

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

JCB-35 The Favelas

Prudente de Moraes 805 c/6
Ipanema, Rio de Janeiro
Brazil
March 31, 1965

Mr. Richard Nolte
Institute of Current World Affairs
366 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Nolte:

"Favela" is the name which Cariocans have applied to those areas of the city which have grown unplanned into congested rabbit-warrens holding the city's poor. The name, according to one source, has an association with the Brazilian Army campaign against the followers of Antonio Conselheiros at Canudos in the backlands of the Northeast (the story of which has been immortalized in the classic Os Sertões, The Backlands, by Euclides da Cunha). A few members of the Army who were in that expedition later came to Rio, then the capitol of Brazil, to seek assistance from the Government. They settled temporarily in hastily constructed shacks on Morro da Providencia (Providence Hill) which overlooked the Praca da Republica and the General Headquarters of the Army. Their settlement gradually became permanent and they changed the name of their hill to "Favela" remembering the thorny "favela" shrubs which covered the hills around Canudos. The name has come to be used for all the shanty towns that have sprung up around the city. These favelas today retard the city's development, over-tax her services, threaten public health and are the heartsprings of her Carnival spirit.

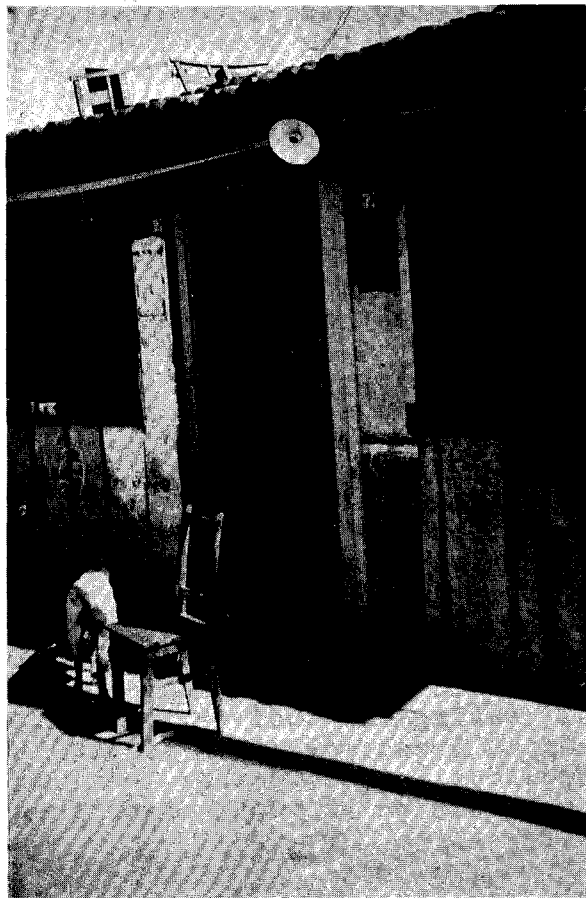
A discriminating tourist once commented that without the favelas much of Rio's picturesque character would be gone. Near us in the city's South Zone the hillside favelas take on a softness and radiance in the glow of the late afternoon sun which adds a touch of colour above the uniform apartment buildings. At night their lights blend with the heavens giving a star-like quality to the dark hills. However in the daylight, and close at hand, most of the dwellings lose their magic and become what they are: roughly constructed huts of packing cases, wooden planks, sheets of corrugated zinc, miscellaneous pieces of tin and coarse fabric. Built with no visible foundation except gravity, they have a fragil quality. Yet they are more durable than they look, perhaps because they are built so tightly together. Visiting them you either climb up and down steep hills or walk through muddy undrained passageways on the flats. During the cool days of winter, particularly on the hillsides open to fresh movements of air, the pollution doesn't seem so evident. But in hot weather the lack of toilets and the open sewage ditches take on an odour worse than that of dead fish decaying.

Very few favela homes have plumbing of any kind. Those that do are often without water. Their owners must join everyone else at the public spigots placed at random through the neighborhood. There are

always lines of favelados at each one waiting for their daily supply of water with buckets or gasoline tins cut off at the top. For those on the hillsides a day's supply may mean many trips up and down. A considerable number of homes have some source of electricity, spliced in legally or illegally from several main outlets. This wiring is exposed and casually placed.

