

PEOPLE, PLACES AND INFRASTRUCTURE: COUNTERING URBAN VIOLENCE AND PROMOTING
JUSTICE IN MUMBAI, RIO AND DURBAN

PRIVATE VENTURES, STATE VIOLENCE AND COMMUNITY RESPONSES

RESEARCH REPORT FROM RIO DE JANEIRO TEAM

English version

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ABSTRACT

This report systematizes the collected information and presents the results, in Rio de Janeiro, for the research “People, Places and Infrastructure: Countering Urban Violence and Promoting Justice in Mumbai, Rio and Durban”, supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada.

It is considered that the spatial expression of inequality and the process of its production in the territory are key to understanding the situations and forms of urban violence in countries of the South hemisphere. The socio-spatial transformations in cities like Rio de Janeiro, made feasible politically and economically thanks to the alliance between the private and the public sector are presented as a necessity to boost the local economy and benefit all of society.

Objectively, however, can be observed the unequal distribution of public resources invested in the territory. Exclusive areas of the city and areas owned by groups with greater purchasing power are the ones that receive community facilities, infrastructure and other urban improvements. Low-income areas are primarily occupied by the police. With the justification of combating crime, they rapidly begin to suffer cultural and economic controls to local autonomy.

The areas occupied by dispossessed groups can also be subjected to physical intervention, whether to allow its annexation to the prosperous areas of the city, or to make way for infrastructure projects that serve neighboring enterprises or works of urban infrastructure, reasons for the great number of removals in the city. Invariably, the process of ongoing urban structuration enables the space ordination according to the cultural and economic logic of dominant groups, confirming thus its primacy.

Being implemented by force and bringing negative impacts on low-income areas, urban interventions and their motivations are assessed as unfair by segments of the population. Thus, in the city we find groups and communities actively involved in resistance and negotiation. Through networks of social relationships (which can achieve global scale) they mobilize different strategies in order to face the actions that target them.

The involvement of other communities in similar situations, like social movements for housing and for the right to the city, NGOs, politicians, professional associations and universities provide the means for those affected to deal - objectively and subjectively - with the institutional violence of the State-Market pair. Regardless of the result achieved, struggle to secure rights contributes to the feeling of dignity and moral responsibility, and encourages self-confidence at a time of neglect, humiliation and indignation.

This work is dedicated, therefore, to the understanding of violence and insecurity resulting from institutional action. When analyzing the responses of groups that suffer from the action of the State, the effort was dedicated to identify lessons for the promotion of social peace and justice.

Researchers in Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro and Durban took the experience of some communities as case studies. In Rio de Janeiro State's capital, based on accumulated information, and in consultation with social players considered relevant in the debate about the land ownership struggle in the city, were selected and studied the cases of i) Vila Autódromo Community, ii) Complexo da Maré and iii) Morro da Providência.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Presentation

The research presented below is devoted to the consequences of programs and large-scale intervention projects proposed to provide socio-economic recovery, public safety and urban infrastructure in three communities in poor physical condition and subordinate social position in Rio de Janeiro. The studies encompassed the actions and reactions to the installation of Pacifying Police Units (components of a state program of public security) in the Favela da Maré, the urban intervention of the Morro da Providência (part of the urban renewal project of the Porto Maravilha), and the efforts towards removing the Vila Autódromo Community, in order to installing the nearby Olympic Park.

The communities that were object of such interventions found themselves placed in a situation of social distress, i.e., malaise related to social position and power relations and strategies that reaffirm this position, as well as the objective and subjective conditions referred to it (Pussetti & BRAZZABENI, 2011). Were reported i) changes in mores and social practices imposed through the ostensive presence and coercive action of the security forces, ii) the mandatory inclusion in higher consumption patterns, function of the beginning of the public services exploitation by concessionaires, iii) the feeling of instability and unpredictability face the urban transformations in progress, accentuated by frequent changes of the intervention proposals and iv) a troubled relationship with mediators (of government agencies), whose negotiation tactics were taken by the affected as unworthy of trust and morally objectionable.

In many cases, the embarrassment occurred by threats of forced removal, circumstances that were accompanied by concern about the maintenance of living conditions, in view of the possibility i) the break of community ties and networks of mutual support, ii) the destruction of environmental references that support collective memory (HALBWACHS, 2004), iii) the reduction of job opportunities close to the new place of residence and iv) the loss of economic assets amassed over a lifetime.

Directed to the physical space or to the social space, initiatives of physical reordering of the landscape, aesthetic, institutional, social and symbolic made possible by sporting mega events in the city invariably led to the intensification of social tensions and the emergence of new conflicts (or worsening of pre-existing conflicts) about the fate of the affected communities.

The interventions did and still do raise a rearrangement of forces (i.e., social, individual or collective actors who perform actions according to its own objectives; ANSART & AKOUN 1999, p.17, 28) tend to focus on two groups.

In the first group, those committed to interventions and those interested in the urban transformations resulting from them. On the front line of this group are government agencies¹ (often under the control of groups who use public power to enable policies and projects), construction and real estate companies. They receive support from associations, business organizations, especially those in the hotel and tourism branches; from non-governmental associations, such as those relating to high performance sport; and from part of the media (inclusive by force of relations with the real estate market). The agents grouped in this core have the offensive, they define the agenda, they guide the conflict. They work for the opening of fronts to private enterprise, which occurs: i) by the provision of urban infrastructure to enable new centralities, and ii) by the control and social discipline (necessary for the safety of private investment) in areas identified as a source of disorder .

In this work we call this proactive core the “pair State-Market”. Note, however, that State and the Market are not taken in a reified form as impenetrable blocks, acting in combination. The intention is only to highlight the articulation of representative agents of different interests: the public sector (employees, politicians), the private sector (businessmen), in addition to those that transit between the two sectors (usually entrepreneurs transformed in managers of public initiatives).

In the second group there are those affected by the intervention initiatives, torn from a situation of relative stability (or precarious balance). It brings together communities -

¹ As a rule the programs and projects result from initiatives focused on government agencies (not necessarily with the participation of career civil servants). These act as mediators of conflicts that emerge due to the impact in the studied communities. They seek to mitigate problems and overcome constraints caused by the implementation of policies and construction works..

that is, the set of individuals of the local population who were able to identify themselves as a community - supported by civil society organizations (social movements, political groups and community associations) that contribute with technical and legal advice or permit to broaden the political base of the affected, making public the confrontation and the inequality it implied. Initially, these forces were organized in response to decisions taken elsewhere, therefore, they act on the defensive.

It can be said that in addition to the discomfort associated with the immediate consequences of interventions (forced evictions, destruction of assets), the suffering of those affected is intensified by the perception of the disproportion of political, economic and symbolic resources employed by the parties. At the symbolic level, the differences impose the continuity of the work of representation work to assert its place, identity and legitimacy (see Bourdieu, 1998, p.139), however, the interests that guide the actions are reflected in the non-recognition of the opponent and in the refusal of their values, underrated or considered as irreconcilable.

In the case of the proactive group, the speech affinity with the dominant values enables the attack of moral entrepreneurs - eventually private sector entrepreneurs - on the legal informality situation of the property, or on community identification with marginalized groups (stigmatized) or even marginal (delinquents). It refers also to other scales to justify or criticize decisions that affect the locality: there is talk about the city's interests in a globalized world to disallow local reasons.

