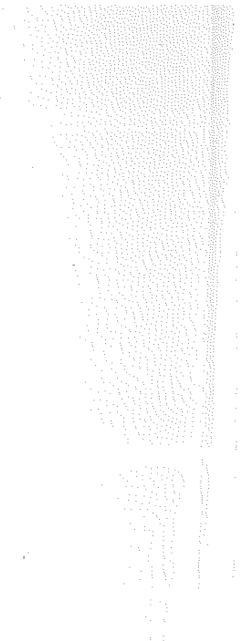
Muros de ar



la Biennale di Venezia

16. Mostra Internazionale di Architettura

Partecipazioni Nazionali

support

THE HADDAD FOUNDATION Tereos

realization

bienal são paulo FUNDAÇÃO NACIONAL DE ARTES funarte AMBASCIATA DEL BRASILE MINISTÉRIO DA CULTURA MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES BRASIL GOVERNO FEDERAL

Walls of air

1. Crossbreedings: Brazilian architects abroad

32 **INTRODUCTION**
34 Nicolás Robbio
STATEMENTS
36 Brazilian architects abroad
INTERVIEW
42 Claudio Haddad
ESSAYS
48 **Eduardo Aquino**
Aquilá (HereThere): the making of another map
58 **Ana Luiza Nobre**
The houses of Brazilians: architectural, migratory and symbolic flows between Brazil and Portugal

2. Human flows: the dilution of barriers through cultural assimilation

72 **INTRODUCTION**
74 Rivane Neuenschwander
INTERVIEW
84 Carla and Eliane Caffé
STATEMENTS
88 A reflection on the 9 de Julho Occupation, in São Paulo
ESSAYS
92 **Ana Carolina Tonetti and Ligia Nobre**
Counter-conducts: politics of architecture and contemporary slavery
100 **Paula Miraglia, Gabriel Zanlorenssi and Rodolfo Almeida**
Immigration to Brazil in seven graphs

3. Material flows: physical imprint of commodities exchange

110 **INTRODUCTION**
112 Melanie Smith
114 Cassio Vasconcellos
INTERVIEW
116 Sérgio Besserman
ESSAY
122 **Philip Yang and Marcela Ferreira**
Cities and the trail of commodities

4. Fluid landscape: encounter between human and natural ecosystems

130 **INTRODUCTION**
132 Carolina Caycedo
136 Helena Wolfenson and Aline Lata
INTERVIEW
142 Antonio Donato Nobre
ESSAYS
148 **Paulo Tavares**
The floods, the droughts
154 **Álvaro Rodrigues dos Santos**
Architecture, urbanism and geology: an indispensable combination

5. The map is not the territory: a retraced border

166 **INTRODUCTION**
168 Runo Lagomarsino
172 Paulo Nazareth
INTERVIEW
174 Ailton Krenak
ESSAYS
180 **Gabriel Duarte**
The horizon is just the beginning: borders, cities and identities
190 **Celma Chaves Pont Vidal**
The multiple Amazon and the meanings of frontier

6. Succession of edges: narratives on the building of an urban country

202 **INTRODUCTION**
204 Jonathas de Andrade
INTERVIEWS
208 Luiz Felipe de Alencastro
212 Antonio Risério
ESSAY
218 **Iris Kantor**
Imaginary lines, walls and mobility: continental borders in the Luso-Brazilian cartography

7. Geography of the real estate market: controversies between the agenda of capital and that of architecture

228 **INTRODUCTION**
230 Renata Lucas
236 Bárbara Wagner and Benjamin de Burca
238 Mauro Restiffe
INTERVIEW
244 Claudio Bernardes
ESSAYS
250 **Danilo Igliori and Sergio Castelani**
Space and market: a reflection on the real estate geography and economy of cities
256 **Eudoxios Anastassiadis**
Time for us to tear down this wall

8. Inhabiting the house or the city? the impact of the Minha Casa Minha Vida housing program

266 **INTRODUCTION**
268 Tuca Vieira
270 Carol Quintanilha
INTERVIEW
278 Drauzio Varella
ESSAYS
284 **Elisabete França**
Ways of living in the 21st century: my home is my city
292 **Raquel Rolnik**
The urban invisibles and the walls that confine them
298 **Marc Angélil and Rainer Hehl**
Minha casa, nossa cidade: on the micropolitical transformation of housing provision in Brazil

