



Building Brazil. Part 2: 1964–1999

Author(s): Michael Hensel and Rumi Kubokawa

Source: *AA Files*, No. 38 (Spring 1999), pp. 52–58

Published by: [Architectural Association School of Architecture](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29544140>

Accessed: 14/06/2014 05:04

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Architectural Association School of Architecture is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *AA Files*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Building Brazil

Part 2: 1964–1999



1965

Michael Hensel and Rumi Kubokawa

‘It is strange how the power of beauty makes us forget so much injustice.’

Oscar Niemeyer

In 1964 a military *coup d'état* ousted President Belchior Marques João Goulart's democratically elected government. Goulart had planned radical structural reforms that would have transformed the political, social and economic structure of Brazil. Agrarian reform and nationalization of monopoly industries were perceived as threats to the existing power structure, and still more the extension of voting rights to the illiterate, the assumption being that the new voters would favour leftist politicians. Thus the *coup*, led by General Humberto Castelo Branco, was supported by the rural oligarchies and the urban middle class alike.

Congress, under the control of the *junta*, confirmed Castelo Branco as president. The new government announced the intention of reforming certain aspects of the country's political structure, and of pursuing a gradual return to democracy, but a new radical-right group of young officers (Linha Dura) saw political subversion and corruption as more pressing problems. The growing tension between these two factions pervaded the military regime.

The Sixties

Oscar Niemeyer received the news of the *coup* during a visit to Lisbon, and decided not to return to Brazil. He then travelled to Tel Aviv, where he worked on designs for an ideal desert city in the Negev and a new university in Haifa.

Rino Levi died in 1965, before the completion of his last project, the prize-winning entry in a competition for a new civic centre in the industrial city of Santo André. The scheme, consisting of a new city hall, a cultural centre, a municipal theatre and a public square, unified these elements into a centre of cultural and social exchange. Supervision of the construction was undertaken by Levi's office, which remained in operation after his death.

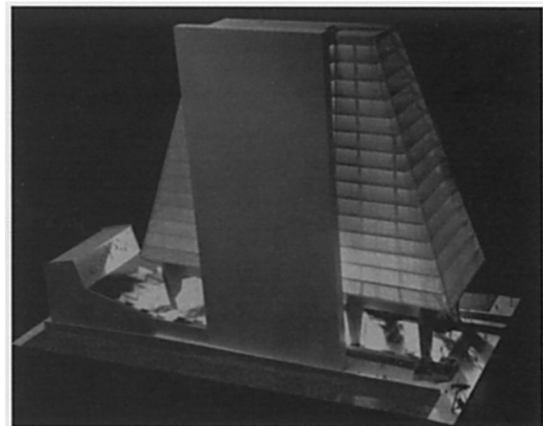
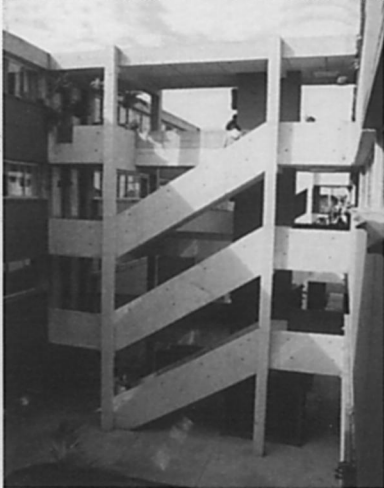
At this time the Institute of Urban Policy and Planning (IPPUC) was established in the growing

industrial city of Curitiba, in response to a plan for an elevated motorway that would have cut through the historic centre of the city. Jaime Lerner joined the Institute as an architecture student and three years later became its director. He also served as mayor of Curitiba three times, initiating a series of programmes which established its reputation as a model city.

With the support of Linha Dura, General Artur da Costa e Silva was elected as Castelo Branco's successor in 1966. Costa e Silva introduced a new system under which the existing political parties were, in effect, disbanded, and the president was to be elected by Congress. Two new political parties were established, the National Renovating Alliance, supported by the military, and the Brazilian Democratic Movement, an opposition party which never gained enough strength to challenge the government candidate.