Where do they come from, how do they grow?

Caught between the sea and the mountains, Rio expanded first to the north and south and then upwards into apartment buildings and onto the hills. With the shortage of space, costs of renting and buying continued to accelerate, held in check only by inadequate rent laws. Exacting construction requirements have made building more and more expensive. Newcomers to the city with little money and no immediate promise of work have had to squeeze into existing favelas or help to create new ones on whatever unused land they can find. Most favela land is owned by the Federal and State governments, the railway and the armed forces. It was left vacant because it was too steep, too marshy or too inaccessible for practical use. The favelados, trying to live as close as possible to their jobs or to the best market for their labour have often had no choice and have settled in areas that have spread north even into the State of Rio de Janeiro, miles from the center of town.



Typical favela bar-cafe

Built by newcomers, the favelas retain the atmosphere of small country towns. Inside them, protected from the city, the favelados have been able to keep the attitudes and customs which they brought with them from their earlier rural life. There is a small town intimacy, gossip and superstition. There are the commercial enterprises found in any small Brazilian community: barbershops, food stores, cafes, bars and the inevitable 'bicho' or numbers lottery. And they vary in character and size as do their country counterparts. Some are named for saints ("Nossa Senhora das Graças", "Santa Teresinha" some for animals ("Jacarézinho", "Pavão", "Macacos") and some for their physical characteristics ("Catacumba", "Esqueleto").

Some have been in existence for several generations, others are relatively new. Some have only a

thousand inhabitants, some are small cities with 50,000 to over 100,000 people. Some are famous for their Samba Schools which are the highlights of Rio's Carnival season; others for their danger (like "Rocinha" where 150,000 people straddle the mountain between Gavea and Tijuca and it is said "to go into it alone is never to return.") Some few have a reputation for progressiveness. In these the small town feeling has been expanded into a greater community consciousness; community councils have been formed, representatives elected and physical conditions improved through cooperative effort.

The distinctive ingredient - the favelado

Favelados have never been accurately counted but they number at least over one million, perhaps as high as 1,300,000. It is estimated that they have increased by over half a million since 1950. In that time the population of Rio has shot up from 2,380,000 to 3,800,000 and the favelas have increased by 50% from 119 to 179. Therefore many favelados have lived in Rio for less than 15 years.

They have come from the rural areas looking for the better opportunities and conditions which the city offers. The inconveniences of the favelas are nothing new to them; in the country their homes had no toilet or sanitation facilities, water had to be drawn outside and electricity was not available. The country has few schools. Jobs are scarce except as tenant farmers or hired hands under the authoritarian control of plantation owners and local bosses. In the favelas conditions are more congested and the resultant health hazards more devastating but there are also medical clinics, electricity, more prospects for work and a greater possibility that their children can go to school. There is also the excitement and amusement which only a city can offer.

They represent all races although the darker skin predominates. They are not only Catholic; the Afro-Christian "macumba" sects flourish and there are some Protestants. They are not all hoodlums (as a great many people here seem to think). A few have fairly adequate incomes but have found it impossible to live on them outside. They have contented themselves with building better homes within the favela community.

Because there is a lack of police protection within the favelas, they are sometimes used as havens from the law. Yet some 15 women Peace Corps Volunteers have lived in them for over two years with no other adverse occurrence than one purse-snatching. The favelados look after the girls as if they were part of the family. Most favelados are hard working; it is estimated that between 80% and 90% work at something. The remainder are largely invalid, sick, elderly or looking for work. Most would like to improve their way of living but don't know how to go about it. They are hampered by their environment and by their own backwardness.

From surveys made in a number of favelas it can be estimated that about 60% of the adults are unable to read or write (compared to a national average of 45%). This estimate may be low because it does not include

another 20% who began but did not complete primary School. Of children 7 to 14 years old only 50% attend school (This is also the national average). Children are kept out of school because they are needed to augment the family income, because they lack the proper clothing or because of a lack of interest in education within the family.

Estimates of the salary level of favela family income groups during 1964 indicate that about 40% earned up to the minimum salary of C\$42,000 a month (slightly more than \$25.00 when figured at the conservative exchange rate of C\$1600 equals \$1.00), another 40% earned up to twice the minimum and 12% up to three times the minimum. 8% earned an average of C\$200,000 or about \$120.

