

Literatures of Urban Development: World Bank Literature
and the Chronicles of Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City

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ABSTRACT

Sean Paul Knierim: Literatures of Urban Development: World Bank Literature
and the Chronicles of Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City
(Under the direction of Monica Rector)

Contextualized within the setting of urban development, this dissertation considers contemporary manifestations of international development policy alongside the work of chroniclers in Latin America. Specifically, this project studies the World Bank's involvement in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro over the last thirty years in relation to chronicles--literary-journalistic writings distributed primarily through newspapers and magazines--written in and about these two cities. Examining documents produced by the World Bank's staff alongside the work of chroniclers residing in these cities provides an informed locale from which to analyze the World Bank's approach to issues confronting the urban spaces within Latin America. This project also argues that a common genre of the chronicle exists in these two cities, regardless of the language in which it is written.

The first chapter contextualizes the project within a history of the World Bank and the genre of the chronicle in Mexico and Brazil. The second chapter focuses on Mexico, studying the chronicles of Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis along side the work of the World Bank as they respond to the earthquake of 1985 in Mexico City. The third chapter considers urban poverty in Brazil's Rio de Janeiro and pulls from the writings of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Luis Fernando Veríssimo, Affonso Romano

de Sant'Anna, Marina Colasanti and Diogo Mainardi. The fourth chapter examines public transportation in Mexico City as well as the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, pulling from chronicles by Carlos Monsiváis and Diogo Mainardi.

I argue that the World Bank must approach its lending decisions with a nuanced understanding of whom its loans and projects will affect. When designing projects with such cultural and social knowledge, the priorities addressed by World Bank align closely with the concerns forwarded by the chroniclers considered in this study. Moreover, this approach to project design and implementation enables the World Bank to honor its stated mission of “using [its] financial resources, staff and extensive experience to help developing countries reduce poverty, increase economic growth and improve their quality of life” (World Bank Group Brochure 3).

To Nina and Aidan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BFP	<u>Bolsa Familia</u> Project
CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
FONHAPO	Fondo Nacional de Habitaciones Populares
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Agency
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
OED	World Bank Operations Evaluation Department
PIC	Public Information Center
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico
SAR	Staff Appraisal Report

INTRODUCTION

Contextualized within the setting of urban development, this dissertation considers contemporary manifestations of international development policy alongside the work of chroniclers in Latin America. Specifically, this project studies the World Bank's involvement in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro over the last thirty years in relation to chronicles--literary-journalistic writings distributed primarily through newspapers and magazines--written in and about these two cities. Examining documents produced by the World Bank's staff alongside the work of chroniclers residing in these cities provides an informed locale from which to analyze the World Bank's approach to issues confronting the urban spaces within Latin America.

I chose to focus upon Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro for a number of reasons. First, each city values the chronicle, with both major newspapers and magazines publishing the work of multiple chroniclers. As I will explain later in the introduction, an examination of chronicles existing in both Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Latin America differentiates this study from existing scholarship on the form. Second, these cities have a large population, and they are attending challenges to urban development. Finally, the World Bank has a substantial funding portfolio in each city as well as a long history of work with both Mexico and Brazil.

I argue that the World Bank must approach its lending decisions with a nuanced understanding of whom its loans and projects will affect. When designing projects with such cultural and social knowledge, the priorities addressed by World Bank align closely

with the concerns put forward by the chroniclers considered in this study. Moreover, this approach to project design and implementation enables the World Bank to honor its stated mission of “using [its] financial resources, staff and extensive experience to help developing countries reduce poverty, increase economic growth and improve their quality of life” (World Bank Group Brochure 3). In developing these contentions, I study the work of the chroniclers and the World Bank as they engage with a natural disaster in Mexico City and urban poverty in Rio de Janeiro, as well as transportation systems and slums existing in both cities. It results that the work of the chroniclers offers a tremendous historical and cultural archive with which to construct the arguments forwarded in this project.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the World Bank’s World Development Index from 2005 estimates that thirty-three percent of the population lives within urban areas of more than one million inhabitants, with fully twenty-three percent of the population residing within the confines of the largest city within each country (Table 3.10, “Urbanization”). Accompanying the concentration of population in the urban centers, a World Bank study, Cities in Transition: A Strategic View of Urban and Local Government Issues, finds that between half and four-fifths of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in most countries are produced by the “industrial and commercial activities that are primarily located--and serviced, marketed, and financed--in urban areas” (5). Within these urban centers that contribute so importantly to a developing nation’s economy, the World Bank works to infuse funding projects founded in economic and financial solvency with its core mission of reducing poverty in the developing world.

In addressing the needs arising in the growing urban centers of the developing world, the World Bank's presentation of urban development on its website states:

Today, the World Bank with its partners is committed to promoting sustainable cities and towns that fulfill the promise of development for their inhabitants--in particular, by improving the lives of the poor and promoting equity--while contributing to the progress of the country as a whole. (World Bank website, Urban Development)

Achievement of these considerable--and necessary--goals presents significant challenges and the World Bank recognizes planning and evaluation as two key components of their realization. These two components gain increased visibility within the organization's larger goals of significantly reducing poverty.

Much emphasis has been given recently to the evaluation of the World Bank's work. The "World Bank Group Brochure: Working for a World Free of Poverty" states that "[a]ssessing the effect of projects we support is essential in developing countries. Resources are scarce so we must use them where they can have the largest effect. Monitoring helps project managers know if programs are reaching the people they are aimed at or if these programs are ineffective and wasteful" (3). To this end, this dissertation suggests that the chronicles written in areas affected by World Bank projects present an evaluative response, presented by intelligent and independent local observers, which may be incorporated into the organization's own evaluation mechanisms.

The World Bank has begun to recognize the importance of knowledge held in developing countries. One report on poverty states:

Knowledge about what works in reducing poverty has to inform, first and foremost, a country's policies and programs. This is why it is essential that there exist in each country capacity to monitor poverty and analyze the impact of policies and projects. The World Bank is continuing to work in a number of countries to strengthen in-country capacity to assess what works and what does not. (World Bank website, Poverty Overview)

Not only does this selection indicate the current understanding for how effective evaluation policies may be implemented, but it also represents a considerable change in the World Bank's engagement with the countries it was created to serve. The "World Bank Group Brochure" states that "[o]ver the past 60 years, we have learned that development solutions need to be designed by countries to suit their own circumstances--one size does not fit all" (3). Rather than prescribing approaches to poverty reduction and economic development from an outsider's vantage, the World Bank--ostensibly--seeks to design projects, in close collaboration with target countries, that are built to serve individual, unique societies.

I write "ostensibly" because the funding development and priorities of the World Bank are incredibly complex. Moreover, implementing such a systematic and institutional change in approach within such a large organization entails both considerable work and time. This project attempts to navigate the external face of the World Bank as presented to the public along with the internal realities faced by an organization of 10,000 employees representing 185 nations. The chronicles also offer sources for the implementation of the projects, especially as they adapt to fit into this new paradigm of country-specific planning. As noted earlier, the cultural and social information contained in these writings can be an invaluable source of background data for planning phases of the World Bank's work. Or, as Chapter 4 will present, the chronicles may indicate areas where the World Bank's support could provide important aid to developing countries.

This project proposes a bridge between works in the social sciences and those of the humanities, offering a way to use both socio-economic and literary analysis to

understand better the work of multinational development organizations as well as the effect of this work on the societies they impact. Additionally, this project adds to a corpus of work in the humanities that considers historical patterns in the field of development economics as well as the rhetorical and ideological trajectories of the international development community. Where many of these studies rely on broad generalizations of economic trends, this dissertation studies specific implementations of economic methodology when analyzing the published reports of the World Bank's projects and subsequent, chronicled relations.

In apprehending the work of the World Bank, this project benefits from a wide array of documents made publicly available through the organization's website. In excess of 15,000 documents have been made electronically available as the World Bank continues to honor a recent commitment to operational transparency. In addition to the texts downloaded from this site, this dissertation also considers the organization's website itself, which contains an enormous amount of information. Finally, special authorization was granted by the Mexican government to access four World Bank Staff Assessment Reports (SARs) produced in 1985 and 1986. These documents represent the major pieces analyzed in the second chapter.

I have sought access to two additional documents from the Archives at the World Bank, but the Mexican government has not yet approved the request. Subsequent chapters will consider further the disclosure policies of the World Bank, but it is important to recognize that access to documentation affects the conclusions reached in this project. The projects implemented by the World Bank undergo lengthy development and appraisal processes that involve significant amounts of organizational and

government negotiation. The purview of this study encompasses only the publicly-available documentation offered by the World Bank. Moreover, while the Mexican and Brazilian governments feature prominently throughout the project (often presented in a quite negative light), it must be recognized that the current manifestation of this study considers the governments only through the lenses of the World Bank and the chroniclers.

The dissertation also pulls from a variety of external sources for information on the World Bank. The World Bank's own publications tend to present positive conclusions on its work; Carlos Urzúa writes in his history of the World Bank's association with Mexico, "the Bank is entitled to advertise its work, but selective self-congratulation is less acceptable" (90). To mitigate this "self-congratulation," a number of works have been referenced that approach the organization's function from both a positive and negative stance. In fact, one major goal of this project was to begin my inquiry from a balanced perspective on the World Bank, cognizant of both praise and criticism.

The chronicle--a literary-journalistic genre possessed of wide popularity throughout Latin America--offers a valuable counterpoint to the information presented by the World Bank. Dating back to the Iberian conquest of the continent, the chronicle has enjoyed a long history in Latin America. The chronicle is distributed in many types of publications and reacts to social realities through a wide array of literary forms. Depending on the author and subject, chronicles may take the form of traditional editorials, poetry, short stories, journalistic exposés, along with many other forms and combinations.

The chronicle's transitory nature serves the form--and this project--well as it provides power without pretense; without an expectation to last beyond the day of its publication, the chronicler must attempt to influence quickly before the words are replaced by others. Moreover, the chronicle's intimate connection to a certain point in time allows for an evaluative potential when considered alongside World Bank projects that are implemented to address specific conditions in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro. In addition, the genre of the chronicle in Mexico and Brazil offers a wealth of social and cultural information that may positively impact the World Bank's engagement in these countries, thus offering resources for the planning as well as evaluative stages.

This project relies primarily on collections of chronicles written by well-respected and widely popular men and women who reside in the cities under consideration. These collections have been published in the form of books, each of which contains a corpus of work from a single writer. This selection of texts allows for an ease of access to documents that share a common thematic or temporal relationship, which serves the purposes of this project well. It makes particular sense for this type of analysis, as it is firmly within a publicly editorial and cultural sector of writing, yet containing an interesting fictive component that adds nuance that typical news writing lacks.

The following chapters approach the texts produced by the World Bank and the chroniclers in the same way, employing primarily thematic analyses to gauge the similarities and discrepancies that exist between the two. In a sense, this project applies an encompassing understanding of literature, seeking to blur an assumed distinction between the humanities and the social sciences.

Chapter 1, “The World Bank and the Latin American Chronicle,” lays out the foundations from which the remainder of the dissertation will build. First I present a brief history of the World Bank as contextualized within the larger realm of international development since the end of the second World War. Recognizing the polarizing effects of the organization’s work, this chapter seeks to present a balanced understanding of the World Bank, drawing from a range of sources whose opinions differ widely.

Next follows an introduction to the chronicle that appears in Mexico and Brazil. This section argues that the contemporary manifestations of the chronicle in these two countries represent a common genre, a contention not before made and worthy of further study. Building this argument, the chapter outlines the divergent path--from a common origin--taken by the chronicle in each country to arrive at today’s forms. This presentation benefits from a remarkably small amount of research, fortunately produced by excellent scholars in Latin America and the United States.

The second chapter, “Natural Disaster in Mexico City,” considers the work of chroniclers and the World Bank following a massive earthquake that struck Mexico City in 1985. The destruction caused by this natural disaster exposed the conditions faced by the urban poor in Mexico City and serves as an initiating event, a focal point for a contemporary conception of urban development in Mexico’s capital. The chapter explores chronicles of Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis, identifying shared, thematic concerns that are remarkably consistent with those addressed in two projects implemented by the World Bank in the aftermath of the earthquake.

The third chapter, “Urban Poverty in Rio de Janeiro,” pulls from the writings of five chroniclers: Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Luis Fernando Veríssimo, Marina

Colasanti, Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna and Diogo Mainardi. Coupled with their considerations of factors contributing to and resulting from poverty in Rio de Janeiro, this chapter also studies a pair of loans made by the World Bank. In addition to the specific project documents, consideration is given to high-level presentations by the World Bank on its website as well as the Country Assistance Strategy document which outlines current thought on Brazil. As with its work in Mexico City, the World Bank's projects address many of the same concerns identified by the chroniclers. However, including the other World Bank documentation reveals certain disconnects that exist between the site-specific project texts and the publicly-facing sources.

The final chapter, "Transportation and Shantytowns," approaches a pair of sectoral concerns addressed by the World Bank and chroniclers in both Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro. Beginning with the transportation sector, the chapter focuses primarily on Mexico City's Metro system as addressed by the World Bank and Carlos Monsiváis. A brief study of the subway system in Rio de Janeiro then presents a contrastive example of the World Bank's work in this sector throughout Latin America.

Next, this chapter transitions its primary focus on Rio de Janeiro, questioning the absence of work by the World Bank to address the issues brought about by the city's slum areas, called favelas. Relying upon the chronicles of Diogo Mainardi, this chapter also incorporates a fictional work set in the favelas as it critiques the dearth of both loans and research undertaken by the World Bank.

The Brazilian chronicler Marina Colasanti wrote "Eu sei mas não devia" (I know but I shouldn't) in 1972 and its message remains pertinent to this day.¹ Her chronicle

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this project are my own.

observes that “[a] gente se acostuma a coisas demais, para não sofrer” (people get used to too many things, in order not to suffer; Eu sei 10). Along with its other objectives, his project seeks to create an informative space from which to comprehend the workings of international development. Colasanti concludes her chronicle:

A gente se acostuma para não se ralar na aspereza, para preservar a pele. Se acostuma para evitar feridas, sangramentos, para esquivar-se de faca e baioneta, para poupar o peito. A gente se acostuma para poupar a vida. Que aos poucos se gasta, e que, gasta de tanto acostumar, se perde de si mesma. (10)

People get used to things so the harshness does not grate, to preserve their skin. They get used to things to avoid wounds, bleeding, to avoid the knife and bayonet, to protect their chest. People get used to guarding their lives. Some few wear themselves out, in other words, it costs so much to get used to things, they lose themselves.

The World Bank specifically and the international development community in general must not only know of the lives led by the recipients of their aid, but must also work to address development concerns in a way that will aid the target populations. The chronicles of these two urban centers offer one--excellent--tool for this to happen. Not only in a retroactive sense to evaluate the World Bank’s past work, but also a way to apprehend the cultural and social environments in which new projects will be implemented.

CHAPTER 1
THE WORLD BANK AND THE LATIN AMERICAN CHRONICLE

Once one starts to think about [questions addressed by
development economics], it is hard to think about anything else.

Robert Lucas

Due to its work in development as well as its political constitution, the World Bank draws intense scrutiny of its projects and publications. Often strongly polarized, typical studies of the World Bank tend to present the organization as savior or horror, liberator or enslaver. This project presents the chronicle as a means of apprehending the work of the World Bank from a non-predetermined perspective. The chronicles considered in this dissertation do not overtly discuss the World Bank. Instead, they proffer a description of the situations in which the World Bank functions, the social settings that are affected by the Bank. When considered alongside the literature produced by the World Bank, the chronicle then becomes a complementary genre, allowing for analysis of the projects and work of the international development organization. This project uses the conjunction of these two literatures to comment evaluatively on past projects as well as indicators for locations deserving of the World Bank's attention. As indicators, these not only point to areas that could benefit from the Bank's involvement

but also contribute to the social studies that are essential for the creation of viable and successful projects.

This chapter develops the framework on which the discussions in subsequent chapters will rely. The first section presents an overview of the World Bank, outlining its constituent organizations and their separate roles. Next is a brief history of the World Bank as contextualized within international development over the last sixty years.

The second section of this chapter introduces the Mexican and the Brazilian chronicle as a common literary form before exploring its relevance for the greater project. Following the presentation of various definitions of the literary-journalistic genre, this section will provide a general, historical overlay to the specific histories of the Mexican and Brazilian chronicles before moving into a discussion of contemporary characteristics of the form. After considering the characteristics of the genre, this section discusses the function of the chronicle as social commentary and finally the importance of the chronicle in this project, focusing upon the role of the Latin American chronicle as it relates to the work of the World Bank. Beginning with an historical sketch of the chronicle in both Brazil and Mexico, this section will lay out the historical trends that have led to the contemporary manifestations of the chronicle to be considered in this project.

The World Bank and International Development

The World Bank Group, an international lending organization constituted by 185 member countries, employs over 10,000 individuals at its headquarters in Washington, DC and in offices around the world. This organization, referred to for the rest of this dissertation as the World Bank, is made up of five institutions: the International Bank for

Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA) with their three affiliates: the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). As affiliates, the IFC, MIGA and ICSID typically function independently from the IBRD and IDA.

Representatives of forty-five Allied nations established the IBRD, along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), in July of 1944 during a conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. These organizations came into existence with the goal of reconstructing countries devastated in World War II as well as preventing the global economic conditions that pulled the world into this conflict. Sebastian Mallaby, biographer of James Wolfensohn, World Bank President (1995-2004), observes that those attending the conference recognized that “the hyperinflation and mass unemployment of the interwar period had fueled the rise of fascism and communism in Europe: desperation had led to desperate isms” (2).

Often termed “sister institutions” due to their co-creation at Bretton Woods as well as a history of working together closely, it is important to distinguish between the World Bank and the IMF. Because this distinction between the organizations is frequently misunderstood, the World Bank Group’s brochure, “World Bank Group: Working for a World Free of Poverty,” actually contains a separate section that outlines the differences:

People sometimes confuse us [the World Bank Group] with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which was also set up at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944. Although the IMF’s functions complement ours, it is a totally separate organization. While we provide support to developing countries, the IMF aims to stabilize the international monetary system and monitors the world’s currencies. (1)

According to the IMF's website, "the IMF is an organization of 184 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty." In contrast, the World Bank Group focuses its work to reduce worldwide poverty by, "promoting growth to create employment opportunities; and helping poor people to take advantage of these opportunities" (World Bank Group Brochure 1). The World Bank brochure states that, "we support governments of member countries in their efforts to invest in schools and health centers, provide water and electricity, fight disease and protect the environment" (1). In other words, whereas the IMF focuses primarily on global, macroeconomic issues, the World Bank Group, while remaining cognizant of the global conditions, focuses much of its effort on country-specific concerns.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) approved its first loan for \$250 million to France in 1947 to aid reconstruction following World War II--in real monetary terms the single largest loan ever granted by the World Bank. Due to constituting articles that outlined the scope and limitations of the World Bank's funding, the approval of this first loan occurred two years following its official establishment. As most countries required help with balance of payment issues following the second World War, the nascent World Bank was unable to approve many loans. Balance of Payments is a record of economic transactions between one country and the rest of the world, composed of trade, services, and capital flows. The World Bank was not allowed to fund projects in countries whose Balance of Payments exceeded certain levels--and many countries faced Balance of Payments crises following the devastation of the Second World War.

Just one month following the approval of the loan to France, the United States implemented the Marshall Plan, a program that offered financial and material aid to war-torn European nations. The United States adopted this plan in order to avoid the international approval process as well as the Balance of Payments conditions that restricted loans made by the IBRD. Mallaby observes, “barely a month after its first loan the Bank’s purpose is obviated” (2). Thus the United States assumed responsibility through the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction.

Luckily for the continued existence of the World Bank, a Mexican delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 submitted an amendment to add the word, “development,” to the original organization’s name--the International Bank for Reconstruction--thus placing both reconstruction and development on the same footing. This seemingly minor addition to the World Bank’s mandate--Mexico also convinced fellow delegates to accept silver as possible medium for storing foreign reserves, which was seen as a much greater negotiation win at the time than augmenting the name--offered a path for continued viability as an international lending organization.

The IBRD works with countries deemed credit worthy, providing loans that charge interest with varying lengths imposed for repayment. According to Venugopal Reddy’s book, World Bank Borrower’s Perspectives (1985):

The success of the Bank as a development institution is considered to be closely related to the success as a financial institution, which, in turn, is linked to the quality of its loan portfolio and uses to which these loans are put, thus deriving continuous support from the financial markets to serve as an expanding development institution. (52)

Therefore, all projects funded by the World Bank should be economically viable and align with the individual governments’ development priorities in order to support the

loan's viability. To this day, the organization's charter requires government guarantees, often including financial commitments when providing loans. Typically, the IBRD must fund specific activities, although exceptions have been regularly made. Furthermore, all funding must relate to economic development and must eschew military or politically motivated projects (Reddy 51).

As the organization relies on repayment for its continued existence, those working for the IBRD found themselves unable to extend credit to poorer countries, especially when Asian and African nations joined and began requesting loans.¹ The IBRD procures the majority of its resources from global financial markets, markets whose caretakers look with distrust upon development projects that often have little certainty of financial security. Addressing nations whose development projects presented this type of uncertainty, the International Development Agency (IDA) began its work in 1960, “[providing] assistance for the same purposes as the IBRD, but only to the poorer countries, with far softer terms” (Reddy 22). The IDA's website describes its objectives thus:

IDA's long-term, no-interest loans pay for programs that build the policies, institutions, infrastructure and human capital needed for equitable and environmentally sustainable development. IDA grants go to poor countries already vulnerable to debt or confronting the ravages of HIV/AIDS or natural disasters.

Every three years the member nations of the World Bank Group make a deposit into the IDA that partly-funds its continued operations. The largest donors, accounting for sixty percent of total contributions, include the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, France, Italy and Canada. The five largest borrowers are Pakistan, Vietnam,

¹ For detailed information on the entry of nations to the World Bank, navigate to <www.worldbank.org> and select the About and then History links.

Tanzania, Ethiopia and India. The fourteenth replenishment of the IDA occurred in 2005 at which time approximately \$18 billion was added by forty donor nations. The remainder of the \$33 billion operating budget of the IDA is acquired through various financial markets.

Along with the IBRD and IDA, the World Bank Group has three affiliates: the International Finance Corporation, the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency. The IFC was created in 1956 and offers loans to the private sector with terms very similar to those available through commercial markets. The IFC maintains the goals of the World Bank Group, making available funding and advising that ultimately seek to limit poverty and improve living conditions in the developing world. Specifically, the IFC functions on the beliefs that “sound economic growth is key to poverty reduction; that it is grounded in the development of entrepreneurship and successful private investment; and that a conducive business environment is needed for the latter to thrive and contribute to improving people's lives” (IFC website).

Established in 1966, ICSID offers its services to mediate investment disputes between governments and foreign investors. Finally, MIGA was created in 1988 to promote foreign direct investment in developing countries. MIGA offers insurance, advising and dispute mediation services for private investors with the objective of mitigating somewhat the risks that limit foreign investment in developing nations.

Prior to presenting a high-level overview of World Bank operations and then a brief history of the World Bank’s work since 1945, it is important to have in mind a range of motivations and benefits held by donors and recipients of this organization’s aid.

Donor nations may be motivated by any number of factors, including the strengthening of political ties to a certain region or country, opening new markets for the donor nation's products or developing an economy in a target nation that would be beneficial for the donor's own economy. Moreover, these projects often allow experts from the donor nations to develop working knowledge of the developing nation's economic, social and political realities. The donor nation may secure profitable contracts for their own goods and services as part of funded projects; the developing nations may increase demand for imports from donor nations; and funded projects may serve to promote economic and political stability in a region (Reddy 9-11).

Definite concerns accompany these benefits to the donor nations. A frequent charge alleges that these development programs, often rife with corruption at the national and international levels, are designed to benefit the commercial and industrial needs of the donors rather than serve the target populations. Some believe that this has led to a systematic--perhaps intentional--entrapment of the developing nations in a web of debt as well as the erosion of sovereignty and distortion of the socio-political balance (Reddy 11). Published allegations, including the memoir Confessions of an Economic Hit Man (2005) by John Perkins, have become New York Times International Bestsellers.

Moreover, nations receiving aid from the World Bank complain of inadequate representation in the Bank's governance. These arguments continue as concerns are raised about the funding decisions of the World Bank, whose lending resources have declined in real terms in recent decades. Given the increasing availability of loans in the international capital markets, many countries elect to borrow from institutions that may not include the same restrictions and requirements as contingent to the loans.

These restrictions and requirements have been called into question in recent years. Especially acerbic complaints arise in response to the World Bank Group's history of structural adjustment requirements, arguing that "borrowers at times receive accelerated disbursements, but are asked to make policy reforms quickly and at difficult times" (Reddy 61). Often required when the World Bank Group and the IMF work jointly, these structural adjustment obligations may require the following of developing nation: trade liberalization, liberalization of capital controls, reduction of all kinds of state regulation, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and liberalization of labor markets.

Joseph Stiglitz, recipient of the Nobel Prize in Economics, argues that this rapidity in disbursements and the accompanying swiftness of policy reforms played no small part in the deepening of international economic crises in the last one hundred years. Consistently critical of the IMF throughout his career, Stiglitz writes:

Perhaps of all the IMF's blunders, it is the mistakes in sequencing and pacing, and the failure to be sensitive to the broader social context, that have received the most attention--forcing liberalization before safety nets were put in place, before there was an adequate regulatory framework, before the countries could withstand the adverse consequences of the sudden changes in market sentiment that are part and parcel of modern capitalism. (73)

It is important to note that the World Bank has also included these types of policy reforms as requirements for loan approvals. As mentioned above, these types of requirements most commonly attach to the non-project based, macroeconomic loans made by the World Bank, often in conjunction with institutions such as the IMF. However, many of the structural adjustment conditions have continued to be part of poverty reduction frameworks included in current World Bank work.

In addition to the concerns presented above, the IDA's work faces specific challenges to its continued existence. To begin, countries such as the United States have pressured the organization to reduce the period or maturity for the credits granted to developing nations. In addition, pressure has increased to impose different lending requirements, including repayment periods as well as interest rates, on different countries. Many have argued for interest rates that fall between the current IDA levels and those employed by the IBRD in order to recover some of the funds loaned in these programs.

In general, tensions exist between wealthy members who control the votes, and thus the agenda, of the World Bank and the poorer countries that wish to have more influence on the workings of the organization. Currently, the United States is the largest shareholder in the Bank, controlling 16.41% of the votes, followed by Japan (7.87%), Germany (4.49%), the United Kingdom (4.31%) and France (4.31%) (World Bank Group Brochure 11). These percentages align with the original capital investments made by these countries at the World Bank's founding. Discussions have begun in recent years to address the representational power held by member nations, with some members suggesting a redistribution of voting rights accompanied by the requisite investments. At the time of writing this project, no plans have been adopted to enact such changes.

The World Bank utilizes a number of funding devices, including grants, loans and direct investment. Imposing no future liabilities, grants from the World Bank usually flow through governmental channels. Loans, requiring the recipient to repay both principal and interest, typically carry more favorable terms than can be obtained through traditional financial institutions. These loans can be of two types: concessional and non-concessional. Concessional loans normally include no interest charges and provide for

considerably longer grace periods and repayment timeframes than do non-concessional loans. Finally the World Bank extends credit through direct investment, usually in the private sector (Reddy 1-3).