The frontal attacks are accompanied by flank ones: the main communication vehicles tend to present the facts through the prism of the promoters of interventions. Thus they reinforce the dominant discourse and make invisible the experience of those affected, who must rely on social networks and on alternative media. The language used in disputes distances itself from the local experience to favor urban, environmental, economic or legal issues. The identification of other problems appears to the community not only as disregard for the challenges it faces, but as a discursive strategy to impose other interests, mainly because they move the matter to areas and institutions where there is a greater possibility of control and visible bias in the

treatment of subjects. In general, these strategies are considered unfair, because they make use of threats, concealment, ambiguity and falsehood.

From the arbitrariness of decisions to the inequality of the conditions for participation in conflicts and negotiations, passing through the violence (with reduced chances of defense) of the implementation process of programs and projects, follows intense suffering for the communities affected by them: humiliation, feeling of injustice, impotence, lack of recognition and indifference.

The research intended to pay attention to the invisible violence (accepted, tolerated or not coded) operated by the institutions and to characterize its effects on the affected communities, as well as to the individual and collective reactions it triggers. At the symbolic level, the aim was to recover the stories, understand the arguments, the order of justifications and the appeals for rights and social justice. It also wanted to recognize internalization processes of the logics for intervention and seek evidence of somatization of the experienced problems. It proposed to discuss how these processes, together with the spatial reconfiguration that streamlines and sheaves them, have the potential to contribute to the reproduction of violence, and how they are faced with constructive responses. Finally, the research tried to explain the resistance strategies - negotiation and search for political support - and the ways to collectively deal with the brutality and the sense of injustice that accompany the interventions of social control by means of public safety programs and urban renewal projects.

In the path that was intended to be followed, important part of the problem of insecurity in the city results from the government and private initiatives to stimulate economic activities in the municipality, especially those referred to the real estate sector. These initiatives are carried out simultaneously in two ways. First, in an unsuspected way, through the investment of public institutions in consolidated areas of the city, accompanied by the inaction of the same institutions in considering the

precarious situation of low-income communities. As a result, the sense of injustice that develops in association with social disparities and with the certainty - often accompanied by frustration - that they cannot be overcome. Second, these initiatives also take place in a violent way by the actions of the State-Market pair in the planning and implementation of programs and projects of urban restructuring.



Violence generates violence. This is the inverted form of a well-known phrase in Rio de Janeiro - "Kindness generates kindness"² - recorded in murals around the city. It is also a popular way to present the idea that perpetrated violence tends to conserve itself in the form of social suffering and to express itself in brutalities.

Providing visibility to the impact of interventions and of government and private actions on dispossessed groups, the research of which this report is the result sought to highlight the mode of formation of the reproductive cycle of violence and contribute to its discontinuation. It also sought to identify positive channeling of aggression resulting from oppression and from the perception of injustice, in other words, to highlight the resistance actions aimed at the socio-spatial justice for those who are more likely to be the victims in an unequal society.

2. THEORETICAL-CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION

The concerns of society with the problem of urban insecurity and violence have made the issue a social problem, it is widely discussed by society and the media. Public safety has come to occupy the attention of public institutions, consisting since the mid-90s, one of the main themes of political campaigns in the city and state of Rio de Janeiro. The feeling of insecurity and violence signs, result not only immediate impact on the

² The term was created by Joseph Datrino, which came to be known as "Prophet Gentleness." The version about the self-reproduction of violence is also known over the country, both in intellectual circles (see, for example, Enio Silveira (Violence begets violence. *Encontros com a Civilização Brasileira*, n. 15, p. 7 to 10.1978) and João Carlos Nogueira (John Carlos, *Pulsões de morte e civilização*. in: MORAES, Regis (ed) *Construção Social da Enfermidade* São Paulo: Cortez and Morais 1977, p.19).

condition and quality of life of citizens, but also the effects of medium and long term on the economy and image of the city projects abroad. It is therefore politically relevant issue, especially when the city plans to host international events (Pan American Games, World Cup Soccer, Olympic Games).

Facing this social problem demanded recognition practices and policies, as well as agents able to adopt them and contribute to “safe and inclusive cities”. Having been identified with increased crime rates, the problem of insecurity and urban violence in Rio de Janeiro was answered with the intensification of public spending on policing - that is, police control - and with the tightening of criminal law.

A “social problem” - the label that identifies a crisis in society (LENOIR, 1996, p.60) - the result of a process of collective construction in which a given real representation (in this case, urban violence) is socially accepted and institutionalized discourse in standards organizations. The latter often contribute to the representation becomes dominant doing confuse the institutional framework (administrative, legal, instrumental) social problem with the complex reality of which he is distinguished (LENOIR, 1996, p.61, p.92-95) . In other words, the reality becomes thought based on categories of social practice (Bourdieu et al, 1999, p.46).

An important part of the literature on violence and public safety contributes to this substantialized reading of reality, that is, which is based on data constructed from representations that are part of the very reality that wants to understand. For example, measure the problem of violence for offenses numbers recognized in laws, or by institutionalized categories (adopted institutionally) which validate the dominant explanation of the facts and determine the decisions to be taken. As recalls Renoir (1996, p.93), surveys that rely categories identified with an institutional practice help to legitimize the institutions that fund. In turn, research gain authority as their results identify with the reality that the financial institution contributes to exist. Thus, the institutions are reinforced and thus the dominant ways to identify and act on problems.

It is said that we are facing a paradox: growing production of wealth and reduces poverty; still increase the levels of violence. The enunciation of the theoretical problem in the form of a paradox is a strategy of the authors to challenge what they

consider common sense: the explanation of violence (crime) by economic and social factors, characteristic of Christianity law, condescending. They argue that the security policy is directed at four different lines, related to the “reduction of impunity”, social prevention, especially for young people in areas of social vulnerability, the reform of penal code and the Statute of Children and Adolescents, to increase the penalties for serious crimes and to reduce the age of penalty, and “streamlining the management of crime control programs and projects” (SAPORI & SOARES, 2014, p.131).

The proposals, as can be, rely on other common sense, rational and liberal orientation, which to discard social determinations, defines the security problem in the individual scale and circumscribes the solution under social control practices and secondarily, the internalization of social models. As violence is taken as the result of rational individual choices, the authors minimize the social relations that serve as its engine. One must remember that these explanations suggest a projection, research, social experience of its authors: they minimize the strength of social factors experienced by low-income groups (Bourdieu et al, 1999, p.91).

A significant part of society explains the emergence of insecurity and violence problems as a result of a loosening of the order. The explanation is identified with a nostalgic image of dominant groups on the acceptance of social inequalities that benefit them. Abstraction last, characterized in unveiled coercion and self degree of oppression of dominated groups, or by so consenting forms of violence. Instead, the story reveals changes as the notion of violence as well as the development of means for their control.

Considering the long term, Norbert Elias (1994; 1994b) explains that the civilizing process is the result of articulated processes, centralization of power (monopoly of legitimate violence) and psychological of the individual change that will contain impulses to dominate emotions and develop behavioral strategies: sociogenesis of the modern state and the individual psychogenesis. Civilization implies control by the state or social group, and self-control (individual), contributing to a restriction of the accepted forms of violence. The change of meaning of violence can also be noted in short, symbolic result of disputes over the definition of the boundaries between what is and what is not acceptable.