A survey taken last year helps to put these earnings into the more realistic perspective of Rio's rising cost of living. It figured that the daily minimum cost of food for an adequate diet (3500 calories per day as recommended by FAO) would be C\$3,500 for a family of five, or about C\$105,00 a month. This was based on prices in July and food costs have continued to rise since then from 5% to 8% a month. When the survey was made, 39.2% of the families in greater Rio were classified as "very poor" earning up to C\$82,000 a month. In this category you would find some 80% of the favela families. The next highest grouping, "poor", included 30% of Rio's families earning up to C\$150,000 a month. The average earnings of the families in these two categories came to less than the C\$105,000, meaning that well over 60% of the citizens of Rio are lacking the means of getting a sufficient diet. And 90% of these are favelados.

This was also substantiated by the findings of a Guanabara health-education team who studied mainly favela children, ages 6 and 7, attending five different schools. They discovered that 95% needed medical and/or nutritional attention. 88% had low protein blood indicative of malnutrition. 80% had anemia, 78% had infections in their throats, tonsils or teeth, 77% had worms, 80% were underweight, 57% had visual defects. It is not surprising to discover that their average life expectancy is 45.

And so the favelados remain imprisoned in the kind of life they now live. With little or no formal education they can garner only the lowest-paying jobs. Their insufficient diet and poor health make their work capacity low and their learning ability inadequate. These in turn limit their participation in the increasingly technical urban kind of life around them. Their contact with police and officialdom has often been an unhappy one, perhaps because of ignorance and prejudice on both sides, and this has not helped to develop trust and respect for law or for others. They are as distrustful of outsiders as outsiders are of them.

Thus, cut off from any significant contact with the rest of the city, economically and culturally, many favelados have withdrawn further into the insular security offered by their respective communities. The howls of protest and obstructive action produced when a favela is torn down

and its occupants moved to "better housing" indicates how much more complex the favela problem really is. Solutions must be found which will do more than improve the lot of the individual favelado; the favela as a whole must be taken into consideration so that in time it can become an integral neighborhood of the city itself. Realization of this has slowly been accepted and today favela rejuvenation projects have been started with an attempt to stimulate the favela-community protectiveness into community concern for self-help.

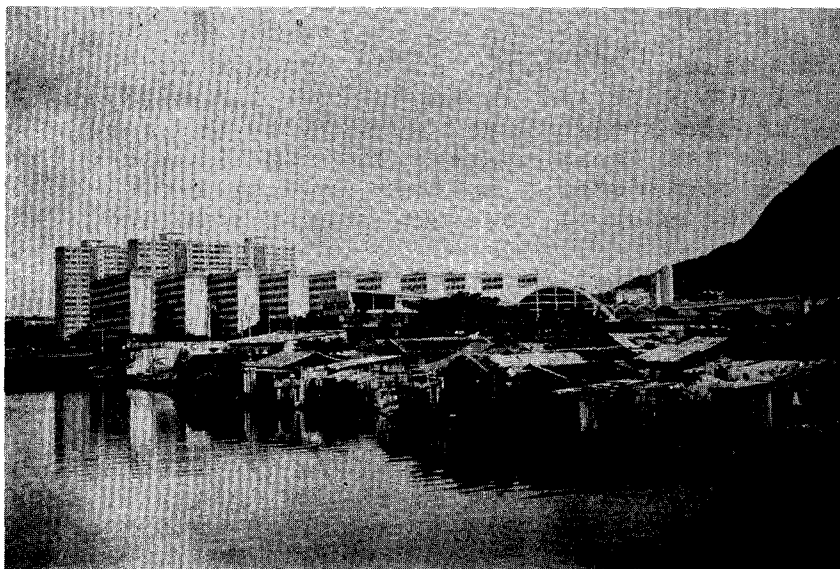
A drop in the bucket - encouraging efforts but not enough

Recently a number of significant efforts have been launched by both private groups and the State to improve opportunities for education, housing, jobs and health in the favelas. Compared to the past when little or nothing was done in these areas the present ventures are commendable. Compared to the size of the problem they are equally feeble and pretentious. Their biggest value may be that hopefully they will point the way for greater and more concerted effort.

