

**PLANE
TARY
URBANISM
THE TRANS
FORMATIVE
POWER
OF CITIES**

CIDADE DE DEUS – A BIOGRAPHY

Marc Angéilil, Rainer Hehl,
in collaboration with Something Fantastic

“What has been considered as a problem, the favela, offers very specific solutions to the question of housing the masses – what is meant to be the solution, state-sponsored mass housing, represents the real problem for urban developments.”

John F.C. Turner, 1968¹

An evolutionary biography of a social housing misconception

1961: Announcement of the Alliance for Progress program

In March 1961, US president John F. Kennedy announced the Alliance for Progress program as “a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose”² to promote economic growth and political reform in Latin America. In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, the program promoted US values with the belief that capitalism can be universally applied to foster economic growth.

1966: Completion of Cidade de Deus, City of God

As part of the Alliance for Progress, Brazilian municipal housing agency COHAB received almost \$4.5 million in loans to construct several housing complexes on Rio’s peripheries.³ One of these was Cidade de Deus, giving home to more than 3000 families relocated from 23 favelas (illegal squatting in Brazilian cities). Identical tiny houses arranged in neat rows like in American suburbs and identical five-story apartments were cheaply built, providing the bare minimum. As a standardized mass housing solution, its origin traces back to

CIAM’s Charta of Athens, as a means of teaching the urban poor to form new habits of hygiene and health. Under the umbrella of the modernist ideal is nevertheless a marriage between government’s ambition for economic status and speculators’ desire for central land occupied by favelas. Instead of facing urban poverty as a reality, the agenda was to create a new middle class out of low-income groups while modernizing society as a whole.⁴

2003: Worldwide release of film “City of God”

The popular hit film stereotyped Cidade de Deus as a no-go area – a ghetto, where its inhabitants are trapped between violent crime and corrupted police. Set between the end of 1960s and the beginning of 1980s, the film showed how the purified modern settlement grew over the years into a neo-favela; how a capitalist dream faded into criminality and social decay.

2009: Pacification of Cidade de Deus

As part of the community-policing model UPP (the Police Pacification Units), police presence was increased in Rio’s various favelas to combat crime and ensure safety, arguably as preparation for the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. In Cidade de Deus, as police officers moved in and drug traffickers were driven out, murder rate was reported to have fallen from 36 in 2008 to 5 in 2012.⁵

2011: Introduction of a local currency in Cidade de Deus

Pacification brought about an immediate increase of property value⁶, which

“Was als ein Problem gilt – die Favela –, liefert sehr spezifische Lösungen für die Frage des Massenwohnungsbaus, während das, was man gemeinhin als Lösung betrachtet – der staatlich geförderte Massenwohnungsbau –, das wahre Problem der Stadtentwicklung ist.”

John F.C. Turner, 1968¹

Die Entwicklungsstadien einer falschen Vorstellung von Sozialem Wohnungsbau

1961: Verkündung des Programms der “Allianz für den Fortschritt”

Im März 1961 verkündete US-Präsident John F. Kennedy das Programm der “Allianz für den Fortschritt” und bezeichnete es als “einen gewaltigen, gemeinsamen Versuch, der an Größe und Erhabenheit seiner Zielsetzung nicht seinesgleichen hat”²; dabei bezog er sich auf die Förderung des Wirtschaftswachstums und der Demokratisierung in Lateinamerika. Angesichts der Kubanischen Revolution propagierte das Programm US-amerikanische Werte in der Überzeugung, der Kapitalismus sei das ideale Instrument zu einer weltweiten Förderung des Wirtschaftswachstums.

