full-fledged state, it would be organized administratively similar to any other state in the republic. As I have

described in earlier chapters, the operation of the influential SURSAN which was responsible for the majority of the reshaping of the new city-state, was more common for cities than states. While Rio de Janeiro's urban development was significant in its first ten post capital years (1960-1970), it still did not have an actual secretary of planning. Thus, many protested that Guanabara should abolish the companies (autarquias) that it employed for urban and economic development, and create an administrative configuration that resembled other Brazilian states.

Since the 1950s, questions surrounding the identity of Rio de Janeiro continuously resurfaced. From the beginning, many proponents of Rio's unique identity as the former capital still affirmed that despite the new capital of Brasília, Rio still would continue to be the cultural capital of Brazil; thus, its status could never decline to that of "any other city." Despite this opinion, the official de-capitalization of Rio gradually did continue to occur throughout the 1960s as federal agencies, embassies, and other public entities slowly migrated to Brasília - even though some did so with great reluctance.

Throughout Guanabara's existence from 1960 to 1975, many of the city-states' elected leaders and vocal citizens were continuously at odds with the national government. This relationship became even more complex with the imposition of the military dictatorship in 1964. Although Lacerda initially was an avid supporter of the April 1964 coup,

he soon became disillusioned with the military's plans to cancel elections and transformed himself into one of the biggest critics of the dictatorship.² Subsequently, Negrão de Lima's comfortable victory in the election for the gubernatorial seat of Guanabara in 1965, was one of the defining factors in the military régime's cancellation of political parties. Negrão, although a friend of then military president Castello Branco, served as governor from 1965 to 1971, which were the most repressive years of military rule during its twenty-one year existence (1964-1985). The massive protests, rallies, and demonstrations that occurred within Rio de Janeiro during Negrão's term, especially in 1968 and 1969, served as a sign that the city-state was a breeding ground for radical and subversive socio-cultural politics in the minds of the military. This was further compounded by the election of Chagas Freitas who was the only representative from the opposition party, the MDB, in 1970.³

By the late 1960s, the military régime began to heavily invest in the functionality of Brasília, deemphasizing its national presence in Rio de Janeiro. The commitment to Brasília in conjunction with the troubled relationship that the military held with Guanabara certainly is a factor in explaining some of the events that would shape the agenda of Chagas Freitas' tenure in office. Ultimately, Chagas would have his term cut

² Lacerda was jailed in 1968 and had his rights suspended for ten years. He died in May 1977.

³ Some people maintained that even though he was a member of the MDB, Chagas conspired with the military regime. For more on this issue, see the Sarmiento collection cited in footnote 1.

short as a result of the law signed by General Ernesto Geisel in 1974 that declared that the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro would fuse into the new state of Rio de Janeiro in April 1975.

Since taking over the country in 1964, the military regime became concerned with Guanabara's industrial and economic viability. Its status as a city-state was threatened when a law in 1973 created eight official metropolitan regions in Brazil: São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, Fortaleza, Curitiba, Salvador, and Belém. Noticeably absent from this geo-political and economic plan, the technocrats of the military regime argued that in order for Rio de Janeiro to be considered a metropolitan region, unification with Niterói was essential. While the construction of the Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge and various economic surveys conducted since the late 1960s suggested the possibilities of the fusion, the military regime officially advocated this matter on geo-economics: in order for Rio de Janeiro to prosper economically, it needed to be integrated more with the state of Rio de Janeiro and city of Niterói.

There were also certain political factors behind the fusion of the two states. ARENA, the political party of the military dictatorship, held a strong majority in the state of Rio de Janeiro, whereas the opposition party, the MDB, held an overwhelming majority in the state of Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro city). Through fusing the two states, it was believed that the ARENA majority throughout the state of Rio would water down the MDB in the city-state of Guanabara (city of Rio de

Janeiro). In the end, the President/Dictator of Brazil, Ernesto Geisel, signed an act, “unilaterally” in 1974 that fused the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro. Finally in April 1975, the city of Rio de Janeiro became the new capital city (replacing Niterói) of this new state of Rio de Janeiro and the hub of the new metropolitan region.⁴

