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NEW ISSUES ON HOUSING IN RIO DE JANEIRO: THE “EMPTYING” OF THE FORMAL CITY  
AND THE “FILLING UP” OF THE INFORMAL CITY

Lilian Fessler Vaz<sup>i</sup>

*Introduction*

In a recent article about architecture and urbanism, Baudrillard (1996) comments that “whole cities of office or apartment buildings destined to remain eternally empty because of the crisis or \_speculation“ are being built. These are the “ghost-towns”: cities that look like huge machines that reproduce “themselves to the infinity - ghosts of an unruléd investment and of an even faster disinvestment.”

The word “empty” is usually related to a certain temporal and spacial context: the “urban empties”, for example, are associated to latin-american peripheryc urbanization, to the forsaken buildings of old factories, to the central countries process of “disindustrialization”. The new empty buildings are associated to the excessive investiments, as in Hong Kong, Filipines and Thailand, where, after the recent asiatic crisis people asked who would “occupy the huge office buildings and the luxurious condominium constructed all over the region” . (JB 25/1/97) The empty dwellings, however, are usually associated to the subject of housing. In Buenos Aires there’s around 150.000 empty housing units, which corresponds approximatly to 15% of the whole universe. There, where about 400.000 people compose the homeless population, the occupation of these empty units is being realized by popular organization (CYTED, 1997: 43). In Rio de Janeiro there were about 245.000 unoccupied dwellings in 1991.

But how can we observe these “empties”? At a first glance over the city, nature and society are present in the landscape of Rio: nature, in the presence of the sea, mountains and forest, and society, because of its built space, mainly in regard to its housing developments of the XXth Century. The built environment, features, in turn, other strongly expressive elements, which correspond to the modern / formal city and to the low-income / informal city. These are: the apartment buildings (the dominant housing pattern) composing the formal portion; and slums and squatter settlements (the low income dominant housing pattern), composing the informal portion of the city.

Nowadays, when going through the formal city, we can see abandoned sheds, warehouses and general buildings along the main ways which cross the industrial and harbour areas. Passing thorough downtown, one notices a lot of empty offices in both old and new buildings. Finally, in residential areas, mainly in the modern neighbourhoods, where the apartment buildings dominate the scenery, it’s possible to observe empty and closed apartments and even whole empty buildings. Also the media has registered this “emptying”. A recent article titled “Ghost-city” registers a big amount of unoccupied residential and commercial buildings in downtown and in the southern areas, the most valuable ones in the city. (Veja Rio, 30/10/96, pp.16/19).

On the other hand, when we go through the informal city, mainly the front slum streets, we get surprised with its growth, the new construction, the floor superposition and the hillside and green areas occupation. Also here the media registers the fact. An article taken from "O Globo" newspaper (15/3/98) says: "Rio slums grow even 50 times more than the city."

To check these impressions, the analysis of quantitative data is necessary. It's verified that the 5.5 million city habitants are distributed over 1.8 million housing units. According to the Statistic Handbook for 1991, the "City of Rio de Janeiro possesses 245,334 unoccupied dwellings" (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-37). Focusing attention on the number of housing units, and comparing this data (245,334) with the previous, slum dwellings (239,678), we are surprised by this fact and the questions it raises.

The first point is that there's a high quantity of unoccupied dwellings. The second point is that this amount is so elevated that gets close to the amount of slum housing units. Furthermore, there are many more dwellings available in the city than there are in slums. Na the third point is that if there are more unoccupied dwellings than housing units in slums, there is a sufficient number of houses for all, and there is no need to have slums in Rio de Janeiro. However, these slum data continue to be used as parameters of the housing deficiency and as an excuse to the necessity of new dwellings construction.

Two apparently casual relations link the two main habitation patterns: the enormous similarity between the statistic datas (both the unoccupied dwellings and the housing units in the slums are about the amount of 240.000) and the huge difference and even opposition of social and spacial processes (the emptying of the area where one system operates and the densification of the area where the other system operates). Behind these strange appointments, there are two housing provision systems with common origins and parallel historical developments. This study attempts a new approach to the social production of space and its present situation in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

### *The Statistical Question*

Beforehand, however, it is worthwhile discussing the data presented. A comparison of the data selected aims at creating a new perspective for the housing question in Rio de Janeiro. The resulting anomaly gives rise to an immediate conclusion (and perhaps precipitated) that there is no lack of housing in the city. The objective here is not to affirm this, but to raise questions based on an analysis of this selectively drawn and compared data, thereby contributing towards an enrichment of the debate.