9. Solid divisions: borders within the city

308 **INTRODUCTION**
310 Antoni Muntadas
312 Pedro Victor Brandão
INTERVIEW
318 Gilson Rodrigues
ESSAYS
324 **Marcos L. Rosa**
Contesting urban borders: cultural practices, design and the construction of urban situations
330 **Rodrigo Agostinho**
Bridging and breaking down barriers
338 **Bruno Santa Cecília**
Building free spaces
346 **GRU.A + OCO**
Cutting, filling and boring

10. The encryption of power: disobedience and exclusion in the city

360 **INTRODUCTION**
362 Ivan Padovani
368 Pablo López Luz
INTERVIEWS
372 Cripta Djan
376 Kenarik Boujikian
ESSAYS
382 **Paulo Orenstein**
The probabilities in pixo
392 **Victor Carvalho Pinto**
The city and the law: the role of law in the recovery of lost urbanity

398 **NSDC installation outside the Brazilian Pavilion**
Atelier Marko Brajovic

402 **The edges of objects**
Selected projects from the open call

444 Bibliography and image credits
454 General credits

Minha casa, nossa cidade: on the micropolitical transformation of housing provision in Brazil

Marc Angélil, Rainer Hehl

MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA

With the slogan "My House My Life" the Brazilian federal government launched in 2009 one of the world's largest social housing programs—Minha Casa Minha Vida was introduced, on the one hand, to address the housing shortage most acute for low-income families, and on the other, as an anti-cyclical policy in the climate of international financial crisis. Though the program has been successful in terms of quantitative output and has been instrumental in staving off the deep impact of the 2008 global financial crisis on the Brazilian economy, the spatial quality and social equity engendered by resulting housing developments are widely perceived to have fallen short.

The ambitious project stands for the contradictions between economic performance and social agendas and illustrates how urban resilience and the sustainable development of cities can only be achieved through the integration of micro-political movements. Most of the 3.64 million units (IBGE, November 2017) that have been delivered since the program was started were developed top-down by state institutions and large-scale construction companies without consideration of specific local needs, resulting in mono-functional commuter settlements that were poorly built on the basis of standardized models.

Consequently Minha Casa Minha Vida schemes have been implemented throughout the whole country in a generic way without considering urban services and in remote locations where land is cheap. Even though the goal to turn low-income populations into homeowners significantly reduced the housing shortage in Brazil, Minha Casa Minha Vida ultimately fostered urban fragmentation and social divide. The promise to change the life of Brazilians by giving them a house neglected the fact that houses inevitably constitute cities and the way we organize social relations and collective life. What is more, the case of the program also shows in an exemplary way how housing provision is instrumentalized by macro-political players in order to prioritize individual interests and undermine micro-political movements.

As a matter of fact, the micro-political dimension of housing production is of particular significance as it concerns the private home, the most intimate place for the production of subjectivity. But, at the same time, the individual housing unit is also constitutive for the public sphere reflecting macro-political conditions. The housing question therefore always has to be approached from two angles—from the top-down perspective of governmental institutions and policies as well as from bottom-up appropriation and popular production. In Brazil, the dichotomy of micro- and macro-politics is most explicit in the contrast between the self-produced living environment of the favela and the standardized units of state-led housing programs. Whereas popular production mirrors the aspirations and negotiations of the people on the ground, large-scale housing provision by the state rather follows current modalities of capital flows and corporate interests. How do these seemingly opposing models impact the production of livelihoods? How do they determine the relationship between individual and collective and how do they influence our subjectivity? How do macro-political conditions control the way we inhabit the city and how far we can conceive micro-political action as a counter project to the dominating logic of capitalist production?

The premise that the house determines the way we conceive the society as a whole is double fold. New urban realities that have been established through quantitative models in order to subordinate individuals under the logic of capitalism do not necessarily reflect the production of subjectivities by the people. An inclusive approach that would enable the co-existence of a diversity of social entities therefore would depend on intensive interactions between top-down governance and bottom-up actors. Is the proliferation of invisible walls and the urban divide due to the fact that macro- and micro-politics are disconnected?

CIDADE DE DEUS

If we look at the history of housing development in Brazil, we realize that macro-political forces and micro-political impacts have always been strongly entangled. The case of Cidade de Deus [City of God] in Rio de Janeiro is exemplary in this respect. Due to the book by Paulo Lins, a former resident of the area, and the internationally

renowned movie, the neighborhood became stigmatized as a ghetto—as a typical Brazilian favela dominated by criminal factions and social decay. In reality, Cidade de Deus did not begin as a favela at all, but was rather a new town modeled as proto-suburb and built in the mid-1960s on the western periphery of Rio, more or less in the same way as the Minha Casa Minha Vida schemes would be developed half a century later.