1966: Fertigstellung der Cidade de Deus

Im Rahmen der “Allianz für den Fortschritt” erhielt die städtische Wohnungsbauengesellschaft COHAB Kredite in Höhe von fast 4,5 Millionen Dollar, um eine Reihe von Wohnkomplexen an der Peripherie von Rio de Janeiro zu errichten.³ Einer dieser Komplexe war die Cidade de Deus, in der mehr als dreitausend, aus dreiundzwanzig Favelas (illegal errichtete Barackensiedlungen

in brasilianischen Städten) stammende Familien untergebracht wurden. Identische, wie in amerikanischen Vororten in ordentlichen Reihen angeordnete Häuschen und identische fünfstöckige Wohngebäude wurden in Billigbauweise aus dem Boden gestampft; in Sachen Komfort erfüllten diese nicht mehr als die Mindestanforderungen. Die Ursprünge dieser standardisierten Lösung für das Problem des Massenwohnungsbaus gingen auf die vom CIAM formulierte Charta von Athen zurück, und das Ziel bestand darin, hygienischere und gesündere Wohnbedingungen für die arme Stadtbevölkerung zu schaffen. Unter dem Schirm der Ideale der Moderne kam es indes zu einem Pakt zwischen Regierung und Spekulanten, mit dem Erstere den ökonomischen Status erhöhen und Letztere sich den innerhalb der Stadt gelegenen, von Favelas besetzten Grund und Boden unter den Nagel reißen wollten. Anstatt die städtische Armut als eine Realität zu betrachten, bestand die Agenda darin, aus Bevölkerungsschichten mit niedrigem Einkommen eine neue Mittelschicht zu bilden und gleichzeitig die Gesellschaft insgesamt zu modernisieren.⁴

2003: Weltweiter Kinostart des Films “City of God”

Dieser Erfolgsfilm porträtierte die Cidade de Deus als eine No-go-Area, als ein Ghetto, dessen Bewohner ihr Leben in einem Sumpf aus Gewaltverbrechen und Polizeikorruption fristeten. Der zwischen dem Ende der 1960er und dem Beginn der 1980er Jahre spielende Film zeigte, wie sich die saubere, moderne Wohnsiedlung im Laufe der Zeit in eine neue Favela verwandelte – wie ein kapitalistischer Traum in Kriminalität und sozialem Niedergang endete.

might lead to gentrification or property trade. To build resistance against the incorporation into the market economy, a local currency was introduced to stimulate local informal commerce. The community bank also offers loans for small businesses and invests in community projects.³

2013: Publication of the book "Cidade de Deus – City of God"

In collaboration with "Something Fantastic" a research program was initiated as part of the master program "Advanced studies in Urban Design" at the ETH Zürich to study the case of Cidade de Deus. The result is a book documenting the informal practice and asserting its positive aspects. As the original houses become hardly recognizable amidst extensions; informally built kiosks, garages, gardens and workshops form a new streetscape. The harsh divisions are softened; empty spaces are filled; daily social interactions are enabled.

2032:....?

Brazil pledges to cut carbon emissions by 37% by 2025.⁷ The building sector accounts for around 44% of its overall energy consumption. Meanwhile three million new homes are to be built in seven years to resolve the housing deficit, according to the 2009 program "Minha Casa, Minha Vida". Instead of giving favelas the due credit and assistance, Brazil is building more low-den-

sity, mono-functional and car-reliant settlements, which would further offset an urban problem to a larger urban footprint and create a new generation of suburban ghettos.⁸

On the contrary, by seeing favelas as a starting point for a model of incremental urban growth, authors of the book "Cidade de Deus – City of God" envision "a marvelous city 2032". To achieve that, archipelago structures are designed as top-down stimulators to hold public functions; while bottom-up and do-it-yourself construction is assisted by a catalogue of patterns so that inhabitants could gradually upgrade their own homes.

The future of our planet lies in our vision of urbanity. A compact city is one solution; the compactness, self-organization, and diversity of favelas provide surprising inspirations.⁹ One might say that the marvelous city 2032 is optimistic and not aesthetically pleasing to everyone, but what if this is the only way left?