It has been well known for some considerable time that some of these statistics are usually the subject of controversy; thus, the concepts adopted in surveys and the different sources ought to be verified. As to "empty and unoccupied domiciles", one must be sure that one is dealing effectively with closed and empty housing units, what type, where located, etc., eliminating the possibility of including week-end houses that were temporarily closed, recently built-up and awaiting official permission to be occupied, etc., at the time the census was taken. As to "slum dwellings", an objective examination of what type of dwelling it is, must be made, and whether one is really dealing with the totality of slum dwellings, bearing in mind, for example, the controversies<sup>ii</sup> between different data institutions in regard to this total. A research of the consistency of these numbers will certainly present new data; possibly the total number of "empty and/or unoccupied domiciles" could decrease and the total number of "slum dwellings" could increase.

Furthermore, if isolated data is taken into consideration, some economic aspects must also be included. As to the number of unoccupied real state units, it must be observed that different markets are being dealt with

and a great part of the demand is not capable of paying for any dwelling. Consideration must also be given to specific requirements of the moment: the large stock of closed dwellings in 1991 is explained by the economic situation at that time, but current information indicates that the offer of housing units exceeds the demand (ABADI 178, Dec. 1996).

The fact that there is a considerable stock of empty estates<sup>iii</sup> that may be increasing, as recent data (IPLANRIO 1995; 3-76) indicates, the growth of buildings between 1993 and 1995 of 2.4%, was greater than the growth for the previous period (1.8% between 1991 and 1993). This growth is not being accompanied by the growth in population; on the contrary, population increase rates have been falling: the geometric rate of demographic growth of the municipality over the period 1980/1991 was 0.43% and the projection is a reduction in this rate over the 90's (Bogus and Wanderley 1992: 48, 16). Despite the fact that available data does not indicate the types of buildings being produced, we suppose that very few are aimed at popular habitation, a consequence of the cessation of financing of housing by BNH (National Housing Bank). On the other hand, recent studies have indicated a development in the real estate production with more sophisticated structures: shopping centers, luxury residential apartment buildings, "intelligent" buildings, apart-hotels, among others (Fridman, 1994).

As to social and demographic issues, attention must also be given to the trend towards a reduction of acquisitive power of the population, the increase of the proportion of poor people in the metropolitan population and to the concentration of indigent families in the Rio de Janeiro municipality<sup>iv</sup> (Ribeiro 1996: 108), which in turn points to a worsening of the housing problem. As to the inhabitants of slum dwellings, an increase in this contingent from 718,210 in 1980 to "almost a million people" in 1991, has been registered (IPLANRIO 1995: 3 - 37)<sup>v</sup>. The number of slum dwellings grew from 165,275 in 1980 to 239,678 in 1991 (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-43 and 3-37)<sup>vi</sup>. A document about Rio de Janeiro social indexes, which was prepared for the Habitat II Conference, informs that slum population has grown 34% against a rate of 7.7% of the city between 1980 and 1991 (IPLANRIO 1996:9). The density in slum areas has increased: medium values are 372 hab/ha (IPLANRIO 1995:3-37) and 340 hab/ha (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-43), rising to 593,5 hab/ha in the Rocinha slum and 980 hab/ha in the Jacarezinho slum (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-37).

All these data must be analyzed with the addition of new informations, verifying the historical series available and confronting and discussing its source. There is, however, to a greater or lesser degree, a stock of empty housing units in the formal city, while the number of informal, slum dwellings continues to increase. There is, however, a production of buildings that do not satisfy their main and specific objective, that is, to be used as dwellings, while there is a large production of buildings that are being used as dwellings despite the unsatisfactory living conditions they present. And there is also a "leak" from the formal city to the informal city.

These two vectors of analyses return to the systems in which these two housing patterns are engendered: one, modern and formal, the other, popular and informal. We will endeavor to show that both originate from the same processes and develop in a complementary form thereby allowing for a parallel analyses that lead to the statistic data presented herein.

### *The supply of habitation in Rio de Janeiro - historical approach*

To think on a basis of historical perspective in relation to the systems for the supply of present day housing, we should take as a starting point the issue of housing in modern times. Modernity has brought problems to the city and society, which must be faced by architecture, urbanism and urban planning.

According to Habermas (1987 : 118) there were three challenges made regarding this area of knowledge: to create new “spheres of life”, demanded by modernization, to use new techniques and new material developed by the Industrial Revolution, and to create housing and living standards in the cities in development.