The different financing vehicles mainly fund four different types of aid: project aid, non-project aid, technical assistance and commodity aid. Project aid links funding to a defined project that carries with it preparatory and evaluation components. Non-project aid includes balance of payments support, normally linked to conditions imposed on macroeconomic policy. The World Bank also provides technical assistance to developing nations, having worked to aggregate its sixty years of experience in international development. Finally, the World Bank provides commodity aid, often aligned with the “disposal of surplus production in donor countries” (Reddy 6).

A brief précis presenting the establishment of modern development economics, beginning in the late 1940s, will prove helpful to understand the work of the World Bank over the last sixty years. According to Gerald Meier, development economics arose alongside the “wide-spread movement of political independence” in Asia, Africa and Latin America accompanied by a changing perception in the developed world of its (mostly southern) neighbors (Meier 69). Meier traces the developed world’s perception of these developing economies, following the eighteenth century’s view of them as “rude and barbarous,” to the nineteenth century’s as “backward,” then “underdeveloped” prior to the second World War. In the 1940s, these regions came to be considered the “less developed countries” or the “poor countries,” with the industrialized nations named the “emergent countries” and “developing economies” (Meier 69). The change in focus

heralding new conceptions of economic approach spread rapidly in influence, both in the developed and developing economies.

Throughout the 1950s and mid-1960s, approaches to development revolved around aggregate economic growth, with development policies emphasizing “the maximization of growth of GNP through capital accumulation and industrialization based on import substitution” (Meier 69).² With recent, global market failures firmly in mind, governments pushed strongly for central planning of their economies and exhibited a “general optimism with respect to what could be accomplished by emphasizing planned investment in new physical capital, utilizing reserves of surplus labor, adopting import-substitution industrialization policies, embracing central planning of change, and relying on foreign aid” (Meier 69). However, this optimism was tempered by distrust in the “external conditions of development,” which only served to strengthen policies focused on internal economic development.

In Latin America, the post-WWII 1950s offer an historical entry into a discussion leading to contemporary economic development conditions. When addressing detriments to economic growth, many Latin American economists began focusing their attention on foreign exchange constraints rather than savings. Due to a lack in available foreign exchange owing to rebuilding efforts coming out of the Second World War, many Latin American economies were forced to deal with markets unfriendly to traditional exports. Through Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), these countries promoted domestic production of certain small and medium industrial goods to offset the dearth of foreign

² Gross National Product (GNP) vs. Gross Domestic Product (GDP): GDP calculates the total, final outputs of goods and services produced within a country by residents and non-residents. GNP includes the same components as does GDP as well as incomes accruing to residents from abroad, less the income earned in the domestic economy accruing to nonresidents.

imports. Any foreign exchange was directed into obtaining the industrial foundation with which to manufacture these products.³ In addition to delivering products whose supply was limited by world economic conditions, designers of these new approaches hoped to increase employment in the new industries created.

According to James Wolfensohn, former president of the World Bank, the idea of development began to transition in 1965 from this purely aggregate, economic idea to become “more identified with processes of social and economic change” (Wolfensohn and Bourguignon 3). Due to empirical limitations, Wolfensohn explains that “these attempts were based on a rather simple vision of what constitutes development and distribution” (4). Often termed the second wave of development economics, international organizations began to focus more directly on poverty and inequality; “trickle down” approaches were proving unsuccessful and measures of absolute poverty had continued to increase. Meier observes that “instead of worshiping at the altar of GNP, many economists added other dimensions to the objectives of development” (Meier 69). For example, funding of rural development began to replace industrial development and a focus on physical capital gave way to a growing emphasis on human resources (69).

The World Bank followed closely the overall trends of international development in the middle of the twentieth century. With its loans focusing primarily on large-scale infrastructure projects (i.e. transportation, electric supply, telecommunications and, later, irrigation), the World Bank approached its work in developing nations through an attempt to place individual projects within the greater context of the country’s economic

³ Products manufactured in Latin America as part of ISI include such disparate products as matches, shoes and automobiles. It should be emphasized that ISI did not typically include heavy industrial production, such as the machines used in the manufacturing of these products--these remained imports from abroad.

conditions (Reddy 68). As their connection to the promotion of economic growth was appreciated, agriculture, education and industrial growth joined the original infrastructure projects being funded in the second half of the decade.

In the early 1970s, directors at the World Bank began to question the trickle-down theory of development and joined the existing measures of economic rates of return with that of the social rate of return, leading to “important innovation[s] in project appraisals” (Reddy 69). The first of two oil shocks in the 1970s caused the World Bank to “liberalize its approach to program loans [...] giving quick transfer of resources to ensure imports, [and to] maintain development-momentum” (Reddy 69). In response to the Yom Kippur War between Israel, Syria and Egypt in 1973, the Arab nations in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), implemented an oil embargo on nations supporting Israel. This embargo lasted from October 17, 1973 through March 17, 1974.

In conjunction with this macroeconomic work, the World Bank also began financing projects at the local level, especially in education and agriculture. Far from a smooth transition in policy, this work in localities faced stringent opposition from those who felt that the World Bank needed “to concern itself with generation of foreign exchange surplus,” thus promoting the country’s ability to repay the loan (Reddy 69). Robert McNamara, the World Bank’s president from 1968 to 1981, championed these changes and ensured their implementation.

In general terms, the oil shock of 1973 ended two decades of generally positive results of this ISI model throughout the Latin American region. Meier suggests that “perhaps the biggest limitation of Latin American development in the postwar period has been its modest social achievements in the process of economic growth” (54). The lack

of development in these social infrastructures undermined the countries' ability to adapt to the series of economic disruptions.

A second oil crisis occurred in 1979 in response to the Iranian Revolution. The shock pushed the World Bank to increase its exposure in the energy sector, particularly in oil production and exploration. The struggles of the Latin American countries (in addition to nations around the world) in this time encouraged the imposition of structural adjustment conditionalities. Reddy observes, "it was felt that the structure of the economies of some of the developing countries need to undergo fundamental changes to adjust to a totally changing international economic and balance of payments position, consequent upon what was perceived as an irrevocable hike in the price of energy" (70).

The late 1970s and 1980s saw a resurgence of neoclassical economics. Defined by Paul Samuelson as the "study of choice under conditions of scarcity" (5), in general terms, its focus turned to addressing what were seen as the inappropriate policies that stunted economic development.

Robert Gilpin writes in Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order (2001): "although there is intense controversy within the economics profession concerning market failure and what, if anything, should be done about it, most economists would agree that the problem of government failure--policies that distort the market and cause gross inefficiencies--constitutes a more serious problem" (68). These neoclassical economic approaches were applied to country specific cases rather than providing an identical fix for each country, often taking the form of structural adjustment requirements tied into loan approvals.

These structural adjustment policies were unable to influence sufficiently the affected developing economies. Many countries found themselves unable to contribute to the World Bank's approved projects--government financing of these projects remains an important component of nearly all loans--thus limiting the quantity of loans and funds available for development. Reddy comments:

It will, therefore, be seen that over the years lending policies of the World Bank moved from one of reconstruction through financing of individual projects to a growing emphasis on the package of economic policies of the country concerned through the concept of structural adjustment lending. Indeed the prerequisite for the World Bank lending to a country in the early 80s was appropriate economic response. (72)

These imposed conditionalities became especially widespread in Latin America as the World Bank worked closely with the IMF throughout the 1980s to address various economic crises. The high oil prices that spurred the oil crisis in the 1970s actually provided Mexico and Brazil--both oil producing nations--with tremendous wealth. Investing great amounts of these resources in international banks that in turn provided massive loans in Latin America, Brazil and Mexico were eventually overwhelmed by foreign debt as economies throughout the region found themselves unable to service the debt.

Emerging from the global economic crises in the 1980s--whose intensities and duration many attribute to the same structural adjustment policies that were implemented to counter them--international development began to alter its approach. While Gilpin acknowledges the effectiveness of neoclassical economic theory when evaluating data that can be manipulated in economic models, he recognizes that these theories do "not provide an adequate conceptual framework for the analysis and understanding of economic change and the dynamics of the global economy" (103).

The 1990s saw widespread attempts at economic reform in Latin America. Many countries in this region adopted renewed structural adjustment policies that included loosened trade restrictions and the privatization of state-owned industries. Despite these reforms, Meier identifies a number of continued issues in Latin America, including the deterioration of physical infrastructure, increases in poverty levels, inflationary pressures and political institutions that did not enjoy the same modernization as did the economies (Meier 58). Moreover, those countries that did manage to attract foreign direct investment also struggled with current account deficits as well as pressures caused by strengthening exchange rates.

The last fifteen years have witnessed significant changes in the world of international development policy. Reacting to the world debt crises of the 1980s, multi-national development organizations, including the World Bank, have sought new approaches towards planning, implementing and evaluating projects within the developing world. In union with these new approaches, the United Nations produced the Millennium Development Goals, which tend to mirror contemporary priorities for the international development community.⁴ Rather than a focus on aggregate economic growth on a regional or global scale, a move has been made recently to focus on smaller-scale projects with the primary goal of eradicating poverty.

Aligned with the Millennium Development Goals, the international development community has begun to focus its efforts on eliminating extreme poverty,⁵ considering

⁴ Ratified by the United Nations in 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) include the following: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Achieve universal primary education; Promote gender equality and empower women; Reduce child mortality; Improve maternal health; Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; Ensure environmental sustainability; Develop a global partnership for development. It should be noted that the MGDs have received strongly conflicting evaluations.

⁵ Extreme poverty is defined as living on under \$1 per day.

this goal as the most effective path towards helping the developing world. Jeffrey Sachs, one of the main contributors to the Millennium Development Goals, contends that a significant population of the world, as large as one sixth of the global population, lives in extreme poverty and is caught in a poverty trap from which they cannot escape without aid. For Sachs, “our generation’s challenge is to help the poorest of the poor to escape the misery of extreme poverty so that they may begin their own ascent up the ladder of economic development” (24).

Many working in international development, such as Wendy Harcourt⁶ argue strongly that Sachs’ is an objectionable approach as it places the onus on developing (Southern”) nations to alter their social, economic and cultural structures (Harcourt lecture). Instead, Harcourt espouses a focus on what she considers the true source of economic disparity in the world: the patterns of life in developed (Northern”) countries. While Sachs’ work has garnered tremendous publicity and served to maintain the public visibility of his work, Harcourt’s critiques function as a cautionary articulation for any foray into international development policy.

Other economists contribute their objections to Sachs’ approach to development. William Easterly, a professor of economics at New York University and previously a research economist for the World Bank, opines in The White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done so Much Ill and so Little Good (2006) that “setting a prefixed (and grandiose) goal is irrational because there is no reason to assume that the goal is attainable at a reasonable cost with the available means” (11). He

⁶ Wendy Harcourt is the Chair of Women in Development as well as a program adviser at the development NGO (non-government organization) Society for International Development and editor of the journal, Development.

critiques approaches to development, as represented by Sachs's work, that "keep pouring resources into a fixed objective, despite many previous failures at reaching that objective, despite a track record that suggests the objective is infeasible or the plan unworkable" (12). Instead, Easterly calls for an approach that focuses upon the needs of the poor, that function in a flexible environment of implementations guided by general rather than specific objectives.

Nicholas Stern, Chief Economist and Senior Vice-President of the World Bank from 2000 to 2003, offers the following insights into the application of economic models in a development environment:

General economic principles are precisely too general to give us insights into applications for less developed economies. Alone, the parts of economic theory and method that apply more or less universally tell us less than we need in particular applications. To give them life they have to be enlarged and translated [...]. Development economics consists in part of the refinement of general economics to deal with questions which arise in the context of development, and partly of certain special ideas which have proved useful in studying developing countries. (74)

Stern recognizes that general economic approaches lack sufficient nuance and adaptability to address disparate development environments. In order to give life to the economic approaches to development, to enlarge and translate the social conditions into which the World Bank's work enters, this project contends that a study of chronicles can be highly effective.

The Latin American Chronicle

Having enjoyed a long history in Latin America dating back to the Iberian conquest of the continent, the chronicle provides a valuable counterpoint to the literature of the World Bank. Distributed in many types of publications, the chronicle reacts to social realities through a wide array of literary forms. Depending on the author and

subject, chronicles may take the form of traditional editorials, poetry, short stories, journalistic exposés and many other forms and combinations. With enormous popularity in both Mexico and Brazil, this form reacts to many of the same urban issues addressed by the work of the World Bank from the perspectives of perceptive and intelligent writers. The connections in subject matter shared between the chronicles and the World Bank will be explored in subsequent chapters.

Richard Preto-Rodas affirms that the Portuguese “word crônica has no exact equivalent in English” (xv). This same observation is true of the Spanish word, crónica. The English term, “chronicle,” employed in this project to reference the form describes writing that relates events, typically without the overt editorialized interpretations of the author presenting the information. However, as there is a need in this project to consider these writings from Mexico and Brazil as a common genre, “chronicle” will be used. When discussing a specific aspect, critique or manifestation of the genre in one of the target countries, the majority of scholars and chroniclers will use either crónica or crônica, addressing either the Mexican or Brazilian product, respectively. In these instances, the original language will be maintained.

According to Linda Egan, the colonial chronicles employed an ancient format that she terms the “recognizable offspring” of Herodotus’ Histories, whose progression she traces through fifth century BCE forms that “recorded and recreated changes in human consciousness and social structures” (86). From there the ancestry moves through non-fictional accounts in Medieval Europe and Renaissance chronicles in Spain that “mirror[ed] both elite and popular cultural aspects of contemporary society in times of radical change” (Egan 86).

Similar developments occurred in Portugal. A particularly important collection of writing, the Códices Alcobacenses, accumulated in a monastery in Alcobça, Portugal.

A. F. de Ataíde e Melo writes in an introduction to a series of volumes devoted these codices:

Os que hoje existem, alguns deles do século XII, são notáveis documentos de paleografia e iluminuras recomendando-se, além disso, sob a ponto de vista filológico, pelos elementos que oferecem sobre a formação e evolução de nosso idioma no que respeita a originais escritos em português antigo. (7)

Those that exist today, some from the twelfth century, are notable paleographical and illuminating documents recommending themselves, moreover, from the philological point of view, through the elements that they offer about the formation and evolution of our language with respect to original writing in Old Portuguese.

The form that developed throughout the Iberian Peninsula joined the Spanish and the Portuguese as they sailed to today's Latin America.

The chronicle has existed in Latin America since the Iberian conquest in the fifteenth century. Carlos Monsiváis describes Spanish and Portuguese colonizers--both secular and religious--who endeavored "to seize the sensations of the moment, to capture chronos, to defend themselves from the enemy's version of history, to implicitly and explicitly celebrate their own grandeur, to save others' souls against their will, and to announce the blessings of Heaven" (Corona 26).⁷

The chronicle acquired renewed significance in Spanish-speaking Latin America during the nineteenth century as the former colonies of Spain attempted to assert their independence through the development of national identities. Monsiváis traces the form

⁷ The quotations from Monsiváis come from his essay, "On the Chronicle in Mexico" that appears, in English translation, in Corona and Jörgensen's The Contemporary Mexican Chronicle: Theoretical Perspectives on the Liminal Genre. I have been unable to find the original, Spanish version of the essay and so this section relies on Derek A. Petrey's translation found in this collection of essays.

through the first half of the nineteenth century, observing that the chronicle offered writers “the opportunity to combine in one single text political statement, national memory, a message to friends, and a great memorial that the nation exists because there was someone to describe it and interpret its realities by naming them” (26-27). As national boundaries consolidated, these writings addressed the local and regional, placing them within national boundaries. Monsiváis observes that “in those years the lines between chronicle and short story are blurred since writers tried to cast speech in the role of a main character” (28).

The Brazilian chronicle also transformed in the middle of the nineteenth century. This mid-century development transitioned from the folhetim, an antecedent form described by Antonio Cândido as “um artigo de rodapé sobre as questões do dia--políticas, sociais, artísticas, literárias” (an artigo de rodapé⁸ about the questions of the day--whether political, societal, artistic, literary; 15). The folhetim grew out of the French form, the *feuilleton*, published in newspapers and typically presenting light commentary on social and political issues. Growing shorter in length and acquiring a recognizable voice that could be identified to a certain author, this transition into the modern chronicle aimed to “informar e comentar [...] para ficar sobretudo com a de divertir” (inform and comment [...] with the ultimate goal of entertaining; Cândido 15).

Magarida de Souza Neves observes that “sem dúvida a riqueza do comentário imediato sobre a vida da cidade, aliado à qualidade literária inquestionável de alguns cronistas, dilui as fronteiras entre prazer e ofício para o historiador que se aventure a explorar essa particular documentação” (without a doubt the richness of timely

⁸ Literally, footnoted article, the folhetim appeared towards the bottom of the newspaper, separated from the other articles.

commentary about the life of the city, joined with the unquestionable literary quality of some chroniclers, diluted the frontiers between pleasure and work for the historian that adventures to explore this particular documentation; 77). This transformation in content was mirrored by a move to simplicity and natural, often colloquial, voice. Cândido writes, “num país como o Brasil, onde se costumava identificar a superioridade intelectual e literária com grandiloquência e requinte gramatical, a crônica operou milagres de simplificação e naturalidade, que atingiram o ponto máximo nos nossos dias” (in a country like Brazil, where it was customary to identify intellectual and literary superiority with grandiloquence and grammatical refinement, the crônica performed miracles of simplicity and naturalness, that has reached its high point in our days; 16).

In Mexico, the rapid urbanization and industrialization in the nineteenth century, with the accompanying cultural and social changes, brought about new manifestations of the chronicle. Influenced heavily by the political situation in the city and country, the Mexican chronicle varied between what Monsiváis describes as “una misión política y patriótica” (a political and patriotic mission; 23); “los cuadros de costumbre” (portraits of customs; 24); or the “espejo de concordia y utopia” (mirror of concord and utopia; A ustedes 28).

His writing bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Machado de Assis receives credit from many scholars for cementing the transition in Brazil, altering the genre’s target audience by moving the genre away from intellectualizing and to a form accessible to a larger group of people. Souza Neves observes how Machado de Assis plays on a need to “insistem em identificar origens, situá-las no tempo cronológico, estabelecer períodos cuja arbitrariedade das demarcações tenta-se em vão ocultar por trás

de argumentações mais o menos científicas, traçar, enfim, uma evolução no tempo considerado como um dado” (insist on identifying origins, situate them in chronological time, establish periods whose arbitrariness of demarcations are attempted to be made unclear through more or less scientific argumentations, tracing, in the end, a temporal evolution considered as fact; 75-76). This tension between fact and construction becomes the centerpiece of the chronicle.

Monsiváis presents the reception of the Mexican chronicle in the 1960s, describing how “the apogee of narrative literature has resulted in a disdain of journalism, characterizing it as what the English critic Cyril Connolly calls one of the great ‘enemies of promise’ [...] chroniclers are seen as worshippers of the past or the present, divulggers or false scholars of guaranteed trivialities” (31). However, the social and political realities of this same decade in many ways launched the contemporary chronicle. Egan finds that those commenting on the contemporary chronicle “attribute its particular truth-claim to the angst inherent not only in its postcolonial condition but also in its immediate connection to those traumatic social dislocations of the 1960s” (88). One of these dislocations, the Mexican Student Movement,⁹ greatly influenced Carlos Monsiváis who has been one of the most influential chroniclers--indeed, writers--in Mexico over the last thirty-five years. And Monsiváis, along with his peers, has had a remarkable font of material from which to pull, including:

Civil unrest and violence; imperialism and chaos abroad; assassination of heroes; radical negation of the familiar and reliable; a process aided by institutionalized non-conformism and mind altering drugs; the computer-capable imaginations will send human being to walk about in a fantastically distant space and, even, to obliterate time itself, or conventional notions of it. (Egan 87)

⁹ For more information on the Student Movement, see Chapter 2.

Of course, chroniclers in Brazil have lived through a half-century of incredible events as well, with their own social and political upheaval in the 1960s: the assumption of power by a military dictatorship that lasted for twenty-one years.

In their introduction to The Contemporary Mexican Chronicle: Theoretical Perspectives on the Liminal Genre, Corona and Jörgensen observe that no books or even special issues of scholarly journals exist that discuss the theory and analysis of the chronicles produced in Mexico. Seeking to explain the dearth of research on this thriving and popular genre, they propose that “the attempt to isolate chronicles from other brief journalistic subgenres and from literary journalism is difficult given the enormous feedback and intermingling among them. Together they define and shape the adaptability of this flexible, fleeting, and yet always contemporary genre” (12-13). Indeed, the same components that present difficulties for proposing a fixed definition of the chronicle actually fuel the continued consumption of a constantly-evolving genre by the public.

Corona and Jörgensen anticipate an “increased visibility of the genre” in coming years, indicating Linda Egan’s strong work on Carlos Monsiváis as well as recent dissertations produced in the United States as support for this claim (3). In addition to these works, one may also look to Mexican Voices: crónica de crónicas (2004), edited by Ilan Stavans, that offers a variety of approaches to the genre. This work includes scholarly articles as well as meta-critical works translated from contemporary Mexican chroniclers. Also, Carlos Monsiváis has prepared multiple editions of A ustedes les consta: Antología de la crónica en México (2003) that presents a number of important Mexican chroniclers along with Monsiváis’ own thoughts on the genre. The Brazilian crônica also lacks comprehensive study. Nonetheless, one excellent collection of essays

stands out: A crônica: O gênero, sua fixação e suas transformações no Brasil (1992) edited by Antônio Cândido.

As in Mexico, various collections of chronicles from single, well-known authors are published each year in Brazil. These collections bring together selections of chronicles that have originally been published, typically in newspapers or magazines. Given the great popularity of the genre in the two countries, most of these collections are intended for a general audience and lack the introductory theorizing that accompany scholarly works. Even the few works that have been translated into English contain very little introduction to the genre, presenting instead biographical information of the author and/or brief historical data contextualizing the selections chosen. What theory of the chronicle that exists in these collections--such as that of Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna, to be discussed below--often appears as actual meta-chronicles that consider their own constitution.

To reiterate Corona and Jörgensen's argument for the lack of critical studies on the chronicle--whether in Mexico or in Brazil--it is important to focus on the distribution channels for these works. Contemporary chronicles in Mexico and Brazil are published primarily in newspapers and magazines.¹⁰ Although some of these chronicles make their way into collections, the chronicle begins its life alongside journalistic production and faces similar length and stylistic obligations. Moreover, as with the typical article in a newspaper or magazine, chronicles are written to be quickly consumed and pushed aside in place of the next publication.

¹⁰ However this form has extended to radio broadcasts, such as those chronicles "praticada com brilho" [practiced with brilliance] according to the Brazilian chronicler Paulo Rónai by Dinah Silveira de Queiroz and Genolino Amado. In addition, recent developments on the Internet, particularly the blog, merit study to determine their impact on the chronicle, perhaps as both an evolution in Latin America of the established genre as well as its entry into other national literary cultures.

Sant'Anna continues this observation from the perspective of the chronicler, pointing out the submission deadline that typically accompanies the task of writing in this form. He writes, “o cronista escreve com cronômetro na alma” (the chronicler writes with a chronometer in his/her soul; A vida 73). This encounter with deadlines differs greatly from other works of fiction that typically do not impose time restraints on their creations. In addition to the time given to write a chronicle, the time passing prior to public and critical reactions differs from most other forms of literature. Rather than the months or even years that may separate the completion of novels from the reviews given by the public, chroniclers may encounter public response to a chronicle within hours of it being printed.

In his article, “Um gênero brasileiro: A crônica” (A Brazilian genre: the chronicle), Paulo Rónai writes, “para qualquer brasileiro a palavra de ‘crônica’ tem sentido claro e inequívoco, embora ainda não dicionarizado; designa uma composição breve, relacionada com a atualidade, publicada em jornal ou revista” (for any Brazilian, the word ‘crônica’ has a clear and unmistakable meaning, even though it may not appear in the dictionary; it designates a brief composition, related with timeliness, published in a newspaper or magazine; 213). Richard Preto-Rodas actually suggests that Ronai’s article be re-titled “O” (The) rather than “Um” (A), asserting that “é certo que a crônica representa o gênero mais difundido no Brasil e o mais popular entre leitores (it is certain that the crônica represents the most widespread genre in Brazil and the most popular among readers; 223).

Arguably Mexico’s most notable contemporary chronicler, Carlos Monsiváis selected and published a book titled A ustedes les consta: Antología de la crónica en

México¹¹ in 1980. Twenty-three years later, Monsiváis prepared a new edition of this well-received book for which he rewrote his introduction. He writes, “[he] vencido el inútil y bizantino temor al abismo genérico entre crónica y reportaje” (I have overcome the useless and Byzantine fear of the generic abyss between chronicle and reporting; 13). He defines the Mexican chronicle as “reconstrucción literaria de sucesos o figuras, género donde el empeño formal domina sobre las urgencias informativas” (literary reconstruction of events and figures, genre where the formal engagement dominates the informative urgencies; Monsiváis’ emphasis, 13). The chronicle is poised constantly between literary subjectivity and journalistic objectivity, both in content and in structure. Rather than causing problems for the placement of the form or questioning its ability to be considered an independent genre without casting its lot with one or the other, Monsiváis presents this very balance as one of the primary characteristics of the chronicle.

Introducing his edited collection, Mexican Voices: crónica de crónicas, Ilan Stavans describes the chronicle as “a flashy, slanted depiction of an incident, an idiosyncratic prose” (5). Adding to the balance between subjectivity and objectivity, Stavans observes that the chronicler often concerns him or herself with the “freshly subjective slant the author injects into the content” more than the actual facts surrounding the chronicle’s subject (5). In this sense, the subject of the chronicle may not carry the same import as it does in a journalistic work; or rather, the subject of a journalistic work becomes an object within the chronicle.

¹¹ The title of Monsiváis’ book proves difficult to translate into English. The title suggests that his readers are already familiar with the writings contained in this anthology. A possible translation may read, “Works you already know: anthology of the chronicle in Mexico.”

A well-known chronicler in his own right, Dante Medina contributes an article to this Corona and Jörgensen's The Contemporary Mexican Chronicle. Medina attempts to capture the function of his work:

I often ask myself if writing chronicles might not be an attempt--an unfortunate attempt?--to freeze repetition. So that customs, rooms, towns, habits, urban waves, hordes of politicians, historical aberrations, series of disgraces, economic inequities, comic-opera tricks of transnationalism, won't remain immune to a power of observation that dissects them, opposes them, puts them in front of the mirror of their sometimes miniscule differences [...]. (Medina 48)¹²

In this sense, the chronicler removes an observation from the journalistic apparatus and its accompanying, pre-established semiology. By arresting the repetition of this process, the chronicler may actually enable a less-determined placement from which to observe and comment on it. Of course, this new placement may only change the apparatus to one of the chronicle, for as Medina also states, "the chronicle is the art of seeing things over again, naturally and with malice" (49).