The model for the settlement originated in the United States and was brought to Brazil under the Alliance for Progress, a program introduced by President John F. Kennedy in 1961 to establish economic cooperation between the US and Latin American countries. There was a geopolitical objective here, not least of which was to stem the tide of Communism in the region and promote political and economic reform across the continent. The program promoted the spread of capitalism by encouraging homeownership and providing decent living conditions as a means of boosting the middle-class, an agenda identified by historian Gerald Haines as the "Americanization of Brazil".[1] The neighborhood was conceived to accommodate roughly 10,000 people, manifesting a formal solution to remove favela dwellers from the city center and concentrate the poor in a remote location requiring long commutes to places of work downtown.

To house those displaced, two standard models were brought in, the typical free-standing, one-story, single-family house stamped out side by side, and five-story, walk-up apartment blocks, or conjuntos, with 35-square meter units. Over time, more and more settlers moved in and ongoing urban to rural migration further exacerbated the dilemma of an already overcrowded Cidade de Deus. Illegal building activities soon ensued to make room for those displaced, setting off an explosion of unregulated, ad hoc solutions to expand on existing building types. In-between spaces were filled, porches added, impromptu stores and workshops inserted, and extra floors built on top of original houses, all of which gradually created an ingenious bricolage of auto-construction that basically removed the gloss of modernist planning to reassert the popular culture of the informal.

Cidade de Deus degenerated into a crime- and drug-ridden hellhole in the 1980s after the fall of the military regime, becoming a full-fledged favela run by an alliance of organized crime and corrupt police. In response to the spiral of criminal action that was haunting the place, a solution was sought in the late 2000s by deploying special police units formed to pacify the troubled community and win over residents traumatized by decades of violence: the Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora [Peacekeeping Police Unit - UPP]. The tactic worked and produced during a certain time a popular neighborhood that in turn offered a potential model of self-empowerment and urban rehabilitation. But, according to recent reports, the transformation of Cidade de Deus into a peaceful precinct was short-lived. Due to budget cuts and the weakening of the UPP, the neighborhood is gradually sliding back into its previous conditions.

1. See Gerald K. Haines, *Americanization of Brazil: A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World*, 1945-1954. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997.

DÉJÀ-VU?

It seems like *déjà-vu* when it comes to the comparison between the history of Cidade de Deus and those of the Minha Casa Minha Vida settlements. Laid out in a similar manner, either with suburban single-family houses, or 5 story condominiums, most of the newly built settlements have already started to degenerate after only a couple of years. It is also striking to see how the program was equally fueled by foreign capital in order to boost investment and produce an emerging consumer middle-class for the expansion of the capitalist market. Are we now witnessing the repetition of the Cidade de Deus debacle multiplied by millions of units and distributed nationwide?

The comparison might not match all the various manifestations of Minha Casa Minha Vida settlements that have recently been built on the outskirts of the Brazilian cities. But a closer look between the political conditions back then and now actually reveals another uncanny resemblance. Whereas the implementation of mass housing schemes in the periphery of the cities in the 1960s has to be read in the context of the coup d'État by the military and the installment of an oppressive regime, we are now facing another kind of take-over by the elites of industrial and financial capital, which largely outpaces the scale and the impact of corporate power relations. What is striking is not only the quantity of the ongoing production of mass housing compared to the output half a century before, but also the way in which power is exercised and consolidated, following now perfidious strategies that go far beyond the direct and violent oppression characteristic of the dictatorship during the military regime. With the installment of Michel Temer as president after the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, the political agenda was radically geared towards the interests of large scale market players and international investment capital. While an alliance between corrupt politicians, jurists, the financial elite and the media is cementing their power by changing the Constitution and removing opposition politicians through dubious scandals and criminal investigations, social agendas and democratic institutions are systematically dismantled.

The turn toward an autocratic system that just follows corporate interests is not only undoing the achievements stemming from decades of bottom-up mobilizations and

social struggles. According to psychoanalyst and culture critic Suely Rolnik, the new strategy of the financial elite also consists in directly influencing and manipulating the way subjectivity is produced.