Housing

One of the first major housing projects was launched in 1957 by the Cruzada de São Sebastião under the inspiration of Dom Helder Camara, then Catholic Archbishop of Rio. This project consisted of apartments built in the South Zone to help the favelados crowded into the Praia do Pinto on the edge of the Lagoa in fashionable Leblon. Ten apartment blocks were built, each with seven floors and twelve apartments on each floor. They were supplied with lights, water, internal plumbing

as well as with a janitor for each floor. While no playground was created for the children the ground floor was left open for recreation. There were no elevators since it was considered that a walk of seven floors was no more than most favelados would have on the hillsides of Rio. The rents ranged from 8 to 15% of the official minimum salary depending on the size of the apartment. After 15 years the tenant will get legal title to his own apartment. Most of the rent money goes toward



Praia do Pinto favela with the São Sebastião Apartments in the background. The modern building in the center is one of Rio's exclusive clubs

the upkeep of the building, salaries of the maintenance staff and the cost of repairs.

These buildings could be a practical answer to the lack of land within the city on which to build low-cost housing. It was intended to point the way for other similar projects. It was also an experiment; there had been much speculation as to how favelados would take to apartment living and whether such services as running water and plumbing could be maintained when used by people with no former knowledge of their use.

From the beginning there has been a continual process of education connected with the project. Even before people moved into their homes they were given help and encouragement. A mother's club was formed as well as groups for young children and adolescents. There were study groups on sanitary education, family education, recreation orientation in addition to a more specialized one for the formation of labour leaders. A primary school was established by the State with the help of the Cruzada which now takes care of 1100 children. As a part of the process of learning, and to make the people feel responsible for their homes, a resident's council was created with representatives elected from each floor of each block. Three and a half years after its formation the council has taken over most of the administrative functions and has had no outside employed help.

Over the past 7½ years most of the apartment dwellers have shown that they can work together and become increasingly self-sufficient. In a study made last year it was found that over 70% of them had improved in education and in social level. They had made definite improvements to their homes, putting tile coverings over the concrete floors, installing indirect lighting or covering part of their kitchen or bathroom walls with glazed tile. 20% were having trouble but were improving slowly. The remaining 10% were the unadaptable, the misfits, who had made little measureable progress and were dirty and careless in looking after themselves and their apartments. On the whole the São Sebastião project can be considered a success, having given opportunity for improved conditions to most of the 4000 people involved.

However, it is not an unqualified success. 10% of a small group may not be large numerically but it does in this instance represent 400 people living in a concentrated area. They help along the disintegration of the buildings as a whole and make it difficult for the others to maintain their property. Also such a large number of people so closely identified with each other with such a low level of education and way of life tend to reinforce each other negatively. If they were settled in smaller groupings in different areas it is now believed, they would make more rapid progress and that their integration into the larger community would be more complete.

The State of Guanabara gave valuable assistance to this privately-sponsored program and used the information gleaned there in setting

up other housing and social service projects. Since 1960 when the removal of the federal capital to Brazilia made Rio into the city-state of Guanabara and Carlos Lacerda became Governor, efforts to help the favelado have greatly increased. Since then the State's Companhia de Habitação Popular (COHAB) and Serviços Sociais have spent some 3½ billion cruzeiros (about 3 million dollars at C\$1200 to the dollar or 2.1 million at C\$1600 to the dollar) on a massive reform program. This has included construction of housing for favelados to buy and the promotion of urbanization for favelas which are impossible to move. Today 8 favelas have been totally removed, 5 substantially reduced and over 40 have had major improvements. Over 8000 homes have been built and occupied in various parts of the city and 40,000 more are under construction. These houses are sold on terms of 10 to 15 years at rates of 15% of the minimum salary. The house is guaranteed to the family if death claims the head of the household. Senhora Sandra Cavalcanti who, as Secretary of the State's Social Service, was instrumental in developing the housing and favela rehabilitation program has now taken on a similar responsibility on the national level. She is the Director of the newly created Housing Bank which will develop and sell low-cost housing to the general public.