All images are from the book Cidade de Deus – City of God Marc Angéilil & Rainer Hehl (Eds.), in collaboration with Something Fantastic (Leonard Streich, Elena Schütz und Julian Schubert) Berlin 2013, Ruby Press. ISBN: 978-3-944074-02-3

2009: Pazifizierung der Cidade de Deus

Im Rahmen des polizeilichen Gemeindeüberwachungs-Modells UPP (die Abkürzung steht für die polizeilichen Pazifizierungs-Einheiten) wurde die Polizeipräsenz in Rios diversen Favelas erhöht, um die Kriminalität zu bekämpfen und um für mehr Sicherheit zu sorgen, wohl in Vorbereitung auf die Olympischen Sommerspiele von 2016. Nachdem die Polizeibeamten in die Cidade de Deus eingezogen und die Drogenhändler von dort vertrieben worden waren, soll die Zahl der jährlichen Mordfälle von sechsunddreißig im Jahr 2008 auf fünf im Jahr 2012 gesunken sein.⁵

2011: Einführung einer lokalen Währung für die Cidade de Deus

Eine Folge der Pazifizierung war der sofortige Anstieg der Grundstückspreise⁶, eine Entwicklung, die Gentrifizierung und Immobilienspekulation Vorschub leistet. Um sich nicht völlig von der Marktwirtschaft vereinnahmen zu lassen, wurde eine lokale Währung eingeführt, die den informellen örtlichen Handelsverkehr stimulieren soll. Die Gemeindebank vergibt nicht nur Darlehen an Kleinunternehmer, sondern investiert auch in Gemeindeprojekte.³

2013: Veröffentlichung des Buchs "Cidade de Deus – City of God"

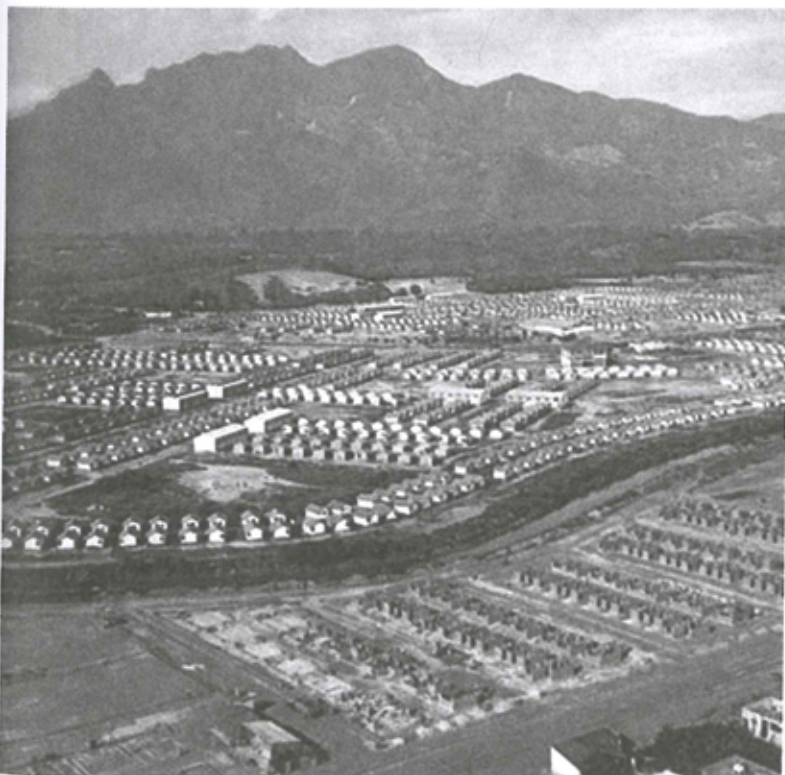
Gemeinsam mit "Something Fantastic" fand im Rahmen des Masterstudiengangs "Advanced Studies in Urban Design" an der ETH Zürich ein Forschungsprogramm zur Untersuchung des Falls der Cidade de Deus statt. Daraus resultierte ein Buch, das die informellen Praktiken der Favela-Bewohner dokumentiert und deren positive Aspekte herausarbeitet. Während die ursprünglichen Häuser wegen ihrer Anbauten kaum noch zu erkennen sind, bilden informell errichtete Kioske, Garagen, Gärten und Werkstätten eine neue Straßenlandschaft. Die strengen Aufteilungen werden gemildert; leere Räume werden gefüllt; tägliche soziale Interaktionen werden ermöglicht.