Richard A. Preto-Rodas, Alfred Hower and Charles A. Perrone, editors of Crônicas Brasileiras: Nova Fase, define the chronicle as a brief composition that discusses nearly any topic of interest to the chronicler (xv). They assert that "no other literary genre permits such a wide spectrum of lively vignettes and perceptive comments relating to modern life and times" (xv). Charles Perrone observes in his introduction to the section on the Brazilian chronicle from the 1999 Handbook of Latin American Studies, "the space of the [chronicle] may be fiction or history, but it moves in a day-to-day realm, ranging from intimate confessions of family life to reactions to current affairs." In an introduction to the 1993 edition of the same publication, Preto-Rodas

¹² I have been unable to find the original, Spanish version of this essay. This project relies on Beth E. Jörgensen's translation found in Corona and Jörgensen's collection of essays.

states, “since the [chronicle] is sparked quite literally by anything of interest, its thematic content defies classification. One can, however, detect certain preferences that reflect the times.”

Linda Egan provides two “defining characteristics” to the contemporary chronicle, with the first pertaining to an intellectual function--combining a truth-claim to a real, historical referent and the perspectival presentation of the chronicler--and the second concerning the “genre’s emotive function” (128). The constant tension between the chronicle’s interaction with reality and the simultaneous function as entertainment create the space in which this genre works. Considering these two roles as “equal and co-existent,” Egan argues that “each itself is dual, one being ideological and critical, the other aesthetic and emotional” (128). I would argue, however, that the ideological aspect of the chronicle often--perhaps always--pertains to both the truth-claim as well as the emotive components. Regardless of the ideological processes extant in the chronicle, the form certainly “bridges empirical and poetic worlds” (Egan 80).

Offering characteristics that broadly define the genre, Rónai begins with the chronicle’s subject matter: it must respond to an “aspecto da atualidade, um evento de interesse real ou acontecimento estritamente particular” (aspect of the present, an event of real interest or strictly particular occurrence; 214). Typically thirty to sixty lines in length, its publication in a newspaper or magazine imposes strict spatial requirements that in turn influence the form. However, the chronicle tends to avoid journalistic jargon--“é como que um oasis de onde os chavões da imprensa, os clichês, as frases feitas, todas as características do estilo impresso, solene e empolado, são rigorosamente excluídos” (it is like an oasis where tired jargon of the press, the clichés, the set phrases, all the

characteristics of the journalistic style, solemn and pompous, are rigorously excluded; Rónai 215). Often presented through a tone of frivolity, the typical chronicle possesses “um caráter inconclusivo” (an inconclusive character; Rónai 215). The chronicle relies on suggestion and nuanced presentation rather than overt proselytizing. For Rónai, “uma crônica moralizante condenaria o seu autor à pena máxima; a de ser jogada com enfado na mesa” (a moralizing chronicle condemns its author to the maximum penalty; that of being thrown with anger onto the table; 215).

This writing calls for an informed public not only familiar with the events presented in the chronicle, but also with the writer’s approach to the subject matter. This becomes especially important when the chronicler relies on irony and satire to make her point, as will be the case in many chronicles presented in subsequent chapters.

The contemporary chronicle often presents a narrative voice that utilizes a hybrid first/third-person perspective. Working within the authority of journalistic medium, the chronicle’s voice constructs a shared perspective with the reader as the focus of the chronicle looks outwards at some external object. The first-person perspective of the chronicle connects with the reader, subtly influencing this reader’s reaction to the subject of the chronicle. For Egan, “the [chronicler] is the critical consciousness whom readers must be able to see at its work of witnessing while it models for them an exemplary mode of participatory--and self-critical--citizenship” (108-109). In fact, the narrative voice employed by contemporary chronicles represents a five hundred-year evolution in the form.

Souza Neves recognizes the juxtaposition of both fiction and history within the modern chronicle:

[A crônica] aparece como portada por excelência do “espírito do tempo”, por suas características formais como por seu conteúdo, pela relação que nela se instaura necessariamente entre ficção e história, pelos aspectos aparentemente casuais do cotidiano, que registra e reconstrói, como pela complexa trama de tensões e relações sociais que através delas é possível perceber. (82)

[The chronicle] appears as an ideal doorway to a “spirit of the times,” through its formal characters as much as its content, through the relation in which it installs itself necessarily between fiction and history, through aspects of apparently quotidian casualness, that it both registers and reconstructs, as through a complex drama of tensions and social relations where these are possible to perceive.

Accompanying the hybrid, narrative voice detailed above, an important characteristic of the chronicle arises in its connection to a specific moment in time; the chronicle responds to and comments upon contemporary matters. This reinforces the form’s apparent, transitory reality, whose relevance may diminish as it becomes temporally removed from the time in which it was written.

In Mexico and Brazil, the city commands an awareness of this sense of timeliness. Within the constantly and rapidly changing social, cultural and economic fabric of Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, the “city is, as never before, the real protagonist of the chronicle” (Monsiváis, Contemporary 35). In Mexico, the chronicle brings to public attention “marches that fill the Zócalo yet are hardly noticed by the population, jobs created by the economic crisis, ‘obscene’ speech that re-functionalizes and absorbs urban violence, and small swindles that prevent us from seeing the whole of the corruption” (35). The product of what Egan terms the “massification” of the modern urban center, the awareness of the public at times becomes muted by the many and varied realities existing concurrently.

Practiced throughout Brazil, the chronicle seems to be especially well produced and well received in Rio de Janeiro. The chronicle in Rio de Janeiro offers a way to “penetrar no universo contraditório e nos matizes ocultos pelo simplismo reducionista da fórmula positivista da ordem como progresso” (penetrate into the contradictory universe and hidden nuances through the reductionist simplicity of the positive formula of order as progress)¹³; Souza Neves’ emphasis, 78). For Souza Neves, the chronicle becomes a means of resistance, a repository for collective memory. In fact, the chronicle has offered a viable path through and around occasions of censorship in both Brazil and Mexico. Paradoxically, the government’s decisions to sponsor publications in these countries have opened additional possibilities for publishing, locations in which the “expressive needs of civil society increase the places where one can publish--thus limiting the censorship and raising the need to write well to gain a following” (Monsiváis, Contemporary 34).

Egan believes that the contemporary chronicle maintains a role of holding a “critical mirror up to society caught in the act of (re)inventing itself,” especially in those places where exist struggles over power (89). As a mirror, the chronicle blurs the distinction between the historical and fictional, reflecting what Souza Neves terms “imaginário coletivo” (collective imaginary; 78) that serves to create--or at least suggest the possibility of--a different reality from the one perceived by most. Rather than always looking at the future, or end products, as the site of progress she argues that the chronicle incorporates itself at the present moment in a preoccupation with “a invenção de tradições” (the invention of traditions; 78), reconstructing history.

¹³ This quote plays on the slogan appearing on the Brazilian flag, Ordem e Progresso ‘Order and Progress’, which refers to the positivistic philosophical goals influencing the country when the flag was adopted in 1989.

This intimate consideration of the present moment, created by writers living within the same social settings they explore, makes the chronicle an ideal complement for analyzing the literature of the World Bank, whose preoccupation rests firmly on the end products delivered by its work. The following chapters will engage these two genres, opening new ways of analyzing and evaluating the work of development in Latin America's urban settings.

CHAPTER 2

NATURAL DISASTER IN MEXICO CITY

El gobierno reconstruirá las instalaciones oficiales dañadas. ¿Eso incluye a la instalación llamada país?

Elena Poniatowska

Luego que se rescaten a los últimos, se regularicen la luz, el agua y los teléfonos, y se minimice el peligro, vendrá otra forma de lo peor. Falta para que esto termine, y nos tocará enterarnos, de modo fragmentario de seguro, de las proporciones de la catástrofe, de la identidad de amigos fallecidos, de los detalles dramáticos que ahora se nos ocultan, de lo que sucedió con los atrapados, con los sepultados en vida.

Carlos Monsiváis

This chapter develops thematic analyses of the literature produced by chroniclers and the World Bank following the massive earthquake that struck Mexico City in September, 1985. To present these themes, this chapter will draw upon a series of chronicles published by Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis in the months following the earthquake. In fact, this earthquake becomes a point of departure for

Carlos Monsiváis and Elena Poniatowska as well as the World Bank, serving as an initiating point from which an analysis of the chroniclers' and the World Bank's approach to contemporary manifestations of urban development can build. The earthquake in 1985 brought about an opening of awareness of urban conditions that continues to influence the work of these three entities to this day. Both Monsiváis-- Entrada libre: Crónicas de la sociedad que se organiza (1987)--and Poniatowska-- Nada, nadie: Las voces del temblor (1988)--have published separate collections of chronicles written during the time of the earthquake. Monsiváis returned to his in 2005, publishing a new book, "No sin nosotros:" Los días del terremoto 1985-2005, that appends a substantial introduction to the chronicles he wrote about the earthquake in Entrada libre, which outline the disaster's influence twenty years removed.

Themes developed in these chronicles will be compared with those found in literature produced by the World Bank pertaining to a pair of projects that provided over \$190 million (in nominal terms¹) in loans to Mexico: the Low Income Housing Project (1985) and the Municipal Strengthening Project (1986). These themes consist of the following

- The physical and psychological damage caused by the earthquake;
- The difficulty involved in providing services at the municipal level of a city the size of Mexico City;
- Economic and Social divisions within Mexico City;
- Focus on individuals and their life/reactions to the earthquake;
- Organizational and institutional inefficiencies in Mexico City;
- Government ineptitude.

¹ Nominal values represent the value at the time of the loan approvals, unadjusted for inflation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the World Bank's publication division is extremely prolific. However, it should be noted that certain documents created by the World Bank face timed-release conditions and have not yet been approved for public consumption at the time of writing this project. The World Bank, typically at the behest of the countries in which it works, maintains confidential many project documents and assessments for a minimum of twenty years.² Even after the requisite two decades, documents require permission by the host country prior to release. For this project, special authorization was granted by the Mexican government to access four Staff Assessment Reports (SAR) produced in 1985 and 1986. The World Bank produces these reports during the implementation of a loan, providing valuable information on both the preparation as well as implementation of a project in a single document.

Regarding the World Bank's disclosure process, the development of the Internet and affordability of publicly accessed storage has only recently made possible the mass-offering of the documentation produced by the World Bank and its clients. The process becomes particularly unwieldy when one considers the vast quantity of information produced that must now be digitized prior to public release. Also, as will be explored in this and subsequent chapters, both Brazil and Mexico have altered their policies regarding the disclosure of documents pertaining to projects funded by the World Bank, striving to bring more transparency into processes that had been extremely opaque until recent years.

Given that the majority of the population residing in the developing world is expected to live within urban centers in the near future, the World Bank recognizes that

² For complete details of the World Bank Group's disclosure policy, see <http://www1.worldbank.org/operations/disclosure>.

“cities and towns form the front line in the development campaign” (Cities in Transition 3). This reality brings with it various challenges as well as opportunities for the World Bank. A parallel increase in the autonomy and power of these urban centers accompanies the population increase and places municipal authorities in a position to affect beneficial changes within the cities. These changes offer, “significant opportunities for countries to improve the quality of life for all their citizens, and for the Bank to realize its core mission of reducing poverty” (Cities 3). In fact, the World Bank concludes that institutional and functional changes at the local level have much greater potential for broadly-reaching impact than similar efforts on a national stage. The local level, “where policy meets the people,” has become a focal approach within the World Bank’s global methodology in recent years and can be seen clearly in Mexico City (Cities 4). The SAR documents utilized in this chapter demonstrate how the World Bank employed this approach to development in order to respond to the earthquake.

Recent data suggests that the population of Mexico City has exceeded 20 million inhabitants, increasing from around 9 million in 1973 to 14 million in 1986 and to nearly 18 million according to the 2000 Mexican Census. As the entire population of Mexico is estimated at 107.5 million, those residing in Mexico City represent approximately twenty percent of the nation’s total. The presence of this incredible number of people and the accompanying requisite social services have continued to draw the attention of both the city’s chroniclers as well as the World Bank over the last thirty years.

The chronicles of Monsiváis and Poniatowska present the Mexican capital as an urban center whose growth has eclipsed the ability of its government to provide adequate social services. In his collection of chronicles focused primarily on Mexico City, Los

rituales del caos (1995), Carlos Monsiváis presents a city defined by a multitude whose very size problematizes any attempt to understand it, much less design a network of social, political and economic systems to serve it. In the first of the chronicles presented in Los rituales del caos, titled “La hora de la identidad acumulativa,” (The hour of accumulated identity), Monsiváis presents as the defining, visual reality of Mexico City that of too many people. He writes, “en el Distrito Federal³ la obsesión permanente es la multitud que rodea a la multitud” (in the Federal District, the permanent obsession is the multitude that surrounds the multitude; 17). Monsiváis’ chronicles relate the amazingly limited space ceded to each individual, and the equally-amazing moment in which one may forget the millimeters granted and consequently disregard a placement within this multitude.

Identifying the rituals that exist within the tumultuous life in Mexico City, Monsiváis describes collective spaces in which individual actions occur: the Metro, the subterranean economies, the concentration of vehicles in which “el embotellamiento es ya segunda naturaleza del ser humano” (the bottleneck is now second-nature to the human being; 18). He concludes, “el tumulto despliega sus propuestas estéticas y la ciudad popular entrega sus rituales” (the tumult unfolds its aesthetic proposals and the popular city displays its rituals; 18). These areas of informal economies, many times created and certainly perpetuated by inadequate property law, enable social and economic conditions that resist fighting poverty on a systematic and institutional level.

For a variety of reasons, including high corporate tax rates and prohibitive bureaucratic regulations, extensive markets have arisen without official recognition or

³ Due to its status as the country’s capital, Mexico City is often referred to as the Distrito Federal ‘Federal District’.

sanction. Hernando de Soto terms these markets “extralegal” in his work, The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else (2001). De Soto calls for governments to alter property law in order to officially franchise those working within these extralegal economies. Interestingly, certain project documents that will be outlined in this and subsequent chapters share many of the same conclusions that de Soto presents--only they were written as many as fifteen years prior to the publication of de Soto’s influential work.

Monsiváis strengthens his critiques of the life in Mexico City in the next chronicle, “De los orgullos que dan (o deberían dar) escalofríos” (On the moments of pride that give (or should give) us goose bumps). He points to the dubious distinction of being the world’s largest city and the most contaminated city on the planet, “el laboratorio de la extinción de la especie!” (the laboratory for the extinction of the species!; 19). Monsiváis recognizes as the greatest draw for many of its inhabitants the “(verdadera y falsa) condición ‘apocalíptica’” ([true and false] ‘apocalyptic’ condition), a fascination with being part of a city that is about to destroy itself (19).

But most importantly for Monsiváis, “veinte millones de personas no renuncian a la ciudad y al Valle de México, porque no hay otro sitio adonde quieran ir y, en rigor, no hay otro sitio adonde puedan ir” (twenty million people do not renounce the city and the Valley of México, because there is no other place where they want to go and, in truth, there is no other place where they could go; 20). Among the other risks assumed by residency in Mexico’s capital includes, “la falta de significación individual” (the lack of individual significance; 20). Leaving the city presents forfeiture of the formative--and informative--advantages of the extreme concentration of humanity as well as the

compelling interactions with modernity. He concludes the chronicle: “De hecho, la argumentación se unifica: todo, afuera, está igual o peor” (In fact, the speculation unifies them: everything, outside, is equal or worse; 20).

Elena Poniatowska reinforces this same understanding of Mexico’s capital in her own chronicles. Where Monsiváis uses a language more philosophical and symbolic, Poniatowska’s strength lies in the presentation of the common person’s tale in Mexico-- albeit adroitly arranged and inserted among her own, compelling words. She writes,

During the day, you see that its size has grown to break all boundaries...any of those who live on the fringes have no drains or drinking water, no electric light or telephones. And yet despite such deprivation, they [...] are drawn as if by a magnet to this city of many faces, which can be simultaneously so beautiful yet so cruel, so stark in its contrasts, so racist toward its own people, and yet so vulnerable. (Poniatowska, Mexico City vii)

These chronicles present a city of such size that it is difficult to conceive of a system that could properly serve the entire population in normal times and much less when confronted by a massive natural disaster.

The earthquake of 1985 serves as an initiating event, a focal point for a contemporary conception of urban development in Mexico City. The 8.1 magnitude⁴ earthquake struck on September 19, 1985 at 7:19AM and was felt as far north as Houston (745 miles) and as far south as Guatemala City (621 miles) (BBC website). According to the Servicio Sismológico Nacional housed at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), this “representa uno de los terremotos más grandes que haya sufrido México en las últimas décadas” (represents one of the largest earthquakes that Mexico had suffered in the last decades), eclipsed only by an 8.4 magnitude earthquake in Jalisco

⁴ While data discrepancies vary between 7.8 and 8.1 for the magnitude of this earthquake, this project will use the magnitude accepted by both the World Bank and the chroniclers under consideration.

in 1934 (Universidad). An aftershock registering 6.3 on the Richter scale struck just a day later, causing further problems for a population trying to cope. As Monsiváis observes in a collection of his chronicles from this period, titled “No sin nosotros”: Los días del terremoto 1985-2005: “Para otros geólogos, la intensidad [del terremoto] fue mayor. Lo irrefutable son las consecuencias” (For other geologists, the intensity [of the earthquake] was greater. The consequences, however, are irrefutable; 70).

Given the enormous size of Mexico City and the fact that communications infrastructure serving the phone system was destroyed in the earthquake, it is understandable that much of the Mexican City’s population could not immediately conceive of the extent of the damage. Poniatowska did not come to realize the scope of the disaster until the following evening when she went into the city and began helping however she could. Carlos Monsiváis, his own writing at the time dominated by work about the earthquake along with the people’s attempts to survive, helped to convince Poniatowska to return to her writing. Poniatowska remembers that Monsiváis “asked me why I was clearing the debris when there were many people much stronger than me. So I began to write” (Brewster 108).

Poniatowska’s book, Nada, nadie: voces del temblor (1988), collects the many chronicles that she wrote in the days and weeks following the disaster. Throughout the entries, the names of specific Mexicans are mentioned from time to time, but they seem to rise up out of the multitude to share their tale, only to recede quickly back into the crowd as the events they retell combine with those of their peers. These specific names become general names, easily applied to many, many people in the city. Poniatowska’s collection of experience begins with a minute-by-minute relation of the moments

immediately preceding the earthquake, followed by a description of the minutes after the initial tumult--minutes startlingly free of the noise that infused the city during the rush hour as the earthquake struck. After four pages of these episodic relations, Poniatowska turns to the words and recollections of others in the city.

Poniatowska has a masterful ability to juxtapose the quotidian with the exceptional. Seemingly relying on the words of these residents of Mexico City, her subtle-yet-strong voice remains clear in her selection and presentation of these related experiences. For example, Poniatowska presents residents who continue to move within a daily schedule immediately after the earthquake, attempting to get to work even though the building in which they work has been destroyed and the means of transport to reach this building unavailable. This presentation allows for an engaged reader, a reader who, through this commitment, is drawn deeply into the stories and events being related.

Moreover, the way in which she weaves the various episodes leads the reader through a terrifying period in the history of Mexico City. These related experiences often overlap, creating a multi-perspectival recounting of those days in September. The fact that Poniatowska collects and combines these chronicles after the events being described provides her sufficient temporal distance with which to present them in a fashion that allows her, in turn, to present her views on the earthquake and subsequent reactions. A third-person narrative voice underlies the effectiveness of this approach, in which Poniatowska's authorial voice presents one paragraph, often introducing a situation or person, while the following paragraph continues the narration in another's voice and often related in the first person without a title or other typographical identification.

These chronicles present both the physical as well as psychological damage caused by the earthquake. Poniatowska's book of chronicles begins with a series of episodic frames, describing thirty seconds periods between 7:18 and 7:23. The second section, "7:18.30," offers a telling description of the daily life in Mexico City, a description that will help express the changes brought about by the earthquake only moments later. She writes, "México es una de las ciudades más contaminadas del mundo. No solamente por el humo de las fábricas y los gases que se escapan sino también por el ruido. Aquí no está prohibido el claxon y se toca en una forma muy latina" (México is one of the most contaminated cities in the world. Not only by the smoke of factories and the gasses that escape from them, but also by noise. The horn is not prohibited and it is played in a very Latin way; 12). In the entry "7:23" Poniatowska writes, "Se acabó: ya nada se mueve. Ningún ruido del exterior. Me dirijo rápidamente a la ventana. Los sobrevivientes se abrazan en el medio de la calle" (It ended: now nothing moved. No noise from outside. I made my way rapidly to the window. The survivors were hugging each other in the middle of the street; 14). The arrestment of the city's noise offers an aural accompaniment to the visual images provided in Poniatowska's chronicles. These descriptions, separated by two pages in the book--and the eternity of four and a half minutes in 1985--vividly express the radical change brought about by the earthquake, a change that would reverberate through Mexico and the World Bank for decades.

Poniatowska also supplies terrifying images of the earthquake's effect on the physical structures of the city. A citizen of the capital relates,

Pero lo peor son los edificios de doce y catorce pisos que nos rodean y que se mueven de izquierda a derecha frente a mí, con una amplitud de varios

metros [...] cuando el hotel se inclina hacia la derecha, la torre se inclina hacia la izquierda, y se alcanzan a tocar al repetirse el movimiento, con una intensidad más y más fuerte. (13)

But the worst are the twelve and fourteen-story buildings that surround us and that move from the left to the right in front of me, with an amplitude of several meters [...] when the hotel inclined to the right, the tower inclined to the left, and then managed to touch each other upon repeating the movement, with a stronger and stronger intensity.

This selection presents the intersection between the physical and psychological damage caused by the earthquake. Not only did the residents of the city have to cope with damage to the infrastructure, they also had to deal with their own reactions to this devastation.

In the short term, the earthquake revealed the startling magnitude of a rural movement to the capital city, a movement understood more as a theoretical conception than an overt reality until the sheared-off buildings revealed to the world the incredible number of people living in edifices not built to house a fraction of their number. That these buildings were not constructed according to the minimum structural requirements required by Mexican law only served to exacerbate the effects of the earthquake. Neither the social nor the emergency services on the local or national level were able to provide for the entire population in this crisis situation. Local communities were forced to work together, independent of official sanction or aid, to deal with the effects of the disaster.

Monsiváis also chronicles the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. His writing differs markedly from Poniatowska's when dealing with the event: where Poniatowska approaches the situation from an exceedingly personal style, Monsiváis utilizes the narration of a third person observer, somewhat removed from the situations described.

This is not to say that emotions and authorial attitudes do not make their way through this

narration, but the narrative voice seldom relinquishes its distanced relationship with the subjects of the chronicles. He recalls, “el sonido de los desplomes, las imágenes de los derrumbes, las poses fantásticas de los edificios al reducirse abruptamente a escombros” (the sound of the collapses, the images of the crashing down structures, the fantastic poses of the buildings upon being reduced abruptly to rubble; 62). As with Poniatowska, Monsiváis melds together the physical destruction with the psychological trauma experienced by those in the city.

Poniatowska returns to the moment of 7:21 and the words of others in the city. She presents a city divided between “gente que lo sabe y gente que no lo sabe” (people who know about the earthquake and people who do not; 15). Although all inhabitants of the city knew that an earthquake had occurred, not all comprehended the magnitude of this event. With a city this size, it would have been impossible for those in the less-affected areas to conceive of the destruction and devastation existing miles away. Those “que termina[n] su ejercicio matutino y se apresta[n] a la ducha” (who finished their morning exercise and jumped into the shower; 15) had no realization of a radio announcer’s proclamation that “se acaba de caer una parte del conjunto Pino Suárez, el ‘Super Leche’⁵ es un montón de escombros” (a part of the Pino Suárez complex just fell, the ‘Super Leche’ is a mountain of rubble; 18). The same announcer ends his broadcast by saying, “yo ya no soy nadie” (I am no one any more; 18).

The division between those who knew of and were affected by the earthquake becomes emblematic of the city in its entirety. Made manifest by the earthquake, social and economic separations operating in Mexico City prior to this event become

⁵ The Super Leche was a well-known restaurant located in the heart of Mexico City prior to its destruction in the earthquake.

unavoidable. The scope of rural migration was brought into sharp relief as the buildings that housed the new inhabitants, many built in government contracts that failed to adhere to building codes, collapsed. This event made increasingly visible the social and economic chasm existing in Mexican society as a whole, particularly evident in the capital city. In fact, this event forced many to recognize the division, opened it to the world and thus to the city itself--or at least those who did not know.

The earthquake also revealed the influence of events from Mexico's recent past that continued to have a bearing on the city in 1985. When analyzing the Mexican government's reaction to this disaster as well as the chroniclers' response to their government, it is important to know that Mexico City had been awarded the international soccer championship, the World Cup, in 1986. This event held tremendous economic and cultural significance for both the city and the nation, and the officials tasked with its successful presentation addressed the earthquake and resulting destruction in very interesting ways.

Another event in 1968, with its own accompanying international sporting event, also retained a palpable resonance for those living in Mexico City in the fall of 1985. While this may seem a callous interpretation of the government's concern for its citizenry, a distressingly similar--and incredibly well documented by Poniatowska and Monsiváis--struggle remained clear in the minds of many, and certainly retained a high level of resonance in 1985. Mexico City experienced wide-spread student uprisings in 1968, which occurred just prior to the arrival of the Olympic Games to the city.

Mexico had been selected to host the Olympic Games in the fall of 1968. With these being the first Olympics awarded to a country in what is today considered to be part

of the developing world, Mexico experienced much pressure to host a successful event. The Mexican president Díaz Ordaz proclaimed, “es la expresión de los anhelos de paz, comprensión y progreso de la humanidad” (it is the expression of the dreams of peace, understanding, and progress of humanity; Brewster 36).

In her book following the political writings of Poniatowska and Monsiváis, Claire Brewster writes, “the student movement of 1968, like [its] US and European counterparts, took to the streets to voice discontent” (35). These protests arose as a rapid growth in higher education enrollment was not accompanied by commensurate growth in job opportunities for graduates, leading students to “[demand] social justice, employment, and improved living standards” (35). The demonstrations also voiced strong support for the consolidation of the Cuban Revolution along side equally strong opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The Mexican Student Movement began in late July and was marked by confrontations with the police, which led to continued and larger marches. These culminated on July 30 with a military attack launched against UNAM buildings and the injury and arrest of many students and supporters. The government claimed to be “preserving university autonomy from anti-Mexican forces,” having blamed foreign intervention for instigating the protests (Brewster 37). This confrontation served to draw in additional support for the Student Movement, including many unions and other citizens of the capital. The government issued a call to “academic normality”-- this word, “normality,” would be repeated in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake fifteen years later, recalling for many this period in the city’s history. The increasing hostilities

continued in a September 18 confrontation that left students dead, after which the situation calmed for a few weeks.

Finally, on October 2, the Student Movement was brought to a violent end in what Poniowska terms the Night of Tlateloco. Ten days before the opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games, armed forces opened fire on demonstrators. Death tolls vary between the official government's estimates of "4 dead, 20 wounded"⁶ to other estimates that exceed one thousand casualties. In addition, many were wounded and several thousand arrests were made. Brewster argues that "the government's use of force against Mexico's youth, among them future politicians and academics, caused long-term damage to the ties between writers and the state, dividing the intellectual community into those who followed the government and those who supported the students" (Brewster 39).

The fact that these uprisings were quelled--violently--to reestablish peace in Mexico City and thus calm fears in the international community prior to the Olympic Games was not easily forgotten by many in the city; Poniowska and Monsiváis each wrote extensively about these events of the late 1960s. Both chroniclers strongly supported the students and this experience remained firmly in their minds as they wrote in the days following the earthquake. Thus the reactions to the earthquake and its accompanying sporting event added even more emotive persistence to the writings of these cronistas when reacting to the situation in 1985.