Guanabara's major projects have been concentrated on the development of three vilas in the North Zone some distance from the center of the city. Vila Aliança at Bangu has 2,200 houses and 12,000 people. Vila Esperança at Vigário Geral has 500 houses and some 2,000 people. Vila Kennedy at Sanado Camará has 1,500 homes with 2,000 more in construction and will house about 18,000 people. The vilas are set up like small towns and the houses, while very small and distressingly similar, do have lights, water and sanitation facilities. They have provided former favelados with better living conditions and the security of property rights.

The mass movement to the vilas has not been accomplished with the whole hearted support of the favelados, however. In spite of the work done by social workers to prepare them for their good fortune many do not want to move. They have been given no choice and now many of those who have moved are unhappy because they are so far from the city and their jobs. The long bus trip into town costs them time and money they can ill afford. And in the beginning the new vilas had no stores close by, no entertainment.

A sociologist friend has said "the removal of the favelas, transferring favelados to better homes, has been a good and necessary thing. The State has acted properly, but often it has not acted with love. It has seemed to be more concerned with removing the eye-sores from Rio than with improving the lot of the favelados."

There is no doubt that there are city officials to whom this criticism aptly applies but most of the social workers with whom I have talked carry the burden of rehabilitation with considerable dedication. It is just that so much needs to be done all at once. Delays brought on by bureaucratic ineptitude and the favelados' lack of understanding,



It is perhaps somewhat understandable that the favelados are unwilling to exchange their unsanitary, poorly constructed but highly individual houses in the hillside favelas (each with a wonderful view) for the hygienic, sanitary and distressingly sterile sameness of Vila Kennedy.



staff shortages and time pressures make some of the workers a bit impatient. Education takes so long and the population increase won't wait.

Conditions are slowly improving here and there. Vila Kennedy now has a school, a church, a club and the beginning of its own commercial center. Its residents have organized laundry, cleaning, labour and agricultural cooperatives. These efforts have been encouraged by the State's Auxílio Técnico ao Operário e à Pequena Indústria, ATOPI (Technical Help to the Labourer and the Small Industry) which seeks to develop small industries that can utilize available manpower. One has already been located in the industrial area adjacent to the vila and now employs some 200 new people. In addition, several months ago the Sindicato de Oficiais de Alfaiataria (Tailor's Union) of Guanabara started a school for seamstresses and has helped in the formation of such a cooperative there. Today more than 100 are working with sewing machines financed by the Union.

"Peace Corps of Business Enterprisers"

In addition to ATOPI, many of the same group which promoted the São Sebastião apartments have also instigated efforts to increase job opportunities for the poor. An Association of Christian Businessmen has helped to form a society to develop small manufacturing or service concerns within the favelas themselves which they hope in time will be taken over completely by the favelados. One of the founders of this group told me that the basic idea is one of self-help. Too often in the past things and money have been given to the favelados without any opportunity for them to do anything constructive for themselves. They have never had an opportunity to take an instrumental part in projects set up to help them. He feels the solutions for social and physical ills of the favelas must come from within as well as from without. He explained that this is what the Cruzada de São Sebastião has tried to do, not only in providing housing but in giving the opportunity and education favelados need to run their own affairs. He believes the favelados need for money and for self respect can both be helped if they work for a company in which they have a share and a say.

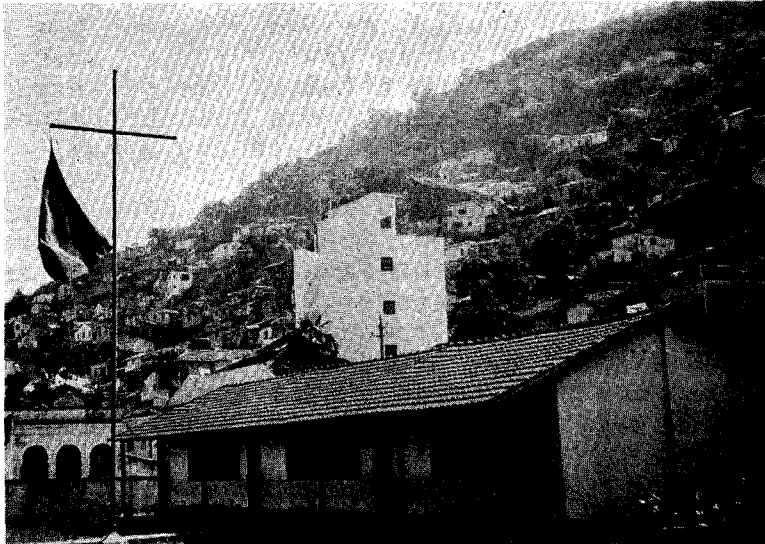
The Association formed a non-profit society known as SOPRO (Society for the Promotion of National Integration) whose board, staff and advisors were directly responsible for the favela small business projects. (SOPRO is associated with a continental effort of Christian businessmen who are helping in the development of their respective countries by promoting industrial and agricultural enterprises which will bring people now outside the economic system actively and constructively into it. SOPRO exists today in Chile, Peru and Mexico as well as Brazil.)