2032:....?

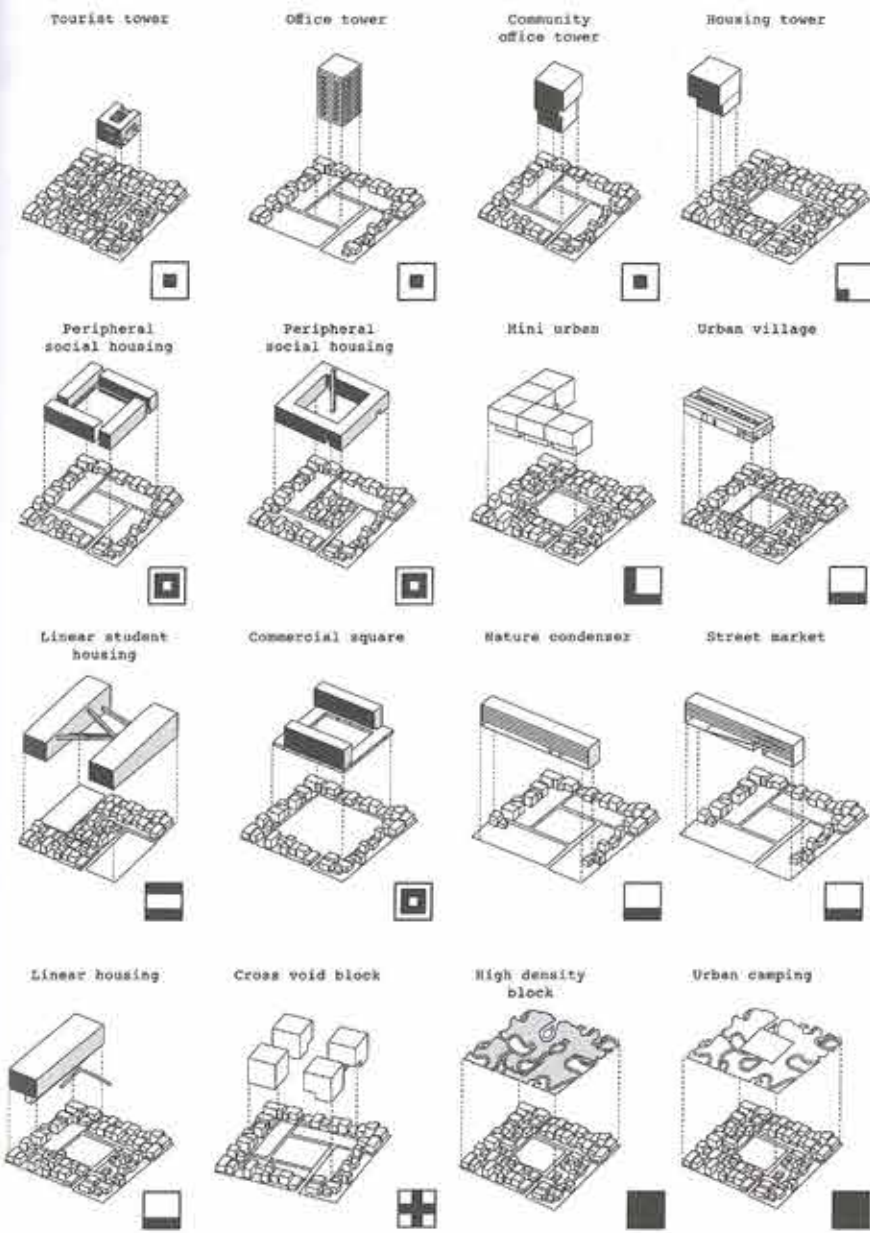
Brasilien hat sich verpflichtet, seine Kohlendioxidemissionen bis zum Jahr 2025 um 37 % zu verringern.⁷ Der Bausektor ist für etwa 44 % des brasilianischen Energieverbrauchs verantwortlich. Laut dem 2009 verabschiedeten Programm "Minha Casa, Minha Vida" sollen in sieben Jahren drei Millionen neue Wohnungen gebaut werden, um den Wohnungsmangel zu beheben. Anstatt den Favelas die ihnen gebührende finanzielle Hilfe und anderweitige Unterstützung zukommen zu lassen, baut Brasilien noch mehr monofunktionale, auf privaten Autoverkehr angewiesene Wohnsiedlungen mit niedriger Bebauungsdichte, eine Entwicklung, die womöglich zu einem zusätzlichen urbanen Problem, einem größeren städtischen Fußabdruck, führt und eine neue Generation von vorstädtischen Ghettos schaffen könnte.⁸