In 1967 Vilanova Artigas, in collaboration with Fabio Penteadó and Paulo Mendes da Rocha, designed the CECAP social-housing complex in São Paulo. In contrast to existing housing projects in Rio de Janeiro, they adopted a minimalist, almost brutalist approach to social housing. Semi-public social spaces were located within the cross-section of the building profile, whereas the exterior had an almost hostile appearance. [For a more detailed discussion of this project, see Geoffrey Broadbent's review of the exhibition *Brazil Still Builds: Vilanova Artigas and Affonso Eduardo Reidy*, in *AA Files* 37.]

A boycott of military rule was openly promoted by Deputy Marcio Moreira Alevés in 1968. The military demanded that he be punished for this, after first being stripped of his parliamentary immunity. When Congress opposed this, the military responded with the Fifth Institutional Act, by which Congress was disbanded and the president was given the power to intervene directly in state-level politics and to cancel mandates and deny political rights. Opposition leaders and critics were arrested, strict censorship was imposed, and universities and the Catholic church were repressed. Many architects who were perceived as radicals or supporters of the ousted regime or the communists were arrested, removed from their teaching positions, or forced into exile.



1967

1969

Oscar Niemeyer, still abroad, was commissioned by the Algerian dictator Houari Boumédiène in 1968 to prepare a development plan for Algiers and a design for a new university for the city of Constantine (built in 1972).

Costa e Silva became ill in 1968 and was no longer able to serve as president. A new *junta* was formed with General Emilio Garrastazu Medici as president. Constitutional amendments were enacted which increased centralization of political power, and Congress was recalled to ratify these.

Just before the inauguration of the new building for the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo in 1969, Vilanova Artigas, Paulo Mendes da Rocha and Jon Maitrejean were dismissed from the faculty for political reasons. Ironically, in the same year, Vilanova Artigas received an award for the new building, and the Jean Tschumi Prize for his contribution to the development of the new teaching programme.

Previous to his being removed from the university, Mendes da Rocha won the competition for the Brazilian Pavilion at the 1970 Osaka Expo, one of his most important works. It consists of two topographically articulated surfaces – the ground and the underside of an elevated horizontal concrete slab – between which the landscape continues. Light enters the building through slots in the roof-slab, which cast a changing pattern of sunlight on to the ground, subtly affecting the movement of visitors through the continuous landscape. The roof-slab rests on four points, three of which are the meeting points of the mirrored topography, and the fourth a four-footed column. Building services and function rooms are located underground and are reached by ramps. The pavilion was a great success, and received international acclaim. The Japanese government wanted to buy and preserve the building after the Expo, but the offer was rejected by the Brazilian government, for reasons we can only speculate on.

The Seventies

President Medici's administration, which adopted the slogan 'Project Brazil: Great Power', was able to

combine political repression with sufficient economic growth to pacify public opinion, and in the 1970 election the party of the military regime again gained power. In an effort to destroy the left, the government expanded its intelligence services and increased the use of torture. So-called death squads were established within the civilian police, though their operations were veiled by censorship and propaganda about economic growth. Despite the severity of this repression, sustained economic growth encouraged public acceptance of the regime, resulting in yet another victory for the military in the election of 1972.

In Rio de Janeiro, Roberto Burle Marx designed in 1970 a second landfill project along the waterfront, the walkways of Copacabana beach, using red, white and black mosaic tiles in a pattern of parabolic curves and waves which became one of the best-known symbols of the city, and was frequently imitated by landscape designers in other coastal tropical regions.