About seven months ago the first factory (shirts) was opened in the North Zone at Praia de Lucas and three months later a second (garments, underwear) opened in the São Sebastião apartments in the South Zone. Twenty to thirty people work in each one, the number to increase according to their success. Each factory was initially subsidized by SOPRO with five million cruzeiros (approximately \$3000.) worth

of shares. Gradually it is expected that the employees will buy these shares until they will own their own factory. The management of each company is made up of favelados and outside businessmen. As the favelados gain experience and capital they will take over more of the company's management. SOPRO and the management of each company have four groups of advisors: lawyers, economists, technicians and publicists. Now that the two companies are in their formative period much study is being given to their development.

There are a number of problems which still must be resolved. They want the companies to operate like any other company; to make money from what they produce in competition with non-favela companies. They don't want to operate a charity. However, they realize that the people they want to help will not be (at least initially) as efficient or skilled as other workers. Therefore although the factories should make money to be successful they cannot forget the human element in the process. The businessmen are now trying to find ways to resolve this problem. Perhaps, they think, one factory could be used to make money while the other is developing trained workers. They are also considering what products should be produced in future factories, and strategic locations for them.

SOPRO has not given out much publicity about their project. "We don't want to do so until we are sure of the best methods," said a spokesman. "Once we are sure, then we can let the public know and appeal to Brazilian and foreign companies for greater help. We will need funds but, more important, we will need people with technical know-how who can be coupled with inside help. When we really get started it should be favelados teaching favelados; favelados of one place showing those of another what can be done. These are not industries for the favelados but by them. We hope what we are doing will encourage others elsewhere. Already a similar project has begun in Recife. We are what you might call a 'peace corps of business enterprisers'."



School in the Ford Foundation experiment

State war on illiteracy

The State is also working on the problem of education for the favelas. The Secretary for Education and Culture for the State of Guanabara, Dr. Carlos Flexa Ribeiro, told me quite proudly several months ago that for the first time there were enough class

spaces for all children of primary school age (approximately 6 to 10) in the State. This does not mean that all children between those ages are in school or even that a child could find a place in the school nearest his home. It means that statistically the supply has finally approached the demand. This has been accomplished by building new schools, by increasing the school sessions to three a day and in some cases giving classes one day off a week to make room for an additional class. All this says little for the quality of education, but any is better than none.

Education for favela children, however, requires much more than classroom space. According to Dr. Paul Bowman of the University of Chicago in a special report, the educational problem is "the almost complete lack of relationship between the educational needs of this group and the type of education offered. The favela child usually enters school at 8 or 9 with no previous experience with school or books; he attempts to overcome many handicaps in one year but fails to pass the first grade examination; he fails several times, leaves school before finishing the fourth grade and seeks no further education. The school experience is very unsatisfying to him, to his teachers and his parents."

In an attempt to deal directly with this problem the Ford Foundation joined with the State educational secretariat in 1962 for a pilot project to improve primary education in the underprivileged areas of Rio. Five schools with 3000 students in some 112 classes located in the northern section of the city were involved. Each one was situated in a middle class neighborhood but close to at least one favela. Thus favela children made up more than 50% of the students in any one school. Within each school two classes of thirty students were set aside as the experimental group. Two rooms were added to each school's plant for the experimental classes as well as a room for industrial arts and crafts. The normal school day was extended for each class from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours by adding an hour of arts and crafts. However, for the experimental classes the day was increased to 8 hours with two teachers overlapping. The staff included social workers, researchers, workshop teachers, doctors, psychologists and others.