2.1. The meaning of the Violence

The word violence can take different directions, which is why Raymond Williams suggests to set in advance the one with which will be used (WILLIAMS, 2007, p.405-407). Moreover, the notion of violence was expanded initially restricted to actions which result lasting physical effects, changed the name subjective unfolding of physical action (MICHAUD, 1989), or even taking as central the psychological and symbolic dimensions (BRAUD, 2013) .

Recently violence has been defined as “violation of integrity”, ie disturbance of psychological or physical drive (Bufacchi, 2009, p.46; MORAIS, 1985, p.24; see also VILELA 1977, p.19-22) ; expropriation of the individual or group, “raping the man's pluck him from his physical and mental dignity” (MORAIS, p.25). This setting shifts the attention of the agent to the victim of violence who suffer with it (Bufacchi, 2009 Shklar, 1990, p.31). The focus on outclassed position of an unequal relationship avoids the inherent bias to asymmetric position analysis: minimizes the appeal of the justification of order raised by the powerful side of the relationship and throws light on the experience of injustice experienced by side more fragile.

Violence and political violence

Violence - particular form of social power of expression - is immanent the unequal social relations. It works as a resource to maintain asymmetry in society, or to subvert it. unequally distributed resource because violence is regulated - subject to legal classifications - as the social position of its promoters vis à vis the victims (MORAIS, 1985). Your job can be recognized or ignored, repressed or tolerated, criminalized or institutionalized, extreme still related to social visibility and legitimacy given to the phenomenon.

Hence the intensity of the struggles of representations, of which the academic debate is only one part. Along with government initiatives (review laws, investment in repressive apparatus, among other policies), it is a mirror of the ideological clash between groups in different positions in society. Ultimately, the discussion about the meaning of violence informs processes of domination and social reproduction.

These struggles, essentially political, the limit setting between authorized or tolerated (invisible) and what is taxed as violence, result moral qualifications of social phenomena or their invisibility (as is the case of subjective or psychological violence, socially ignored, but experienced as injustice by those who suffer). The resulting ratings give rise to social practices and institutions that have legal, economic and social effects differentiated in society.

3. RIO DE JANEIRO

The cases selected for the research in the city of Rio de Janeiro were chosen mainly because they are related to the urban restructuring that takes place in Rio de Janeiro, made possible by a certain economic recovery of the country and driven by preparations for holding the Cup FIFA world 2014 and the 2016 Olympic Games.

In the past, the city has undergone at least two other major urban interventions that resulted in a high number of forced evictions (they were aimed at the annexation of low-income areas). In the government of Mayor Pereira Passos (1902-1906) nearly 20,000 people were removed, the government of Carlos Lacerda (1961 to 1965), ahead of the State of Guanabara (at the time the city and the state shared the same territory), about 30,000 people have been removed. These experiences were traumatic and the practice of forced evictions came to be seen as problematic in urban, as well as economic and political terms. As elements of urban policy, removals, it was abandoned in the following decades. However they were resumed recently, the administration of the mayor Eduardo Paes, in which case the largest number of removals in the history of the city: about 70,000 people.

Since the 90s, during the first administration of Mayor Cesar Maia, the City had engaged in attempts to host the 2016 Olympics (following Barcelona experience, presented as a successful territorial transformation process while preparing for the games 1992). At that time, the deputy mayor of the West Zone was Eduardo Paes, who currently holds the second term as mayor of the city. Since then, Paes was determined to attract investment and boost real estate values in the region by removing poor

communities. Not coincidentally, the first threat to remove the Vila Autódromo happened in 1993.

The Pan-American Games of Rio de Janeiro took place in 2007. The event was considered successful and served to support the choice of the city in the selection process to host the 2016 Olympics. The Pan in 2007 also allowed greater proximity between the Mayor, the Governor and the President, setting up a political and institutional alignment between the three spheres of political power (federal entities). Although governed by different parties, often in dispute, the rulers of the city of Rio de Janeiro (municipal level), the State of Rio de Janeiro (state level) and Brazil (federal level) have developed a common policy agenda. This agenda was one of the main points the proposal for the 2016 games, whose definition was given in 2009.

Much of the works for the Pan American Games was allocated in Barra da Tijuca, a city expansion area. The development of Barra da Tijuca, which is consolidated as a new center in Rio de Janeiro, gained momentum in the administration of Mayor Eduardo Paes, with preparations for the 2016 Games. The Olympic Park - where the main sports activities will take place in 2016 - is being built on the ground of an old racecourse. The region is called "New Barra", a place of intense real estate investment, which explains the pressure for removal of the few low-income communities in the vicinity, as is the case of Vila Autódromo, located next to the Olympic Park (Medeiros, 2014).

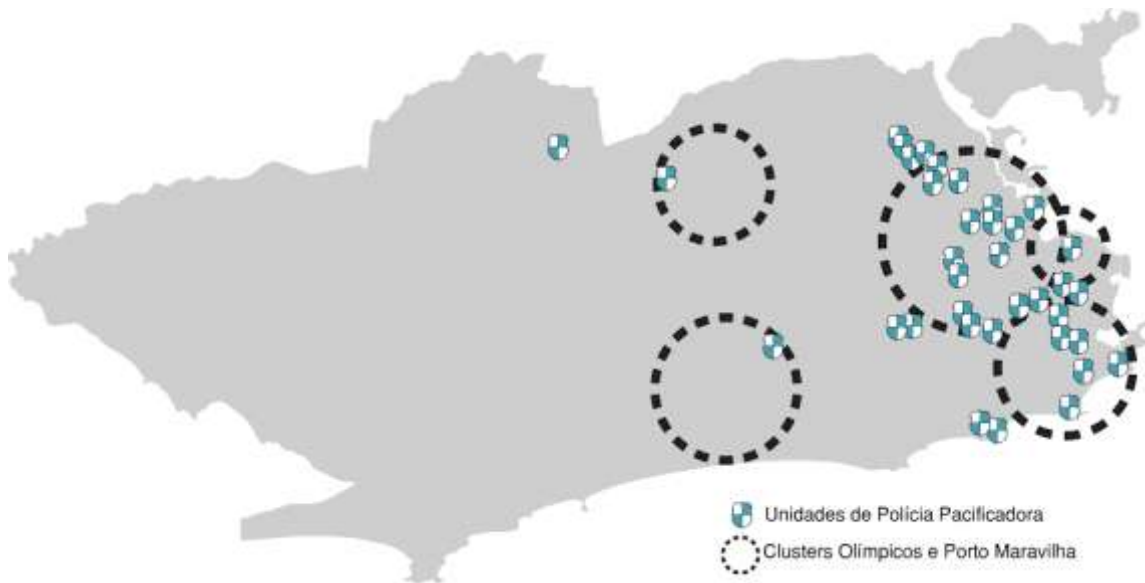
A new set of speeches and actions was adopted by the city of Rio de Janeiro from 2009 and circulate through the city, "reducing slum areas", "urban freezing", "clash of order" and "removal for the Olympic Games." These are expressions that have entered (or returned) to the political vocabulary and mark a change in the conduct of urban policy. The resumption of the debate on removal of slums and communities was marked by the expression "break the taboo of removals". This is just one of the marks of a rhetoric of "order" that has been adopted in reference to the expansion of slums.

The right to build in communities became subject related to "public order", which is why the monitoring was intensified, followed by demolition of houses in an irregular situation. Several buildings have been the subjects of actions to ensure "order shock", and the demolitions carried out without prior authorization from the judiciary. The rhetoric is accompanied by practices such as the incorporation into the Strategic Plan

of the municipal government (PPA) the objective of reducing the slum areas at 3.5%, and the adoption of an urban policy of "urban freeze", represented by the adoption of decrees that they were withdrawing the "right to build" communities and slums.