> While (in the wake of the second phase of the coup d'État) the macro-political operation of dismantling the Constitution and the national economy is intensifying, the micro-political operation of production of subjectivities by manipulating the desires of the people is also intensifying. With this double-fold operation of two facets that cannot be dissociated, another third and ultimate phase of the coup d'État is about to be prepared: the complete takeover of political and economic power by globalized capitalism."[2]

2. Rolnik, Suely, *A nova modalidade de golpe de Estado: Um seriado em três temporadas*. Avaiable at www.outraspalavras.net/brasil/666381. Accessed on March 16, 2018. Translation by the author.

It is not surprising that the standardized units of Minha Casa Minha Vida are matching the housing types as they were developed in the early phase of mass housing in Brazil. Conceived as a tool to promote and consolidate capitalist production, housing provision was ultimately established in order to direct and control the reproduction of life itself. It is also clear that this strategy is far from aligning with the goal of producing sustainable and equitable urban environments.

While the outlook for a change in dominating macro-political constellations seems hopeless at the moment, the focus on micro-political transformation might be more promising. With the mobilization of bottom-up strategies and civic engagement the people themselves can again take control over the way their livelihoods are produced. But, as the case of Cidade de Deus also illustrates, if popular production takes over and appropriates standardized models provided by the market, it still remains uncertain whether informality and popular appropriation can lead to more inclusive and sustainable environments. What sort of micro-political counter-model, would truly allow the production of sustainable and equitable cities?

TOWARD COOPERATIVE PRACTICE

It seems ironic that the same program that was producing urban fragmentation and a social divide also bears a potential solution for the dilemma of standardized social housing provision dominated by market interests. As Minha Casa Minha Vida was introduced under the leftist government of President Lula da Silva, it also factored in the promotion of self-management and auto-construction by communities and non-governmental organizations. The idea to create a special branch of the program dedicated to self-organizing entities was based on the *mutirão* [joint effort] model developed by the municipal government of São Paulo under mayor Luisa Erundina between 1989 and 1992. With the introduction of public housing policies that encouraged cooperative development, assisted auto-construction cooperative associations were given autonomy in the management, financing and design of the project, which also led to an increase of operating entities and offices for technical assistance. The experience of the Municipality of São Paulo triggered similar housing developments in other cities, and subsequently, the State Government of São Paulo established guidelines and state regulations for the promotion of housing cooperatives. Accordingly, knowledge gained in São Paulo left its mark on federal programs, such as the Crédito Solidário [Solidarity Credit] initiative introduced in 2005, and finally within the framework of the Minha Casa Minha Vida program.

Even though only 5% of the overall budget was dedicated to Minha Casa Minha Vida – Entidades [Entities], it enabled local organizations to build-up capacities for housing models that are adapted to the needs of the inhabitants and to the specific conditions of the local context. The Entidades program is standing for the attempt to integrate bottom-up organization within the framework of top-down institutional practice and it can be considered a first step towards inclusive housing provision empowering micro-political mobilization within the macro-political scale.

There still might be a long way to go until cooperative and participative practice will be considered an integral component of sustainable urban development. While dominating macro-political power constellations are increasingly threatening the production of inclusive and equitable cities, the lesson from the social housing history in Brazil shows us that the next urban revolution will depend on cooperation and micro-political empowerment.

Marc Angélil (Alexandria, Egypt, 1954) is Professor at the Department of Architecture of ETH Zurich. His research focuses on social and spatial developments of large metropolitan regions world wide. He is the author or editor of several books, including Cidade de Deus! on informal mass housing in Rio de Janeiro, Indizien on the political economy of contemporary urban territories, and Cities of Change Addis Ababa on urban transformation in developing countries. He practices architecture at agps, an architectural firm with ateliers in Los Angeles and Zurich. Marc Angélil is a member of the Board of the LafargeHolcim Foundation for Sustainable Construction.

Rainer Hehl (Rottweil, Germany, 1973) is an architect/urban designer and is currently guest professor at the TU Berlin and visiting professor at Yokohama National University, Graduate School of Architecture. Between 2010 and 2013 he directed the Master of Advanced Studies in Urban Design at the ETH Zürich conducting research and design projects on urban developments in emerging territories with a focus on Brazil. In addition to having lectured widely on urban informality, popular architecture, and hybrid urbanities, Hehl was advisor for the development of new guidelines for the mass housing program Minha Casa Minha Vida. Rainer Hehl holds a PhD from the ETH, Zürich, on urbanization strategies for informal settlements, focusing on case studies in Rio de Janeiro.