In the experimental group 83 children were White, 82 Negro and 135 Mulatto. All but 38 were from the favelas. Social workers reported that most of the favela children were from broken homes where the father was absent or unknown to the child and where the mother was usually gone during the day,

Lunchtime for the experimental classes

Agressiveness and fighting were considered necessary by the child. Most of them saw little or nothing of beaches, parks, other people, books, paper, pencils or even toys. 85% were mentally below average, 80% had difficulty adapting to department rules and almost all had below average health.

After a year of specialized attention and instruction, social work directed to help the family home life and more nutritious lunchtime meals, the pilot group was tested again. Not only had the health of all improved but the lowest intelligence grouping had diminished from 50% to 17% while in the normal group ratings were appreciably higher. Attention and discipline among the children had greatly improved. One doctor told me the results indicated that there was a direct relation between health and mental ability. "When the health improved, the intelligence improved. Not totally; we have cases where there has been no intellectual improvement. But now these students are being tested for possible physical defects." While there has been no attempt to measure the non-experimental classes the teachers assured me that the benefits of the program have also extended to them. This was shown in one way by the small number of drop-outs in these schools, only 3% compared to 20% for the state as a whole.

The project has not only been used to improve the educational base of some under-privileged children but also to test methods in teaching and social work, to study the relationship between health and learning and to train teachers for schools located in other under-developed areas. Teachers who have trained in this program are now working in 7 additional schools including the Vila Kennedy, helping classroom teachers. Ford Foundation participation in the program ends this year but much of it will be continued by the State, with emphasis on the teacher-training project.

Toward better health

The findings of the Ford project have also helped to underscore efforts of such organizations as Food for Peace who have been able to get more nutritional school lunch programs instigated. Peace Corps Volunteers have also been helping to distribute enriched powdered milk to favela families in conjunction with their main job of serving in medical clinics or as medical aids in the State's public health service. There are a number of private groups, church and women's organizations who are also giving medical help to the favelas in one way or another. All of these programs are hit and miss and attack only the surface health problems and not the basic elements of congestion, lack of water, poor sanitation and the ignorance spawned thereby. I have read in U.S. publications indications that family planning or birth control information programs were attacking the underlying problem but have seen no sign of such activity here. Perhaps something is being done discreetly.

The needs are so great and many-faceted that it takes real courage even to start working in these areas and credit should be given to the

efforts of social workers connected with the Fundação Leão XIII, a social service arm of the State. They have not only started primary schools but have founded centers for educational family-help programs, recreation and study groups in order to stimulate favelados to help themselves. Some of the favelados have responded by taking the initiative and with State aid have improved their own sanitation, water and physical conditions. Early this year Leão XIII entered an agreement with AID, through the Alliance for Progress, to expand its multi-functional approach to the favela problem. Its expansion will include the development of three new training centers for social workers and enough staff to make greater personal contact with the favelados. Through this they hope to provide greater information and coordination between other agencies working in this field.

But the problem grows and grows.....

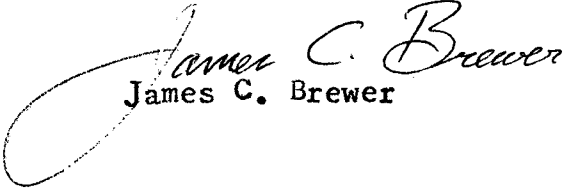
While each of these programs is encouraging in itself none of them do more than begin to touch on the problems involved in uplifting a million people in a relatively short time into a productive and healthy urban life. What is worse, the problem is not static. Pressures continue to increase. While several thousand houses are built each year the demand for houses increases at an even faster rate. Rio's Association for the Protection of Tenants, for example, has stated that due to the increase in rents and utility taxes provided by law "more than 60% of today's tenants will go through tremendous difficulties in order to pay their rent. It is possible that the number of evictions in Guanabara, which in February came to 1,710 without counting 900 eviction notices, will be increased in April by five or ten times the number." More schools are being built, but the birth rate alone expands the existing favelas by more than 35,000 a year. Some favelas are being removed; others are deteriorating and becoming more congested, not only by natural increase but by the continual flow from the less productive interior of people who have nowhere else to live. While the official minimum wage in Rio was raised as of March 1st from C\$42,000 to C\$66,000 per month this doesn't begin to keep pace with increasing prices. The minimum wage has been increased 57% while the cost of living has gone up 87%. The present inflationary controls have successfully held down wages while the actual cost of living continues to skyrocket (10% increase in the first two months of 1965). Efforts are being made to employ hundreds of previously unemployable. At the same time the automotive industry, among others, has been caught with such surplus inventory that they are having to lay off experienced workers. And a half-million youths in Rio alone are approaching the age when they will need jobs. Unless they are taken care of some sociologists predict that Rio could be turned into "one of the world capitals of crime and the underworld paradise of poor malefactors."