We will see how this challenge was faced in Rio de Janeiro and how new standards and new structures for the supply of housing have been defined, supported by the concept employed by Erminia Maricato, who featured the physical dimension of dwellings and the action of social agents involved in their supply<sup>vii</sup>. In Brazil, the main sources of housing are private promotion through real estate agents, public promotion, private production to order, legal allotments, illegal or irregular allotments, self-help building, small mercantile production, among others (Maricato 1995:1,2). The issue being highlighted at this point is the standard of habitation that results from each of the systems of supply, that maintain their own specifications: block and single family housing projects (public promotion), apartment buildings, apart hotels and private condominiums (real estate promotion), single family units (built to order), etc.

The emergency surrounding the question of habitation in Rio de Janeiro occurred in the second half of the 19th century, a time during which the supply of habitation was traditional, carried out by works foremen on the orders of land owners. Building standards were that of single storey and double storey buildings that remained for centuries until inns and tenement houses appeared. Contrary to the others, built to last and with an eye to their use value, the new housing pattern was lightly constructed and built in series for rental, which heralded the system of renting. With the rapid over-occupation of these dwellings, living and hygienic conditions became critical, not only in respect to the dwelling, but also to the city.

The carioca process of modernization of the city involved endeavors to solve the housing and the sanitary conditions crisis. Arising from public health issues, a consequence was the great urban reform which started at the beginning of the XXth century, which included other public policies. The tackling of housing questions - unhealthy conditions and over-crowding of cheap collective houses - resulted in the municipality prohibiting their construction, and the establishment of new standards for dwellings. Housing conditions were being transformed and made adequate to the demands of hygiene and economics, incorporating new materials and new techniques.

Thus, as a substitute for *tenement houses and inns* (rows of small rooms) and as a solution of the problems that were associated with this type of dwelling - unhealthy conditions, promiscuity and high rents - "*avenidas*" and *hygienic houses* for workers were built. Although aimed at the solution of housing problems, these dwellings were always inaccessible to those for whom they were originally destined, the "*unfortunate*", and were in fact occupied by those who could pay the high price of hygiene and comfort. The ancient collective dwellings were disappearing as a result of State action - legislation and urban reform - and of market action. It is worthwhile noting that the new form of providing housing arose specifically to solve the problem of popular housing: some business enterprises in existence at that time received "favorable concessions" for the construction of hygienic and cheap housing to substitute collective unhealthy habitation. However, after the urban renewal of 1903/1906, which inaugurated the modern process of demolishing and rebuilding of built up areas, civil construction companies turned their attention to new types of buildings that appeared, and lost interest in cheap habitation.

The dwellers of the old tenement houses went to rooming houses, which multiplied around the center, to *small isolated houses* that were built in distant suburbs and to emergent squatters. Recent studies have shown the arrival of slums at the end of the XIXth century (Abreu, 1986: 47-58) and the relationship between the disappearance of a popular standard of habitation and the arrival of the other (Vaz 1986: 29-36). The disappearance of a standard (tenement) would also correspond to the decline in the manner in

which habitation was provided for (led by owners and lessees of property). And the appearance of a new standard (slum), would also correspond to the appearance of a new housing supply system (occupation and self-help-building). Thus, while dwellings destined for occupiers of tenement houses were occupied by groups having a little higher acquisitive power, the poorer population developed their own appropriate (or inappropriate) way of providing homes for themselves.

At the beginning of the 20th century, but in accordance with the provisions of legislation, "*villas*", *houses built in series and semi-detached houses* were being built in new suburbs, satisfying the growing demands for hygiene and comfort. Houses in the villas soon became the standard for the emerging middle classes.

In the 20's, apartment houses came onto the scene and in the 30's apartment buildings, innovating different types of constructions for dwellings: architectonic (formal, functional, technical, structural), economical (production and consumption systems) juridical (condominiums), cultural (way of life), among others. In the heated discussions that followed the arrival of this new standard of dwelling - the arguments against compared them to "luxury tenements", the arguments in favour considered them to be modernization and progress - a fundamental argument in favour of accepting "flats" (apartments) was in their potential as a definitive solution to the housing problem.