It should be noted that the works on the built environment are just one of the interventions in the city. Others concern to public safety.

Image 1 – Rio de Janeiro: Unities of Pacifying Police and the Olympic Rings



Author: FAULHABER, 2012.

Vila Autódromo is located in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro, region treated as the city's expansion area, which concentrates most of the investments in the property market. The community land is adjacent to the construction site of the Olympic Park, where occur most activities of different sports of the Olympics 2016. Although it is being held in public land, this is a private enterprise, which will be exploited or sold after the Olympics, targeting a middle-class audience. The permanence of a low-income community in the neighbourhood is considered a negative externality. The City has already presented several plans for Vila Autódromo that result in the removal of low-income housing area. A significant portion of residents, plan to stay in the area and have come together to address the removal attempts.

By numerous mechanisms, City Hall obtained the adhesion of some residents. Those who first left their houses were given apartments in the Carioca Park condominium

(built with funds from the program Minha Casa Minha Vida, of the Federal Government). Later, City Hall began reparations in cash. With resistance from residents, City Hall began offering increasingly high levels of compensation. The permanence of current residents has been hampered by several constraints, including the denial of access to the area for cargo transport vehicles delivering furniture or building materials, and the demolition of individual houses, as soon as they are traded. Threats of removal continue, although residents are in regular legal situation with regard to ownership.

The Maré Complex is a cluster of slums in the north of Rio de Janeiro. The area is situated near the campus of the Federal University and the International Airport. It is bounded by the two main access roads to the city (Av. Brazil and Linha Vermelha). In 2011 Maré was the target of a joint operation of different police and army forces whose aim was to install a Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). After the operation, the Brazilian Army occupied the site until and will remain there until the state police take place and UPP's facilities are ready to operate. The replacement has been gradual: the army continues with tanks and heavy weapons in the alleys of the complex, but the presence of the state is limited to its power apparatus, which ensure that private companies may operate providing private or public services.

Morro da Providência is recognized as the oldest informal settlement in the city. The occupation began in colonial times, with “quilombos” that housed runaway slaves and also newly freed slaves. During the Republic, Providência housed part of the soldiers who fought in the War of Canudos. The location is privileged in relation to the city center (CBD), to the administrative center of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro City, and to the bus and to the railway stations of the city. Above all, it is an area included in the Porto Maravilha Project, a large-scale urban operation, related to the revitalization of the port area of the city.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The present research report is an attempt to speculate about the behavior of the municipal public administration, on cases of conflicts over urban land involving the communities of Vila Autódromo and Morro da Providência, experienced by the Neighborhood Association in the former case and the Residents Commission in the second. The aim of the dispute is the urban territory legally occupied by these families, mostly formed by families of underprivileged social segments³. Moreover, we conceptualized the conflict involving the public security policies, known as “pacification policy”, represented by the Military Police of the State of Rio de Janeiro occupations as well as the Brazilian Armed Forces in the territory of Complexo da Maré, from the perceptions of residents and non-residents involved in two local entities: Fight for Village and the Center for Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré (CEASM in Portuguese) that perform various educational projects.

Therefore, we consider the interviews with the locals, data collected from the field work started in November 2011 until February 2016, participation in meetings of the Residents, Friends and Fishermen Association of Vila Autódromo (AMPAVA in Portuguese), meetings of the entity with the government (municipal, state and federal), by the modalities of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. In the case of Morro da Providência and Complexo da Maré semi-structured questionnaires were conducted between March and November 2015 in the respective locations⁴.

Consider that there is a plurality of ways in which the Modern State was established and reproduced itself in different socio-cultural realities that, even appealing to the liberal and republican discourse, produced specificities in the relationship between the government and the civil societies. For the analysis of the situations we used the category “margin”, treated by Das and Poole (2009), central to the understanding of mechanisms by which the State constituted a particular form of effectuation of power relations.

Related to the concept of “margin”, the exception category from Aganbem (2009) shows the character of exceptionality of the rule of the legal frameworks that oversee the relationship between State and civil society, beyond the set of formal

³ Having in mind the different legal acknowledgement of the residents of the two localities.

⁴ The name of the residents were protected by using only gender, occupation and approximate age.

requirements, which predicate a specific form of the exercise of public power. The State has the ability to choose an administration that suspends regulatory boundaries (urban, environmental and related to human rights) in the name of an “emergency” action that justifies “urgent” and “special” measures. Decisions and strategies used in the name of “mega sports events” and “public safety”, the empirical case of the present work, when reaching the public arena and legitimacy, may disrupt or delete the mediation spaces of the sphere of political decision.

Despite the legality that surrounds the formal and bureaucratic State devices designed for the housing and human rights that guide some of the laws that affect the urban territory, the effectiveness of legal parameters is often relativized or neglected⁵. The State may, accordingly, operate and be translated into the skill of some individuals, which has capacity to represent the State, through private uses of the law.

The impacts of the construction works of the FIFA World Cup (2014) and the Olympic Games (2016) featured the host cities, especially Rio de Janeiro, with compulsory removal processes⁶. Unlawful actions characterized these processes, such as the absence of technical reports to support interventions in said areas of “risk”, the absence of Environmental Impact Assessment/Report (“EIA / RIMA”), or with respect to the guiding principles of the Statute of Cities, to name a few (FAULHAUBER, AZEVEDO, 2015; GTPMA, 2015).

The concept formulated by Vainer, in his comments to the work of Agambem (2009) - about the sovereign powers capable to trigger the exceptional or emergency character of the practices that are covered “outside the law” - the carioca author, given the experiences that took place over the last years in Rio de Janeiro, elaborates about the

⁵ Article 25.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966); General Comment #4 of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Basic Principles and Guidelines for Removals and Evictions caused by Development Projects (UN Special Rapporteur); UN resolution (2010): Adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, in the context of mega-events; Article 6. of the Federal Constitution; Article 234 and 256 of the State Constitution; Article 2. of the Statute of Cities 10.257 / 01; Article 429 of the Organic Law of the Municipality; Article 211 of the Master Plan of Rio de Janeiro (LC 111/2011); Decree 35522 of October,03, 2011 (Approves the relocation guidelines on popular settlement buildings) (GTAPM, 2013).

⁶ According data from the World Cup and Olympics People's Committee Dossier (2015) 6.606 families were removed due to the construction works of mega sports events. The number increases when removals are justified by other arguments by City Hall: more than 22.000 families, if we consider those who lived in “risk areas” and the resettlement in the same place, because of improvement works.

“city of exception.” This concept ensures the understanding of “direct democracy of capital”, as a new form of power of and in the city.

Beyond protocol and the formal precepts of State coexists a certain mode of operation by the representatives of public administration that not only express specific meanings and justifications, but extend an embodiment of the state itself in the presence of certain groups and their territories. Thus, to understand the behavior of the State and the specificities in the appropriation of uses and meanings that involve this institution of power, Gupta (2009) uses the concept of “State anthropology”, once it considers the concreteness of everyday relations, calls by him “state practices”, instead of the conventional and abstract apprehensions classified as constitutive of government.