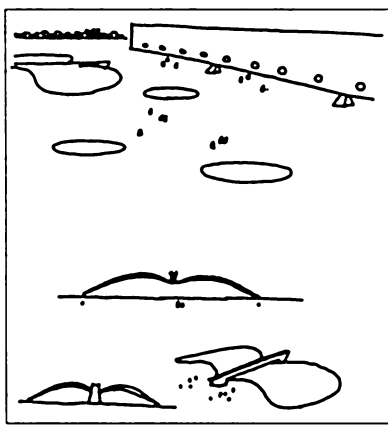
Oscar Niemeyer established an office in Paris in 1972 after an invitation from President Charles de Gaulle, who issued a special decree allowing him to work in France. Paulo Mendes da Rocha designed one of the prize-winning entries in the competition for the Centre Pompidou in Paris in 1972. In his scheme, the main museum building was planned as a tripartite horizontal volume with a public plaza on ground level, the main exhibition space above, and a library at basement level. The museum building was to be connected by a garden to three high-rise buildings containing artists' studios and hotels. These were elevated above a platform containing additional exhibition areas and commercial and leisure facilities. The product of a truly urban approach, the project synthesized a variety of public programmes, and marked the beginning of Mendes da Rocha's increasing preoccupation with urbanism.

Niemeyer's former disciple João Filgueiras Lima (known as Lele) began construction of his project for a group of government buildings in Salvador da Bahia in 1972. Lele had developed a unique formal and tectonic language based on the use of prefabricated building elements in steel and concrete. His project for Bahia included a ministry building and a church

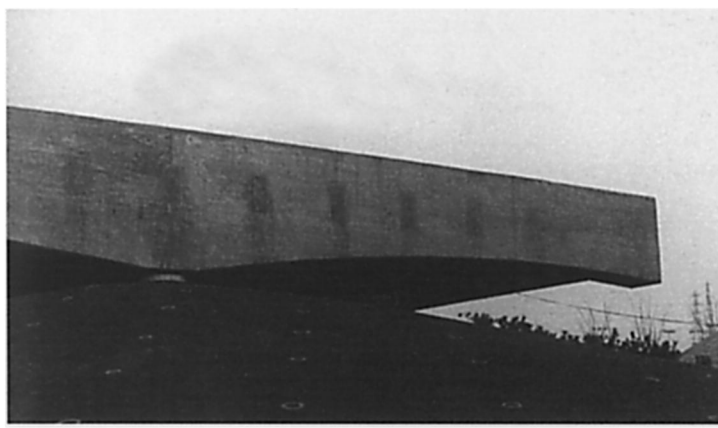
1965 Rino Levi: Civic Centre, Santo André

1967 Vilanova Artigas, Fábio Pentead, Paulo Mendes da Rocha: CECAP housing complex, Guarulhos

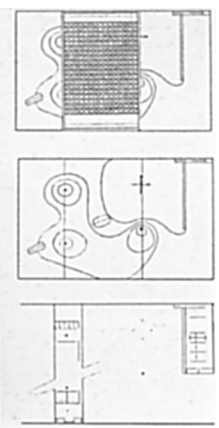
1969 Rino Levi Associates: FIESP-CIESP-SESI office building, São Paulo



1969



1969



1969 Oscar Niemeyer:
University of Constantine,
Algeria

1969 Paulo Mendes da Rocha:
Brazilian Pavilion, 1970 Osaka
Expo

made of prefabricated concrete, an office of prefabricated steel for the mayor, and an entrance and exhibition building in both steel and concrete.

In 1973 Vilanova Artigas designed a new bus terminal for the city of Jaú. The building is located on a slope and is organized on three main levels: the bus station at ground level; waiting room, bar and shops on the middle level; a restaurant and promenade on the upper level. The different levels are connected by a system of ramps and catwalks. The massive roof-slab is supported by columns that branch out at the top to form circular lightwells, thereby resolving both structural and lighting requirements. Artigas's bus terminal represents an approach and a building type that re-emerged in the architectural discourse of the 1990s, and is exemplified by MVRDV's Villa VPRO in Hilversum.

The early Seventies saw the increasing commercialization of the building sector: in spite of the successes of a number of small practices, large-scale projects were increasingly designed by the big commercial offices.