The skyscrapers, as they were called, were welcomed as a redemption, because it was easy to understand that the new style of architecture (high rise) allowed for the multiplication of residential units in each construction, reducing the portion of land costs, mass produced and therefore, making dwellings cheaper. For this very reason, apartment blocks appeared in many countries and expanded as a solution to the housing problem. In Rio de Janeiro, however, the "apartment, instead of a house for the poor, became the housing pattern that was preferred by the rich" (Goulart, 1957:19).

Apart from the architectural standard representing, "in fact the only solution, not only for the crisis of a lack of habitation, but also for the lowering of their costs" (A Casa, Rev. do Lar Feb. 1928), a new production method - incorporation - promised to make access to dwellings democratic. However, this same article admitted "... some believe that incorporation is responsible for the real estate high prices that have been observed...", and therefore, absorbing the lower income groups in this segment of consumers, impossible.

The new housing standard expanded quickly. The first apartment building, the Lafond, was built in 1917, the first skyscrapers date back to 20's, while the regular production of apartment buildings occurred in the 30's when construction of present *apartment buildings* started. In the 1940's a building boom transformed Copacabana (Vaz, 1995). The physical structures in the central and southern areas, which had as a result of their decadence become tenement houses, were substituted by office and apartment buildings. At this point, it is possible to notice the relation between the higher classes dwellings and the lower classes dwellings.

The availability of old houses, that is, potential tenement houses, reduced at the same rate at which the number new buildings expanded and the traditional form of popular housing almost disappeared. High rise structures therefore, contributed to the process of expelling the poor class from the nucleus, for " ... *only expensive dwellings or office blocks are being built and only old cheap houses transformed into rooming houses, occupied by many families, are demolished*". (Editorial Comment. Observador Economico e Financeiro 102, July, 1994)

A number of building companies were established and developed. The building of apartment buildings demanded a very large cheap work force (bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, manual labor) recruited from

the migrants that had come to the city. These workers, like “bricklayer Valdemar”, after the conclusion of the construction could neither enter or live in the building<sup>viii</sup>:

*“ Do you know bricklayer Valdemar?...  
At dawn he catches a train at the Circular  
He builds so many houses and has nowhere to live...  
Valdemar , a master at his trade  
Constructs a building and afterwards cannot enter it..”*

On the other hand, this middle upper class population needed a series of domestic services such as doormen, cleaners, drivers, cooks, maids, ironing women, nursemaids, etc. Consequently, with the arrival of these new buildings and new residential areas, it became necessary to build dwellings nearby for those who produced and took care of them and served their inhabitants. But costs were prohibitive and the "favelas", which began to spread over the slopes of mountainsides and marshes, worthless land within the most valuable land in the city, was the solution. From the 30's with an intense growth of population, the number of squatter settlements increased markedly and expanded together with the main sources of employment. For the low wages industry workers, in direction to the north zone and outer suburbs, for domestic services and civil construction workers, in direction to the south zone, close to beach front bourgeois areas (Abreu 1987).

As the modernization of the city advanced, so did rooming houses and the possibility of living in an old house, disappear; and as dwellings were modernized, becoming hygienic and comfortable, the more expensive and inaccessible to the poor they became. For this segment of the population, there only remained the possibility of building their own dwellings on empty land. Thus, as a counterpoint to the improvements brought by modernization, from the end of the XIXth century, slums appeared and multiplied. The exclusion became more and more clearly evidenced in regard to space, through the development of high rise buildings and of slum areas. These elements became noteworthy references in respect to the city's image.

During the first half of the XXth century the city expanded and the land interstices were occupied by slums. While vertical construction was concentrated in the center and water front boroughs, the other suburbs expanded through horizontal construction, mainly in single family housing units. In the 50's and following decades, there was a metropolitan explosion and the formation of outlying areas. As the available space for slums was reducing, the possibilities for the low-income population were limited to the distant peripheries where the popular allotments multiplied. In the small lots, without infrastructure and very difficult access, self-construction was practiced. Various factors contributed to the production of new spaces, with emphasis on the binomial *allotments and self-help-housing*, and to a lesser degree, the production by the State of popular housing estates.

In the 60's this popular housing production was associated to the slum eliminating policy. At that time, a big amount of the sum population was transferred to modern and far from center settlements. Many of the “cleaned” areas were occupied by high luxury apartment buildings. Housing policies that in the 70's and 80's impelled the housing production were greatly reduced or suspended in recent years; without State financial support, building construction became more sophisticated and the products were aimed at the higher income groups. Recently, urban expansion is going western, occupying the AP-4 and AP-5 areas (Maps 1 and 2).