7.2 The End of an Era

The autarquia of SURSAN exemplified the technocratic nature of planning in Guanabara from 1960 to 1971. While politicians often receive credit for the construction and development of the built environment, it ultimately was the work of the men and women employed by SURSAN that were responsible for transforming the urban landscape and spatial characteristics of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Despite the achievements and efficient nature that was garnered by the entire Superintendência by the end of Negrão’s term in 1971, Chagas’ administration opted to disband SURSAN in 1973 and try to establish an official department of planning. This was part of Chagas’ broader plan to transform Guanabara into a bona fide state. This meant the use of autarquias, mixed-enterprise companies, and foundations were sacrificed for more conventional secretariats and departments that were prevalent

⁴ Recently published sources regarding fusion and the newly created state of Rio de Janeiro since 1975 are Américo Freire, Carlos Eduardo Sarmiento, and Marly Silva da Motta, organizadores, *Um Estado em Questão: Os 25 anos do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV/ALERJ, 2001); Marieta de Moraes Ferreira and Mario Grynspan, “A Volta do Filho Pródigo ao lar Paterno? A Fusão do Rio de Janeiro,” In Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, coordenadora, *Rio de Janeiro: Uma Cidade na História*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2000) 117-137; Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, “Por trás da fusão,” *Nossa História* 2:19 (Maio 2005): 60-63.

in other Brazilian states. While state-creation was a major goal of the third governor of Guanabara, many former SURSAN technocrats suggested that the core elements of Chaguismo – clientelism and patronage - did not mesh well with SURSAN’s way of doing business. Furthermore, there was a good deal of resentment over the high salaries paid to those engineers and architects paid of compared to those in the regular city-state departments.⁵ While the construction of the Presidente Costa e Silva Bridge foreshadowed the end of the state of Guanabara, a tragic incident in November 1971 also symbolized the downfall of Rio de Janeiro’s planning movement.

For some time, the DER-GB together with the firm of SOBRENCO had been working on an elevated expressway designed to link the Praça da Bandeira directly to the entrance/exit of the Túnel Rebouças above the Avenida Paulo de Frontin in Rio Comprido. Early in the afternoon of Saturday November 20, 1971 at the confluence of Avenida Paulo de Frontin and Rua Haddock Lobo in Rio Comprido tragedy struck as numerous pillars and sizeable portions of the elevated concrete slab collapsed and crushed nearly 25 cars, one bus, and a truck. 20,000 tons of concrete collapsed and eventually killed and injured numerous people resulting in a complete state of chaos for the surrounding neighborhood

⁵ Arnaldo César, “SURSAN: O Fim de Uma Era,” *O Jornal* (RJ), 30 September 1973, and “SURSAN se aposenta com 16 anos de Trabalho,” *Jornal do Brasil* (RJ), 30 September 1973, Primeiro Caderno

and streets.⁶ Police, rescue, and paramedics rushed to the scene immediately as the total number of deaths were in the teens. Total injuries were never officially confirmed, however many people were rushed to various hospitals and had limbs amputated at the scene of the catastrophe.

Upon visiting the disaster, Governor Chagas Freitas promised a thorough investigation of the tragedy by immediately creating an investigation committee. During the aftermath of the tragedy, many of the engineers working on the project either declined to comment on the situation or sat in a state of disbelief over the severity of the events on that Saturday afternoon. Although many accidents resulting in deaths had occurred during the construction of the various roads, tunnels, and expressways of the 1960s and 1970s, hardly any of these affected innocent bystanders or civilians not involved in the construction process. In the days following the disaster, several reasons were tossed around regarding the possible causes for the collapse.

In the following months and years after the accident, numerous engineers and technocrats gave courtroom testimony and offered insight on the possible causes for the collapse of the Elevado de Paulo de Frontin. A consensus explanation was never entirely offered by either the

⁶ “Destruição no Elevado atingiu 120 metros,” *Jornal do Brasil* 21 and 22 November 1971; Comissão de Sindicância já tem chefe nomeado,” *Jornal do Brasil* 21 and 22 November 1971; Heleno Claudio Fragoso and Nilo Batista, *O Caso de Elevado Sobre a Av. Paulo de Frontin - Em Defesa dos Engenheiros* (Rio de Janeiro: 1971). This book was located without a publisher in the library of the Clube de Engenharia in Rio de Janeiro.