Therefore, it is not only a discussion about the forms of resistance of local groups involved in the conflicts here considered, much less the historical rescue of the empirical situations mentioned, but the critical and descriptive analysis through the actions carried out by the public machine representatives in these contexts.

4.1. Vila Autódromo

Still defined today as Vila Autódromo, in Rio de Janeiro West Region, nearby the Jacarepaguá Circuit, at the banks of the eponymous lagoon, the Vila is located in this public land for nearly 30 years, settled as a popular allotment by fishermen in 2011, and housed about 400 families. At other times, due to relocations of some groups by the State government, other families of workers have settled there due to the construction works in Barra da Tijuca in the 1970⁵. According to the Report of the Multidisciplinary Academic and Professional Working Group of 2013 (GTAPM), which appealed to the IBGE data, in 2010 Vila Autódromo had 1,252 inhabitants, distributed in 356 households.

Years after the founding of the Residents, Fishermen and Friends of Vila Autódromo Association (AMPAVA), the State Government of Rio de Janeiro granted for 99 years the Use Concession Agreement (“My land Project” - 1993 and “RJ / Our State Our land” - 1994) and the right to RGI (Real Estate registry of Rio de Janeiro). In early 2005

through the AMPAVA pressure, the territory of the community was declared as a Area of Special Social Interest, by the Complementary Law No. 74/2005.

Image 2- Location



Source: http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/03/150305_rio2016_vila_autodromo_rm_jp

Image 3 – Location in a closer view



Source: Google Earth, March 2016

4.1 1. Pressures and approaches

Since mid-2013, municipal government representatives circulate the Vila Autódromo with folders of the condominium built by the Federal Government program, Minha Casa, Minha Vida (PMCMV), to the public from 0 to 3 minimum wages, where City Hall intended to resettle residents⁷. The condo was named Carioca Park and, in its advertising brochure distributed to residents of the Vila Autódromo, among the common areas there were swimming pool, square, playground, open-air gym, barbecue, a ballroom, and a parking lot for locals⁸. Some of Vila Autódromo families considered the change, others refused it.

Meanwhile the rounds of “technical negotiations”, between August and October of the same year, approaches to residents continued, even when the present secretariat argued that they were unaware of such actions nor have they approved them. Intimate approaches, phone calls and inappropriate information from City Hall personnel were registered more than once by the President of AMAPAVA and other residents during these meetings⁹. The issues related to neighborhood urbanization shortages were used by the Municipality, through its agents, as a problem inherent to the location, instead of treating the urban problems as the responsibility of the Construction Works and Housing Secretary.

The narratives presented by residents often list what they qualify as “pressure” and “threat” exercised by the representatives of City Hall. In addition to the discussion of individual merit, which led to the departure of some residents, becomes necessary a reflexive analysis of State performances, represented in this situation by the municipal government¹⁰.

⁷ The cost of the land plus the production of housing units for the Carioca Park totals approximately R\$ 92.5 millions, while the cost of urbanization proposed by the Vila Autodromo Popular Plan was, in its first version, from 2013, R\$ 13,526 millions.

⁸ Irregularities about land purchase and used area, considered as “high and medium risk” by GeoRio, see technical report (GTAPM, 2013)

⁹ It is worth mentioning the articles published by newspapers and televised as “advertisements” of the enterprise.

¹⁰ The heterogeneity of Vila Autódromo residents reflected in the strategies adopted by families faced with the conflict over territory: a portion of the residents accepted the displacement to the Carioca Park project; another choosed compensation and some decided to press the government for the urbanization of the community.

The option not to join the “negotiation”, by way of indemnity or by moving to the PMCMV apartment, from the perspective of the representatives of City Hall, according to residents narratives, means deciding for no alternative at all, to “give up” to decide, leaving the option of the judicial process that would result in a lesser value or to be removed by force¹¹. To accept the proposal of the City Hall, on the other hand, both the PMCMV apartment as compensation, which arises later, would be the “most profitable” to residents and the only alternatives presented to them, even when surrounded by legal guarantees or having built an development plan alternative to the removal process¹².

On March, 21, 2014, the AMPAVA filed in, at the office of the mayor Eduardo Paes, a request for information on the interventions planned for the site, especially after the judicial decision authorizing the demolition of houses located on the banks of the lagoon, referring to the ACP (Public Civil Action) from 1993¹³. By the time this article is written, the residents did not have access to the project for the Vila Autódromo area, as well as the construction works of the Park remain without the necessary environmental impact studies. The request was petitioned by the entitled lawyers of the Land and Housing Center (NUTH) of the Public Legal Advice Center of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

¹¹ Some residents complain of health problems due to these pressures and the sense of indecisiveness: hypertension, sleeping problems and neurological order problems are narrated as having appeared after the escalation of the conflict.

¹² Given a “challenge” from the Mayor in one of the meetings with the AMPAVA in 2011, residents called two research laboratories of Public Universities: the NEPLAC / ETTERN / IPPUR / UFRJ (Experimental Center of Conflictual Planning of the State, Work, Territory and Nature Laboratory of the Institute of Research and Urban and Regional Planning at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) and the NEPHU / UFF (Center for Studies and Housing Projects of the Urban Fluminense Federal University) to consider an alternative to the removal process that, according to the mayor, was an accomplished fact and that there would not be another “way out” beyond the removal of families. The universities in question and AMPAVA built the Popular Plan of Vila Autódromo, that has a Housing Program and a Sanitation Infrastructure and Environment Program; a Public Works Program and Cultural and a Culture and Community Development Program. The proposal was delivered to the mayor, in August 2012, which he did not respond officially. The following year, the Academic, Professional, Multidisciplinary Working Group compared the two proposals and endorsed the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan as “citizen alternative, as regards the land, urban, social, construction and environmental aspects for the area now occupied by Vila Autódromo” (GTAPM, 2013, p.66). In January 2013, the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan received the international award Urban Age Award, organized by the Deutsche Bank and the London School of Economics, competing with more than 170 urban projects in the Metropolitan Area of Rio de Janeiro.

¹³ Said decision, however, did not consider the CONAMA resolution (369/2006) that allows the 15 meters from the Protection Marginal Range provided by the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan (GTAMP, 2013).

Days after that, an injunction that regulates the demolition, the fate of the debris and the urbanization project is granted. In response to the judicial decision, the deputy mayor of Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepagua and a female employee of the mayor's office, known for daily visiting the community, told the seven families that were moving that day to the Carioca Park that they would get the keys to the new apartments only after the demolition of the old houses. An injunction obtained by the Defenders and AMPAVA managed to prevent the displacement, according to City Hall officials.

The injunction, however, answered a demolition decision dated the previous year and had as its object the ordered demolition, respecting the laws for demolition and assuming the parameters of the legal decision. Even when the injunction did not prevent the delivery of the keys, but only the way the demolitions would occur, residents who had already begun the displacement sought the president of AMPAVA, blaming it for the situation, causing an unprecedented conflict between the residents. Thanks to the mediation carried out by the local priest and the lawyers of NUTH, who were at that time in a meeting in the Catholic Church, the president of AMPAVA escaped lynching. Two years past, dozens of houses were demolished in the absence of a responsible technician, without the submission of the necessary documentation, without handing over the keys, in the compensation cases, without a term of delivered by the indemnified and causing damage to neighboring houses that remain upstanding.