Im Gegensatz dazu stellen sich die Autoren des Buchs "Cidade de Deus – City of Good" eine "herrliche Stadt 2032" vor und betrachten die Favelas als Ausgangspunkt für ein schrittweises städtisches Wachstum. Um das zu erreichen, werden, als "top-down"-Stimulatoren, insulare, einen Archipel bildende Gebäude entworfen, die öffentliche Funktionen beherbergen sollen. Das "bottom-up"- und "Do-it-yourself"-Bauen wird durch einen Musterkatalog unterstützt, sodass die Bewohner ihre eigenen Häuser und Wohnungen nach und nach verbessern können.

Die Zukunft unseres Planeten hängt von unserem Verständnis von Stadt ab. Eine kompakte Stadt wäre eine Lösung; die Kompaktheit, die Selbstorganisation und die bunte Vielfalt der Favelas sorgen für überraschende Inspirationen.⁹ Man könnte sagen, die "herrliche Stadt 2032" sei zu optimistisch und nicht nach jedermanns Geschmack, doch womöglich ist sie die einzige uns noch verbliebene Möglichkeit. Text: Zhen Zhang

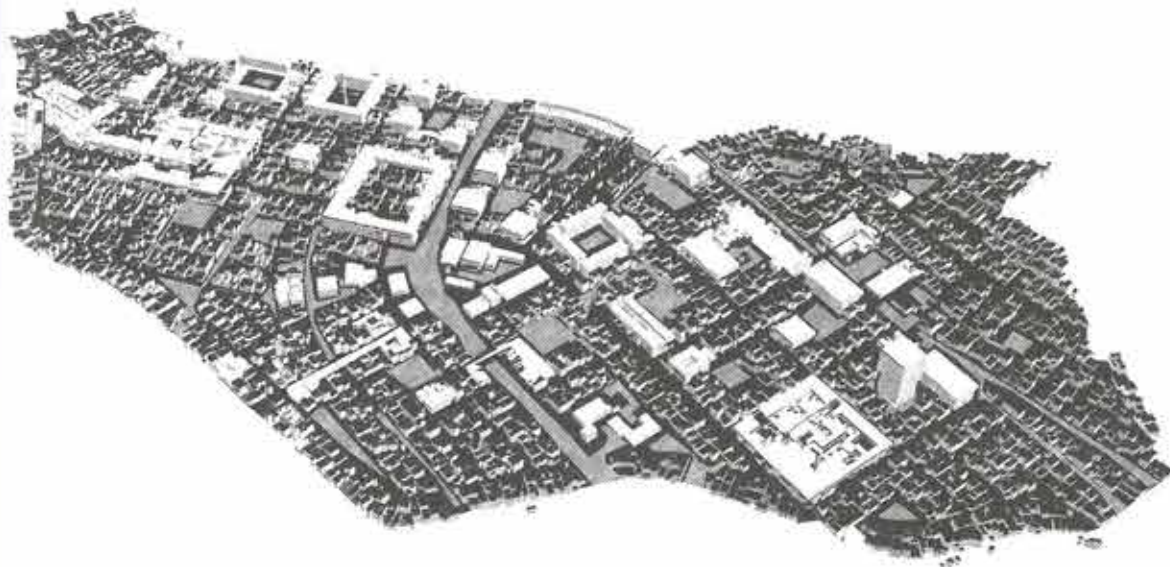
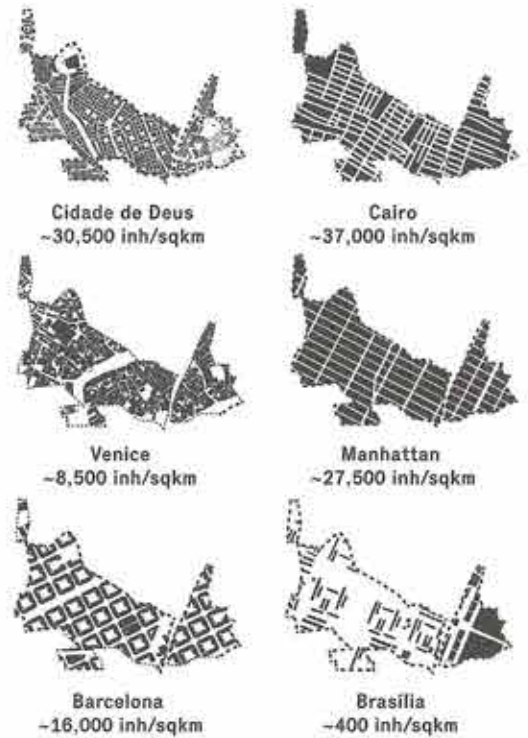


1966: Aerial image of Cidade de Deus. Constructed on the periphery of Rio de Janeiro, the housing project was cut off from both public transportation and amenities.