The chronicles considered in this chapter offer severe critiques of the reactions made to the earthquake by the organizing committee for the World Cup. Poniowska's

⁶ The citation here comes purposely from Wikipedia, an online, collaborative encyclopedia. While the information contained in the site can be verified in a number of locations, the online discussions (as of Nov. 2006) pertaining to the creation of the entry provide valuable insight not only into the incidents in 1968 but also into contemporary attempts to understand the historical events.

presentation of the reactions by officials charged with the successful organization of the World Cup contrasts strongly with the exertions of the common citizen of Mexico City. Her collection of chronicles presents the following correspondence between those in Mexico tasked with organizing the World Cup and their peers around the world:

No sabíamos aún cuántos mexicanos habían muerto, cuando el Comité Organizador de la Copa Mundial México 86 enviaba a la Federación Internacional de Fútbol, FIFA, un cable el mismo jueves 19 de septiembre informándole que no obstante los trágicos acontecimientos provocados por el terremoto, los escenarios destinados a la competencia no habían sufrido daño alguno. Ni el Estadio Azteca, ni el México 68 de la ciudad Universitaria, resintieron el movimiento, como tampoco las oficinas del mismo comité ni los centros de información y prensa. (Nada 22)

We did not yet know how many Mexicans had died when the Organizing Soccer Committee for the 1986 World Cup in Mexico sent to the International Federation of Football, FIFA, a cable the very same Thursday, September 19 informing them that despite the tragic occurrences brought on by the earthquake, the stadiums to be used in the tournament had not suffered any damage. Neither the Azteca Stadium nor the Mexico 68 Stadium of the city university had escaped undamaged, and neither had the offices of the same committee nor the centers of information or of the press.

Obfuscating the true results of the earthquake, the organizers strive to convey the appearance of normalcy to their peers based internationally. In their defense, the tournament represented an incredibly lucrative opportunity to the host country, whose impact on the economy could serve to aid recovery in the next year. Moreover, the organizers may have foreseen that the tournament's international visibility could have helped to increase reconstruction aid. However, the immediate correspondence with fallacious information is difficult to explain or excuse.

Also telling are several of the responses from these international peers who received the messages from Mexico. An official in Spain made a public announcement the same day as the earthquake: “No se suspenderá el Mundial por el terremoto” (The

World Cup will not be suspended because of the earthquake; Nada 22). This announcement is accompanied in Poniatowska's chronicles by one arriving from the FIFA president in Rio de Janeiro:

La FIFA realizó hoy una reunión de urgencia en Río de Janeiro con la presencia de su presidente y al término de la reunión, Abilio Almeida (del comité organizador de México 86), declaró que no se puede cambiar de sede cuando faltan nueve meses para el inicio porque todo está preparado para recibir a los equipos y al turismo. (22)

FIFA held an urgent meeting today in Rio de Janeiro with the presence of its president and at the end of the meeting, Abilio Almeida (part of the organizing committee for the tournament in Mexico), declared that they could not change the site when only nine months remained until its beginning because everything was prepared to receive the teams and tourism.

Poniatowska's usage of these declarations is clearly intended to display callousness in the officials, especially when contrasted with the previous twenty pages of lamentable experiences of those affected directly by the earthquake.

Even more emblematic of a governing body either not in touch with reality or striving at least to express publicly a command of the situation, the president of Mexico, Miguel de la Madrid, sought to express calm and describe a government in control of the situation. Monsiváis recalls the message released to the public from the president's office: "Para que todos hagan lo que tienen que hacer, que cuiden sus intereses y auxilien a sus semejantes. Qué todos vayan a sus casas" ('Everyone should do what they have to do, they should care for their interests and help their neighbors. Everyone should return to his or her house'; No sin nosotros 77). Paraphrasing this proclamation, Monsiváis writes, "[n]o salgan de sus casas, quédense allí, ¿a qué van a los sitios del desastre? No contribuyan a la confusión. No se muevan" ([d]on't leave your house, stay there--why go to the disaster sites? 'Don't contribute to the confusion. Don't move; 77).

An underlying question fuels his reaction to the message from the president's office: given the scope of the disaster and inability of the government to address the many and varied needs of the city, who would be able to help if all citizens remained at home?

According to Poniatowska, de la Madrid affirms to the press, “estamos preparados para atender esta situación y no necesitamos recurrir a la ayuda externa. México tiene los suficientes recursos y unidos, pueblo y gobierno, saldremos adelante. Agradecemos las buenas intenciones [de la comunidad internacional], pero somos autosuficientes” (we are prepared to attend to this situation and we do not need to resort to external help. Mexico has sufficient resources and united, the people and government, we will come out ahead. We appreciate the good intentions [of the international community] but we are self-sufficient; 24). The president's sentiments were reinforced by the Mexican Ambassador in Washington D.C., Espinosa de los Monteros, who states, “[s]olitos vamos a salir. México es más grande que sus problemas” (alone we will emerge. México is bigger than its problems; 24).

In fact, the Mexican government refused international aid for a number of days; aircraft filled with relief supplies and rescue workers were forced to wait on runways having been denied clearance to land in Mexico. A political speech aimed to maintain calm in the city and reassure the international community that Mexico could handle Mexican problems, de la Madrid's rejection of international aid proved disastrous in the days immediately following the earthquake when Mexican services were completely overwhelmed by the magnitude of the disaster.

As with her presentation of the correspondence regarding the World Cup, Poniatowska's chronicles paint the Mexican president in a troubling light. In a later speech, de la Madrid recognizes that,

El gobierno de la República y los gobiernos de los estados hemos reaccionado al máximo de nuestros esfuerzos y capacidades. Infortunadamente--lo tengo que reconocer--la tragedia es de tal magnitud que nos ha rebasado en muchos casos. No podemos hacer lo que quisiéramos con la rapidez que también deseamos, sobre todo para rescatar vidas. (25)

The government of the Republic and the state governors have reacted to the best of our strength and capacity. Unfortunately--which I have to recognize--the tragedy is of such a magnitude that it has overwhelmed us in many cases. We can not do what we would like, with the rapidity that we also desire, above all to save lives.

What may be even more telling--not to mention prognostic--the Mexican president continues, saying, "frente a este cuadro de tragedia y tristeza, nos estimula la actitud de la ciudadanía a través de sus distintas organizaciones y en lo individual" (faced with this picture of tragedy and sadness, we are encouraged by the attitude of the citizenry through its distinct organizations as well on the individual level; 25).

It is hard to conceive of a city-wide emergency plan capable of functioning perfectly in the face of such a daunting and frightening challenge. These chronicles are filled with disappointing officials, directors, police and members of the military. These same chronicles also seem to glamorize--or at least honor--the many citizens who gave of themselves in the attempt to rescue or bring aid to their fellow citizens. As the citizens of Mexico's capital were mainly forced to address the aftermath of the earthquake without official aid, they began to recognize a locally-available efficacy.

For example, Poniatowska presents the Mexico City resident José Luis Vital as he encountered the rubble of a building and began helping search for buried survivors. He

says, “uno no es rico ni nada [...] y luego dije: ‘Qué viva México, total si salvo una vida voy a quedar mejor que pagado’” (one isn’t rich or anything [...] and later I said, ‘Long live Mexico, if I save just one life I’m going to come out better than if I had been paid’; 19). These lines selected for presentation by Poniatowska set the scene not just for the immediate reactions but also for scenes of collective work in the city to save and triage the immediate as well as the subsequent re-imagining of Mexican social and political life to come. In the immediate, people come together on the local level to help where they could. In the longer term, these localities learn not only of how the official social and political infrastructures were unable to protect Mexico City, but also how a locally joined constituency would have the physical and emotional ability to affect change--an efficacy that would extend out of the local in the coming years.

Monsiváis recognizes the solidification of a localized, unofficial social structure in the wake of the earthquake, an organization he terms “sociedad civil” (civil society; Entrada 13). For Monsiváis, the earthquake was only partially responsible for the extent of damage to the city in September of 1985; he presents it as the final, physical evidence of much deeper problems. He explains that “[l]a experiencia del terremoto le dio al término sociedad civil una credibilidad inesperada” (the experience of the earthquake gave to the term, civil society, an unexpected credibility; Monsiváis’ emphasis, “No sin nosotros” 13). The credibility arises from the wide-spread and simultaneous measures taken by Mexico City residents to cope with the emergency. Monsiváis continues, observing, “A lo largo de unos días, se construye algo semejante al gobierno paralelo o, mejor, similar al de una comunidad imaginaria (la Nación, la Ciudad). . .” (In the space of

a few days, something resembling a parallel government was created, or perhaps something similar to an imaginary community (the Nation, the City). . . ; 43).

In an introduction written in 2005 to a republication of his chronicles dealing with the earthquake, Monsiváis writes, “[s]in debates previos, sin precisiones conceptuales, en cuatro o cinco días se impone el término sociedad civil, lo que, por el tiempo que dure, le garantiza a sus usuarios un espacio de independencia política y mental” (without previous debates, without conceptual precision, civil society established itself in four or five days, which, throughout the time that it would last, guaranteed to its constituents a space of political and mental independence; “No sin nosotros” 10). With this new perspective, the public was able to observe the “rotunda banalidad” (rotund banality; 10) of its governmental officials.⁷

The earthquake of 1985 exposed many things in Mexico to public consideration. The ineptitude and “rotunda banalidad” of the federal and municipal authorities contributed to ending a seventy-year rule of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI).⁸ Along with political transformation, Carlos Urzúa’s study of the relationship between the World Bank and Mexico finds the earthquake of 1985 to be the “the proverbial straw that broke the camel’s back” (82). In addition to the physical devastation, Urzúa explains that “Mexico was also shocked by

⁷ For more information on Monsiváis’ sociedad civil, see Linda Egan’s Carlos Monsiváis or Claire Brewster’s Responding to Crisis in Contemporary Mexico.

⁸ Many observers, including Monsiváis and Poniatowska, argue that the events surrounding the earthquake led directly to the election of a non-PRI candidate. While the first non-PRI president of the last seventy years was elected in 2000 (Vicente Fox, member of the PAN), both Monsiváis and Poniatowska point to the elections of 1988 as a political turning point in Mexico. Considered by many to have been rigged in favor of maintaining the stranglehold of the PRI, Mexico saw a huge voter turnout and potentially a democratically elected president who did not enter office. Brewster addresses the chroniclers’ writings about these elections in Responding to Crisis in Contemporary Mexico.

what the earthquake exposed about Mexico's inner-city shantytowns, and the Mexico City inhabitants, while on the streets, released, for the first time in many years, all their contained grievances against a corrupt and incompetent government" (82).

The World Bank has traditionally invested heavily in Mexico City. In fact, in terms of total World Bank Group funding in the last twenty years, Mexico ranks third among all countries in the total amount borrowed, trailing only China and India. In the history of the IBRD, Mexico is the single largest borrower. Outlining its current evaluation of Mexico, the World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for 2005-2008 states, "today, the country enjoys a more open economic and political system, is more integrated into the world economy, belongs to the OECD,⁹ has investment grade in the financial markets and has strong ownership of its development strategy" (1). This CAS document, which presents the World Bank's opinions of the suitability of a country for continued investment and recommends a lending approach that "best addresses Mexico's development needs as a creditworthy middle-income country and enhances the Bank's ability to respond quickly to changing circumstances," plays an influential role in developing and approving projects (2).

Urzúa finds that the World Bank immediately transitioned more than \$90 million¹⁰ from other projects to earthquake reconstruction (82). In March of 1986, the Bank approved the Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Project, a \$400 million loan, located within the Bank's urban development sector. On the same day, the Bank

⁹ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development consists of thirty countries (including Mexico) and sponsors primarily research and statistical work focused on democratic governance and market economies. For more information on the OECD, reference www.oecd.org.

¹⁰ Again, all currency figures are presented in nominal values.

also approved the Municipal Strengthening Project (\$40 million) and the Solid Waste Management Project Pilot (\$25 million). The Industrial Recovery Project (\$150 million), the Industrial Technology Development Project (\$48 million), and the Trade Policy Loan Project (\$500 million) were approved four months later, in July. In total, the Bank loaned Mexico \$1.115 billion in 1986 to fund projects that would, directly and indirectly, aid in recovery from the earthquake. In contrast, the World Bank approved seven loans to Mexico in 1985, all prior to the earthquake in mid-September. The amount of these loans totaled a commitment of \$838 million. The Bank participated very actively in the reconstruction of Mexico City after the earthquake.

Interestingly, when one compares the Staff Assessment Reports from the Low Income Housing Project and the Municipal Strengthening Project to the work of the chroniclers, many thematic commonalities exist. The SAR documents offer a wide range of information, presenting both a preliminary analysis of the projects' advancement as well as a summary of negotiations and processes that led to the projects' approval. Prior to the earthquake, the World Bank had struggled with the government of Mexico, seeking to use loan approvals to pressure for institutional and financial changes. A leading cause of these disagreements revolved around the Metro system whose prices were maintained at an artificially low price through the use of tax subsidies.¹¹ The two projects here demonstrate the World Bank's appreciation of the un-sustainability of the size of the city and provide two approaches for how to address this issue.

In 1985 the World Bank approved the Low Income Housing Project, valued at \$150 million. This loan aimed initially to fund construction projects in rapidly growing,

¹¹ The Metro system in Mexico City will be discussed in Chapter 4.

medium sized cities. The World Bank had resisted including the Mexican capital due in part to disagreements between the World Bank and the Mexican government over subsidies being paid to the Metro system in Mexico City, and thus inserted the term “medium” in the project description. Funds from this loan would be given to the Fondo Nacional de Habitaciones Populares (FONHAPO), a federally distributed fund that would provide loans for projects serving “non-wage workers earning less than 2.5 minimum wages” (v). The Low Income Housing Program aimed to serve approximately 142,300 families, of which about 15,200 would receive their first “dwelling unit” (v). This loan also provided for technical assistance to FONHAPO as well as funding for a Housing Finance Study.

This online summary of the Low Income Housing Project signals both the concerns and intentions of the World Bank to address the growing need in urban centers for “the construction of serviced sites and progressive construction units in rapidly growing medium size cities.” Once again, in the planning stages for this project, it was hoped that the same needs in the large size Mexico City would also be served. In the SAR presented at the approval of this project in July of 1985, the Bank noted the inadequacy of the Mexican Government in enforcing building codes: “as much as 65% of new housing was supplied either by consumers themselves or by informal builders operating at the margin of the building codes, the established construction industry and the regulated financial markets” (1).

Even before the earthquake revealed internationally the problems facing Mexico’s capital, the World Bank recognized and had begun trying to address the practical and institutional problems. The SAR for the Low Income Housing Project states,

In the 3 main metro areas (Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey), as in many of the fast growing medium size cities, most of the new housing units are built on subdivisions opened up by the clandestine and often unscrupulous developers on illegally occupied sites. The lack of legal titles and inspection clearances prevents the buyers from using land and improvements as acceptable collateral for new loans and forces them to continue to operate on the unregulated credit market. And because it is unregulated and operates with higher risk, loan conditions in this segment of the market are disadvantageous to the borrowers. (1)

Published fifteen years earlier than de Soto's The Mystery of Capital (2001), this report recognizes the same institutional troubles faced by the population of Mexico City as does the Peruvian economist's influential work.

The SAR for this project also criticizes the Mexican government's well-intentioned yet failing housing subsidy program. The World Bank recognizes that the government's approach, which set subsidies according to the minimum wage, was easy to explain to the public as well as being socially and politically acceptable (8). However, "because of their sensitivity to inflation trends and minimum wage policies, these credit terms result in subsidy transfers which remain unpredictable, uncontrollable and not transparent" (8). The SAR goes on to find that the majority of those who received this aid supported themselves primarily with work in the informal sector (14). The Low Income Housing Project sought to curtail this dependence on the informal sector, thus promoting subsidiary effects of the loan through the entry of Mexicans into recognized employment sectors. This would provide benefits to both workers (i.e. legal protection offered to workers, etc.) and to the government (i.e. increased tax revenues, etc.).

In fact, it is notable that this document recognizes as the end-beneficiary of the program the people who would be living in the homes rather than the government or developers. The SAR states:

The present recession and the slower growth expected through the rest of the decade, as compared to the 1970's heightens the importance of employment generation as a policy concern in the coming years. Because of its characteristics, the construction industry, and housing programs in particular, will have a central role in policies aimed at economic recovery with rapid employment growth. (3)

In addition to the dwellings to be constructed, the document also recognizes the employment generation that would accompany the program; subsidiary effects at times seem to take precedence over big-picture, financial goals.

Mexico City was added to the scope of this project after the earthquake and, addressing the physical damage sustained by the city, became an essential component of this loan. In addition to the physical damage, this loan sought to address the systemic issues that underlined the devastation that occurred in the earthquake. The World Bank openly recognized the huge number of federally financed buildings that were destroyed in the earthquake. Comparing these damaged constructions to a much smaller proportion of privately funded buildings that survived the disaster exposed high levels of corruption that resulted in physical, psychological and economic harm to many residents of Mexico City.

The World Bank questioned the government's understanding of "the extent to which public sector intervention is justified for the supply of a private good such as housing" (5). The SAR for this project recognizes that "appropriate shelter is recognized by the Mexican Constitution as a basic right of all citizens" (5). Rejecting the government's stance that free market would provide sufficient, affordable housing for poorer segments of the population, the SAR criticizes the Mexican government for excessive concern for budgetary concerns at the expense of promoting the construction of housing in the country.

The project aimed to support the government while empowering the people. The SAR presents a constant focus on the local, individual level within the greater project and there is an implicit question present throughout: How can the loan support a system to serve the people it was (ostensibly) designed to serve? Interestingly, the verb, “support,” repeats throughout the document: support the replicability and growth of the FONHAPO program;” “support FONHAPO during a critical expansionary phase;” “support the Government in addressing sector issues” (my emphasis; 15). The World Bank provided this loan--actually revised a loan that did not originally intend to include Mexico City--with the intent to empower the Mexican government to serve its citizenry. Moreover, in addition to purely financial backing, this loan provided guidance to reconstruct governmental infrastructure and bureaucracy, thus improving a system that would continue to function after the city had recovered from the earthquake.

After considering how the earthquake altered a loan that was approved prior to September 1985, this chapter now focuses upon the SAR for the Municipal Strengthening Project, approved in March, 1986. Among the first four loans approved by the World Bank for Mexico after the earthquake, this project was intended to “accelerate the ongoing decentralization program” of the Mexican government that would include the transfer of various offices out of Mexico City and into twenty locations around the country (5). Prior to the earthquake, the Mexican government had expressed its intentions to decentralize municipal operations, moving various offices and functions outside the capital city and into twenty other cities around the country. The SAR document states that the “government’s objective is to address the decentralization program in these 20 cities in an integrated manner in which, policy, financing and

investments are coordinated at the federal level, with state and municipal plans and programs” (5). The Mexican government felt that the distribution of these offices throughout the country would lessen inefficiencies through streamlining local-federal workflow as well as giving a voice to regions in the country that often felt overshadowed by the importance of the Mexican capital.

Faced with the earthquake, the government continued pursuing its decentralization plans. The SAR presents a strategy that has been mutually developed over a number of years:

Bank sector strategy, past experience and rationale for bank involvement: Mexico’s urbanization pattern and the inordinate growth of the Mexico City region has been a recurrent subject of dialogue between the Bank and Mexican authorities. Since 1978 the Bank has assisted the Government in projects aimed at addressing spatial decentralization through the development of alternative growth poles and deconcentration of the Mexico City Region. (8)

The loan does not necessarily signal a new funding intent by the World Bank brought about by the earthquake; rather, this disaster presented the impetus for the Mexican government and the World Bank to implement a plan that had been identified previously by each of the parties.

Describing the earthquake, the SAR for the Municipal Strengthening Project considers the damage done to the infrastructure and buildings of the city

On September 19, 1985 Mexico was hit by one of the worst earthquakes in its history, measuring 8.1 on the Richter scale. The earthquake and subsequent aftershocks caused severe damage in Mexico City and in the states of Jalisco, Michoacán, Colima, Guerrero and Mexico. In Mexico City alone, an estimated 60% of federal government buildings were destroyed or heavily damaged and need to be demolished. (5)

The description of the earthquake gives no mention of the human casualties that resulted from the disaster and the SAR almost exclusively maintains a distanced approach to the

disaster, focusing upon infrastructural and systemic matters. However, it does recognize as essential the delivery of urban services--services whose inadequacy had been clearly demonstrated in the days and weeks following the earthquake. The World Bank appears to recognize the need for reform in the unmanageable city presented by Monsiváis and Poniatowska. To address the needs of the city, this project seeks to develop institutional strength on the municipal level.

As with the Low Income Housing Project, the Municipal Strengthening Project focuses upon and seeks to support the Mexican government's identified priorities. The SAR states that "[t]he government's program objectives are to improve the utilization of human and financial resources and strengthen institutions, particularly at the municipal level, to increase the delivery of affordable and efficient urban services" (1). Following the earthquake, the government had an intense need to address the efficiency and functionality of these services, thus providing this loan the political capital necessary for its implementation.

It merits reiteration that the SAR recognizes the Mexican government's complicity in the bad construction that contributed heavily to the tragedy. Again, the SAR states, "[i]n Mexico City alone, an estimated 60% of federal government buildings were destroyed or heavily damaged and need to be demolished" (5). While this document does not develop further a description of the government involvement in this low-quality construction, SAR does develop means to compensate those affected by making "exposure risk to natural disasters included in the criteria for selecting cities to which to move the people/offices now, as well as using the damage sustained in the earthquake as a criteria for selection of those to be moved" (46).

The SAR for this project clearly addresses the physical damage caused by the earthquake. Of the selection of municipalities that would receive funding in the first year of this project--which includes not only Mexico City but also the other twenty target cities around the country--Annex 3.2 identifies 128 out of a total of 281 that had been affected by the earthquake (53). Even though the main intent of this loan was to transfer offices and functionalities out of Mexico City, the proposed reconstruction project does focus on damage within Mexico City (other cities are worked in as addendums in other loans), “financing the reconstruction of shelter and selected amenities” (43).

The SAR for this project does not focus solely on the physical components involved in the project. The report states: “[f]or practical and psychological reasons it is important that significant implementation of the decentralization program move in parallel with the reconstruction effort in Mexico City” (43). In order for this project to be successful, the World Bank recognizes that the Mexican government must demonstrate a commitment to reconstructing at the same time it transitions offices outside the capital. The psychological impact of the damage caused by the earthquake would have been exacerbated by continued demolitions without accompanying rebuilding. Presenting the “Justification and Benefits” foreseen in the project, the SAR anticipates “improved policy and financial environment for municipal development which would be necessary for the implementation of the Government’s decentralization program” (17). In other words, this those designing this project intend to augment the government’s ability to “provide aid to localities” (17).¹²

¹² It should be noted that governmental corruption pertaining to the building codes is not treated explicitly in this dissertation. This is due largely to the fact that it does not appear explicitly in the works considered here by Poniatowska and Monsiváis. Many of the investigations that arose out of the disaster did not complete until after the period in which the two were writing their chronicles. While it is possible that they

Currently, the World Bank funds three active projects whose main objectives are to structure and fund urban development. The Housing and Urban Technical Cooperation Project, provided to the Government of Mexico, continues policy reforms begun in an earlier loan. This project focuses on a broad array of mainly institutional concerns, primarily at the national level, that range from unifying approaches to housing subsidies; the reform of property registries and rights; and the supply and access of land for the poor in urban areas.¹³ The World Bank’s website presents a second project, the Mexico Decentralized Infrastructure Reform and Development Project, that has been provided to the State of Mexico to modify infrastructure components and to augment “poverty responsiveness through the promotion of sustainable investments.”

Finally, the Second Affordable Housing and Urban Poverty Reduction Development Policy Loan Project provides the second part of a three-loan program supporting the Government of Mexico’s National Housing Sector and National Urban Development and Territorial Planning Programs. Sharing many of the same objectives held by the projects described above, this loan continues “reforming the federal program of housing subsidies while continuing to modernize property registration; to augment a program working to improve conditions in urban slums and supporting land development for low and medium cost housing.” At the time of writing this paper, this third loan has been closed and the third part of the loan program will soon come online.

took up this issue--especially as government corruption seems to be one of their major preoccupations--that which pertains to the housing issues during the earthquake does not receive explicit attention in the two collections considered for this chapter.

¹³ The World Bank’s website, www.worldbank.org, offers detailed information on all the active loans discussed in the second half of this chapter.

The publicized objectives of these, active loans--along with their \$508.21 million in value--indicate a concerted effort by the World Bank to work with Mexico to serve the growing, urban populations. Interestingly, the Second Affordable Housing and Urban Poverty Reduction Development Policy Loan Project also seeks “to increase capacity to prevent and manage the damage caused by natural disasters.” Similarly, the Decentralized Infrastructure Reform and Development Loan also supports the previously mentioned loan in areas of policy reforms, specifically the “impacts of natural disasters.”

This acknowledgement of the need for preparedness for natural disasters aligns with a recent publication from the evaluation arm of the bank, Hazards of Nature, Risks to Development: an IEG Evaluation of World Bank Assistance for Natural Disasters. Pointing to issues such as the quality of construction, the lack of property registration procedures, regulatory insufficiencies and development priorities that outweigh disaster preparedness, this document concludes that disaster policy has been historically reactive. Hazards of Nature, Risks to Development studies World Bank disaster responses over the last twenty years and recommends exactly the type of proactive approach demonstrated by Decentralized Infrastructure Reform and Development Loan. The report states, “although disasters caused by natural events occur throughout the world, losses to disaster in developing countries are generally much greater than in developed countries in terms of percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) or government revenues” (xix). In addition, when noting that the damage caused by natural disasters has a disproportionate impact on the poor, the inclusion of disaster mitigation planning in projects is consistent with the World Bank’s mission to battle poverty in the developing world.

The fact that the active urban development projects in Mexico, consistent with the suggestions proposed in the Hazards of Nature, Risks to Development document, include the prevention of and mitigation during a national disaster arise directly from an event in Mexico's recent past that laid the foundation for contemporary approaches to urban development in Mexico City: the earthquake of 1985. While there have occurred other natural disasters in both Mexico and the rest of the world that have commanded the attention of the World Bank, the events of September 1985 helped to influence the preparation of World Bank projects and certainly hold a still-clear importance in Mexico.

Although describing Los rituales del caos, another of Monsiváis' collections of chronicles, the following by Egan applies equally well to Poniatowska's writings:

This book's heroes are not self-sacrificing political activists bent on stirring multitudes to slay dragons, but selfish individuals struggling to get ahead financially. Monsiváis does not censure these social climbers. He may subject their rituals to light satire, but he leaves essentially alone the creative heart of their enterprise, the surging desire that drives them to give meaningful form to their personal lives. A chaos of eclecticism, Los rituales testifies to one man's durable faith in the Mexican people's will and capacity to power. (228)

This chapter's approach to the challenges of urban development in Mexico City presents a remarkable alignment between the oft-maligned multinational lending organization and chronicles recording and commenting on the urban development challenges in this city. The World Bank, in its lending to specific projects following the earthquake as well as those contemporary lending policies that honor the mission of "global poverty reduction and the improvement of living standards," approaches its work in this city in ways consistent with those promoted by two of its leading chroniclers. Moreover, these documents present a--slowly moving--dialogue between the World Bank

and Mexico, a dialogue that the Bank has recently given overt importance in speeches to the Mexican people (World Bank website).