In 1974 the Congress elected the government candidate, Ernesto Geisel, who now attempted a move towards democracy, after the previous decade of increasing political repression. In order to do so, he had to overcome the proponents of a hard-line military stance and convince the distrustful civilian opposition that co-operation would be fruitful. Geisel insisted on free congressional elections, in which the civilian opposition party, MDB, enjoyed considerable success, although the government party still retained the majority in both the chamber of deputies and the upper house. A fully functioning Congress was restored in 1975, and the infamous Fifth Institutional Act was attacked in a public debate on torture and violations of civil rights, a debate that became particularly intense when the journalist Vladimir Herzog died during interrogation.

The MDB was widely supported in the municipal elections of 1976, although the government still maintained control at state and national level. However, the process of restoring democracy was impeded by the slow-down in economic growth due to the 1973

world energy crisis. Geisel nevertheless managed to balance the demands of the opposing parties. He repealed the Fifth Institutional Act and declared a state of emergency. His designated successor, João Batista Figueiredo, was elected president in 1979. In the same year the government issued an amnesty for political prisoners and re-established a multi-party system.

The Eighties

Although economic growth again accelerated at the end of the Seventies, inflation soared and this led to a drastic devaluation of the Brazilian currency. By 1981, economic growth had slowed down and inflation had skyrocketed, but despite increasing unpopularity Figueiredo persisted in his economic policies. He became ill in that year and, with the approval of the military, the civilian vice president, Paulo Maluf, assumed power. In 1982, with no sign of economic recovery and with the inflation rate at a hundred per cent, the currency was again devalued. However, this coincided with the virtual bankruptcy of Mexico and the withdrawal of foreign investment from Latin America. By the time inflation had reached more than two hundred per cent, the drop in living standards caused a sharp rise in social unrest.

None the less, the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro, led by its governor, Leonel Brizola, promoted a number of large-scale public works that would enhance the awareness of a Brazilian identity. Oscar Niemeyer was proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (Vice-Governor and founder of the University of Brasilia) as the architect for the Sambódromo, a permanent space for the carnival celebrations in Rio. Brizola argued that the millions of dollars spent each year to subsidize samba schools and temporary seating for the carnival could fund a more permanent solution, seating more spectators, and the investment could be recovered within a few years. Niemeyer designed a cultural centre incorporating an open-air stadium for a hundred-thousand spectators, and two-hundred classrooms which were to be used for educating Brazilian children about their culture – as Ribeiro described it, to 'learn the pride of being



FARRELL GREHAN

1970



1972



ARQUIVO FOTOGRAFICO DA FUNDAÇÃO VILANOVA ARTIGAS

1973

Brazilian and the cultural importance of the national ritual'. It was completed in only four months, in time for the 1984 carnival.

The stadium consists of stands cantilevering five metres above ground, and suspended boxes with a large space for standing spectators below. The space culminates in Apotheosis Square, with a thin, twenty-five-meter-high arch supporting a cantilevered concrete slab above the stage area. Enclosing the carnival within a clearly defined space would seem to contradict the spirit of this event, yet the new structure was enthusiastically received by the public, who felt that the Brazilian carnival was finally being accorded proper status.

In 1984 a civilian politician was nominated for the office of president by the PDS, while the Brazilian Democratic Movement put forward Tancredo Neves, who was able to reassure the military that the armed forces would remain free of political interference. As a result Neves won the election, but he died before he could address the long-standing problems of democracy, economic development, and a constitutional framework. José Sarney, the vice president, assumed the presidency and continued the centre-right regime. New legislation removed all restrictions from political parties, established direct presidential elections, and finally extended voting rights to the illiterate.

Meanwhile, the country managed to increase foreign trade and to improve domestic commerce and agriculture but, owing to expansionist economic policies, inflation continued. The Cruzado Plan was launched in 1986, establishing a new currency while freezing mortgages and rents, and introducing a new wage system. Initially these policies yielded favourable results, but in an effort to please the voters they were continued for too long. Inflation exploded once again.