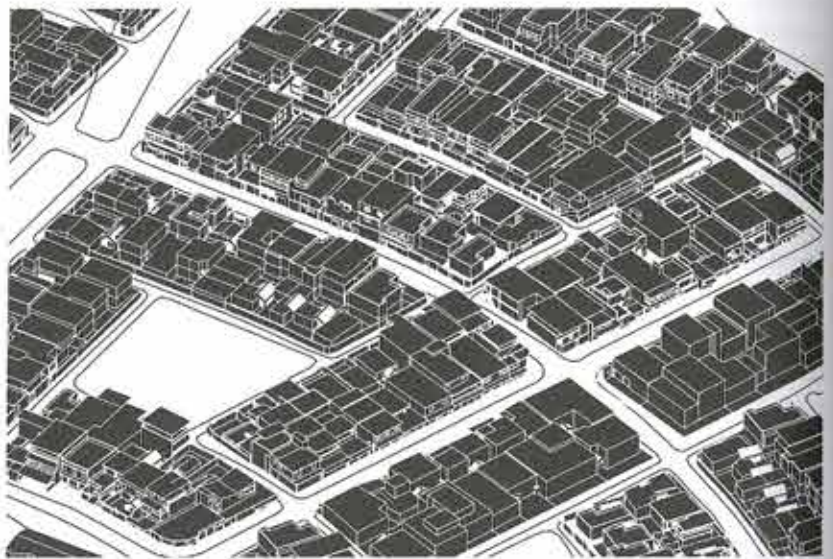
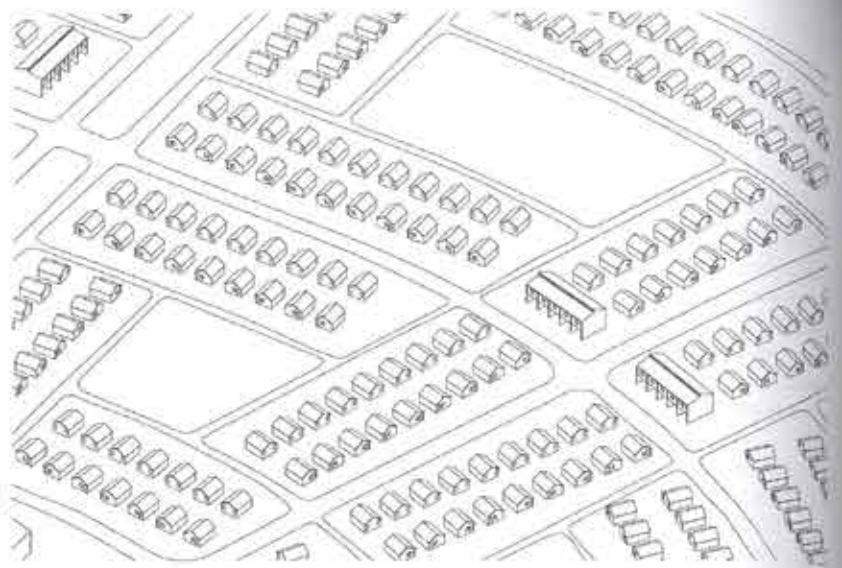
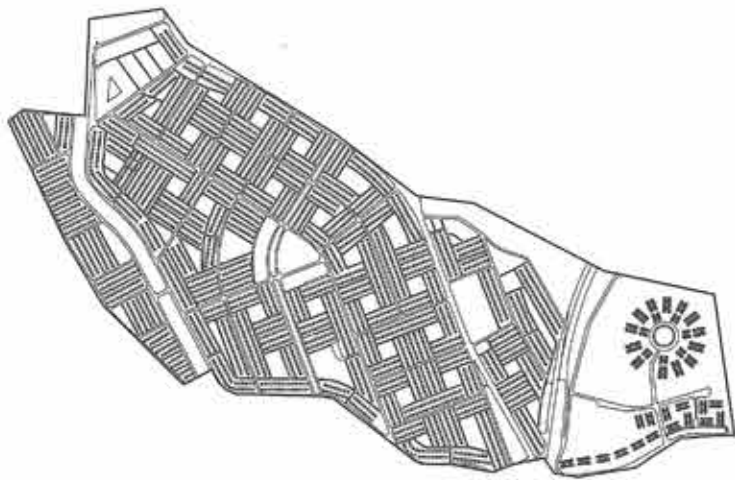
left
Each layer is developed into an architectural design that defines the buildings' volume. The starting point of each prototype is the design of its open spaces.

right
CDD's population density compared to other city centers. Note that CDD's population density is greater than that of Manhattan.



left
Introducing layers into the existing fabric is better suited to the area's informalization processes. Additional layers are not forced upon the area as organizational structure but as catalysts that encourage user-driven development. The sedimented city is formed by constantly updating existing structures with new programs, technologies, and building fragments.

following page
The following page includes a selection of posters that were displayed in Cidade de Deus and in an exhibition at Studio-X, Rio de Janeiro, to communicate to locals MAS's views and ideas on informal urbanization. The posters assemble existing and future inventions to create a pool for sharing and exchanging knowledge. Operating on various scales, these ideas hold the potential of further developing Cidade de Deus into an exemplary model of a marvelous city in 2032, which is inspired by CDD but also points beyond it.