The process that involved and still involves attempts to “negotiation”, established by City Hall was marked by disruptions, information mismatches and caused insecurity to residents. One of the residents said that the City Hall officials appeared at his house saying “no one will stay, no one will stay.” His female neighbor added that they said: “decide it immediately!”, “The last ones to remain will suffer most.” Feelings of despair and restlessness compelled the public defenders of NUTH to explain, at every opportunity, that until then, there was no court decision forcing the departure of any family from Vila Autódromo, since the families daily heard the opposite from City Hall representatives¹⁴. The concern generated by the fear of “losing the house” was always

¹⁴ The decree of expropriation for public good is dated at the end of 2015.

updated because the presence of City Hall officers was constant, till the point that those who were certain of the legal safety begin to contemplate the possibility of leaving. Others were convinced, but once again had doubts, even with the information provided by the defenders, as pressures intensify and the neighborhood scenery changes considerably.

At the beginning of the approaches to the residents by City Hall, in addition to graffiti on the walls saying “SMH” (Municipal Housing Secretary) and a specific numbering of the houses, social workers reported that the registration to the “Assistance Secretary” had the finality of creating a “single registry” that will enable them to receive benefits from the federal government¹⁵. Despite being a common practice of the municipal administration, widespread in other locations threatened with removal, the graffiti on the houses was compared by the mayor himself to the action of the Nazi government against the Jews in Poland, when their homes were marked with the Star of David. The mayor secluded this action act and blamed his former housing secretary, Jorge Bittar.

In their everyday approaches to the residents, and through phone calls, representatives of City Hall seek new adhesions to the homes in the Carioca Park development. These approaches were directed, from the beginning, to make the residents accept the apartments offered by the city, as soon as possible, because otherwise the scarcer three-bedroom apartments would be quickly disposed. The same happened as a strategy to convince them to accept the two-bedroom apartments, and the argument used was that residents of other areas of the city like City of God, for example, were interested in the housing units of Carioca Park. If they were slow to decide, they would end with no alternatives.

The residents tell that daily calls and visits in order to convince them to fill in the registration forms were accompanied by information like: “there was no way, families would have to leave,” “that in a few months there would be no more homes standing, “that it was better to accept the opportunity offered by City Hall,” “that those who did not accept immediately, eventually would go to Santa Cruz or Piedade” in other condominiums of the federal program, far more distant. Such cases were reported by

¹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxTE2U9IIMs>

residents over the years, some of them regretted they could not record the conversations.

The following was narrated by a resident in the midst of a conversation with two of its neighbors about a telephone call from a representative of City Hall. The resident concludes: “[...] I do not yield to psychological terror”, after asking if the mayor would put her and her children on the street, “[...] But some people get shaken by this” said the neighbor. Besides the approach that appealed to the urgency of negotiate-accepting an apartment or a compensation - officers accused the directors of AMPAVA, saying that “he says he will stay here, but he had already negotiated with us”, or saying that the directors or the people engaged in mobilizations for staying would go out “with a pocketful of money”, while those who resisted the negotiation could get without alternatives. The threat of “getting nothing”, unlikely from a legal point of view, and even from a political one, was always present in the discourse of City Hall representatives.

In September 2014, the villagers prepared a collective breakfast that would be used as a form of manifestation, nearby a traffic light in front of the community, at Avenida Abelardo Bueno. Residents were using a black shirt with the words “SOS Vila Autódromo” written on it, demanding the urbanization project. The moment the traffic was closed to cars, residents served coffee, cake, cookies and juices to drivers, extended banners, handed out pamphlets about the situation and the conflict involving the community: “It is a good publicity form that does not hurt anyone”, said one resident. The drivers were receptive and showed signs of encouragement to residents. After a few hours of the act, a journalist of a public broadcaster was gathering interviews about the act and the community. Between an interview and another, some men, strong ones, identified as security members of the Olympic Park construction work, approached the journalist and told him that most people who were there were “students”, not residents. One of them insisted in this explanation, with the intention that the information was recorded. When he repeated the argument, the journalist replied “This is true?”, since the act was clearly composed of most residents and had a few supporters. The supposed security guard give up.

One TV report program called “Profession: Reporter” that make up the programming grid of the country's largest circulation telecommunications company, showed on August 04, 2015, an article about the construction works related to the Olympic Games¹⁶. While mentioning the works of the Olympic Park, the TV program chose to represent, even if quickly, part of the land conflict involving the neighboring community, Vila Autódromo, as the main impact of construction.

The aired images showed, in part, the changed landscape of Vila Autódromo: debris resulting from demolitions, exposed rebars, fallen poles, burst water pipes, trucks and tractors all around and walls being torn down by sledgehammer blows. Children had fun in the midst of these obstacles, while some residents accompanied the demolition of one more home, and one of them questioned the absence of a responsible engineer, as oriented by a federal judge injunction (above mentioned). On the same level recorded for the television camera it is impossible not to notice another employee of the municipal body, known by the locals for numerous visits he had made to the community. Gabriel, with no official information, only followed the steps of the reporter and of the resident, recording the conversation through his mobile phone. The journalist asked if he was an City Hall employee, ask for his name and for the required documentation to turn legal the demolition of that house. Gabriel confirmed the first two questions, but on the documentation he preferred “not to respond”, while suspending the recording with his phone, and moved away from the site. According to residents, another house was demolished at that time, without the professional assistance nor the technical documentation required.

On March 3, 2015, two female residents, who appeared to have 60 years chatted under the shade of a chestnut tree, close to one of the large pits that looks like a swimming pool¹⁷. There are some of them scattered around the community. The water has a muddy aspect, reddish, and the pool is surrounded with many materials, some of them appearing to be sanitary absorbents. During the chat, however, reigned a satisfied mood. One of the nearby residents said she was happy for getting a good negotiation with City Hall: she sold the land without legal documentation, because it

¹⁶ <http://globoplay.globo.com/v/4369811/>

¹⁷ The tree was one of the few that remained after the tree clear-cutting by the City Hall.

has been passed down to her that way by the original owner, who owns a kart workshop, where she worked. With the R\$ 429.000,0 she bought a house in Sepetiba.

Considering the families that lived in Vila Autódromo who did not have a minimum income up to R\$ 1.600,00, and therefore would not be classified as a target for the PMCMV, the urgencies of the negotiations were intensified and the approach by City Hall representatives, this time, was that “the money intended for compensation would end soon”¹⁸. The City Council has even set a container in the community, who worked as an office, where the negotiations occurred. According to countless narratives by the residents, they should decide, and soon, to leave Vila Autódromo, for the opportunities offered by the city were good and should be utilized as soon as possible, or the undecided could be harmed again.

In some cases, the approaches were made using the children, who helped to pressure parents to move to Carioca Park. One of the residents, who had received the title of royal grant of use of his house from the former State governor, Leonel Brizola, cried while telling us that he had given up to the assault of his children mainly by fear of getting homeless. Even arguing that this would not happen, family crises were increasingly frequent and complicated to be circumvented. “Dr. Brizola said to me that I might have problems with this place one day, but I never imagined it would be this way”. In addition to being a gardener, Antonio, 61, held a small junkyard in his backyard. He said, touched, that he has built his home with difficulties alongside his wife, who died 4 years ago, to create his 3 children¹⁹. Another female resident, certain that she would be able to resist permanence, allied to the urbanization of the community, felt great resistance when her daughter was approached by City Hall officials about the value offered in compensation for removal.