All these pressures keep the favela problem current and real. Similar social conditions exist in every metropolitan area in the country. And these are only an extension of the problems of the poor in the rural

areas. Unless they are also improved they will continue to press on the already congested cities more and more people whose very presence numerically will make the fight for improvement endless and exhausting. A heavily financed, nation-wide crash program would probably do little more than contain the problem and so far there are no plans for anything that widespread.

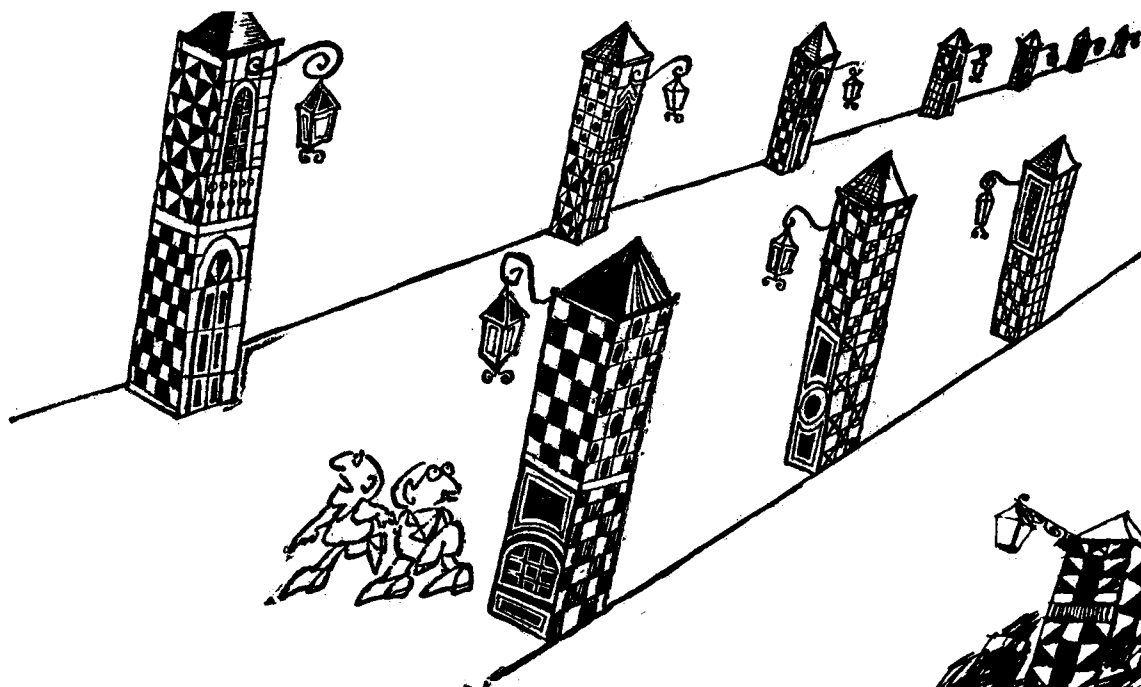
No matter how you look at it, Brazil has a favela in her future.

Sincerely yours,


James C. Brewer

Photos, page 8, courtesy of Quatro Rodas
Cartoons, page 15, courtesy of Correio da Manhã and Manchete

— Deve ser o primeiro conjunto do Banco Nacional de Habitação.



The inclusion of little houses in the decoration scheme for this year's Carnival called forth these two cartoons, both from Manchette. The first is captioned, "It must be the first project of the National Housing Bank" On the right, one woman asks another, "Have you seen Zezinho's new house?"



— Você viu o novo barraco do Zezinho?