Lina Bo Bardi's design for the leisure centre SESC-Pompeia Factory was completed in 1986. The project is situated in the grounds of an old steel-drum factory. A number of existing concrete warehouses along an internal street were preserved and were adapted to house social and meeting spaces, exhibition areas, a restaurant, and workshop studios. A large mezzanine contains a library which includes

reading areas, and smaller spaces for board and card games. One of the warehouses was converted to a theatre. The remaining area, allocated to the sports complex, consisted of two parcels of land separated by a stream. Bo Bardi's solution was two separate concrete blocks (one for the swimming pool and sports courts, the other for changing rooms, workshop spaces and cafeteria) connected by elevated walkways. These interconnected blocks have come to stand as a symbol for the project itself, as well being one of the most important architectural landmarks in São Paulo. At ground level, connecting the various buildings, there is a wooden deck over the stream, running along the length of the site and creating what Bo Bardi described as an urban beach.

The new Brazilian constitution was finally adopted in 1988. Although the president's position was little changed, Congress was given additional power. States and municipalities were given their own financial resources, and workers' rights were increased. But the state of the economy was devastating. The rate of economic growth stood at zero, and inflation at more than a thousand per cent. The establishment of another new currency, the *cruzado novo*, and a price and wage freeze had little effect.

In 1989 the centrist and economic conservative Fernando Collor de Mello was elected president by a small margin. He was seen as the only hope of avoiding complete economic collapse and attracting foreign investment. He proposed to establish a liberal, market-oriented economy, to reduce government expenditure, and to privatize state-owned monopolies. The *cruzeiro* was established as the new currency. Initially these measures were effective in reducing the rate of inflation.

The government of São Paulo sponsored in 1989 a project for a Latin American Memorial, in celebration of the idea of Latin American unity. Oscar Niemeyer was commissioned to design a complex comprising a ceremonial hall, an auditorium, the first public library in South America exclusively devoted to Latin American culture, the Brazilian Center for Latin American Studies, an exhibition pavilion, the Latin American Parliament building, and a ramped

1970 Roberto Burle Marx:
Copacabana Beach,
Rio de Janeiro

1972 João Filgueiras Lima:
Church in Salvador da Bahia

1973 Vilanova Artigas:
Jaú Bus Terminal



RUMI KUBOKAWA

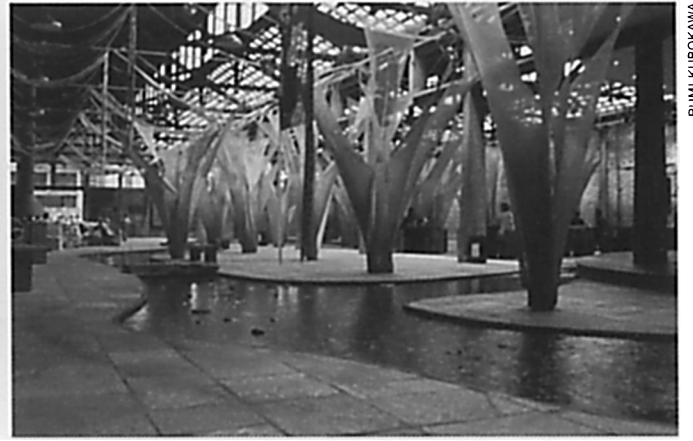
1983

1983 Oscar Niemeyer:
Sambódromo, Rio de Janeiro



1986

1986 Lina Bo Bardi:
SESC-Pompeia Factory
leisure centre, São Paulo



RUMI KUBOKAWA

pedestrian bridge. The critic David Underwood describes the Latin American Memorial as ‘the crowning achievement of Niemeyer’s career: a masterful ensemble that displays the surrealist tendency and sculptural intensity of a master at the height of his creative power’. The immense cultural and political ambitions reflected in this project signalled not only Brazil’s readiness to acknowledge and engage with the differing cultural traditions of its neighbours, but also its intention of taking a leading role in the affairs of the Latin American community.