The projects considered in this chapter arise from a specific lending policy component of the World Bank, that which provides loans to site-specific projects. In other words, the conclusions drawn as to the alignment of the World Bank and chroniclers' work in Mexico City must be contextualized within the larger work of the World Bank. A quite different analysis may be drawn if the same works of the chroniclers were to be considered alongside other types of lending, introduced briefly in the previous chapter.

Despite the good work being done by the World Bank and the government of Mexico, there continues to exist poverty and struggle in the population of Mexico City. Poniatowska relates an exchange between a reporter and a survivor of a collapsed building following the earthquake: "Un reportero a un joven sobreviviente del edificio Nuevo León: 'Te has salvado.' Respuesta: 'No sé todavía' (A reporter to a young survivor of the Nuevo León building: 'You have been saved.' Answer: 'I'm not yet sure'; 68).

CHAPTER 3

URBAN POVERTY IN RIO DE JANEIRO

A gente gosta de pobres. A gente gosta tanto deles que nunca pensou em torná-los menos pobres. A gente gosta de votar em pobres, de reclamar de pobres, de escrever sobre pobres. De fato, a literatura brasileira desapareceria se não fossem eles.

Diogo Mainardi

This chapter considers urban conditions in another large Latin American city, focusing on poverty in Brazil's Rio de Janeiro. Containing approximately eighty percent of the country's population, cities in Brazil generate ninety percent of its GDP. As the growth of cities has been accompanied by equally explosive increases in populations--much of this increase coming from rural workers moving to the cities in search of jobs--definite challenges exist to provide food, education, housing and transportation for the masses that fuel this economy. Impoverished segments of a population present one of the greatest challenges to urban development and Brazil has made efforts to address these challenges; guaranteed adequate housing for all Brazilians was written into the national constitution in 2001. However, systemic and institutional challenges remain that must be addressed to mitigate poverty's levels in and impact on Rio de Janeiro.

This chapter presents a thematic analysis of Brazilian chroniclers' work and brings it to bear on documents produced by the World Bank. Differing from the chronicles presented in the previous chapter that come primarily from two collections of work motivated by a common issue, the chronicles in this chapter here hail from a variety of writers whose work spans twenty-five years and whose work explores the severity of urban poverty in Rio de Janeiro.

This chapter also differs in the World Bank materials under consideration. As with the study of Mexico City, this presentation considers two currently active projects funded in Rio de Janeiro: the Bolsa Familia Program and the Programmatic Loan for Sustainable and Equitable Growth: Supporting Housing Sector Policy. In addition to analyzing these project documents, this chapter also considers two high-level and prominently-placed documents developed by the World Bank in relation to Brazil: the World Bank's online Brazil Country Brief and the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for 2004-2007.¹ This combination of documents from the World Bank makes apparent various discrepancies that exist between the project-level and high-level publications. These discrepancies will be considered through a contextualization within the themes pulled from the chronicles.

The range of publications found in the chronicles as well as the extended discussions between the World Bank and government in Brazil indicate that the urban issue of poverty in Rio de Janeiro did not begin just recently; rather, poverty is caused by endemic, long-term problems that must be addressed by thoughtful programs working

¹ The Brazil Country Brief is an online source available from the World Bank's website, www.worldbank.org. The Works Cited section of this project lists the complete URL.

with extended time-horizons. The themes observed in the chronicles and considered within the context of the World Bank's publications consist of the following:

- A definite need exists for domestic and international work to address the conditions that produce and sustain urban poverty in Rio de Janeiro;
- General Brazilian public perception and attitudes towards the poor must align to eliminate poverty--there seems to be a conclusion that the typical Brazilian either 1) does not believe there to be a pressing problem and/or 2) does not care;
- This attitude is especially glaring at the governmental level, leading to;
- Institutional inconsistencies, deficiencies and disfunction along with the need for new institutional infrastructure;
- Violence that accompanies poverty;
- Implications of the complicity of the North/South relationship in the creation of poverty.

The World Bank funded report Brazil, Rio de Janeiro: A City Study finds, "that the causes of poverty in Rio are many, which in turn implies that the instruments required to fight poverty are likely to be numerous" (23).² The authors of this study discover that there are no reliable statistics in Rio de Janeiro that can be used to predict poverty, as neither education levels nor where people live provide reliable data for predicting the economic conditions of an individual or group. And unlike the current situation in Mexico City, migration to Rio de Janeiro has not played a significant role in explaining poverty. The study reports that recent migrants to the city are not likely to be any poorer

² As discussed in the Introduction, these reports do not carry an authorial ascription. Rather, they typically represent the work of many different individuals and groups and receive the validation of the World Bank Group rather than that of individual contributors.

than older residents: poverty rates are sixteen percent for non-migrants, ten percent for those who migrated during the last four years, fifteen percent of those who came between five to nine years ago, and twelve percent of those who migrated earlier (23).³

In his book, From inside Brazil: Development in a Land of Contrasts, Vinod Thomas remarks upon the growth of Brazil's urban population in the last century. Thomas currently holds the position of Director General for the Independent Evaluation Group, tasked with general oversight of the World Bank's work as well as disseminating information learned to all members of the organization. He previously served as the Country Director for Brazil. Thomas compares the ninety percent of the 17.4 million Brazilians who lived in rural areas at the beginning of the twentieth century to the estimated eighty-two percent of its 180 million inhabitants that currently live in cities (9). The CAS for 2004-2007 estimates that eighty-three percent of Brazilians live in urban areas.

Thomas compares Brazil's urban populations to those of India and China, of whose population thirty and thirty-six percent live in cities, respectively. In contrast to Brazil, Thomas observes that these two countries use urbanization to address urban poverty, with the "planning of cities aimed at addressing the needs of the populations they attract" (39). For example, India has enjoyed "success with participatory programs for urban poverty reduction, organizing slum dwellers to have a voice in politics and economic life" (39).

In Brazil, however, Thomas believes that urban poverty has proven to be more difficult to address than rural poverty. He quotes one Brazilian describing a housing

³ This World Bank report does not discount the impact of those migrating to the city--it simply studies the poverty levels in Rio de Janeiro. These groups have had an enormous impact in areas such as municipal elections.

program implemented by the government: “the project has given us housing, but with that you have only managed to change the address of poverty” (From Inside Brazil 42). The movement of the population to the cities has been accompanied by persistent inequalities in income distribution; Brazil ranks among the top ten countries in the world with unequal distribution, with the top twenty percent of Brazilian income earners holding sixty-four percent of total income and the bottom twenty percent receiving just two percent of total income (28-29). Adding to the inequalities, Thomas observes that economic growth in Brazil does not quickly benefit the poor: a one percent increase in GDP affects poverty reduction by less than one percent, whereas the same economic gains in countries like China and India may affect poverty reduction by as much as three percent (38).

Brazil spends a significant amount on social programs each year, approximately twenty percent of GDP. However, Thomas stresses that nearly twenty percent of this spending goes to pension programs, which “typically benefit the wealthier sections of the population” (36). In fact, the poorest twenty percent of the Brazilian population receives less than two percent of funds distributed through social transfers. In Brazil, “the rich pay the highest percentage of taxes and receive the highest percentage of returns” (36).

In order to address poverty effectively, Thomas calls for a redefinition of poverty. In addition to the component of insufficient income in poverty, he believes that insufficient education must be included as well. He asks, “why is it that when we spend for the construction of a road or dam with an outlay of hundreds of millions of dollars, it is considered an investment? But when we spend on education and health for the future of the people it is not?” (27). In debates about how to improve income and welfare

distribution, there is growing recognition that fuller measures of welfare need to be considered, even though this is not always easy to do. Making space for the views of poor people and engaging them in development programs improves the chances for greater effectiveness (44).

Urban poverty appears prominently in chronicles from Rio de Janeiro. This section will pull from a number of chroniclers to demonstrate the duration and consistency of the issues they present. The themes developed in these chronicles over the last three decades, just as the issues involving poverty, are not new and neither are they easily remedied.

The chroniclers insist on the need to address the living conditions of the urban poor. The chroniclers remind their readers that, while the improvements sponsored by organizations such as the World Bank may have occurred, serious problems persist. As Agenor de Melo Barbosa presents in his online chronicle, “Cuidar do Rio de Janeiro é cuidar do Brasil” (Caring for Rio de Janeiro is caring for Brazil):

O triste resultado destes últimos quarenta anos de ausência de investimentos e de contrapartidas (econômicas, sociais e políticas) para a cidade que tanto já ofereceu ao Brasil pode ser rapidamente analisado pela crônica jornalística que a imprensa carioca divulga cotidianamente.

The sad result from these last forty years of absence of investments and their counterparts (economic, social and political) for a city that has offered so much to Brazil can be rapidly analyzed through journalistic chronicles that the press in Rio de Janeiro divulges each day.

The much-renowned chronicler, Carlos Drummond de Andrade,⁴ devoted many of his chronicles to the poor of Rio de Janeiro. In his chronicle, “Viadutos” (Viaducts),

⁴ Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1902-1987) worked as chronicler, poet and translator. His work has been translated into at least thirteen other languages and continues to influence contemporary writers. “Alvo de admiração irrestrita, tanto pela obra quanto pelo seu comportamento como escritor, Carlos Drummond de Andrade morreu no Rio de Janeiro RJ, no dia 17 de agosto de 1987 [...]” (Recipient of unrestricted

Drummond tells of two homeless men who share directions to the overpasses under which they live, following the same ceremony and exchanging the same complexity of information as any upper-middle class resident would give when providing an address. One man asks for the “endereço do colega” (address of [his] colleague) and the other replies, “Viaducto São Sebastião, pilastra no. 4, lado esquerdo, na Presidente Vargas” (Saint Sebastian Viaduct, piling number 4, left side, on the President Vargas Boulevard; 19). Discussing options for where one might move in Rio de Janeiro, even these homeless men complain about the amount of other homeless people in the city: “Todos lotados. Dizem que onde cabem três cabe mais um. Eu discordo. Por essa teoria, onde cabem 30, 50, mil, cabe sempre mais um. E os viadutos tornam-se inabitáveis, ficam igualzinhos aos edifícios, o que, francamente, caro colega, não é vantagem” (Everywhere’s crowded. They say that where three fit, there’s room for one more. I disagree. According to this theory, where 30, 50, 1000 fit, there’s room for one more. And the viaducts become inhabitable, they become just like the buildings, that, frankly, my dear friend, isn’t an advantage; 20). Everyone recognizes the issues facing the city, and Drummond tellingly presents the problems of the homeless as not so removed from those of the people living in buildings.

Thanks to the narrative skill of Drummond, the connections between the building-dwellers and the viaduct-dwellers are made to be natural, even problematic for those living on the streets. This ironic treatment is highlighted when the two men recognize the possibility of charging rents in the viaducts and foresee the disadvantages that will descend upon them if they enter into a rental market; they agree to fight to maintain the

admiration, as much for his work as for his comportment as a writer, Carlos Drummond de Andrade died in Rio de Janeiro, on August 17, 1987 [...]; Projeto Releituras).

current conditions, calling for “a relativa paz que ainda se goza nos viadutos!” (the relative peace that we still enjoy in the viaducts!; 21). The chronicle underscores the incongruous situation in which homeless individuals would prefer their existence to that of their fellow citizens. Perhaps offering a critique of those living with wealth in the city, the chronicle also calls into question the view of the homeless as held by the citizens of Rio de Janeiro.

Luis Fernando Veríssimo⁵ also utilizes the voice of the poor to present the absurdities that are commonly accepted regarding the poor in his country. His chronicle, “Conselheiro” (Counselor) accomplishes this with irony and humor while presenting startling juxtapositions between the impoverished and empowered groups in society. He writes of the “‘novos pobres’, pessoas da classe média que passam para uma classe mais baixa e muitas vezes não sabem como se comportar, cometendo gafes e se expondo ao desprezo de pobres tradicionais” (‘new poor,’ people from the middle class that move to a lower class and many times do not know how to act, committing gaffes and increasing the already difficult conditions of the traditionally poor; 116). The chronicle offers suggestions for how to handle the new economic position with the least amount of problems: regarding drink, one can easily encounter cachaça as dark as a traditional whisky.⁶ In addition, in the stead of a gym membership to maintain one’s physical strength, the new poor have the opportunity to carry water on their head, and, to continue exercising by running--as well as avoiding the newly higher bus fares--one can jog to

⁵ Luis Fernando Veríssimo (b. 1936) continues to publish chronicles, fiction, essays and journalistic work both in Brazil and abroad. To date, he has published forty-eight collections of chronicles and short stories in addition to other literary work and continued contributions to newspapers and magazines (Projeto Releituras).

⁶ A traditional Brazilian liquor made from sugar cane, quality cachaça is typically clear. A cachaça the color of whisky would be an extremely low quality drink.

work. Moreover, the new poor can save themselves the sociological musings following an assault: rather than the police asking for testimony, the new poor will be immediately considered suspects involved in the crime.

And in a multi-leveled irony, the chronicle suggests to the novos pobres the opportunity to tear apart newspapers--as they are no longer part of the middle class--and throw them to the ground: “[s]e você tiver um acesso de fúria, rasgar jornal, atirar os pedaços no chão e sapatear em cima” (if you are prone to fury, tear up the paper, throw the pieces to the ground and walk on top of them; 117). This last observation, which would of course prevent the new poor from reading the very chronicle that is addressed to them, underscores the separation between the poor and the rest of Brazilian society.

Marina Colasanti⁷ approaches the issue of poverty from a much more direct stance in her chronicle, “Tão ricos em pobres” (So rich in our poor).⁸ She writes:

Os pobres, em termos econômicos, são um luxo que um país pobre não poderia se permitir. A constatação cartesiana me fulmina enquanto, no supermercado, pago um pacote de biscoitos para um menino que não conheço e que nem tão pobre me parece, mas por cujo sustento eu, elemento da classe média que nem média é, sou responsável, bem além do pacote de biscoitos. (11)

The poor, in economic terms, are a luxury that a poor country cannot permit. The Cartesian observation strikes me down while, in the supermarket, I buy a package of cookies for a child that I do not know and who does not seem so poor to me, but for whose sustenance I, member of the middle class that is not middle, am responsible, well beyond the package of cookies.

⁷ Marina Colasanti (b. 1938), a native of Ethiopia, has published collections of chronicles, short stories, poetry and fiction for children. She is also a well-known painter. She is married to Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna, whose work is considered below (Projeto Releituras).

⁸ Due to a play on words in Portuguese, the original implies a wealth based on the abundance of poor people available.

Colasanti observes that her taxes already pay towards the food, school, medical care and housing of the child and his family. She goes on to figure that this poor family really does not see the money and “continuem ignorantes, famintos, doentes e desabrigados, obrigados a me pedir” (continue ignorant, famished, sick and poorly clothed, obliged to beg from me; 11).

She observes that supporting one poor person is expensive and that two, three or thousands are even more expensive to maintain. The narrator suggests that this is why she continues reading in the papers that Brazil is becoming increasingly miserable. In economic terms, the chronicle labels the poor as a “péssimo negócio” (terrible investment), making the case that this investment becomes even worse as the number of poor people increases (11). Again, the chronicle insists that a poor country like Brazil does not have the capacity to bring its working class to a more comfortable economic position. Colasanti writes,

São [...] os países pobres, em cuja cuia estatal poucas moedas tilintam, que acabam desregulando seus níveis e vendo-se obrigados a sustentar uma multidão de pobres muito superior a suas posses, multidão visível e inequívoca, que os cobre de vergonha no fórum das outras nações. (12-13)

It is the poor countries, in whose state coffers little money rests, that end up deregulating their [poverty] levels and selling themselves thanks to a multitude of poor people much larger than they can support, visible multitudes and unmistakable, that cause them shame in the forums of other nations.

The chronicle attributes the deep dependence of poorer countries on international aid to the social and economic conditions of so many poor. She contrasts the poor nations to the rich, those who have the means to support high levels of poverty and yet "no fórum

das outras nações, não precisam se envergonhar” (in the international forums, do not need to be ashamed; 13).

Another well-known chronicler, Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna⁹ also critiques the existence of such poverty in Brazil. He begins by laying out the absurd conditions in which poverty continues to exist. The chronicle, “A raiz quadrada do absurdo--I” (The square root of the irrational--I), presents the theory of the irrational number in mathematics. Granting that this operation does not necessarily “acompanharam a delicadeza do raciocínio” (accompany the delicacy of reason), the chronicle states that the public is “acostumados a isto só na política, nunca na matemática” (accustomed to this [type of reasoning] only in politics, never in mathematics; A raiz 9). Despite the difficulty for the public in accepting such convoluted logic in mathematics--again, logic that is accepted and understood to exist in politics--the narrator states, “[m]as é isto: a interrogação, a dúvida (o a dívida?) é igual à coisa absurda ao quadrado” (but it is this way: the question, the doubt (or the debt?) is equal to the square root of an irrational number; Sant’Anna’s emphasis, 9).

Sant’Anna moves from theoretical to allegorical questioning in his chronicle, “A ira do Senhor sobre a cidade” (The ire of the Lord about the city). This chronicle recalls a pair of biblical accounts, the first in the Book of Genesis when God reveals to Abraham the imminent destruction of the city of Sodom. Abraham questions God, “suppose there were fifty innocent people in the city; would you wipe out the place, rather than spare it for the sake of the fifty innocent people within it?” (Genesis 18: 24). Finally, after

⁹ Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna (b. 1937) has published dozens of books, including collections of chronicles, poetry, short stories and essays. He contributes chronicles to O Globo, one of the major newspapers in Brazil. As professor, editor, journalist and author, Sant’Anna continues to be an important, intellectual voice in Brazil to this day. Sant’Anna is married to Marina Colasanti (Projeto Releituras).

Abraham repeats his question, asking whether mercy would be shown to the city for the sake of forty, thirty, twenty or ten innocent people, God responds, “‘For the sake of those ten,’ he replied, ‘I will not destroy it’” (Genesis 18: 32). In the oracular book of Jeremiah, God states, “Roam the streets of Jerusalem, look about and observe / Search through her public places, to find even one / Who lives uprightly and seeks to be faithful and I will pardon her!” (Jeremiah 5: 1).

Sant’Anna rewrites the biblical scene, allowing for an extended dialogue between Jeremiah and God not described in the Bible. Finally, “porque Deus já cansou deste papo e é capaz de responder: ‘Há um equívoco, vocês não precisam de um justo, mas de um homem competente. Aí a cidade estará salva’” (because God had become tired of this talk and is capable of responding: ‘you have made a mistake, you do not need a single just man, but a single competent man’; *A raiz* 27). God certainly lowers certain judgmental standards in Sant’Anna’s retelling, but to no avail--the chronicle ends with an acceptance of the lack of this competence in the residents of the city. This leads into another theme presented by the chroniclers: the institutional culpability in the continued presence of poverty in Rio de Janeiro.

Drummond reflects upon institutional incompetence in his chronicle, “O busto proibido” (The prohibited bust). The chronicle opens with a man drowning at a beach in Rio de Janeiro. When an observer brings this to the attention of a lifeguard, he is told, “[c]alma, tudo a seu tempo. Ordens são ordens. Primeiro tenho que salvar o pudor público, detendo aquela senhorita ali, que está com as maminhas de fora” (calm down, everything in its own time. Orders are orders. First I have to save the public modesty, detaining that woman there, the one with her breasts uncovered; 23). The lifeguard’s

interpreted prioritization of his orders result in the disregard for immediate, life-threatening concerns. Importantly--subtly--the chronicle never returns to consider the man drowning; all attention is taken up by the potentially-disrobed woman. Upon resolving the issue with the woman, no one looks back to the water to address what should have been the lifeguard's first obligation.

Colasanti, again in a more direct fashion than that of Drummond, exposes various, systematic issues at play in Rio de Janeiro that work against the poor. In her chronicle, "De quem são os meninos de rua?" (From where do the street children come?), the narrator describes being stopped by a child on the street. The chronicle identifies a division in popular perception among the population of Rio de Janeiro when, expecting to be asked for money, the child asks for the time. The chronicle observes the division between a "Menino de Família" (Family Kid) and a "Menino De Rua" (Street Kid; 50). The Menino de Família is well dressed, uses a watch and will ask for the time when the watch is stolen by a Menino de Rua.

Colasanti's chronicle recognizes how this perceptive duality can easily be considered a natural condition: The Menino de Família is born to a family; a Menino de Rua is born as if the road, itself--not a family, neither a father nor a mother--sends it directly to the street (50). Colasanti writes:

É por isso, talvez, que, se vemos uma criança bem-vestida chorando sozinha num shopping-center ou num supermercado, logo nos acercamos protetores, perguntando se está perdida, ou precisando de alguma coisa. Mas se vemos uma criança maltrapilha chorando num sinal com uma caixa de chicletes na mão, engrenamos a primeira no carro e nos afastamos pensando vagamente no seu abandono. (50)

And it is because of this, perhaps, that, if we see a well-dressed child crying alone in a shopping center or in a supermarket, we approach protectively, asking if he is lost, or in need of something. But if we see a

poorly-dressed child crying at a traffic signal with a box of Chiclets¹⁰ in hand, we stare at the front of the car and we move away thinking vaguely of his abandonment.

The chronicle affirms that “*não existem meninos De rua. Existem meninos NA rua*” (there do not exist children OF the street. There exist children IN the street; Colasanti’s emphasis, 51). This change in understanding forces recognition of social responsibility for these children, the same responsibility assumed by the public in the case of the child crying in the shopping center or supermarket. Declaring that children can be abandoned by their country, the chronicle concludes that “*quando queremos que os cidadãos sejam o governo, já não podemos apenas passar adiante a responsabilidade*” (when we want citizens to form the government, we can no longer pass on the responsibility; 52).

Diogo Mainardi,¹¹ another contemporary chronicler in Rio de Janeiro, combines Drummond’s biting satire with Colasanti’s directness in his chronicle “*As virtudes da miséria*” (The virtues of misery). He writes,

A gente gosta de pobres. A gente gosta tanto deles que nunca pensou em torná-los menos pobres. A gente gosta de votar em pobres, de reclamar de pobres, de escrever sobre pobres. De fato, a literatura brasileira desapareceria se não fossem eles. [...] Os pobres, em seus livros [de Guimarães Rosa], falam melhor do que nós, pensam melhor do que nós, se comportam melhor do que nós. (184)

People like the poor. People like the poor so much that they never think of making them less poor. People like to vote for the poor, to claim the poor, to write about the poor. In fact, Brazilian literature would disappear if it was not for the poor. [...] The poor, in [Guimarães Rosa’s] books speak better than we, think better than we, behave better than do we.

¹⁰ Many children in Rio de Janeiro enter the informal work force by shining shoes and selling items such as gum.

¹¹ Diogo Mainardi (b. 1962) writes chronicles for the Brazilian weekly magazine, *Veja*. “Viewed as undoubtedly an iconoclast by his admirers, he is considered by them one of the most controversial writers in his country, having published texts that go from the comic to the aggressive, from melancholic to pure sarcasm” (Wikipedia).

And not only does Mainardi critique the general public's regard for the poor, he offers virulent critiques in this chronicle of the current Brazilian President, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

Regardless of the electoral proclamations made by Brazil's president of addressing the needs of the poor, Mainardi finds inconsistencies. Identifying Brazil's largest problem to be "o gigantismo do Estado" (the giant size of the State), Mainardi indicts President da Silva for increasing the size of the state in order to acquire additional votes (184). While it may be true that, "[l]utar pelos pobres, no Brasil, é sempre um bom negócio" (to fight for the poor, in Brazil, is always good business; 184), Mainardi presents the complication that relieving poverty in the country would be counterproductive for the political process: "[a]inda bem que o Brasil tem tantos pobres. Dá e sobra para todo mundo: para os escritores, para os políticos, para os revolucionários, para os jornalistas. O que seria de nós sem tantos pobres?" (it is still good that Brazil has so many poor people. They pay for everyone's salary: for the writers, for the politicians, for the revolutionaries, for the journalists. What would become of us without so many poor people?; 185).

Locating responsibility on the government for continued poverty occurs in many chronicles. Veríssimo offers his ironic voice to introduce this theme in his work, "A solução" (The solution). In this chronicle, the narrator observes how "[e]m qualquer país do mundo, as únicas pessoas que sabem como governar o país estão dirigindo taxis ou trabalhando em barbearias" (in whatever country in the world, the only people that know how to govern the country are driving the taxis or working in barber shops; 97). The chronicle relates an instance when the politicians of a city are forced out of power and

these barbers and taxi drivers take over the country. While the new leaders do succeed in directing the country in positive ways, the politicians, who take over the jobs of driving taxis and cutting hair, create such havoc in the country that, “[p]ensando bem, é melhor que continue tudo como está. Os motoristas de táxi e os barbeiros fora do poder, contribuindo apenas com as suas sugestões espontâneas” (thinking it over, it is best to continue everything as it is. The taxi drivers and the barbers out of power, but at least contributing with their spontaneous suggestions; 99).

In addition to factors that create and sustain conditions of poverty, the chroniclers also focus upon problems facing the poor in Rio de Janeiro. Colasanti’s chronicle, “Achadas e perdidas” (Lost and found)¹² considers the violence that accompanies poverty in Rio de Janeiro. She presents a nine-year-old killed by a “bala perdida” (lost bullets), and then another five children injured in a gun battle by balas perdidas (70). Colasanti writes, “[é], como todos os meses no Rio de Janeiro, tempo de safra das balas perdidas” (it is, as are all the months in Rio de Janeiro, harvest season for balas perdidas; 70).

The chronicle questions the linguistic veracity of the expression, balas perdidas, observing that bullets nearly always travel in exactly the path dictated at their discharge: we can be very sure of where bullets will go--towards wherever they are shot. Moreover, balas perdidas are never destroyed; destroyed are the skin and pierced organ. Destroyed is the security of those who witness the shots; destroyed are many innocent lives taken by these balas perdidas.

¹² A direct translation from the Portuguese would be “Intended and lost.” The English “found” does not convey the necessary connotations necessary to appreciate Colasanti’s play on words in this chronicle. To address this word play in the following paragraphs, I leave balas perdidas in the Portuguese original as the phrase does not translate well into the English equivalent, “stray bullet.” Similarly, I have chosen to leave balas achadas, literally, intended bullets, in the original, as it holds a meaning not available easily in English idiom.

Colasanti concludes, asserting the amorality of the bala perdida:

É amoral porque mata pessoas inocentes--embora as culpadas também não devessem ser mortas. É amoral porque não obedece sequer à questionável moral do submundo, porque escapa à moral da guerra que a dispara. E é amoral porque dela ninguém pode se defender. (71-72)

It is amoral because it kills innocent people--moreover the culprits do not deserve to be dead either. It is amoral because it does not obey whatsoever the questionable morality of the underworld, because it escapes the morality of the war that fires it. And it is amoral because from it no one can defend himself.