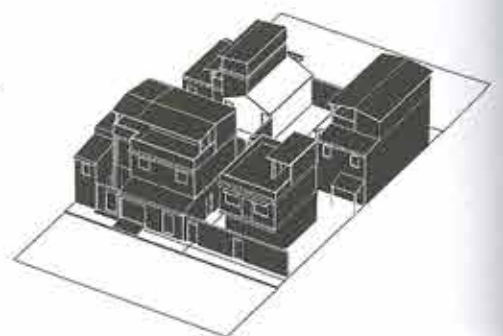
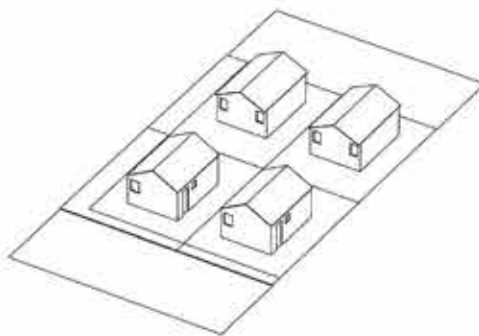


top left
1966: Cidade de Deus' first layout

top right
Like American suburbs, multiple similar houses were arranged in neat rows and blocks surrounding an open field.

middle left
2012: Informal growth has inverted the relationship between figure and ground.

middle right
The original houses are hardly recognizable amidst the informally built extensions.



bottom
How was the transformation taking place between 1966 and 2012? The history of four lots explains how houses in CDD are gradually transformed over time. First, lots were enclosed by walls and fences and extensions were added to the ground floor. Further steps saw the construction of additional floors. In most cases, the original house was entirely replaced.

CIDADE DE DEUS!

A marvelous city is a great place—to live, to work, to learn, to love. A marvelous city is safe, children can play outside, shops are never far, and you can rely on your neighbor. It is compact, lively, and welcoming to strangers. It provides facilities, schools, community spaces, and sport fields for everyone, and gratis. A marvelous city is democratic, fair, and inclusive; everybody is free and everybody feels part of the city, because everybody is the city. Collective needs and individual wishes are perfectly balanced. Nature is everywhere and everything is natural in a marvelous city. The architecture of a marvelous city is simple, smart, and beautiful; it adapts to the needs and possibilities of its inhabitants. A marvelous city is one among other marvelous cities, all with their own identities and singularities. Cidade de Deus is the Marvelous City 2032.



The 2032 Marvelous City Award goes to:

CIDADE DE DEUS!

26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 13: A Estrutura-Estante

Se não são necessários os níveis, não há necessidade de elevadores.

As áreas de circulação são mais amplas e confortáveis, com mais luz natural e ventilação.

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Destaque No 11: Moeda Local

Se a moeda é usada para comprar, ela também pode ser usada para pagar.

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26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 18: Telha Reflectora

Refletor a Telha, a Telha Reflectora, que faz com que a telha reflita a luz solar, reduzindo a temperatura da casa.

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26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 21: Iluminação Portátil

Se a luz é portátil, ela pode ser usada em qualquer lugar.

Se a luz é portátil, ela pode ser usada em qualquer lugar.

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26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 19: Grade Noite & Dia

Grade à noite, para bloquear a luz e reduzir a temperatura da casa.

Grade à noite, para bloquear a luz e reduzir a temperatura da casa.

Grade à noite, para bloquear a luz e reduzir a temperatura da casa.



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CIDADE DE DEUS!

26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 2: Casa Multifamiliar

Se a casa é multifamiliar, ela pode ser usada por várias pessoas.

Se a casa é multifamiliar, ela pode ser usada por várias pessoas.

Se a casa é multifamiliar, ela pode ser usada por várias pessoas.



The 2032 Marvelous City Award goes to:

CIDADE DE DEUS!

26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 15: Super Bancada Dupla

Se a bancada é dupla, ela pode ser usada por duas pessoas.

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The 2032 Marvelous City Award goes to:

CIDADE DE DEUS!

26 Destaques que fazem uma cidade melhor!

Destaque No 26: Geladeira móvel para Camelôs

Se a geladeira é móvel, ela pode ser usada em qualquer lugar.

Se a geladeira é móvel, ela pode ser usada em qualquer lugar.

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