

historical context in which they were created: the wartime Good Neighbor Policy and Brazil's Estado Novo. He also gives us the cultural background from which Naylor experienced and photographed Brazilian life from 1940 to 1942. In doing so, he complements the reader's understanding of both the photographs and the history of U.S.-Brazilian relations during World War II. His presentation is clear and thorough, although the captions are occasionally problematic when they reiterate what is revealed in the pictures or when Levine's interpretation seems overly subjective. More frequently, the captions add valuable historical information that enlarges our understanding of the image.

The Brazilian Photographs of Genevieve Naylor, 1940–1942 is a welcome, interesting, and historically valuable addition to the sparse literature on Brazilian photography. In his presentation and discussion of these unusual images of Brazilian life during the 1940s, Robert M. Levine brings together the interests of a social historian with those of a historian of photography, contributing to both disciplines in his endeavor.

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Family and Favela: The Reproduction of Poverty in Rio de Janeiro. By JULIO CÉSAR PINO. Contributions in Latin American Studies, no. 10. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 199 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Julio César Pino has produced a concise study that demonstrates how the explosive growth of favelas, the famed shantytowns of Rio de Janeiro, was nearly inevitable—"the nightmare side of Brazilian economic growth in the twentieth century" (p. 162). By providing a data laden analysis of the historic trajectories of three of the city's squatter settlements, the book contextualizes what appears to be an anarchic rise in Rio's favela population.

Sketching a generational portrait of poverty from the early 1940s through the 1960s, Pino argues that the rural migrants who began flocking to the "marvelous city" in the 1930s could not form the basis of a stable working-class population because the small-scale industries of the metropolitan area created relatively few jobs that paid a living wage. Most migrants to Rio found work in construction, domestic service, or commerce, not in industry. It was the failure of Rio's economy to incorporate these migrants that created a "subproletariat" consisting of workers who "[sold] their labor as a commodity to survive but [who lacked] job security, steady wages and union organization" (p. 30). At the same time, inflation and high rents in the city center drove poor migrants either to seek shelter on its steep, uninhabited hillsides or on cheaper land on the outskirts. Hence the creation of favelas.

By incorporating information gleaned from the private papers of favela residents and neighborhood associations, as well as from city and church archives, the author is able to describe patterns of family organization, employment, education, housing conditions, and political involvement in three squatter settlements. While initially the three

favelas shared many attributes, their distinct locations meant different employment opportunities for their inhabitants and resulted in the divergent histories of each.

Thus the fortunes of the *favelados* of Praia do Pinto, located in the city's elite southern zone, were shaped by the absence of stable work. Women from the favela were primarily employed in domestic service, while men held a variety of low-wage jobs in the service and construction sectors. Their lack of steady employment and their paltry power of acquisition, in addition to the friction that existed between the *favelados* and their well-to-do neighbors, meant that when real estate interests lobbied to construct luxury apartment buildings on favela land, *favelados* lacked the political clout to defend their interests. The result was the demolition of the settlement in 1969.

In contrast, Pino cites Bras de Pina as an example of the successful urbanization of a favela. Here too, location and job availability are key. Situated near a heavily trafficked artery in the city's working-class northern zone, this favela developed a thriving informal economy. Because its inhabitants worked and shopped locally, the favela was not considered a blight on the landscape but rather an extension of the working-class neighborhood that surrounded it. As a result, favela residents were able to resist threats to their homes, particularly by forming political alliances with a variety of interest groups from outside the favela.

Jacarezinho, located in an industrial suburb, began as home to an industrial proletariat; only later did its population expand to include a subproletariat. But because part of the local factory labor force was made up of favela residents, the favela enjoyed a "status as a proletarian encampment [that] saved it from extinction" (p. 108). Jacarezinho was the lone favela in the study with a stable industrial labor force. Many residents were able to upgrade their dwellings, and by the late 1960s this and an improved infrastructure—electrification, sewers, and paved streets—led city authorities to abandon their classification of Jacarezinho as a favela.

As part of his generational study, Pino outlines several failed attempts by city officials and Catholic aid agencies to abolish favelas by removing squatters to proletarian parks under the misguided notion that the ills of these populations—crime, immorality, poor health, broken families—would be solved by a change in housing. Not surprisingly such attempts failed. As Pino correctly points out, none of these efforts did anything to ameliorate the conditions that created favelas in the first place, in particular the absence of steady employment that paid a living wage. Still, government policy toward the squatter settlements did change over time. As the votes of *favelados* became more important, calls for the eradication of favelas diminished and some settlements were given partial autonomy and an improved infrastructure. While the majority of inhabitants in all three favelas remained mired in poverty, there were marked improvements in general living standards over the three decades studied.

Otherwise a fine study with abundant documentation, *Family and Favela* suffers from the author's introduction of straw men, several of whom go unidentified. Pino claims, for example, that prior research on favelas focused either on "microscopic studies of lone individuals" or on "macroscopic studies of social class" (p. 2), and he suggests

that “most” urban experts believe that the “demolition of squatter settlements is the first decisive step toward the eradication of urban poverty” (p. 162). No citations are provided. Moreover, the study’s findings are not entirely new, and they lend strong support to Janice Perlman’s claim in *The Myth of Marginality* (Berkeley, 1973) that far from being marginal to the city, *favelados* are in fact integrated into the urban milieu, albeit on unfavorable terms.

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Ponto de vida: cidadania de mulheres faveladas. By ANDREA PAULA DOS SANTOS.
São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1996. Bibliography. Paper.

Ponto de vida is a slim volume containing six oral histories. The author undertook these interviews with six women living in a slum in the state of São Paulo while a student and in the context of a larger oral history project organized by Professor José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, of the University of São Paulo, and Professor Robert Levine, of the University of Miami. The women interviewed had organized a neighborhood association named after Carolina Maria de Jesus (author of the best-selling *Quarto de despejo*, published in English as *Child of the Dark*).

The book’s subtitle—*Citizenship of Slum Women*—indicates dos Santos’s main theme: the women’s coming-to-consciousness and growing activism as manifest in their participation in the association, in a favela on the outskirts of Guarujá. Not surprisingly, perhaps, most of the stories are schematic in their personal details and in conveying subjectivity; they focus instead on the women’s involvement with the organization. The last story, which is also the longest, deviates from this pattern: it is an interesting and unusual account by a woman in her seventies who speaks at length about her adventures around the world in her youth. Dos Santos’s own selection of activist community-oriented themes is evident in the very little she has to say (in her conclusions) about this story and this narrator, who clearly does not fit well into the generalizations dos Santos presents.

The first five stories, on the other hand, do perfectly exemplify the themes and issues that dos Santos wishes to underscore: suffering, the difficulty in making one’s way through life, consciousness raising, activism, and community. All exemplify more or less heroic narratives in which commitment and group work play a prominent role. As a result, the stories tend to be rather repetitive, and this, in turn, raises some intriguing questions (not taken up by dos Santos, however) about the extent to which these women are collaborating on a script. Is the association as central to these women’s lives as dos Santos believes, or was this a presupposition of her research that marked her interviews? Given the nature of the material she gathered, there seems to be no way to answer this question, for these interviews, with rare exceptions, are not “life histories.” Rather, most are topical oral histories, centered precisely on the association.

The uniformity of the stories cries out for investigation of the women’s narratives