### *The supply of dwellings in Rio de Janeiro - present day*

Apartment buildings have been spreading through the city for decades, imposing themselves as the predominant housing pattern, mainly in the boroughs of the AP-2<sup>x</sup> (south, waterfront zone). In the 90's, *one and two storey housings*, the second predominant pattern, represented a little more than half, numerically, of the number of apartments (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-76). These were mainly built in the suburban boroughs of the AP-3 (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-76). This type of architecture underwent very few alterations; only with the expansion of the new south zone and large real estate ventures in Barra da Tijuca did a new standard appear for the middle and upper classes: the "closed condominium", which has developed mainly in the AP-4. In a general way, it can be said that these types correspond to modern entrepreneurial production, answering for approximately 40% of the total supply of housing, according to estimates made by Ribeiro and Cardoso (1996: 46).

The analysis of the unoccupied housing units distribution shows that the highest concentrations are located in the AP-4 (20.09%) and AP-2 (17.01%). The empty dwellings are concentrated in the southern area (23.42% of Copacabana's dwellings) and in the neighbourhood of its expansion zone (39.72% of Barra da Tijuca's dwellings), exactly the areas where the existence of apartment buildings and housing production are more notorious.

As to the informal city, the 80's showed a renewed increase in the growth of slums, this time due, to a greater degree, to the increase of poverty rather than to the number of migrants. 101 of the 573 slums registered in 1991 began in the last decade. New forms in the universe of low income housing patterns arose: the *occupations*, as a result of invasions which followed the re-democratization process; the *linear favelas*, small slums that occupy unbuilt up strips alongside rivers, railway lines, viaducts; the *favela complexes*, that developed as a result of the conurbation of older existing slums. Another phenomenon that has not as yet been sufficiently studied is that of the progressive densifying of slum population, and in a number of cases, the developing of 5 or 6 storey buildings. The highest medium densities are these of the nucleus: in the AP-1, AP-3 and AP-2, respectively (IPLANRIO 1994). Slums have once again begun to develop, occupying new spaces in the city and the media.

There are new developments in this regard. Despite reliable socio-economic analyses available, some indications should be considered. Recent data referring to the progressive increase of cement sales and studies indicating that "more than half of last year's production (1995), was utilized by people building their own homes" (Folha de São Paulo, 29/12/96) are used as positive results of the Real Plan (inflation controlling plan). According to the magazine "Veja", "... the ant-consumers purchased 80% of all the cements that came from construction material deposits this year" (18/12/96). The new category of small consumer from the C and D social classes that have recently entered the market, referred to as *ant-consumers* (Veja 18/12/96 and Isto É 1/1/97), is the main social agent in the informal system of supplying habitation. Now, if the small self builder who "builds his own house" is responsible for the greater portion of cement consumption, the construction of informal housing is responsible for a corresponding part of the city's production: the informal city production.

While the modern sector of housing production moves away from its original proposal of solving the housing problem, the production of informal housing increases. The present neo-liberal policies, leaving the supply of housing to the market, should be observed with caution, for the formal market, supplying only for those who can pay for it, and excluding the greater part of the population, will widen the formal/informal city division.

### *Reflections, but no conclusions*

The relationship between some of the formal and informal standards of housing, and the respective ways in which they are produced, superficially presented in a statistical focus and within a historical perspective, raises different considerations, still in the preliminary stages, that cannot be seen as conclusions, but as new elements for discussion of the old housing problem. Certainly, some ideas will appear to be unusual, contributing to a re-examination of the question.

Initially, the growth of the unoccupied allotments and housing units must be considered. Among the empty lots (estimated in 57% of the total amount by Fridman, 1994), it's necessary to differentiate those originated by peripheric process of urbanization and those resulted from the pulling down of ancient buildings. Studies directed at older central areas show not only a progressive decrease of residential land use, but also the presence since decades of a number of empty land plots resulting from the demolition of old buildings caused by urbanistic interventions<sup>x</sup> (Vaz & Silveira, 1997). Therefore, apart from an analysis of available housing units, it is also worthwhile analyzing the issue of empty plots that were formerly occupied by dwellings. It is also worth investigating proposals to induce the occupation of vacant plots, and what possible measures can be taken to make use of these empty landed areas for popular housing.