Colasanti continues, stating that “[p]erda quer dizer ainda ‘sem esperança ou salvação.’ Uma cidade cruzada por balas perdidas é uma cidade sem esperança ou salvação” (lost still means to say, ‘without hope or salvation.’ A city crossed by balas perdidas is a city without hope or salvation; 72). However, she concludes the chronicle with the possibility to shed this hopelessness: “Mas as balas perdidas podem tornar-se uma espécie em extinção, quando a sociedade põe um basta nas balas achadas” (But the balas perdidas can become an extinct species, when society puts a halt to balas achadas; 72).¹³ As many of the arms and ammunition available in Rio de Janeiro comes from foreign manufacture, the violence in Rio de Janeiro closely relates to the next theme: the relationship between the North and South.

Veríssimo presents the last of the themes considered in this chapter in his chronicle, “Diálogo Norte-Sul” (North-South dialogue). He introduces the chronicle: “Ouve-se falar muito no diálogo Norte-Sul, ou no diálogo entre o mundo desenvolvido e o mundo ‘em desenvolvimento’, mas poucos conhecem, exatamente, os termos deste diálogo.” (One often hears talk about the North-South dialogue, or of the dialogue between the developed world and the ‘developing’ world, but few know, exactly, the

¹³ See previous note.

terms of this dialogue.; 77). Veríssimo represents the North in this dialogue as a lustful man attempting to seduce--not for the first time--an attractive woman from the South. They open the exchange with the woman asking for a cigarette and the man replying as handing one over: “[e]ste foi proibido na minha terra porque é tão forte que ele traga o fumante. Mas para vocês, do sul, não há restrições. Só não exale na minha direção” (this was prohibited in my country because it is so strong that it swallows the smoker. But for you, from the South, there are no restrictions. Just don’t exhale in my direction; Veríssimo’s emphasis, 77). Although prohibited and seemingly not smoked by the man from the North, it is interesting that he does have a cigarette to share.

The differences between the two become increasingly apparent when the woman asks for the man’s aid, as she has seventeen children for whom to care. When the man asks if she has a husband, she quickly replies, “e com dezessete filhos, quem pode sustentar um marido?” (And with seventeen children, who can support a husband?; 77), and then asks the man to dance. Veríssimo plays openly with the stereotypes associated with Latin American countries. When commenting on life in the South, besides recognizing more passion, rhythm and authenticity, the man from the north states, “[n]ós, os ricos, perdemos contato com o barro da vida, entende? Eu, por exemplo, tenho uma mulher e 1.3 filhos” (we, the rich, have lost contact with the marrow of life, you understand? I, for example, have a wife and 1.3 children; 78).

Remembering the history of relations between the South and North, the woman reacts to the man’s seductions by stating, “[d]a última vez usted disse que íamos nos casar e ser igual em tudo” (the last time you said that we were going to marry and be equal in everything; 78). Interestingly, the Brazilian woman uses the Spanish usted

rather than the Portuguese você. The use of Spanish--again, only by the woman--occurs two other times in the chronicle--“Su suite” (your suite) rather than seu and “Está bien” (it is well) rather than está bem. The man makes no reference to the change in language, subtly underscoring his cultural and regional ignorance.

After finally seducing the woman the man refuses her requests for aid, stating that he has already given her all the help she could possibly need and even implying that she has squandered the help provided. This attitude changes, however, when the woman has a meeting with a man named Boris,¹⁴ “que é gentil e educado e quer ajudar as crianças” (that is mannered and educated and wants to help the children; 79). Hearing the name of his communist counterpart, the man suddenly reasserts his seductive manner and convinces the woman to not keep her appointment.

Veríssimo’s chronicle relies upon the opacity of information available to the public pertaining to the financial and political negotiations between the South and North, between Brazil and those countries that invest in Brazil (e.g. the United States). Again, the chronicle begins thus: “Ouve-se falar muito no diálogo Norte-Sul, ou no diálogo entre o mundo desenvolvido e o mundo ‘em desenvolvimento’, mas poucos conhecem, exatamente, os termos deste diálogo” (One often hears talk about the North-South dialogue, or of the dialogue between the developed world and the ‘developing’ world, but few know, exactly, the terms of this dialogue; 77). Due to the lack of transparency in these negotiations, the chronicler relies upon conjecture--fueled heavily by perceived cultural and national assumptions--when presenting the interactions between the parties.

¹⁴ While the name, Boris, dates the chronicle with Cold War demarcations between the United States and Russia, this relationship has renewed relevance as both Brazil and Russia find themselves reemerging into economic and political prominence in the first decade of this century.

The World Bank has recently begun to address the transparency of its work in a variety of ways. To begin, an enormous quantity of documentation has been made publicly accessible through its publishing division as well as online. In fact, all information contained in this dissertation, save for the two SAR documents utilized in the previous chapter, has been obtained via the World Bank website. Moreover, publications from the World Bank are available through regional and depository libraries and book distributors. Depository libraries receive copies of all official World Bank publications whereas the regional libraries receive major annual publications as well as those pertaining to the specific region where the library is located. These typically consist of existing libraries that partner with the World Bank to offer these publications.

Brazil has three depository libraries (Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo) and one regional library (Brasília). The World Bank has also developed processes for accessing documents not available online--those considered sensitive or classified as well as documents that have not yet been converted to digital media--although these are quite restricted as to who may request the documents and for what purpose they will be employed.

In addition to the online and print repositories, the World Bank has opened Public Information Centers (PIC) around the world--the PIC in Mexico City enabled my access to the two SARs studied in Chapter 2. With a Public Information Center office in the capital city of Brasilia, the World Bank's website states that Brazilian PIC endeavors "to help the public access print or online information about the World Bank's operations and studies in collaboration with the Government of Brazil, as well as bibliographic material edited by the World Bank in Portuguese and English" (World Bank PIC webpage).

Despite the efforts of the World Bank to make its work more transparent to the public, Veríssimo's critiques remain valid--especially for those who continue to live in poverty. According to data published by IBM in an online article titled "The New Brazil: Sugarcane into Fuel is just the Beginning," only twelve percent of Brazil's population has Internet access. It seems safe to assume that much less than twelve percent of the Brazilian population visits the World Bank websites to learn about its work in their country. Moreover, as the country's only PIC resides in Brasilia, even fewer Brazilians have the opportunity to visit. Thus the opportunity to access information is quite limited--especially for those who lack access to the Internet or the means to travel throughout the country.

Even when access to the documents is available, it should be noted that additional obstacles exist for Brazilians to apprehend the available information. Regarding the documents considered below, the World Bank offers the Brazil Country Brief in English, French and Arabic, and the CAS as well as the Project documents only appear in English. Selected progress reports on the CAS have been published in Portuguese, but not all. With the understanding that access to World Bank documentation remains somewhat limited within Brazil, this chapter now considers various documents accessible through the World Bank's web pages and analyzes them in light of the themes developed above in the chronicles.

The World Bank's website presents a Country Brief for every borrowing country. Regarding Brazil, this Country Brief offers the following topics: Development Progress, Challenges Ahead, World Bank Assistance to Brazil, and Project Achievements. The online Brazil Country Brief describes a country that "has made big strides in reducing

social and economic inequality, which are both cause and consequence of the poverty that continues to afflict millions of people.” As the largest country in Latin America in terms of geographic size, population and economy, the World Bank presents Brazil’s accomplishments in curbing the spread of AIDS as an indicator of the positive work done in the country to serve the poor. The World Bank continues aggressively to address poverty in active loans, but tends to focus upon rural manifestations that occur most disturbingly in the country’s northeast. Of the World Bank’s seventy-two active projects in Brazil, thirteen percent pertain exclusively to combating rural poverty while only a single project addresses exclusively its urban counterpart.

However, as discussed in the chronicles presented above, poverty continues to exist in the urban centers of Brazil. In fact, the World Bank’s high-level literature on Brazil reflects the concerns raised by various chroniclers presented above. According to the Country Brief, it almost seems that poverty has been nearly eliminated--or at least contained--as has the spread of AIDS. This becomes especially the case when one filters out the rural poverty existing in Brazil’s Nordeste (Northeast) that receives the majority of poverty related aid in the country.

The Brazil Country Brief from the World Bank’s website acknowledges “the country's commitment to comprehensive anti-poverty measures survived two bouts of international economic turbulence and domestic energy crisis over the past five years, thanks to a strategy of expanding exports while lowering barriers to foreign trade and investment, as well as to Brazil's private sector.” Also, the World Bank points to President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva’s election in 2002 and his platform that “emphasized economic growth, equity and social inclusion” (Brazil Country Brief). Indeed, even

faced with multiple and substantial corruption scandals that rocked his administration, Lula was reelected in 2006 with a wide majority in the elections, clearly benefiting from the connections he made with the poor in Brazil. The website does mention various challenges to the social agenda and ability of this government to affect change, but affirms that “the government’s sound macroeconomic policy was the key element for restoring credibility.”

As presented by Thomas earlier in the chapter, Brazil has an extremely polarized distribution of wealth. The website states confirms Thomas’ contentions, stating, “despite Brazil's significant recent advances, the poorest one-fifth of Brazil's 182 million people account for only a 2.4% share of the national income” (Brazil Country Brief). The World Bank finds Brazil to rank second in the world in income inequality, with nearly twenty percent of the population living in poverty. Moreover, much effort has begun recently to address issues of corruption within the World Bank’s own lending, with the intent of assuring that increased percentages of aid actually reach the intended recipients.¹⁵ Certainly the World Bank strives for the elimination of poverty and is justified in seizing upon the positive indicators when presenting its work in Brazil. However there exist discrepancies between this presentation and the reality of those living in poverty, discrepancies shown to us by the chroniclers.

The World Bank offers a consistently optimistic regard for Brazil’s ability to and commitment for addressing poverty in the country. The Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) document produced by the World Bank, outlining its policy for the years 2004-2007, begins thus:

¹⁵ For more on how the World Bank is attempting to address corruption, see www.worldbank.org.

Brazil today has enormous potential. It also faces huge challenges. After the “Brazilian miracle”¹⁶ of the 1960s and 1970s, the 1980s and 1990s produced disappointingly low growth with persistently high inequality. Despite low growth, however, the last decade saw substantial advances in the reform agenda, including remarkable achievements in key social indicators and in price stabilization and fiscal strengthening since the 1994 Real Plan. Economic advances were consolidated from 1998 onward--in a period that included the 1999 currency crisis and other external and domestic shocks through responsible fiscal management (underpinned by Brazil’s landmark Fiscal Responsibility Law), which brought rising primary fiscal surpluses, and the introduction of exchange rate flexibility under an inflation targeting framework. (1)

The document presents the issues of Brazil as legacies from a less-well organized past whose solutions are in place and only in need of continued guidance and well-placed interventions. This document does state that “the government recognizes that neither higher sustainable growth nor lasting social progress is possible without deep reforms” (1). But again, the very next line is telling: “[the government] has quickly established credibility by making prudent macroeconomic choices and devoting early emphasis to key structural measures such as social security reform” (1).

With its overriding mission being “global poverty reduction and the improvement of living standards,” the World Bank faces a constant need to address critiques of its work and seizes upon the positive indicators when presenting this country (World Bank website). However, there exist discrepancies between this and the reality for those living in poverty, discrepancies shown to us by the chroniclers. As with the previous chapter, this section looks underneath these policy and publicity documents to the actual project documents produced by the World Bank in relation to the individual loans made for projects that implement these reforms. No matter the strides taken--and again,

¹⁶ Managed by a bureaucratic-authoritarian regime, Brazil experienced enormous economic growth between the years 1967-1973. Termed the “Brazilian Miracle,” foreign investment--encouraged by the stable political climate guaranteed by the oppressive regime--fueled growth.

understandably lauded--by the World Bank in the high level and publicity documents, urban poverty continues and must be addressed. As shown by the chronicles, the attitude of the population and the government may do a great disservice to the poor, especially the urban poor who do not reside in the rural northeast of the country. The chroniclers present serious issues existing in Brazil that need immediate and substantial intervention, and perhaps deserve a stronger intensity than given in the CAS document.

After considering the World Bank's Country Brief pertaining to Brazil as well as the current CAS document, this chapter now turns to two active World Bank projects that address poverty in Rio de Janeiro. With their combined \$1,074.4 billion in loans from the World Bank, the Bolsa Família Project (BFP) and the Programmatic Loan for Sustainable and Equitable Growth: Supporting Housing Sector Policy offer interesting connections to the chronicles introduced above. In contrast to the high-level documents and web presentations, these programs grapple with the reality of poverty in the cities of Brazil.

Approved in June of 2004, a loan of \$572.2 million was granted to the Government of Brazil to support the BFP.¹⁷ This loan would be administered by the Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome (Ministry of Development and Hunger Abatement). Arguing that "rapid achievements on the social side would consolidate broader support for economic responsibility and difficult reforms, thus strengthening the foundations for growth and for even faster social progress in the future," this ambitious project seeks to address social welfare issues as well as economic conditions in Brazil (BFP Information Document 1).

¹⁷ As of October 2006, the cost for the loan had increased to \$619.49 million.

Prior to the implementation of the BFP, Brazil had maintained a number of social welfare programs, each of which ran through independent agencies. Including programs that provided education, food and petroleum, the Brazilian government found systemic inefficiencies as well as “considerable gaps and duplications in coverage, and missed [...] synergies from jointly promoting education, health and nutrition” (BFP Information Document 2). Therefore, the Brazilian government decided to combine all these programs “into a single, improved conditional cash transfer (CCT) program called the “Bolsa Família Program (BFP)” (2).¹⁸ As in the projects considered in the previous chapter, the World Bank promotes programmatic and institutional reform in its loans. In this case, the World Bank works with the Brazilian government to bring together disparate approaches and understandings of poverty. Moreover, it is important to note the subsidiary role taken by the World Bank in this project, both in terms of funding as well as implementation: this loan equals a very small percentage of the total program cost and the World Bank plays a consultant rather than leadership role.

The World Bank recognizes that this program aligns with the CAS goal of “achieving a more equitable Brazil” while at the same time promoting four of the Millennium Development Goals: reducing poverty, achieving universal education, reducing child mortality and improving maternal health (BFP Information Document 2).

The BFP Information Document states:

The proposed project would seek to strengthen the BFP’s ability to achieve these broader objectives of reducing poverty and inequality and promoting human capital development by supporting: (a) a consolidation of conditional cash transfer programs and reductions in gaps and duplications in coverage; (b) a strengthening of the system for identifying

¹⁸ A conditional cash transfer (CCT) program provides cash and other goods to recipients who fulfill certain requirements. For example, the transfer may only be granted if a family enrolls all children in school or provides for them requisite medical services.

the target population; (c) the development of a monitoring and evaluation system for the BFP; and (d) a strengthening of the basic institutional functioning of the program. (4)

The World Bank's financial position in this program only represents eight percent of the total cash transfers expected to be granted. As such, this document recognizes that "overall reduction of poverty and inequality is the ultimate objective of the Bank's assistance under the proposed project" (authors' emphasis, 2). This investment seeks to play a substantial role in the restructuring of institutions that will then affect change in the future. Moreover, the role of the World Bank in this CCT program differs greatly from the relationship presented in Veríssimo's chronicle, "Diálogo, Norte-Sul" (North-South Dialogue). Rather than controlling and taking advantage, the World Bank seeks here to support the South as it works to improve living conditions of its citizens.

The Program Information Document for the BFP presents four overarching objectives for this loan. To begin, the World Bank believes that this loan and the consulting services to be provided will increase the "effectiveness and efficiency of the BFP over the course of the project period, reducing overlaps and filling gaps in coverage" (4). Again, the World Bank seeks to play an auxiliary role in this project. Secondly, the document indicates that World Bank involvement in this loan would help to maintain its importance in the minds of policymakers, thus ensuring continued funding and recognition. In other words, the World Bank enjoys sufficient sway in Brazil to influence government prioritization.

Thirdly, the document recognizes that the BFP contributes to "Brazil's critical development priorities overall" (4). This project follows consistently with the objectives laid out in the CAS. Finally, the document states, "the loan would provide critical

additionality in technical design and implementation” (4). Due to its work around the world, the World Bank recognizes in its employees and processes a technical expertise that would be made available to the Brazilian implementation of the BFP. As discussed in the previous chapter and presented clearly by the Brazilian chroniclers, institutional reform remains essential for the successful implementation of this program. This program intends to prevent the illogical bureaucratic realities critiqued by Sant’Anna’s “A raiz quadrada do absurdo--I” or the mal-prioritization presented in Veríssimo’s “O busto proibido.”

Interestingly, the document also states:

Higher quality and more equitable access to education (including secondary and tertiary education) are key to reducing poverty and inequality in the long run. However, the positive impacts of education reform take time to materialize. Reforms to social assistance programs and a more equitable pension system can achieve complementary results sooner and substantially reduce inequality and alleviate poverty. (1)

This interpretation differs somewhat from the opinions of Thomas--previously the World Bank Country Director for Brazil--in its recognition of education as an essential factor for poverty reduction. Where Thomas does not delimit the effectiveness of these educational programs based upon time horizons, this project document clearly argues that immediate benefits can be expected from other types of aid. The BFP Information Document disputes the economic gains (or spins them differently) than does the CAS for the country. The document presents:

Poverty has remained fairly constant since the mid-1990s even if the poverty profile has changed, with the effects of the recent economic slowdown being felt primarily in metropolitan areas in the Southeast. In fact, poverty levels in metropolitan areas increased sharply, with the Southeast share of poverty increasing from 17-26% from 1998-2001. Poverty incidence among youth also increased, and poverty rates continue to be especially high for those with low levels of education, as well as for

indigenous and afro-descendent (quilombola) populations. (1)

As observed in the World Bank's work in Mexico, the project-level documents present clearly the underlying issues existing in the country that will affect (and be affected by) the projects being funded. The same issues considered by the chroniclers, which critique the government and population's inability or unwillingness to admit to the issues of poverty in Brazil, can be observed in the high-level documentation of the World Bank. The chroniclers uphold the importance of recognizing real situations; rather than focusing upon the hope offered by certain studies to must apprehend true situation rather than seizing upon hope, laying a veneer over reality.

Where the World Bank's Bolsa Família loan contributes only a small percentage of overall program funding, the next project considered in this chapter assumes a much larger financial role. The Programmatic Loan for Sustainable and Equitable Growth pertaining to Housing Sector Reform brings \$502 million to Brazil to "support the Government's efforts in improving access by the poor to better housing and serviced/serviceable land, while maintaining fiscal discipline, as part of the set of loans supporting sustainable and equitable growth" (Program Information Document vii). The rationale proffered for the approval of this loan offers a tempered positivity: although Brazil has witnessed enormous economic and social progress (due in large part to the BFP), an exception exists in the "critical situation of the shelter for the poor" (vii).

The Program Information Document for this loan states, "[s]uccessful macroeconomic policy and recent growth recovery will not necessarily increase access of the poor to housing and serviced land" (1). Even as "Brazil has transformed itself economically and laid the institutional foundations for solid macroeconomic management

while economic growth has recovered in the last two years,” troubling data indicates that the poor of the country have struggled to survive: the country is experiencing a housing “deficit” in which an estimated 28 million people lack appropriate access to adequate shelter (1). The Program Information Document estimates that between fifty and sixty percent of “new households formed annually cannot afford the most basic house produced in the formal market” (1). And as evidenced in Mexico, the informal markets provide alternatives to the formal: in Brazil, “informal urban settlements are growing 4 times faster than average urban growth” (1).

The Programmatic Loan for Sustainable and Equitable Growth: Housing Sector Reform seeks to address these conditions in Brazil. The loan presents a range of objectives, which would contribute to the national policy and institutional design for the housing sector, develop financial systems to support the poor segments of Brazilian society--particularly through the unification of federal housing subsidies, and finally to reduce costs for the formal development of urban areas (14). As with the BFP, this loan addresses the institutional and policy structures that serve the housing sector in Brazil. The World Bank intends to support Brazilian institutional development.

In fact, the Program Information Document highlights the importance of government commitment for the successful implementation of these programs. Despite several risks to this operation, namely, timing and expectations, coordination and institutional risks, and, macroeconomic developments and interest rate volatility, the World Bank concludes that the Brazilian government's commitment to pursue its fiscal adjustment policy should lead to a decline in overall debt and lower market interest rates (viii). Furthermore, the loan program provides an evaluative framework to help the

Government monitor the segments of the housing market, including those relevant for poor and middle-income families.

This document continually points to successful components of other loans, presenting an organization that utilizes its considerable experience to contribute to this loan's success. The Program Document for the proposal of this project states, “[t]he loan draws from the long experience with programmatic lending to Brazil in several sectors and more recently in areas related to the pillars of the CAS” (35). The document confirms the influence of the BFP in its design: “the monitoring and evaluation component has drawn from the identical component prepared under Bolsa Família” (35).

The Program Information Document clearly outlines the desired outcomes for this loan. To begin, this loan intends to bring reform to a range of property rights, including property registries, land development as well as the national and municipal infrastructure supporting these reforms. In fact, this loan emphasizes that the responsibility for these reforms must be transferred to the municipal level for best results. Along with legislative functions, the program also calls for a “dialogue with the judiciary to improve contract enforcement and a commitment to persist in the deregulation and improved competition of the system are to be acknowledged” (i). In addition to the role of the federal and local authorities, the loan also seeks to strengthen the formal property economies through the promotion of mortgage markets, thus providing a “clear sign to both investors and lenders that the Government is committed to support a market-based housing finance system” (i).

Those preparing this loan recognize the issues raised by Mainardi of the endemic conditions surrounding poverty in Brazil. The Program Information Document states:

Brazilian history has shown that due to persistent poverty, structural market failures, and poor regulation, economic growth by itself will not

increase access of the poor to housing, which directly affects the “equity” dimension of the program. Unregulated urban agglomerations, lacking basic services such as water and sanitation, usually have a major impact on health and on the environment. (i)

This loan intends to promote a system in Brazil in which the economic growth occurring in this decade will impact a much larger segment of the population.

This chapter recognizes much to praise in the work in the World Bank in Brazil, as gauged by that presented by the chroniclers. This is particularly the case when considering documentation pertaining to individual World Bank projects in urban development. These projects address many of the greatest needs in the Brazilian urban society and recognize the relevant social issues of influence. However, there seems to exist a contrast between these project level documents, written mainly for official use, and those documents presented as (internal and external) publicity for the organization.

When one considers the immense quantity and vehemence of critique brought to bear against the World Bank by a wide array of national and international entities, one can understand the important role of publicity for this lending organization. Francis Lethem, a retired employee at the World Bank and current Director of the Duke University Center for International Development, explains how the World Bank has taken an extremely proactive approach to publicity in light of these critiques. He describes how the timeframe for responses to critiques have changed over the last few decades. Where more than a month may have elapsed in the 1980s and 1990s between a critique and the world Bank’s response, the organization began to answer within twenty-four hours and now seeks to address all concerns prior to their receipt. With this in mind, documents such as the online Brazil Country Brief serves as publicity as much as information (or at least a different type of information, with a different intent).

As the complexity of intent in the information presented by the World Bank increases, informational resources such as the chronicles become even more important in ascertaining, evaluating, even understanding the work of World Bank around the world. One theme detailed in the chronicles remains unaccounted for in the World Bank's documents: the existence of violence in the urban spaces of Brazil. In this regard, the use of chronicles alongside the work of the World Bank provides other "critical additionalities" that could--and perhaps should--be included in the World Bank's work.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSPORTATION AND SHANTYTOWNS

No quería ojos para ver lo que vi, pero si sucedieron en la ciudad de mi vida las cosas que vieron mis ojos, no me cambio por nadie y me alegro de estar aquí, entre todos.

Elena Poniatowska

This chapter considers a pair of challenges that confront both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, employing chronicles to comment upon funding decisions made by the World Bank. These challenges--presented in the transportation sector and the existence of slums--will be presented primarily through the consideration of one city and will include supplementary examples from the other. The chronicles presented in this chapter develop a sense of what Csaba Deák, professor of urban planning at the University of São Paulo, terms “a natureza de sua própria sociedade” (the nature of its very society; 16), which informs a contextualized study of the World Bank’s work.

First to be considered will be the transportation sector, focusing primarily on Mexico City’s Sistema de Transporte Colectivo Metro (typically shortened to Metro) through the lenses of World Bank and Carlos Monsiváis. Similar work in Rio de Janeiro will be presented as a contrastive example for how the World Bank has achieved success much quicker and with less cost in Brazil. The second component of this chapter

presents an area missing in the work of the World Bank, this time focusing on Rio de Janeiro and using Mexico City not as positive examples, but rather as substantial support for various arguments finding fault in the World Bank. This chapter will present a component in the World Bank's funding portfolio in Rio de Janeiro: the favelas. Diogo Mainardi's chronicles will highlight the needs as well as the inconsistencies involved in these massive shantytowns unrecognized officially by the Brazilian government.¹

Csaba Deák argues in the preface to her edited volume, O processo de urbanização no Brasil (1999), that an important component of urbanization has been underappreciated. She writes, “[s]e os dias do auge do planejamento urbano atestavam que o fato da urbanização era evidente, a natureza da urbanização era tudo menos óbvia” (if the days of the height of urban planning attest that the fact of urbanization was evident, the nature of urbanization was anything but obvious; author's emphasis, 14). Deák echoes not only Luis Fernando Veríssimo's initiating complaint regarding the opacity inherent in typical international development but also the fact that those managing urbanization do not possess a true appreciation for the environments in which they work. She questions the acceptance held by urban planners of the “atração” (attraction) that the cities held for those entering from the countryside (15). Deák wonders if it would not be more appropriate to exchange the understanding of attraction of the city for “repulsão do campo” (repulsion from the countryside; 15).

Given this divergent approach to urbanization, Deák finds that “o que define uma agenda não-desprezível, pois que descrever, entender ou interpretar o processo de

¹ This chapter is certainly limited by the publicly-available material on the World Bank's website and in other media. Private correspondence between the World Bank and government officials is difficult to attain; Chapter 2 demonstrates this clearly as the World Bank continues to restrict access to a number of documents published over twenty years ago.

urbanização do Brasil implica na verdade, descrever, entender, interpretar a natureza de sua própria sociedade” (that which defines a worthwhile agenda, in order to describe, understand or interpret the process of urbanization in Brazil in truth requires one to describe, understand, interpret the nature of its very society; 16). The requirement that Deák recognizes for those working in urban development in Brazil applies equally well to the work of the World Bank around the world: understanding the realities influencing for whom the development organization designs its work proves essential for the successful implementation of the loan programs.

Veríssimo’s chronicle “Diálogo Norte-Sul” presents one potential of the chronicle within a consideration of urban development in Latin America. More than simply critiquing an unequal and often problematic relationship between the North and South, this chronicle provides a number of contributing factors to the issues that affect this relationship. These factors include the opacity in development matters, cultural assumptions, economic power relations, military capacity, cultural and health choices and are presented through the lens of a similarly constructed gendered relationship. Veríssimo’s chronicle clearly shows how cultural, societal and intellectual assumptions inform the approach of the North to treating the South. These same issues may be evaluated when considering the work of the World Bank in Latin America. In this sense, the chronicle serves as a locus of situational knowledge with which an analysis of the World Bank’s work may be undertaken. And, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, the World Bank often manages to address--or at least avoid--the issues listed above in the two projects considered.

The chronicles of Monsiváis and Poniatowska present another potential engagement with development organizations in that they not only identify but also engage with issues facing the urban environment of Mexico City. Monsiváis decries the representational abuses in federal and municipal governance, and also recognizes and argues for the creation of sociedad civil (civil society) that ultimately contributes to ending seven decades of authoritarian rule in Mexico. Alongside the writing of these chronicles, one may observe the funding decisions as well as the processes by which these decisions will be implemented by the World Bank. Again, this project finds significant alignment in the recognition of and proposed solutions for many issues facing Mexico City.