technical or criminal investigative committee regarding the elevador's collapse. Moreover, many of the engineers involved maintained that they were neither negligent nor erroneous in their calculations. According to one engineer who offered his testimony: "accidents are inevitable in large urban construction projects – and while we probably will never know the exact cause for the collapse, we have to learn to accept that there will be a margin of risk when building structures such as the Elevador Paulo de Frontin."⁷ Ironically, these same engineers and technicians had always championed the scientific rationalization models of planning which asserted that all could be monitored and controlled. This technocratic approach to planning stressed that the environment could be controlled and monitored through the application of scientific and engineering principles. Ironically, they were humbled and realized through a tragic incident that planning was not an exact science, and that many other factors aside from science were fundamental to building and developing the city.

The collapse of the Elevador de Paulo Frontin was not the first or last major construction accident in the city's history, yet it vividly symbolizes the end of a planning era for the city of Rio de Janeiro. While I am cautious of nostalgically analyzing the Guanabara years as an "Época de Ouro," I do think that it is vital to recognize the massive amounts of infrastructure that was constructed in a short period of

⁷ Heleno Claudio Fragoso and Nilo Batista, 84-85.

fifteen years. Furthermore, most of this development coincided in a climate of extreme demographic growth, a tense political climate, hyperinflation, curbed civil liberties, and little support from the federal government. Many of the urban development policies of this time period largely ignored any input from community and civic leaders; which exemplifies the “top-down” values of the technocratic planning culture of the 1960s. Furthermore, while a great deal of this infrastructure was envisioned to unite the city, in many ways it reinforced socio-spatial, cultural, and economic tensions among the city’s residents which in reality created even more disunity. After the fusion occurred in 1975, many of these tensions began to accelerate and manifest themselves in crime, violence, and the proliferation of favelas.

The majority of the urban development projects for the city in the late 1970s and 1980s dulled in comparison to the ventures undertaken during the Guanabara years. Many of the plans that were devised by Doxiadis and CEDUG, SURSAN, the DER-GB, CODESCO, and COHAB in the 1960s were heavily influential in the projects implemented by the city government during the 1990s. Despite the shortcomings and “tunnel vision” of many of the urban planning projects of the 1960s, the initiatives formulated during the administrations of Carlos Lacerda and Negrão de Lima continue to serve as reference point for the current generation of planners and Cariocas who aspire to reform the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Figure 7.1 Construction of the Elevado Paulo de Frontin