News reports on the heating up of the economy and development of sectors through "ant-consumers" appear to be promising as they indicate reversal of the trend of increasing exclusion and an "inclusion" of a portion of society to modernity. At the same time, this raises other questions. If the informal city is growing (and in Rio de Janeiro this to a good extent, means that the number and size of slums are increasing), it becomes necessary to provide infrastructure, integrating them with the city, urbanizing the slums and other popular housing areas, as is being done through the "favela-bairro" program. This policy of urbanization and improving of public space of low income settlements is being considered successful, and the population of the involved settlements are answering with the mentioned boom of building, expanding and renewing their houses.

But if slum dwellings in slums / informal cities continue to increase, there will be an increase for the need of infrastructure; on the other hand, if the number of empty plots and vacant dwellings in the formal city increase, this means that their infrastructure is not being used to the full. Therefore an hypothesis can be raised that while a part of the existing infrastructure remains idle, a new infrastructure is being built in the informal city. But, if there is infrastructure available, shouldn't its utilization be optimized? Doesn't that mean a waste of resources and of urbanized land? To allow a part of the network to remain idle while constructing a new one through slum urbanization programs doesn't mean to supply infrastructure twice to the same city?

It therefore becomes necessary to re-examine the propriety of proposals to re-urbanize slum areas while urbanized areas are being vacated. This thought is an endeavor to explore the purpose of the sustainability of the urban development of Rio de Janeiro, if the scenery of the emptying of the formal city and the swelling of the informal city is really confirmed. Because if this tendency is really confirmed, in the XXIst century we will be nearer to a "Blade Runner" scenery than to a sustainable urban development.

On the other hand, the hypothesis of the "emptying of the formal city / filling up of the informal city" and this questioning, which could be labeled reactionary, leads us to the right to the city and to dwelling. Here also new inquiries correctly argue that the urbanization of slums is a way in which their population can enjoy the rights of a city, or the right to some of the improvements made to housing and the city. However, will this policy improve and make the informal city become formal city? And will the inhabitants have the same rights other inhabitants have? Or should they have the right to the formal city? Maybe we should



think urban segregation in an opposite point of view: not to analyze how the poor are segregated, but how the rich segregate themselves. And recognize that it would be more rational not to invest in infrastructures in areas where buildings remain empty, but in the higher density areas.

In conclusion, a comment on the third and last challenge that must be faced by architecture and by urbanism: the provision of living standards and housing in modern cities, according to Habermas. Considering the present picture, if we really have as many unoccupied dwellings as these considered to be renovated or substituted, the challenge seems to become even greater and further from a solution. But, on the other hand, one must ask whether this challenge should be made to the sectors of architecture and urbanism or whether it is a matter of politic and economy.

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<sup>i</sup> Doctor Professor of the Post-Graduation Program in Urbanism - PROURB, FAU/UFRJ.

<sup>ii</sup> The total number of dwellings in Rio de Janeiro slums in 1991 is given as 249,678 (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-37) and 224,350 (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-43). IBGE (Brazilian Data and Geography Institute) only considers occupation of land by the populace as being a slum if there are more than 50 houses.

<sup>iii</sup> In a recent report entitled "Cidade Fantasma" (Ghost City) attention is drawn to the large number of entire buildings, residential and commercial, totally unoccupied in the center and south zone, the most valuable of the city.

<sup>iv</sup> The data refers to the years 1990 and 1991. Recently, (1996) analyses have shown and alteration to these trends because of inflationary control and an increase in consumption on the part of lower income groups.

<sup>v</sup> There are differences in regard to this data: IPLANRIO estimates a slum population in 1990 of 960,230 inhabitants based on the existence of 480 slum areas, but the fact that new slums have been detected increased this number to 545 and an estimated population of a million inhabitants (JB 4/4/91). In 1991, there were 573 slums (IPLANRIO 1995: 3-37). Studies carried out for the Master Plan have already indicated a slum population of over a million people in 1987, based on data supplied by the Light and Power company resulting from the number of electrical connections effected (O Dia 17/9/89).

<sup>vi</sup> This total is also questioned, as already seen in note 2.

<sup>vii</sup> Maricato was supported by concepts developed by Ball (1986).

<sup>viii</sup> A samba written by Wilson Batista and Roberto Martins, 1948.

<sup>ix</sup> APs - 'areas de planejamento (planning areas).

<sup>x</sup> This can be seen with the construction of the Avenida Presidente Vargas (in the 40's), the removal of the "morro de Santo Antonio" (in the 50's), the opening of large roadway arteries in the Catumbi borough, the urban renewal of the Estácio borough (in the 60's and 70's), the construction of the underground rail in the 80's, among other examples.