Brought into stark relief by the collapse of buildings during the Mexico City earthquake in 1985, the disproportionate number of these structures that housed the urban poor commanded the attention of Mexican society as well as the international community. More than the “fraude y corrupción” (fraud and corruption; 90) described in Poniatowska’s Nada, nadie: Las voces del temblor and made apparent in the sub-code construction of these buildings and the shared guilt of government officials who approved the construction, the number and social condition of affected residents in these dwellings put on display the incredible number of people who had moved into the largest urban center of Mexico, indeed one of the largest urban centers on Earth. The revelation of the masses left homeless in the streets of Mexico City, a city receiving high levels of international attention in advance of its hosting of the following year’s World Cup soccer tournament, forced a reconsideration of large segments of the urban population, a

reconsideration reflected in both the World Bank's projects and publications as well as the writings of Mexico City's chroniclers.

Upon moving past the immediate concerns facing the population after the earthquake (e.g. shelter, food, etc.), another system serving the population of Mexico City presents intriguing connections between the World Bank and those chronicling life in the city: transportation. Regarding this sector of urban development, Mexico City's Metro system serves a number of functions for this project. As the focal point for an extremely divisive issue separating the World Bank and the government of Mexico, the Metro concentrates thought on both a literal and figural level. Symbolic for Monsiváis of the "rituales del caos" (rituals of chaos) that represent both the greatest strengths, unique characteristics and glaring limitations of the cultural experience of life in Mexico City, the Metro at the same time presents profound challenges to an equitable and accessible society.

With over five million daily riders forcing their way onto a transportation system built to serve only a fraction of their number, the struggle to gain access to the cars and the contiguous proximity therein of all economic and social classes approximate a microcosmic example of the larger interactions played out within the sprawling city's landscape. In his chronicle, "La hora del transporte, el Metro: viaje hacia el fin del apretujón" (The hour of transport, The Metro: journey towards the end of the jam), Monsiváis observes the number of daily riders, "en batalla álgida por el oxígeno, y el milímetro" (in a cold-blooded battle for oxygen and each square inch; 111). The chronicler compares the disembarkement of a Metro car with that of a clown car at the circus from which streams an improbable number of people.

Monsiváis continues his critique of the capital city's transportation system: "El metro anula la singularidad, el anonimato, la castidad, la cachondería; todas éstas son reacciones personales en el horizonte donde los muchos son el único antecedente de los demasiados" (the Metro anuls singularity, anonymity, chastity, sexiness; all those are personal reactions on the horizon where the many are the only antecedent of the too many; 112). Given the struggle among throngs of other commuters to arrive at a train car that impersonally travels from destination to destination regardless of occupancy, individual importance diminishes--and not simply upon entry into the train, but rather as one approaches the yawning maws of the subway entries. In the end, on the Metro "se disuelven las fronteras entre un cuerpo y otro, y allí sí que todos se acomodan" (the frontiers dissolve between one body and another, and there all find accommodation; 113).

Monsiváis considers the impact that the Metro has on the individual rider in another of his chronicles, "La hora de Robison Caruso: sobre el Metro las coronas" (The hour of Robison Caruso: Coronas² above the Metro). The narrator admits to feeling often trapped, "al borde de la angustia" (on the brink of madness; 166). And rather than a physical fear, he refers to the fear of "perder para siempre el gusto por el espacio, y ya nunca más sentirme a mis anchas" (losing forever one's pleasure and interest to be replaced by space, and never more feeling at ease; 166). He explains the need for a rider of the Metro to possess "dos entidades corporales" 'two corporeal entities', because a single body, experiencing the Metro during the--everpresent--rush hours "se incrusta en la multitud y allí se queda, anulada, comprimida, y sin siquiera fuerzas para deprimirse. Y sólo se recupera al llegar al infinito de su recámara" (becomes engraved in the

² The word corona may be translated as crown, halo, nimbus or even glory.

multitude and there remains, annulled, compressed and without hardly the ability to become depressed. And one only recovers upon arriving at the infinity his/her bedroom; 166).

In addition to the effect on individual, Mexican riders, “La hora de Robinson Caruso” details the effect that the system has had on the culture of the city. The Metro has replaced the street, “la vía pública” (the public thoroughfare; 168), on which the social order was well defined and visible. Along with the shopping mall--“templo de un consumismo más visual que monetario, ejercicio apto no tanto de las adquisiciones como de la resignación” (temple of a consumerism more visual than monetary, apt exercise not so much of acquisitions than of resignation; 168)--the Metro has created a place where:

la multitud entra y sale de los vagones, se vuelve una sola entidad compacta, y se fragmenta en seres tan distintos unos de otros que apenas los hermana el regazo del amontonamiento. Y al mezclarse lo homogéneo y lo supremamente heterogéneo, el Metro resulta la universidad de lo inigualable que es también la suma de los iguales. (170)

the multitude enters and exits the wagons, becoming a single, compact entity, and then fragments into beings so distinct from each other that can barely come together out of the accumulation. And upon mixing together the homogeneous and the supremely heterogeneous, the Metro becomes the university of the matchless that is also the sum of the equalities.

Monsiváis observes that the riders “reciben la herencia de corrupción institucionalizada, devastación ecológica y supresión de los derechos básicos” (receive the inheritance of institutionalized corruption, ecological devastation and suppression of basic rights; 111). In other words, the transportation system functions as a locus of the social and economic realities facing all citizens of the city.

In addition, Monsiváis uncovers the symbolic ramifications of these cultural manifestations, asserting that the Metro “es la ciudad, y en el Metro se escenifica el

sentido de la ciudad, con su menú de rasgos característicos: humor callado o estruendoso” (is the city, and on the Metro is staged the essence of the city, with its display of typical characteristics: humor either quiet or uproarious; Los rituales 111). Here the Metro serves as a microcosmic representation of larger cultural matrices that overlay this largest city of Latin America.

For the World Bank, a symbolic importance arises from the Metro as well: the Metro represents the Mexican government’s refusal, in the eyes of the World Bank and of many Mexicans, of fiscal responsibility through its insistence on continued subsidization of a non-profitable and incredibly cost-intensive, underground transportation system. The World Bank’s Operations Evaluation Department (OED) released a study in 1998, The Transport Sector in Mexico: An Evaluation, that “assesses the relevance, efficacy, and efficiency of World Bank assistance to Mexico's transport sector” between 1982-1997 (3). The report recognizes a massive increase in the importance of the transportation sector throughout the country, particularly in the urban areas where population increases have taxed the capacity of transport systems. The document presents one of the major concerns for the Mexican government in the late 1990s regarding the rail system, of which the Metro is part: “loss-making operations [that] require large subsidies” (16). That the Mexican government recognizes these subsidies--and the systems that require their support--as a major issue contrasts strongly with previous approaches to transportation funding, especially in Mexico City.

The OED report, when discussing a series of three large loans given to the Mexican transportation sector (approved in 1987, 1992 and 1997) finds that these “projects were consistent with the Bank's urban transport policy, and to a large extent

with the needs of Mexico” (30). Describing an ongoing policy dialogue between the World Bank and the Mexican government, the document states:

The Bank's strong opposition to the large government subsidies to Mexico City's metro led to excluding this city from the first urban transport project. Later, when the State of Leon, which received funding under the project, decided to build a rail system, it became a violation of the loan covenant and the Bank suspended disbursement in that state. The lack of accord on metro policies hindered both federal and state commitment to urban transport projects and soured relations with the Bank. (31)

Unable to reach an agreement about the Metro system, these three projects were quite irregular, as they did not include the Mexican capital--the largest city in the country.

The World Bank has approved two projects in Mexico City in the last five years that seek to address the issues raised by the transportation systems in the capital. The Introduction of Climate Friendly Measures in Transport project provides \$5.8 million in funding “to contribute to the development of policies and measures that will assist in a long-term modal shift toward climate-friendly, more efficient and less polluting, less carbon intensive transport in the Mexico City Metropolitan Area” (Project Appraisal Document 3). The World Bank has joined the Mexican government to address the serious air pollution conditions facing Mexico City and recognizes that the transportation systems serving the enormous--and growing--population contributes significantly to the problem.

This loan by the World Bank seeks to address the policy and institutional environment in the Mexican capital into which future loans may find success. While governmental “[c]ommitment to the objectives of the proposed loan remains strong,” the Project Appraisal Document recognizes that the desired approach to transportation “requires the removal of barriers and also the completion of the studies that design the

physical infrastructure for the corridors including any safeguard issues” (5). This document repeatedly points to the objectives outlined in Mexico’s current CAS to substantiate its goals pertaining to air quality in Mexico City.

The Project Appraisal Document maintains a nearly exclusive focus on addressing the concerns of governmental and policy concerns, considering only minimally how the program will impact the individual citizens of the city. The closest the document comes to discussing directly the citizens of Mexico City arrives when addressing traffic congestion issues in the city. The document finds that traffic congestion “affects public transport efficiency and, in addition, imposes direct and indirect costs on the urban economy” (12). Losses to the city’s productive output are linked to inefficiency in travel, which “reduces the size of the effective labor market, imposes the need for higher inventory and more generally affects individual productivity” (12). In its ultimate goal of transitioning public transportation from individual automobiles to larger, environmentally friendly vehicles, this project seems not to concern itself much with the people utilizing these systems.

Of course, the changes promoted by this program would benefit the citizens of the capital--as will be seen in the next loan considered that grows into the structural changes brought about here. Increased air quality in Mexico City would benefit all residents, as eventually should the promotion of sustainable business environments that need not rely upon government subsidies for continued functionality. Moreover, the “project also supports the concept of expansion of the reach of the metro system instead of its actual physical expansion, through integrated corridors as this choice is anticipated to cost about one tenth of the equivalent, were the metro system be expanded” (17). The increased

reach of public transportation in the city, especially if the cost of this increase would come at a significantly lower price to the Mexican taxpayers, should represent a great improvement to many commuters.

Interestingly, the only mention of poverty in the Project Appraisal Document's 129 pages occurs in the tenth annex titled, "Country at a Glance." Providing a snapshot of demographic data in Mexico at the time of the project's approval, the impact of public transportation on poverty in an urban environment receives no attention. Again, the primary focus of this grant remains at the regional and governmental level and pertains to air quality; however, the document does not consider how improvements in air quality would affect the population. Instead, it considers how the expected results would address the larger goals of the World Bank's CAS along with certain treaties signed by the Mexican government related to environmental conditions.

The World Bank approved a second project, the Mexico City Insurgentes Bus Rapid Transit System Carbon Finance Project, for \$2.4 million in 2005. Rather than concentrating on policy reform, this loan funds a pilot project benefiting from the reforms supported by the previously discussed project. Addressing both air quality and transportation concerns in the Mexican capital, this project develops the first "surface mass transport corridor in Mexico City and associated traffic management measures" (2). As one of the most congested streets in the city, Insurgentes Avenue now has dedicated traffic lanes, with independently operating traffic controls, that service a number of environmentally friendly busses purchased as part of this loan. This loan also provides for the development and implementation of devices to measure "emission reductions from the transport sector" (2).

In its support for “a safer, cleaner, more efficient and modernized transport system,” (3) along with improving the transportation industry and replacing older vehicles, the Project Appraisal Document for this loan states that “[i]mprovements in public transport systems will benefit all transport operations in the corridor and in particular the low income strata of the population who are the predominant users of public transport” (3). The document notes the “substantial negative impacts and externalities on its users,” (4) which include high travel costs and congestion; increasing accidents; and urban degradation. Unlike the previous loan, this project recognizes the importance of its results for the poorer segments of the population. Currently, of the 28 million daily trips in the urban region of Mexico City, approximately twenty percent are serviced by a staggering seventy-five percent of motor vehicles in operation (4). In other words, twenty-five percent of operating vehicles in the metropolitan area must transport eighty percent of the traveling population. The World Bank recognizes an immediate need to curb the trend towards private motorization as residents prefer to avoid the massive demand for public transportation when possible. Rather than investing in increased roadways in the city, the World Bank elects to support an integration of currently un-networked public transportation services that would result in greater operational efficiencies and thus--hopefully--increase the quality of service.

The Project Appraisal Document recognizes that, while “the operation of one single corridor does not result in large emission reductions, the project will help to develop the tools and procedures that may be applied, on a larger stage as a follow up to this operation” (2). Emphasizing that this is a small-scale, pilot project, the World Bank expects that the data produced by these devices will serve to promote similar approaches

throughout not only Mexico but also its other borrowing partners. The World Bank's approach to urban transportation in Mexico City clearly recognizes the importance of the sector to the population. Even though it tends to focus on the larger economic and political levels in presenting rationales for the projects, these loans definitely benefit the riders through improved air quality, access and rapidity of transport as well as long-run, financial gains.

Again, according to Monsiváis, the Metro is the city:

Es la vida de todos atrapada en una sola gran vertiente. Y es la ciudad más palpable, la que no necesita de la televisión para verificarse a sí misma. El Metro no es una metáfora o una reducción simbólica de la ciudad, es, insisto, la megalópolis alojada en las ruinas de la prosperidad demográfica, es la urbe que, mediante el simple impulso masivo, usa de pasillos y vacidios, multifamiliares, vecindades, plazas públicas, todo cimentado en la gente. (Rituales 177)

It is the life of everyone trapped on one great slope. And it is the city at its most palpable, that which does not need television in order to verify its existence. The Metro is not a metaphor or a symbolic reduction of the city, it is, I insist, the megalopolis lodged in the ruins of demographic prosperity, it is the urbe that, by means of the simple and massive impulse, uses the corridors and vacant lots, multifamily housing, neighborhoods, public plazas, everything with its foundation in the people.

Today the World Bank contributes to a redesign of the transportation mechanisms in Mexico City, thus offering a potential for future redefinition of Monsiváis' megalopolis heralded by environmentally-friendly busses.³

The World Bank also funds an urban transportation project in Rio de Janeiro, but of a quite different nature. The Rio de Janeiro Mass Transit Project, valued at \$185 million, addresses a system that provides approximately 8.7 million daily trips, "more

³ It should be noted again that this project relies upon the writings of the chroniclers and World Bank as primary sources and does not incorporate official government responses to these matters.

than half requir[ing] transfers from one mode of transportation to another” (Staff

Appraisal Report 1). The Project Information Document lists the project’s goals as:

extending the existing subway whose construction has been halted since 1987, transforming the suburban rail system into a modern Metro like operation, increasing the participation of the private sector in the operation and investment of all urban transport systems to improve productivity and reduce costs and introducing policies which will promote the use of urban transport. RJ approached the Bank for a loan which will help in achieving those objectives. (1)

Besides agreeing to partially-finance the extension of the Metro system in Rio de Janeiro--which enjoyed a different response from the World Bank due in part to pricing of Metro rides without direct government subsidies as well as the geographic realities of the city that preclude the construction of additional bus routes--the goals closely resemble those of the project considered above in Mexico City. The Brazilian project differs in the rationales given that fuel these objectives.

The Brazil Country Brief accessed through the World Bank’s website states:

And on the structural level, Brazil's poor transportation networks and bureaucracy are notorious for raising costs for ordinary citizens as well as for businesses. In São Paulo, transportation costs a poor person one-fifth of his or her income, and more than 2.5 hours a day in commuting time. (Brazil Country Brief)

Unlike the mass transit project in Mexico, the Rio de Janeiro project maintains this recognition of the conditions faced by impoverished communities. After presenting that the average citizen of Rio de Janeiro “wastes” between ten and fifteen days each year caught in traffic, the Project Appraisal Document for this loan emphasizes that “the main users of the public transport system are from the Baixada Fluminense (a poor section on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro) and bear the brunt of the system's problems,” which

include crowded transport vehicles, long trips to and from work involving multiple “modal transfers” and paying over a quarter of income to purchase fares (2).

Such recognition of the ridership, much less their economic conditions, is absent in the project documents pertaining to the transport project in Mexico City. In fact, the Project Information Document for the project in Rio de Janeiro even stresses that “the problems of fare evasion and safety at stations must be properly addressed because they have an impact on ridership and on revenues” (4).

The Project Appraisal Document for the Rio de Janeiro Mass Transit Project affirms:

If successfully implemented, the project will primarily benefit the poor in the participating municipalities, since they depend mainly on bus, Metro, suburban rail services to commute to and from work, especially those living in the Baixada Fluminense and in favelas for whom access to the areas of employment is a daily ordeal. (13)

Access to well functioning, cost-effective transportation services prove essential to the commutes of many workers, and not only in Rio de Janeiro but in most other large cities around the world. This chapter now follows the transportation system to the beginning of the commute, to where many of these workers reside.

After observing how the World Bank works within the transportation sector in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, interacting quite consistently with the needs identified by Monsiváis, this project identifies a need for a critical additionality in the World Bank’s funding portfolio in the poorest communities of these urban centers. The Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) guiding the World Bank’s work in Brazil between 2004 and 2007 “benefited from consultations with the federal and state governments, representatives from social and environmental movements, trade unions, the private

sector, other international agencies and donors, academia, as well as youth and religious groups” (56). Interestingly, in the seventy-seven pages of this document, the word, favela, appears a single time. The document states, “[t]he poor are least likely to have adequate service, with a large part of the unserved population living in small municipalities, peri-urban areas, and favelas” (35). In fact, this is the only reference to the favelas in any official World Bank document available on its website.

The earliest written description of a favela was produced in a chronicle by João do Rio in 1908, titled “A cidade do morro de Santo Antonio” (The city on Saint Anthony hill). The term, favela, was coined a decade earlier when a military contingent returned to Rio de Janeiro from fighting separatist groups in Bahia and established itself on a hill in the outskirts of the city. The new urban development closely resembled that observed in the Morro da Favela area where they had been fighting and the name came to be adopted for the first of these settlements in Rio de Janeiro (Soares i). The contemporary manifestation of these communities are striking; they have grown onto the hills within the city of Rio de Janeiro whose composition have made other construction untenable. Therefore, the favelas exist on hills next to some of the most affluent areas of the city.

Fabio and Yuri Soares trace the development of settlements throughout the twentieth century, observing that the “nature of the relationship between the formal city and the favelas [...] changed, going from initial indifference, to rejection, to a more sympathetic and tolerant attitude (i). Table 1 summarizes the interactions between the municipal and federal governments in Rio de Janeiro and the informal settlements developing around the city since the mid 1960s.

These policies not only reflect changes in the political leadership in Brazil (for example, a bureaucratic-authoritarian military dictatorship ruled the country from 1964 until 1985) but also have altered as the population of the favelas has come to contain nearly twenty percent of the Rio de Janeiro’s population today (Soares 4-5). Moreover, living conditions within the favelas continue to evolve over time. For many residents,

Table 1: Public Policy in Informal Settlements

Period	Type of Policy	Description
1964 to 1970s	Eradication	Reformulation of the Leão XIII foundation (1963). The foundation is converted into a state agency. This represents an attempt to exercise control over the <i>favela</i> resident's association, which have gained political presence CODESCO (1967) and CHISAM (1968). CODESCO represented the only initiative aimed at urbanizing the favelas during the military regime. It was, however, drowned by the creation of the CHISAM, which attempted to consolidate different housing initiatives, but in practice maintained eradication as a focal point. Between 1968 and 1975 roughly 100,000 houses would be eradicated.
1980s	Urbanization	Promorar (1979). The program was implemented in order to urbanize informal settlements that were under flood conditions. It was managed by the National Housing Bank (BNH). Six <i>favelas</i> were intervened under Promorar. Projeto Mutirão (1981). Implemented by the municipality, the project represented the first of a string of municipal-level interventions aimed at urbanization. Fifteen favelas, including the Roçinha, were partially urbanized. Proface (1983). A state-level initiative that build on the municipality's Projeto Mutirão, it was focused on providing water and sewerage services to favelas. 60 favelas were linked to the city's water and sewerage. This was accompanied by a land tenure initiative, the <i>Cada Família Um Lote</i> program (1983), also implemented at the state level. Programa Quinquenal (1985). The plan calls for incorporation of the favelas into the city more broadly than the provision of water and sewerage, recommending that all neighborhood state functions (formal recognition, mail, etc) be provided. It does not have an operative counterpart and is not implemented.
1990s	Urbanization	Plano Diretor (1992). The new city plan incorporates the change in focus seen in the Programa Quinquenal, and due to new resources from municipal decentralization, it is able to fund broader neighborhood improvement projects. Geap (1993). The newly created executive housing advisory board proposes six neighborhood improvement projects, including Favela-Bairro. Favela-Bairro I (1994). Urban upgrading program implemented in 38 favelas. Improvements in other informal settlements are also provided for.
2000+	Urbanization	Favela-Bairro II (2000). The second phase introduces activities in education, health and training, as well as community development. Property rights recognition are also included.

Source: Soares, Fabio and Yuri Soares. “The Socio-Economic Impact of Favela-Bairro: What do the Data Say?” Working Paper, (Washington D.C.: The Inter-American Development Bank, 2005) 3.

homes have evolved from an initial cardboard shelter that has been replaced by cinder blocks and even better construction materials over time. Likewise, a sense of community has evolved within these areas, producing what can be almost considered independent towns existing within the greater Rio de Janeiro metropolitan area. The huge size of many of these communities--some contain nearly 300,000 inhabitants--have developed extremely complex social and economic conditions.

Not only chroniclers address the favelas, but so do other literatures as well as filmmakers and social scientists. This section will question why the Bank has not developed work that directly engage the favelas, locations where the policies espoused seem to apply so clearly. Moreover, moments of occlusion exist in this country that deserve a questioning look. Where is the favela in the work of the World Bank? Certainly, the favela is serviced to some extent by the other loans, such as the Bolsa Família program considered in Chapter 3, but when the World Bank's mandate calls for the eradication of all poverty, how does the manifestation of the favelas not gain entry?

Diogo Mainardi includes the chronicle, "Impressionismo" (Impressionism) in his collection, A tapas e pontapés. In this selection, the narrator joins a group of international tourists in Rio de Janeiro for an organized Jeep Tour to the favela of Rocinha--"duas horas e meia de passeio por 75 reais" (two and a half hours of duration for \$40; 161). They leave from one of the best hotels in the city in open-top "jipes de safari" (safari jeeps; 161) and drive up into Rocinha, the largest of Rio de Janeiro's favelas with a population approaching 300,000 residents. The narrator observes: "Tudo indicava que aquilo era um safari para ver os pobres em sua reserva natural. Só faltava o

fuzil com tranqüilizantes” (everything indicated that this was a safari to see the poor in their natural reserve. The only thing missing were tranquilizer guns; 161).

As the group approaches Rocinha, the tour guide informs his charges that they would observe the “lado positivo” (positive side) of Rocinha, “não a miséria ou o tráfico de drogas” (not the misery or the drug trafficking; 161). Upon hearing this, the French members on the tour protest, complaining that they did not pay for the trip to see an artificial place, “construída pelo governo apenas para impressionar os turistas, como as fazendas-modelo dos países da Cortina de Ferro” (constructed by the government just to impress the tourists, like the model-farms from the countries of the Iron Curtain; 161). The French wish to experience a true place--according to their preconceived understandings--with true, poor people.

The narrator appreciates the complaint: “Se estávamos pagando para ver a miséria, era justo que víssemos a miséria” (If we were paying to see misery, it was only just that we would see misery; 161). As it turns out, the French are consoled when they do observe sufficient poverty to uphold their expectations. However, they are also amazed by the number of beauty shops, pharmacies, bars and other shops that crowd the streets. Even as the tourists comment on the unexpected conditions observed, the narrator surveys the squalor that exists: “Não há casas de madeira: são todas de tijolos, com quatro ou cinco andares” (There are no houses constructed of wood: they are all of cinder blocks, with four or five stories; 162).

Exploring an area possessed of stunning views of Rio de Janeiro’s natural beauty--the Corcovado, the beautiful lake of Rodrigo de Freitas in the center of the city, the Pão de Açúcar and its ascending and descending cable cars--the tourists are surprised to find

the same poor kids selling sweets and biscuits as they do on the city's beaches.

Apparently, the “pobres e ricos têm os mesmos gostos, as mesmas idéias” (poor and rich have the same tastes, the same ideas; 163) regardless of where they live. Poverty in Rio de Janeiro does not necessarily fit well on a postcard to be used for international fundraising. Rather, the poverty existing in Rio de Janeiro, as in many other locales around the world, presents itself in varied forms, often in close proximity to those living in relative wealth. This juxtaposition of poor and rich underscore the importance of addressing the unacceptable conditions experienced by so many in the city. Ultimately, the tourists return to the jeep, concluding that “Rocinha não vale um safari (Rocinha is not worth a safari; 163).

Mainardi continues his consideration of the favelas in another chronicle, “Pobres” (The poor). The narrator expresses surprise to find responsibility for the situation of the favelas leveled at him: “Elas apontam o dedo para mim e me acusam de ser cúmplice do narcotráfico, com o argumento de que a responsabilidade pela violência não é só dos bandidos, mas da sociedade como um todo” (They pointed the finger at me and accused me of being complicit in the drug trafficking, with the argument that responsibility for the violence was not only with the bandits, but with society as a whole; 186). He sarcastically shares that prior to this accusation, he had considered his sole contribution to crime a wallet and watch once surrendered in a robbery. The sarcasm turns caustic as the narrator admits to having ignored his social responsibilities, recognizing that the gunshots fired at him by drug traffickers result “porque não dou aulas de balé ou teatro na favela (because I do not give dance or acting lessons in the favela; 186).

Mainardi's chronicle critiques various groups and programs that serve the populations of the favelas, providing such activities as cultural and dance lessons, as well as dias de carinho (days of caring) during which people enter the favelas to show support and solidarity for those living in difficult conditions. Mainardi's narrator recognizes that these programs serve the families of those involved in the drug business as much as the innocent people residing in the favelas. The chronicle questions whether “[n]ão teria sido melhor a polícia subir o morro com algemas?” (it wouldn't be better for the police to go up the hill with handcuffs; 186).

A third chronicle in Mainardi's collection--named for a prominent favela in Rio de Janeiro, “Cidade de Deus” (City of God)--presents a musician living in the favela. With Bible verses painted onto walls alongside graffiti by the criminal group dominating the favela, the narrator observes “[q]uatro jovens munidos de telefone celular, walkie-talkie e pit bull recebiam e despachavam abertamente sacos plásticos com maconha e cocaína. No alto de um morro, via-se um garoto encarregado de saltar rojões em caso de blitz da polícia” (four young men armed with cell phones, walkie-talkies and a pit bull, who openly receive and distribute plastic bags of marijuana and cocaine. At the top of a hill, one can see a boy charged with lighting off fireworks in case of a police raid; 168).

Having earned sufficient fame and wealth to live elsewhere in Rio de Janeiro, the rapper elects to remain in the favela. His music “tenta convencer os favelados a abandonar as armas, a parar de se drogar, a largar a cachaça, a evitar a gravidez precoce, a usar camisinha, a estudar” (tries to convince those living in the favela to abandon the guns, to stop using drugs, to stay away from cachaça, to avoid underage pregnancy, to use condoms, to study; 169). This musician works for a group that seeks to educate the

black members of the community and, when asked why the group did not work to expel the drug traffickers, he changed the topic. Although considering his microphone a weapon, the rapper recognizes that “às vezes é melhor se calar, porque em boca fechada não entra mosca nem bala” (some times it is better to keep quiet, because neither flies nor bullets enter into closed mouths; 169).