Throughout the economic crises of the Eighties, shanty towns mushroomed in São Paulo, housing more than a million dwellers who were unable to afford rents. With the need for housing having increased dramatically, many more low-income families resorted to squatting. The resulting ‘Landless Movement’ received considerable attention in the news media. In 1986, after the closure of the National Housing Bank (the government institution responsible for financing social housing), Brazil was left with no housing policy. It became vital to rethink the housing policy, which too often had resulted in repetitive large-scale developments on the outskirts of cities, which were too expensive for the people they intended to benefit. In São Paulo, those concerned with the building of social housing attempted to revive the idealism of the Forties and Fifties. New approaches emerged, for example the Mutirão scheme, which sponsored housing projects that were to be built by their future occupants. Such self-help operations could range from carrying out building work to total control by the future tenants. In the latter approach, housing co-operatives or associations were formed which undertook responsibility for all aspects of the project, from purchasing materials to site management, with public funding and with the support of architects and engineers.

The Nineties

The 1990 elections resulted in a strong centre-right government, although Brizola was elected as governor of Rio de Janeiro. By 1991 the inflation rate was the lowest since 1987. The stock market was opened

to foreign investment, which led to an increase in government revenues, and price and wage freezes were abandoned. In the following year, import restrictions were relaxed and a preliminary agreement was made with the International Monetary Fund in an effort to strengthen the country’s economy. But the social security system was near bankruptcy owing to large-scale corruption and fraud, and to the untenable ratio of contributors to recipients.

In 1990 the city of Curitiba received the UN Environmental Program Award, and later the International Institute for Energy Conservation Award, for its achievements in promoting global energy efficiency. As a result of its coherent planning policies together with the work of Jaime Lerner, who served three terms as mayor, this fast-growing city had earned an international reputation. A crucial element of its success was an integrated public transportation network, the Curitiba Direct Route Busway System. Its implementation required no changes to the highway network, and stops are located near high-density housing and workplaces, enabling occupants of the shanty towns (ten per cent of the population) to travel to work. Bus tickets are issued free in return for removing refuse from the *favelas* to municipal refuse-collection points – a particularly successful instance of Lerner’s efforts to involve people in their communities and the environment.

At the ANYONE conference held in Los Angeles in 1991, Roberto Mangabeira Unger, a Brazilian-born professor of law and social theory at Harvard University, presented his seminal paper entitled ‘The Better Futures of Architecture’. The conference was the first of a series of eleven that were intended to examine the state of architecture at the end of the millennium, using a multidisciplinary approach. Unger’s conference paper outlined five points for architectures of a transformative potential. The paper was well received and much discussed, and has had considerable influence on architecture theory. Jeffrey Kipnis, Professor of Architecture at Ohio State University, adapted Unger’s five points for his own article ‘Towards a New Architecture’, published in the *Folding in Architecture* edition of *Architectural Design*. Later,



MICHAEL HENSEL

1989



NELSON KON

1993



RUMI KUBOKAWA

1995

Unger became active in Brazilian politics, devoting himself to establishing a new leftist party.

In 1992 President Collor was accused of corruption and removed from office – though it was later revealed that many of his opponents had also been involved in bribery and fraud – and Itamar Augusto Cauteiro Franco was sworn in as the new president. He reversed many of Collor's reforms by reinstating government posts that had been eliminated to reduce expenditure. Although the growth rate was rising owing to an influx of investment, inflation also rose once again.

In the following year Paulo Mendes da Rocha designed a new art museum for São Paulo, the Nova Pinacoteca, which was inserted into an unfinished nineteenth-century building by Ramos de Azevedo. The scheme consists of a circulation system that is independent of the existing building, a new auditorium, glass roofing, and services. This approach is characteristic of Mendes da Rocha's work, for example his insertion for the FIESP–CIESP–SESI office building by Rino Levi Associates, which introduces a multi-level cultural, social and infrastructural project into the space beneath the existing raised building in São Paulo's Avenida Paulista. Existing site and new scheme are so intricately combined that it becomes almost impossible to conceive of one without the other. Such an approach offers a solution to the need for public spaces within the dense urban fabric.