The amounts of compensation were discussed at the administrative level, that is, the negotiation took place between City Hall and the resident, without passing through the judiciary instance. The value was proposed by City Hall. The negotiation of compensation in amounts above those that are usually paid in cases such as what occurred in Vila Autódromo did not considered all the families, but some houses. The

¹⁸ A parliamentary leadership in opposition to the municipal government asked to check the City's annual budget about the amounts paid for property compensations by City Hall.

¹⁹ This resident accepted the trade for an apartment in the “Carioca Park”.

statement of the mayor, not only generalizes the cases of families of residents as “invaders” of public land, but as an obstacle to the implementation of the Olympic Games and as profiteers of public funds. Even deploring residents titles, Paes tries to appear as the “reasonable manager” who prefers “to negotiate” than to reinforce being known as the “mayor of removals.”

Those who did not demonstrate interest in leaving were told they had no choice and would risk becoming homeless and penniless. The feeling of indecision was accompanied by the neighborhood landscape that has changed dramatically with the departure of some families. As the departures rise, so rise the remains of demolitions. The feeling that the neighbors came out little by little is seen first by the moving trucks, than by the demolition process and, finally, “They will take Joaquim’s house, then Dona Cida will leave... We will stay alone?” asked Renato, 56, mechanic. On one wall of a demolished house the graffiti reads: “not everyone has a price.”

4.1.2. The scenario

On June, 2014 Saturday, Dona Cida says she is sad for what has become of Vila Autódromo. The absence of risk due to militia groups or drug traffic, always having been “a quiet place”, is considered by the resident, who arrived there in the 1990^s. The vacant houses are used by drug users and “strange” people start to circulate by. With the demolitions and while living with the debris, problems arising from electricity (cuts or shock hazard), the lack of garbage disposal and the progression of the construction works on the community, not to mention that water mixes with sewage, the rubble and rebars threaten those who transit through there and conditions worsen when it rains.

In periods of heat, dust increases due to the removal of the trees surrounding the wall of the former race track, “the trees we planted,” said she in tears. She tells about the approach of a City Hall officials group who try to register for the removal of Vila Autódromo families: “Lady, what are you waiting for? By August there will be no one here,” she told us crying and confides that her husband began taking drugs for the neurological system because of the pressures exerted. On another occasion, during a chat with two construction workers, they pointed a place and explained: “You see that point? Till there everything will be flooded. There's no way you can stay here...” she

says excitedly, pointing to a height of approximately 1,20 m. of a concrete block that was built in the middle of the main access of the residents, the Autódromo Avenue.

In November 2014, the visit of Judge Marco Ibrahim was accompanied by members of the technical advisory of AMPAVA and of the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan, by the NUTH from the Public Defender's Office and, representing the interests of City Hall, Prosecutors, Secretaries of Public Works and Housing, in addition to employees connected to the mayor's office, who daily wander the community publicizing the indemnity proposals or the exchange for apartments of the PMCMV (Minha Casa, Minha Vida). During this guided tour through the community organized by the residents one of the county prosecutors was asked about the City Hall duty to urbanize Vila Autódromo, since more than a promise made by the mayor, it is an obligation of the government. The prosecutor, in turn, responded with the following question: "Do you know the Rocinha? There we have a very dense settlement, the ground is uneven, full of alleyways and risk of tuberculosis ... How to urbanize a place like that?" Besides a lack of technical response on the potential inability of urbanization of the Rocinha favela, the prosecutor of the municipality did not answer the question about the urbanization of the Vila Autódromo project, and with no technical background to his statement, compared two different situations.

At the same time that a meeting of the Vila Autódromo residents was held in January 2016, in the catholic church, parts of an adjacent house were overthrown by sledgehammer blows. The noise made it difficult to understand the conversations. A resident, disturbed by the noise, revealed that City Hall has "hired" a resident to "mischaracterize" some of the houses²⁰. The process of mischaracterization, added to the numerous piles of rubble, make up the landscape of Vila Autódromo since the beginning of 2014, and gets worse over time. The spoils are taken by underbrush that assumes the spaces that were houses and alleyways, but respects the firm design of streets. The streets, in turn, no longer need to be used to cross the community, due to the small number of homes. Now the problem is to deviate from the rebar, broken crockery, electrical wirings that may pose risks, the presence of snakes, rats and any

²⁰ Category appropriate by residents concerning the removal of windows, doors, roofs and even the overthrow of walls that mischaracterize the housing and reinforces the sensation of abandonment.

possible accident that the piles of debris can cause. Occurrences of accidents involving the elderly, children and adults are constantly narrated, as well as the improvised attempts developed by residents to avoid them.

Among the rubble piles on the floor it is easy to perceive the sequences of tiles from most homes, which indicate the existence of old bathrooms and kitchens. “We look and see the neighbor's house, where our son grew up playing with hers, and now there is nothing, it's all on the ground. Only the remains of houses from our community ... This is very hard for us (Raimunda, resident, saleswoman, 55).” In addition to the drastic change in the landscape and the missing things in the whole neighborhood, there are still common problems involving water, electricity and transportation for residents who resist.

Even before the assembly of residents that occurred in the church, it was possible to follow a conversation between a small group of residents: “[...] A good lawyer, one of those honest lawyers that the company can't buy ... Nowadays, which judge is not an businessman? Judges, lawyers and businessmen, it's all the same.” The understanding of the relationship between the judiciary system and the private interests of some powerful groups convinced the resident, an electrician, who is around 45 years. The statement came after the mention of other neighbor, a concierge, 56, to the interview given by Carlos Carvalho, a shareholder of one of the Carvalho Hosken companies, valued at 15 billion Reais, who exposed to the BBC the project he advocates for the territory of Barra da Tijuca and Baixada de Jacarepaguá, Rio de Janeiro West Zone²¹. In his proposal the resident suggested, “[...] We have to sue this guy. It's too much disrespect! We are O.K. to work for them, but to live by, we are dirty, smelly?” In an interview with Brazilian BBC, published in August 10, 2015, the businessman commented about the permanence of residents of disadvantaged segments near the place where will be built the Olympic Park, where Vila Autódromo is now: “How are you going to put the poor people there? They have to live close because they rend

²¹ Carvalho Hosken participates in consortium with Odebrecht and Andrade Gutierrez, in a Public and Private Partnership (PPP), that will build equipments for the Olympic and Para-Olympic Games 2016, in exchange for real estate developments in the same region.

services and earn money from the richer segment, but we must put there only those we need, unless we will mess it up, throwing money away²².”

The demolition scenario increases, inasmuch as decreases the number of dwellings and is accompanied by the inversely proportional growth of the Olympic Park, located a few meters from Vila Autódromo. The significant increase in the intensity of work, the number of workers and the rising of large buildings announce the imminence of the Olympic Games 2016. The demarcation of land regarding the hotel area protrude a few meters over the area delimited by the ancient wall of Jacarepagua Race Track, advancing over the village, reducing the width of Autódromo Avenue, main artery of the neighborhood.

The mirrored 30-storey hotel can be seen from afar Abelardo Bueno Avenue, kilometers before reaching Vila Autódromo. It was built on the community entry, contrasting with demolition debris, collapsed and mischaracterized houses that set up an image of clear inequality. The construction work has accelerated and the hotel was built quickly. By observing the construction of the building, a few meters from the community, it is not uncommon to see the lack of personal protective equipment (PPE) among workers, during their activity, even at considerable heights. A crane with about 20 meters in height, carrying frames of aluminum, exceeded the limits of the construction site, while residents and employees of contractors transit the area below it.