One comes away from Mainardi’s chronicles with a taste of the frustration that confronts residents of Rio de Janeiro when faced with these officially-unrecognized areas. Most Brazilians would lament the challenging living conditions experienced by many of those residing in the favelas just as most would decry the presence of drug trafficking that occurs alongside. Given its mission of “working for a world free of poverty,” what engagement does the World Bank have with the favelas?

The World Bank’s website offers one serious engagement with the favelas of Brazil: the Bank-funded research of Janice Perlman in Rio de Janeiro to evaluate the changes brought about in the thirty years that had passed since she completed her dissertation research. A professor at Columbia University as well as the Founder and President of the Mega-Cities Project, Perlman based her original work, The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro (1976) on the interviews of hundreds of people living in three areas around the city. Her analysis challenges the conception that those moving from the country to the cities were badly equipped for life in the urban centers.

Returning to her project in 1999, Perlman revisited Rio de Janeiro and attempted to contact the same people whom she had interviewed thirty years earlier. Rather than continuing a “concept of marginality” that placed the responsibility for slum dwellers’

difficulties in integrating with urban society, Perlman describes in her new work, The Myth of Marginality Revisited: The Case of Favelas in Rio de Janeiro, 1963-2003, “a logic and rationality to the attitudes and behaviors in slums, and that there were strengths and assets in the squatter settlements of Latin America that belied the stereotypes of deficits, deficiencies, disorganization, and pathologies of all types” (16). In fact, Perlman’s research concludes that those living in the favelas are “in fact integrated into the society, albeit in a manner detrimental to their own interests” (author’s emphasis 16). Rather than existing isolated from the remainder of society, these groups play an essential role in the economic and cultural realities of the cities yet do not enjoy the same access to goods and services provided to those living outside the favelas. Perlman concludes that the “favela residents are not economically and politically marginal, but are excluded and repressed; that they are not socially and culturally marginal, but stigmatized and excluded from a closed class system” (16).

Comparing data collected in the Rio de Janeiro of 1968-1969 to the late 1990s, the information gained from about a third of the original participants in the study indicates that health services, security, exclusion, and the economic situation have deteriorated. Moreover, Perlman finds a much greater presence of crime and violence today than years ago. One is reminded of Marina Colasanti’s chronicle, “Achadas e perdidas,” with its call for less violence in Rio de Janeiro. Sharing a cup of coffee in their sixteenth-storey apartment building overlooking the Lagoa in downtown Rio de Janeiro, Colasanti and her husband, Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna, described to me how they have replaced windows in their home as stray bullets flew through from the neighboring favela of São Romão.

Perlman places little faith in the Bolsa Familia program described in the previous chapter, considering it a type of social hand-out rather than an implementation of needed policy reform. With World Bank funding, Perlman returned to Rio de Janeiro to re-interview those who contributed to her original project. In the new survey, international agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) received very poor ratings by those living in the favelas. In fact, many residents shared that they had never heard of these organizations. She finds that this “high level of ignorance is interesting in light of the enormous investment in the Favela-Bairro program by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB),⁴ along with CEF (Caixa Econômica Federal), the European Union, and the City of Rio de Janeiro” (34).

The IDB provided in 1995 the first of two loans for \$180 million to the Bairro Favela program managed by the newly-created Secretaria Municipal de Habitação (Municipal Housing Secretary). This program aims to improve the living conditions of the urban poor in medium-sized areas containing between 500 and 2500 households (Soares 12). Soares identifies the objectives of the Bairro Favela program: “the reduction in the risk of geological and environmental accidents (mostly landslides and floods), increased transit access, reduction in the incidence of vector-borne disease, as well as increases in utilization of public services” (12). In addition, the second phase of the program, funded in 2000, also funds social services that include child care facilities and job and community development training programs.

While the majority of objectives for the program were implemented, the monitoring and evaluation provisions were not. Due to this failure, very little statistical

⁴ The oldest and largest regional development bank in the world according to their website, the IDB was established in 1959 and engages in social and economic development in Latin American and the Caribbean. For more information, see www.iadb.org.

data has been collected to evaluate the efficacy of the programs, thus limiting the value of the Bairro Favela project for subsequent project replications or new project development. Moreover, “the evaluation strategy of both the first and the second phase of the program did not explicitly provide for a comparator group that would form the basis for a counterfactual in any impact evaluation” (Soares 15). By not selecting a comparable group in the planning stages with which to gauge the effect of the program, it becomes very difficult to verify whether the program had any significantly positive impact.

Mexico City also contains vast slum areas and has experienced an amazing increase in the number of self-constructed buildings: Abhas Jha estimates that sixty percent of citizens living in the capital resided in “self-constructed dwellings” in 1990 as opposed to fourteen percent in 1952 (1). He indicates the enormous paucity of lending instruments available to the Mexican citizens and remarks upon the World Bank and the Mexican government’s efforts to rectify both the financial and institutional needs in the country. In this sense, the loans detailed in Chapter 2 address several of the concerns of those living in the slums, but do not address the slums themselves. Instead, existing programs address various symptoms that cause the poverty of those living in the slums.

Unfortunately, there are no active World Bank programs that are intended overtly to address slum areas in Rio de Janeiro or Mexico City. Unlike the IBD, the World Bank has not implemented any loans or programs to aid the incorporation of the favelas into recognized municipalities in the city, whether through the development of infrastructure, property rights, etc.⁵ As with housing, the transportation sector addressed above aid

⁵ Such work is being addressed by a multitude of non-governmental organizations, whose efforts this project does not consider.

those working in these areas, but even more than the housing loans, these loans provide only tangentially to the issues facing those living in these areas.

Along with the loans that address specific components of the issues facing those living in the slums of Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, the World Bank has developed guidelines for Poverty Reduction Strategies that must be included in the majority of loan proposals. Discussing areas considered vital to addressing the contributing factors of poverty in the world, the World Bank publishes these guidelines in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Sourcebook (PRSPS).

The Sourcebook includes a chapter on Urban Poverty, written by Deniz Baharoglu and Christine Kessides, that identifies five dimensions of poverty in general (income/consumption, health, education, security and empowerment) along with three characteristics experienced by the urban poor around the world: “commoditization (reliance on the cash economy), environmental hazard (stemming from the density and hazardous location of settlements and from exposure to multiple pollutants), and social fragmentation (lack of community and of inter-household mechanisms for social security, compared to those in rural areas)” (124). The authors contend that a multidimensional analysis of poverty is essential for any successful poverty reduction strategy.

Figure 1 presents the authors’ summary of a multidimensional analysis of poverty. Considered “cumulative deprivations” (124), the perceptual focus of the central dimension merits consideration. As opposed to the other dimensions that lend themselves to empirical measurement, the wording, “Sense of” may serve to lessen the importance of insecurity, isolation and disempowerment faced by the urban poor. This document then outlines the potential benefits to a country or city that designs policy

with poverty alleviation in mind, which include a reduction in social inequality, avoidance of significant environmental and health problems, mitigation of the effects of disasters, support for local economic development and the promotion of national economic growth (133-134). With much importance granted to land reform (property law, the development of financial markets for land ownership, etc.) and the decentralization of and communication among governmental programs, governments are encouraged to develop job programs, to encourage small business creation and especially to support home-based income generation (134).

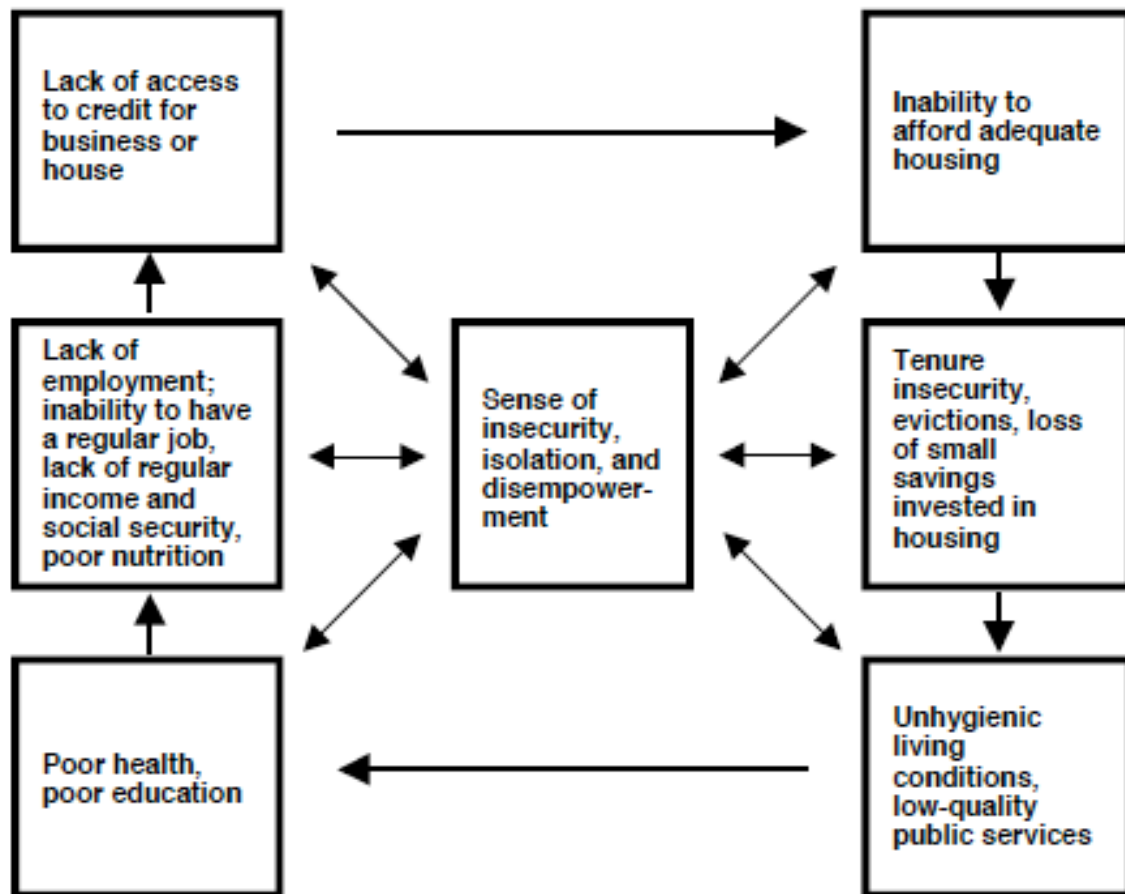


Fig. 1: Cumulative Effects of Urban Poverty, from Deniz Baharoglu and Christine Kessides, "Urban Poverty," *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Sourcebook* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2006) 125.

Definite challenges to the design and implementation of a World Bank project serving the favelas are easily recognized. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, the issue of the drug trafficking remains severe and a cause of much danger to any type of program. From a financial risk assessment, any attempt to disperse--or at least disarm--these groups not only presents security issues but also remains entirely outside the purview of the World Bank's mandate. Moreover, as earlier chapters have made clear, it is impossible to ascertain the character of discussions between the World Bank and the federal and municipal governments in Rio de Janeiro. As with most development concerns, the engagement of slums, especially unofficially recognized areas such as the favelas--involve incredible complexity at policy, financial, political as well as historical levels. Perhaps the World Bank has encouraged the Brazilian government to do something, or maybe the government has approached the World Bank with ideas pertaining to the favelas. However, the limited acknowledgement of issues involving the favelas within official World Bank documentation--including the research arms of the organization, such as the World Bank Institute⁶--makes one doubt the importance placed by the Bank on this subject.

The slums in major Latin American cities have received much attention in recent years. The movie Cidade de Deus (City of God), directed by Katia Lund and Fernando Meirelles and adapted from Paulo Lins' novel of the same name, has met with international acclaim. This movie relates the tale of a young man who lives through the establishment of power by drug traffickers in a favela of Rio de Janeiro. Interestingly, even with the positive reactions given to the movie, Lins' novel was only published in

⁶ The World Bank Institute (WBI) defines itself as the capacity development organization within the World Bank. The WBI provides research, learning and knowledge management services. More information is available at www.worldbank.org/wbi.

English translation late in 2006. Translations have also been produced in Spanish, French, Italian and German.

Patricia Melo's novel, Inferno relates a similar story told through the experiences of Reizinho (Kingy), a child who grows to rule the drug trade in a favela. Melo includes one episode within her powerful work that connects extremely well with the concerns of this project. An American media executive, Rick, who specializes in producing commercials enters the favela to discuss with Reizinho the shooting of a soft drink advertisement. Rather than shooting the typical scene of young people drinking his product, Rick wants "uma morena bonita, dia de verão, no meio de uma favela, suada, sensual, de repente, ela pára, exausta, e puf, num toque de mágica, surge na sua mão uma garrafa de refrigerante, que ela bebe com prazer. Depois, a morena olha para a câmera e diz: isto é que é a vida!" (a pretty dark-skinned girl, a summer day, in the middle of the favela, sweaty, sensual, suddenly she stops, exhausted and poof, in her hand magically appears a bottle of soda, which she drinks with pleasure. Afterwards, she looks at the camera and says: this is life!; (264-65).

As with the French tourists in Mainardi's chronicle, Rick wants what he calls the "favela em si", the favela itself. He continues, asserting, "Isso é Rio. É Brasil. Favela, para mim, é o que há. É o próprio Brasil. Não quero nada bonitinho, digo, pintado de azul. Quero a própria realidade de vibrante" (This is Rio. This is Brazil. Favela, for me, is where it's at. This is the real Brazil. I don't want something pretty, I mean, painted blue. I want the true, vibrant reality; 265). Rick enters Reizinho's community possessed of a preconceived notion of Rio de Janeiro's favelas that he has already decided to use in his commercial representation. Rick does not want reality; he wants an image brought

from outside the favela--actually, from outside Brazil. And unlike Mainardi's imagined tourists, Rick's commercial interests preclude his apprehension of the social and economic plight faced by so many in the community.

Deák develops a useful metaphor that helps to place the issues presented by the favelas in Melo and Mainardi's work as well as the rituales de caos described by Monsiváis. Deák discusses the colonial heritage of disparate economic centers that persist in Brazil, using the metaphor of an archipelago to illustrate the tension extant between these distanced economies--separated by natural and artificial barriers--within an environment requiring not only a unified national, but also international market. She describes an

'arquipélago' de territórios que compunham a economia colonial ia se transformando em algo como um espaço nacional sob a pressão da produção de mercadorias que requer um mercado unificado, mas o espaço era entrecortado por barreiras naturais e artificiais, retardando sua homogeneização e mantendo seu caráter fracionado. (16)

'archipelago' of territories that composed a colonial economy that were transformed into something like a national space under the pressure to produce merchandise that require a unified market, but the space was intersected by natural and artificial barriers, retarding their homogenization and maintaining their fractioned character.

Certain barriers remain strongly in place between the favelas and the rest of Rio de Janeiro, barriers whose demolition would benefit the economic and social lives of their residents.

However, addressing the issue of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro--as well as in most large cities in Brazil--requires an extremely complex engagement in the fabric of the city; these are not simply impoverished areas in need of new government policies. For example, by putting an end to the drug trafficking and accompanying violence--a

necessary first step in truly integrating the favelas into the larger city--the Brazilian government would begin to create a more stable environment for investment from organizations like the World Bank. However, Rio de Janeiro must address a police force that is not only overmatched in armaments by some groups residing in the favelas, but also is confronted with a high level of corruption due in part to poor compensation.

In addition to enabling the provision of currently-absent legal and municipal services to the residents of the favelas (e.g. property rights as well as basic services such as electricity and proper water sanitation), the government would conceivably benefit from increased tax revenues not to mention the savings involved in limiting the struggles with armed groups within the city. However, these possibilities require a firm commitment from the Brazilian government that goes well beyond the purview of the World Bank. Eliminating the organized drug trade in the favelas will require not only a moral but must likely a military commitment that would certainly affect many of the city's residents.

The conclusion of Melo's Inferno offers a quite pessimistic view of the favelas that merits examination. Having fled from both his leadership role and physical presence in the favela, Reizinho finds himself unhappy in the rural, unexciting life of a bar-owner residing far from Rio de Janeiro. Accepting the possibility of a violent end at the hands of Volnei--the new leader of the favela--Reizinho decides to return, and “[n]otou também a movimentação dos novos moleques do tráfico, não conhecia nenhum deles, certamente já estariam avisando Volnei sobre a sua chegada na favela. Nada havia mudado afinal” (also noted the movement of the new errand boys for the traffic, he knew none of them, certainly they were already informing Volnei of his arrival in the favela. Nothing had

changed after all; 367). Melo offers no possibility for improvement of the conditions presented in her work--all characters who seek to alter the realities of the favela meet with violent ends.

The chronicles of Mainardi and Monsiváis proffer more relevance to an engagement with the issues facing Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City. Although presenting distressing observations about the cities in which they write, each of the chroniclers provide a clear indication that these issues must be addressed. Whether brought about by government intervention or through the collective energy of sociedad civil living within the cities, each author maintains a tone of exasperated longing for change. Even in Colasanti's disavowal of both the linguistic descriptions as well as the violent subjects of armed conflict in "Achadas e perdidas," the reader encounters a tempered hope for a city free of weapons.

Again, Deák writes, "O que define uma agenda não-desprezível, pois que descrever, entender ou interpretar o processo de urbanização do Brasil implica na verdade, descrever, entender, interpretar a natureza de sua própria sociedade" (that which defines a worthwhile agenda, in order to describe, understand or interpret the process of urbanization in Brazil in truth requires one to describe, understand, interpret the nature of its very society; 16). Such comprehension of the societies does not necessitate the hopeless response of Melo's work; rather, it provides a realistic context from which to design effective policies.

CONCLUSIONS

La pesadilla más atroz es la que nos excluye definitivamente.

Carlos Monsiváis

Eu sei que a gente se acostuma. Mas não devia.

Marina Colasanti

The Brazilian João Ubaldo Ribeiro presents a wonderful exposé of the plight of a common worker in his chronicle, “Posições políticas” (Political positions). Having informed his wife of a decision to not go to work one day, a man details how he refuses to continue laboring so that his country could pay a debt owed to the United States. He explains: “É o seguinte: estamos trabalhando para mandar dinheiro para o americano. Então o pessoal não está querendo mais trabalhar, você sabe que todo mundo aqui na ilha é patriota” (It’s the following: we are working to send money to the Americans. The people don’t want to work any more, you know that everyone here on the island is a patriot; 66). Put off balance by his wife’s quick acquiescence to his plan, the man queries, “[v]ocê acha que eu devo trabalhar para pagar aos americanos? (do you think that I should work to pay the Americans?; 67). To this his wife expresses her complete solidarity with the workers and asserts that she, too, will stop working that very moment.

Faced with her husband’s confusion, she explains that from that moment onward she would cease cleaning, cooking and looking after their children. Very quickly, her

husband shares with the reader that, “[a]rrependi-me imediatamente do meu desvio ideológico, fiz autocrítica, fui limpar Chica [sua esposa] para me reeducar pelo trabalho. Essa desgraçada dessa dívida externa atrapalha a vida de todo mundo” (immediately regretted my dissenting ideology, looked myself over, and convinced Chica [his wife] to help me get ready for work. This disgrace of the external debt complicates everyone’s life; 68). Ribeiro’s chronicle suggests that the impact of the debt owed to foreign nations is not lost upon the common worker in the developing world. Wishing to address the conditions imposed upon the workers in his community, the man recognizes--with the aid of his wife--the likely ineffectiveness of his response as well as probable hardships that would ensue.

This dissertation argues that the World Bank must approach its lending decisions with an understanding of whom its loans and projects will affect; it must recognize how the debt added by a loan to Brazil will impact local laborers and their families. Likewise, the World Bank must understand the conditions existing in a city devastated by an earthquake in order to provide relevant and timely aid, or it must comprehend the institutional realities of another city prior to overhauling the city’s social welfare programs. In addition to the evaluative potential of the chronicles detailed in Chapter 2 and 3, that the chronicles bring to light the viewpoint of people within the developing countries also provides a resource for identifying and developing funding priorities. In other words, the genre of the chronicle in Mexico and Brazil offers a wealth of social and cultural information that may positively impact the World Bank’s engagement in these countries.

This project has developed a critique based upon an understanding that the World Bank carries a responsibility to relate openly to the public--a point maintained clearly by the chroniclers. The manner in which this dissertation has been constructed speaks to the success of the World Bank's commitment to making information publicly available. Moreover, every publication distributed by the World Bank that appears in this work is available free of charge from its website. During the course of research for this project I visited the World Bank's Public Information Center (PIC) in Mexico City and received much aid (including twenty pounds of documents). In fact, it was through a correspondence with Mireya Olivas, the PIC's Coordinator, that I managed to access the Staff Assessment Reports upon which Chapter 2 bases its evaluation of the World Bank.

Despite the praise presented here for the World Bank pertaining to its transparency, the organization must address the languages in which this information is disseminated. Given access to the website containing the publications, an individual in the developing world must speak certain languages in order to read these works. Even though Brazil has a strong and growing economy and a long history of association with the World Bank, the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) documents exist only in English. Mexico saw the first CAS released in Spanish only in October 2002. True commitment to transparency must take into account the environments in which the World Bank functions.

This project set out to consider how the chronicle could interact with the work of the World Bank in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro. The World Bank's overview of urban development published on its website states:

Today, the World Bank with its partners is committed to promoting sustainable cities and towns that fulfill the promise of development for

their inhabitants--in particular, by improving the lives of the poor and promoting equity--while contributing to the progress of the country as a whole. (Urban Development")

By studying how the chroniclers--all of whom reside in and write about their respective city--addressed certain issues in urban development along side the World Bank's approach to those same concerns, I hoped that a space for interdisciplinary engagement would present itself. In fact, Chapter 1 argues that this attempt is not only possible, but also necessary: a definite need exists for a balanced entry into a consideration of the World Bank's function in international development.

The first chapter also finds convincing evidence for considering as an inclusive genre the chronicle that exists in Brazil and Mexico--to my knowledge, this is the first study that analyzes the two together. Moreover, the value of these works within an applied setting cannot be overlooked; while a small number of scholars have produced works that study individual chroniclers (Egan's on Monsiváis) or the genre of the chronicle (Monsiváis on the Mexican chronicle and Cândido on the Brazilian), very few utilize the form to construct a separate argument. Brewster's work does to an extent, but she does not name the chronicle, as such. Rather, she elects to include essay, chronicle and letters in what she terms, "political writings."

This critique of the Mexican and Brazilian governments arises in multiple places in the project. It is important to note that this dissertation does not claim to develop a balanced discussion regarding the national governments. As its goal was to read chronicles and the work of the World Bank against each other, most analyses of the governments in this project filter through the chroniclers' and World Bank's writings.

Future work on this topic may benefit from this avenue of pursuit, especially given the intimate relationship existing among the three actors.

Chapter 2 analyzes chroniclers and the World Bank's reactions to a massive earthquake that struck the Mexican capital in 1985. This study presents a remarkable alignment between the work of the World Bank and the writings of two very influential chroniclers in Mexico City, Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis. This natural disaster revealed to the world the conditions facing the poor sectors of the city, for whom the housing sector and governmental services--both municipal and national--were in great need of reform. The chroniclers take the government as well as the organizing body of FIFA to task for their involvement in exacerbating the situation. Even the World Bank offers tempered criticism of the Mexican government.

The third chapter also presents a government, now in Brazil, that comes under criticism by the World Bank and the chroniclers. Responding to the poverty in Rio de Janeiro, the chroniclers decry a institutional bureaucracy that prevents municipal workers from focusing on essential services. To this end, the Bolsa Família Program was created to align a number of separately run programs, thus taking advantage of certain economies of scale to provide for those in need that reside in the city. Interestingly, the World Bank involves itself in this project as a technical advisor, providing a very small percentage of overall project funding and functions to support the Brazilian government. This approach represents a significant departure from the World Bank's traditional involvement in projects--rather than assuming control, the organization takes a subsidiary role, granting that the Brazilian government understands better how to function within its borders.

Another World Bank loan making an impact on urban poverty in Rio de Janeiro, the Programmatic Loan for Sustainable and Equitable Growth: Housing Sector Reform appears to address the critiques presented by the Brazilian chroniclers. It addresses the property rights of the poor as forwarded by Drummond de Andrade's "Viadutos; the focus on the municipalities in creating site-specific policies as satirized by the same chronicler's "O busto proibido; as well as the engagement of the World Bank in the process as critiqued in Veríssimo's "Diálogo Norte-Sul."

The fourth chapter continues many of the themes developed in prior sections, but brings them to bear on currently-active projects that exist (in differing permutations) in both Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro. Although the World Bank addresses the transportation sector in quite different ways in the two cities--advocating against the Metro in Mexico City and pushing to extend the Metro in Rio de Janeiro--this chapter benefits from the chronicles to present how transportation actually constructs the very reality of those living in the urban centers. Therefore, any change in sector policy brought about by the World Bank may actually serve to alter this lived reality. Again, additional work is warranted to study the impact of World Bank projects on the lives of those living in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro.

This dissertation provides a number of contributions to scholarship in both the humanities as well as the social sciences. To begin, the work of chroniclers has not received sufficient study. Even though Corona and Jørgensen anticipate an "increased visibility of the genre" in the academic community (3), it has not yet occurred. Moreover, this project demonstrates the extra-national reach of the genre of the chronicle. Although possessed of certain differences in the paths taken to arrive at their modern

manifestations, sufficient historical alignment as well as contemporary form and subject matter exist to validate an argument that a single genre of the chronicle exists in both Lusophone and Spanish-speaking Latin America.

Besides approaching the chronicle in Mexico and Brazil as a common genre, this project recognizes the value of the form in analyzing social realities, both in a contemporary setting as well as offering a glimpse into an historical period. Perched as it is across the literary and journalistic fence, the chronicle offers both the figurative and literal approaches to subjects that are not only informative but also entertaining. In fact, this project contends that the chronicle enjoys a unique position to offer this type of analysis, given its distribution in newspapers and other print media as well as contemporary manifestations on the Internet.

This dissertation straddles another precarious and important divide: that which exists between the humanities and social sciences. The last three chapters employ literary, thematic analyses to documents that typically fall under the purview of development economics and political science. However, as the World Bank's projects have a definite impact on the social and cultural fabric of the localities in which they are implemented, the connection between the project documents and the chronicles cannot be dismissed.

In addition, a consideration of chronicles alongside the work of the World Bank requires an understanding of multiple disciplines and a competence in the languages utilized by each. Interdisciplinary endeavors carry with them certain obligations, responsibilities and challenges, along with a distinct (and at times, deserved) distrust levied by scholars who maintain a disciplinary focus. It is my hope that this project

initiates an opening foray into a long career that studies cultural production as an interactive force within its socio-economic environment.

Ultimately, this project serves to highlight the enormous complexity surrounding any foray into international development. As a pathway towards navigating this complexity, an understanding of the local environment proves vital for the implementation of development programs that address not only the needs of the recipient governments and multinational donors (e.g., the World Bank and its constituent national members) but also those whose lives are affected directly. The function of the chronicle in this dissertation offers both a specific means for developing this understanding and a framework for other methods. To this end, this project demonstrates how socio-cultural production--typically not involved in development concerns--offers a viable resource within this arena.

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