In 1993, a year after Lina Bo Bardi's death, the Institute Quadrante was renamed the Institute Lina Bo and P. M. Bardi, and was dedicated to the work of Lina Bo Bardi and the publication of works on the history of art and architecture, with particular reference to Brazilian culture. The Institute has become one of the most important non-governmental funding organizations, and sponsors events, publications and exhibitions that promote Brazilian architecture.

In 1994 the government implemented the Real Plan, based on a programme developed by the Minister of Finance, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The plan established a new currency, the *real*, which was to have a fixed exchange rate of one to one with the US dollar. The ensuing increase in public confidence led

to a sharp drop in the inflation rate and an election victory for Cardoso, who became president in 1995. Foreign investment and trade increased, as did the rate of economic growth. Cardoso had been in exile during the military regime, but had returned to Brazil in 1968. He later helped to found the Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning, which today still conducts urban studies and analyses.

Paulo Mendes da Rocha completed his building for the Brazilian Museum of Sculpture in São Paulo in 1995, with the landscape designed by Roberto Burle Marx. The main volume of the museum is located underground. A system of raked and stepped paths and a public area lead to the entrance. The scheme is unified by a sixty-metre hollow beam that lies above the museum and the public event areas at ground level, and contains services and a lighting system which enhances the dramatic effect of placing the space underground. There is a complex and varied relationship between the interior and exterior spaces, and between the landscape and the public areas. With its horizontal lines and volumes the building responds to and celebrates the horizon and the landscape – the vast open spaces of Brazil. This horizontal spatial compression, which anchors and animates an otherwise undefined public space, is typical of Mendes da Rocha's work, in particular the Brazilian Pavilion at the 1970 Osaka World Expo.

At this time, Mendes da Rocha began a collaboration with the young São Paulo-based office MMBB. Thus his career extends from his early work with Vilanova Artigas, one of the pioneers of Brazilian modernism, through to the young generation of architects who are trying to develop a new architectural position in the period following the dictatorship.

After almost a century of neglect by the authorities, who for political reasons chose to disregard their existence, the *favelas* now held a third of the population of Rio de Janeiro. The municipal housing department, finally acknowledging the failure of both past and existing policies, set out to devise new programmes for urban regeneration and social integration. This marked a significant change from the previous policy, which had insisted on eradicating the

1989 Oscar Niemeyer:
Latin American Memorial,
São Paulo

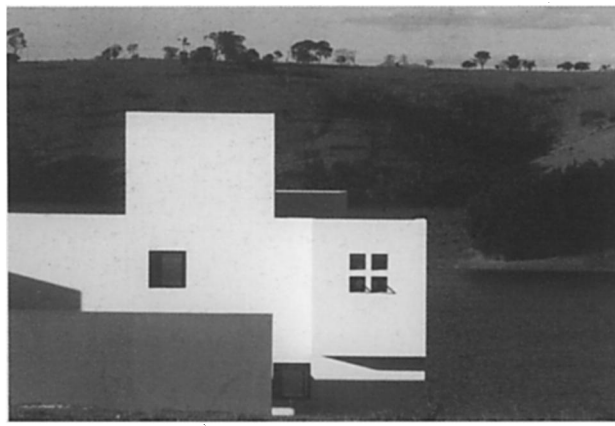
1993 Paulo Mendes da Rocha:
Nova Pinacoteca, São Paulo