Figure 7.2 Another View of the Elevado Paulo de Frontin



Figure 7.3 Collapse of the Elevado



Figure 7.4 Another View of the Disaster

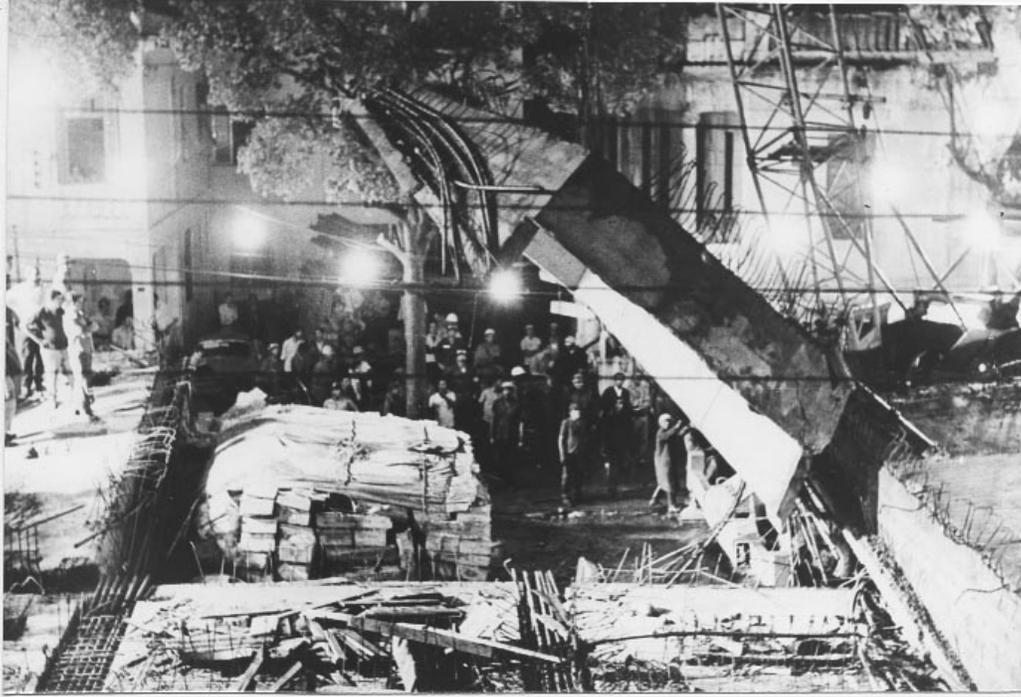


Figure 7.5 Avenida Paulo de Frontin with Haddock Lobo

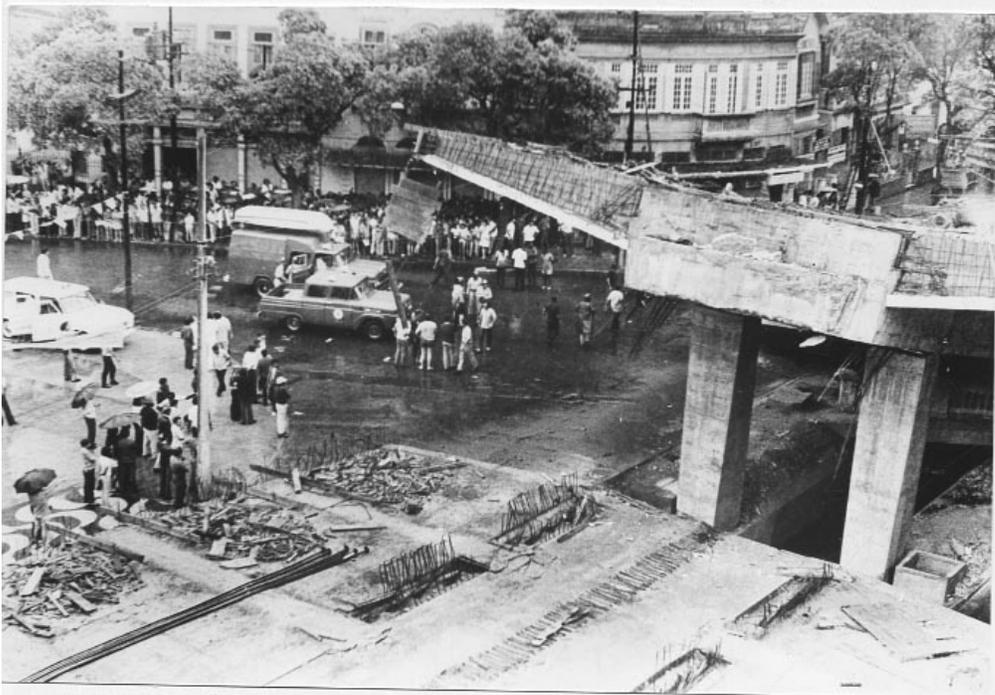


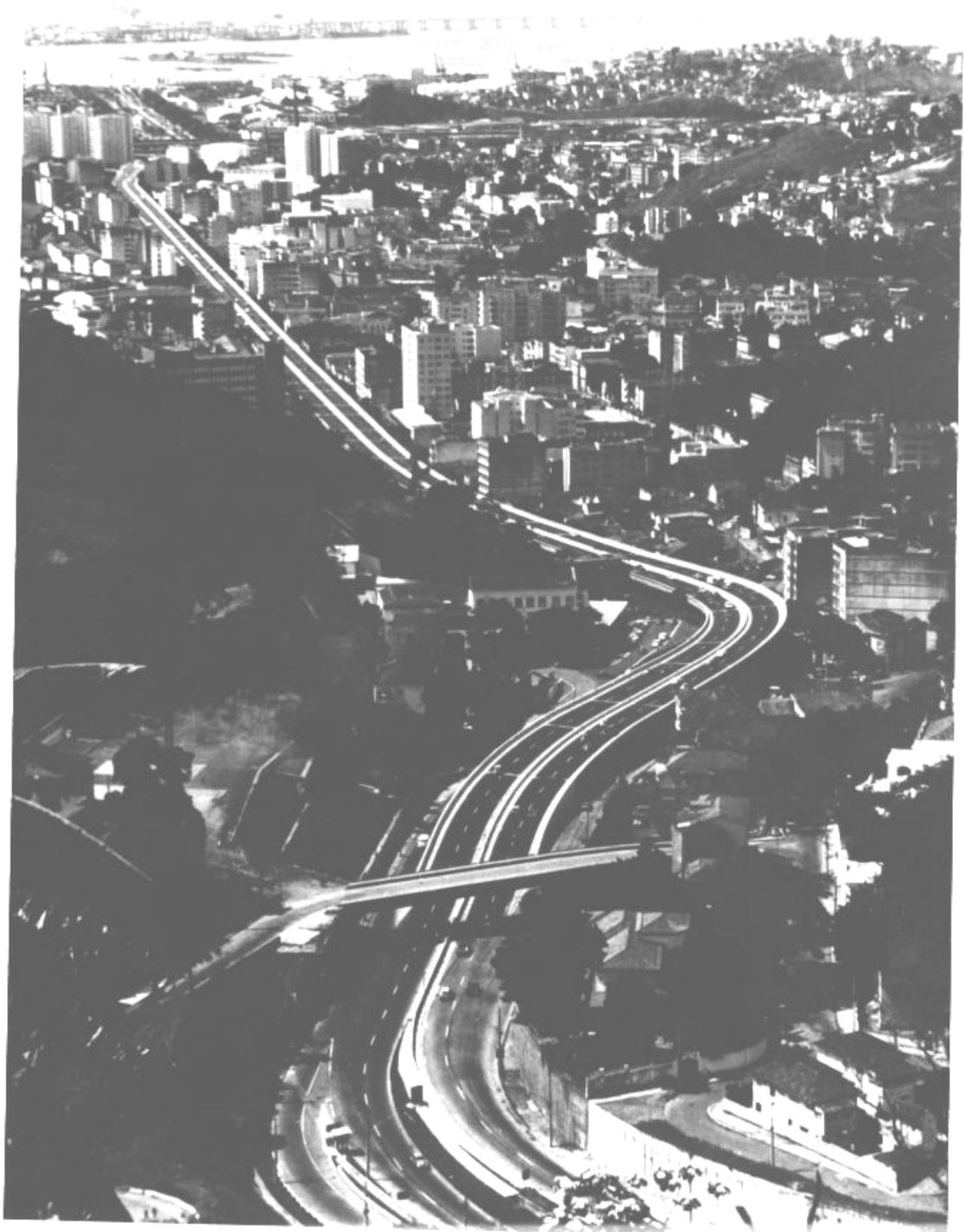
Figure 7.6 Injured and Killed Victims from the Collapse



Figure 7.7 Construction of the Metrô in the Early 1970s in Downtown Rio



Figure 7.8 The Completed Elevado Paulo de Frontin with the Rio-Niterói Bridge in the Backdrop



Archives and Libraries

Listed below are the locations and collections consulted where the numerous cited official and community-based planning documents, pamphlets, maps, blueprints, and photographs can be consulted.

Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro (CPDOC-FGV)

Arquivo Francisco Negrão de Lima

Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (AGCRJ)

Coleção José de Oliveira Reis

Arquivo Marcos Tamoio

Photographic Archive – Photos Developed by Marco Belandi

Arquivo Nacional – Correio da Manhã Photographic Archive (AN/CM)

Biblioteca Comunitária da Associação de Assistência e Orientação dos Moradores do Catumbi, Catumbi, Rio de Janeiro

Biblioteca do Clube de Engenharia, Rio de Janeiro

Coleção Carlos Lacerda – Universidade de Brasília (CCL)

Fundação Geo-Rio, Rio de Janeiro

Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal, Rio de Janeiro (IBAM)

Newspapers and Official Publications

A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro

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Luta Democrática, Rio de Janeiro

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The New Yorker, New York

Nova Dimensão, Rio de Janeiro

Novos Rumos, Rio de Janeiro

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