1995 Paulo Mendes da Rocha:
Brazilian Museum of
Sculpture, São Paulo



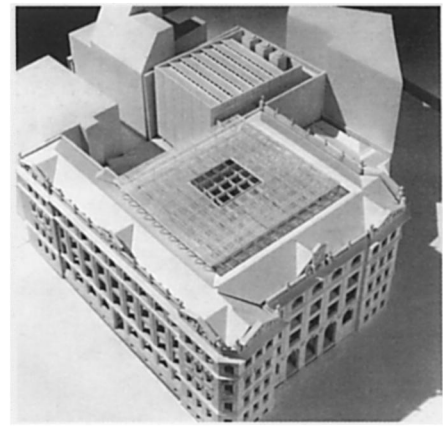
1994

1994 Marcos Acayaba:
Casa Olga, São Paulo



1995

1995 Reinach & Mendonça:
Residência Marcos Reinach,
São Paulo



1997

1997 UNA Arquitetos:
Central Post Office,
São Paulo

favelas and moving their occupants to the outskirts of the city. Among such projects is the Favela-Bairro scheme, which is aimed at the more established *favelas*, in recognition of their inhabitants' struggles to provide themselves with housing. This novel approach concentrates on urbanizing the shanty towns, providing them with infrastructure, leisure facilities and public services, and offering health care and education. Several such projects are now under way, and public competitions are being held for the appointment of the architects.

President Cardoso now had sufficient support to implement his programme of constitutional amendments aimed at promoting economic stability. State industries were privatized immediately, but reforms to the administration and the social security and taxation systems were long-delayed and, as the elections approached, ultimately abandoned. Economic growth and low inflation continued briefly but, owing to the global economic crisis and a policy of support for the new currency, the economy again came under pressure. Devaluation of the currency, recession, the withdrawal of foreign investors and the government's inability to pay foreign debt made negotiations with the IMF difficult, and it took some time to achieve a new agreement with increased credit.

In 1997 the São Paulo practice Brazil Arquitetura (Francisco Fanucci and Marcelo Ferraz) won a competition for the renovation of the 'Gelbes Viertel' district of Berlin-Hellersdorf, which had a population of 10,000. Their design has four main features: all entrances to the neighbourhood are marked with a public square containing a sculpture by a Brazilian artist; the colour scheme used throughout is derived from popular Latin American architecture; wooden trellises on the verandas and entrances to the buildings refer to the national heritage of the Brazilian baroque; and the landscape design incorporates tropical flora.

In 1998 Oscar Niemeyer was awarded the RIBA Gold Medal. In the same year Paulo Mendes da Rocha gave a lecture at the Architectural Association in conjunction with an exhibition of his work.

Brazil is now a stable democracy. It has acquired a reputation for diverse regional approaches to architecture and urban design. The scene is no longer dominated by a handful of masters from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but is characterized by a rich mix of local approaches and ideas from all across the country. As long as there is no recurrence of severe economic pressure, a great deal can be expected from Brazilian architecture and urbanism, and from the re-establishment of the architectural debate with Brazil in an international forum.

The first part of this article, 'Building Brazil – Part 1: 1900–1964', appeared in 'AA Files' 37. An associated exhibition, 'Brazil Still Builds: Vilanova Artigas and Affonso Eduardo Reidy', was shown at the AA in June 1998 and was reviewed in 'AA Files' 37. Continuing the debate on Brazilian architecture and urbanism, an exhibition of projects by a younger generation of São Paulo-based architects was held in May 1999, when the AA also hosted a symposium entitled 'Globalization and World Cities: Reflections from São Paulo'.

Selected Bibliography

- Bonduki, Nabil, *Arquitetura e Habitação Social em São Paulo 1989–92* (São Paulo, 1993)
- Bonduki, Nabil, *Origens da Habitação Social no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1998)
- Brasil (Abitare 374, 1998)*
- Bruand, Yves, *Arquitetura Contemporânea do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1981)
- Lina Bo Bardi* (Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, 1993)
- 'The New Brazil: Breaking with the Past?', *Understanding Global Issues* 95/10 (1995)
- Schneider, Roland M., *Culture and Politics in a New Industrial Powerhouse* (Oxford, 1996)
- Underwood, David, *Oscar Niemeyer and the Architecture of Brazil* (New York, 1994)
- Unger, Roberto Mangabeira, *Politics: A Work in Constructive Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1987)
- Unger, Roberto Mangabeira, 'The Better Futures of Architecture', *ANYONE* (New York, 1991)
- Vilanova Artigas, Caminhos da Arquitetura* (São Paulo, 1981)
- Vilanova Artigas* (Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi / Fundação Vilanova Artigas, 1997)