The lavishness of the park progresses towards the community, shorn of the houses that existed two years ago. Part of the complex, the hotel and its construction site share space with the community entrance, a guardhouse, made by locals and with a makeshift gate, where they do surveillance shifts. After the confrontation involving physical violence between the Municipal Guard and residents, the entry is relatively controlled, as a defense and surveillance strategy among residents.

This is one of the border areas between the Olympic Park and Vila Autódromo. Near this “piece of land” still stands a small playground where some children play. They

²² http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/08/150809_construtora_olimpiada_jp

arrive there dodging not only rubble, but materials, holes, trucks and tractors. In the same place the workers accommodate themselves to lunch. Some eat what they bring from home, others use the cooking services of one of the female residents.

Along the entire length of the ancient racetrack and current Olympic Park, on the community side, there were trees planted by the residents. In April 2014, the cutting of the trees was narrated with emotion way in the residents meetings that followed the incident. The cutting of trees was one of the first actions taken by City Hall that made possible the materialization of the removal project. Many of the residents spoke of the trees with sad eyes and cracking voice. Zilda, nursing assistant, 48, said that when she questioned the City Hall official, responsible for cutting the trees, she heard that as long as they were not exotic trees, they could be cut. The resident questioned whether this was the government way of “preserving the environment” and wondered: “They think we are ignorant, right?” Residents feel that when they questioned City Hall employees - regardless of hierarchy – they perceive information inequalities or neglect by the representative of government. The removal of trees, besides increasing thermal sensation in the neighborhood, allowed the passage of a greater volume of dust originated in the construction work.

From week to week the landscape is profoundly altered. If by one hand the definition of the Olympic Park is visible to the eyes of those who cross by car the Aberlado Bueno Avenue, from 2014 to 2016 occurred a physical reduction of the community, hidden among the rubble of demolished houses, the works of duplication of Aberlado Bueno Avenue, the construction works of the Olympic Park, the construction sites, the potholes, the mud. Surrounded, the residents improvise and change the paths to the community entrance. And those who resist in name of the right to housing, wait for the fulfillment of the promise made by the mayor to the village urbanization.

The sense of security, tranquility and confidence in the neighborhood, especially the lack of control by the militia and drug traffic, has always been registered by the residents of Vila Autódromo as a differential. Since the beginning of demolition, however, the reduction in the number of neighbors added to the decrease in lighting, especially knocked down poles or light cuts that are not restarted after the overthrow of houses has become a threat to residents, especially by night: “we care about

women, right? By night it's worse. We do not know who might be there. In the dark, they come to knock down the house and the poles. It is dangerous for everyone... My daughter always returned from work at 23h and we never had to worry about. Now, her husband and I wait there at the bus stop down there, at the avenue, she can't come come alone." The scenario of debris, parts of walls and mischaracterized houses hinders the efforts of those who intend to stay in the village.

In the last week of February 2016, with almost 10% of the houses that existed in 2011, we still heard the locals narrate that City Hall employees call the inhabitants and said: "There will be no one left here, those who stand will lose everything." Even with the legal security condition of the houses of these families, that in 2011 amounted to almost 400 families, at the time this paper is written the number of families boil down to dozens.

4.1.3. Physical Violence

When the round of "negotiations" convened by City Hall between the period of August to October 2013, residents were called by the same for the presentation of the residential complex at Riocentro, on October 10, 2013, on a Saturday morning. The invitation summoned some locals for a "conversation with the mayor" about the "future of the neighborhood", and did not include all residents. At the time, the Carioca Park was displayed by the mayor, Eduardo Paes and some components of the secretariat and advisory services, in one of the auditoriums, behind closed doors, surrounded by security guards²³.

The entry of residents –the ones that had no invitation, as well some who had it, but were stopped by security just the same - was guaranteed after moments of tension, provocation and verbal dispute by some advocates (not from the NUTH, which practices the community advice legal for years). The priest, in turn, allowed the entry of only one person of the technical advisory of the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan, but this person was not allowed to direct any questions to the mayor. Outside the auditorium there were several disagreements among residents who had not received the invitations, and supporters who wanted to come and participate. One of the

²³ Some of the security agents were recognized as participants of unofficial groups of policemen who controlled part of the territory of West Zone.

moments of the conflict involved a fight between one of the residents and the mayor's security group. The two walked down the stairs trading punches, kicks and frustrated immobilization attempts. At that time one of the guards pulled out a gun and his colleague said, pointing to the resident who was immobilized: "He disobeyed a police officer." Face to this statement, the security guards were asked whether they were police agents, but none of them responded, following the guidance of one of them, "no one answers!"²⁴

During the meeting, after many discussions, the diversity of positions of the residents was exposed publicly. The mayor, who accompanied the debate sitting on the table, announced that those interested in the Carioca Park units will not pay the funding, unlike all other beneficiaries of the PMVMV²⁵.

On June 3, 2015, at 7 am, residents were surprised by the presence of the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Guard troops. At the time, the guards accompanied the justice official who had order to take possession of two houses and attacked the residents who resisted the overthrow of the neighbor's house. In the attack the truncheons blows of the guard broke the nose of one female resident, 47, and a resident of 50 years received several blows in the back of the head. The injured reported the occurrence on the area police station and were treated at the emergency room. Others had injuries due to the gas bombs thrown against the other residents²⁶.

The act of possession, however, had already been suspended by the 4th Court of Exchequer. The judge demanded City Hall to present the proof of the deposit with the amount of compensation, according to the evaluation of a judicial expert. The titular

²⁴ Some residents recognized the security guards of the mayor linked to militia groups in the region. Such information is shared with fear and discretion. The next day the event was logged in the matter of the newspaper The Day: <http://odia.ig.com.br/noticia/rio-de-janeiro/2013-10-07/eduardo-paes-hostilizado-no-riocentro.html>

²⁵ According GTAPM (2013) the transfer at no cost to families was justified by City Hall obeying the "local criteria" of the Demand for Equipment and Public and Urban Utilities Diagnostic Report "that rescues the Law 11,977, which, amended by Law 12,424/2011 allows "these operations to be linked to urbanization interventions in slums, integrated sanitation, management of rainwater and landslides prevention that require resettlement, relocation or replacement housing units, provided that such intervention: I - to run through compulsory transfer of resources referred to in art. 1 of Law No. 11,578, of November, 26, 2007; or II - are financed by means of loans to the public sector, according to the cases defined in Regulation "(GTAPM, 2013, p.19). The Vila Autódromo, technically, does not fit in any of these criteria.

²⁶ It should be noted that the function of the Municipal Guard, according to §8º of Article 144 of the Federal Constitution is linked to public property and should not carry out compliances with a warrant.

defender of NUTH, Public Defender of the State of Rio de Janeiro, argued there was bad faith by the County Attorney's Office, because if defenders had access to the decision of the property's seizure, the Attorney would have it too. Said judge also determined the presence of the Battalion of Military Police of the area and representatives of the Municipal Housing, in order to ensure the integrity of the judicial officers and the local community. The legal requirements were met.

After the incident, the Municipal Guards keeps constant presence in Vila Autódromo by camping there, observing and witnessing the daily life of the residents who still live there.

4.2. Morro da Providência

The Morro da Providência favela is the oldest of the city. Located in the center of Rio de Janeiro, more precisely in its port area, its origin is related to the end of the War of Canudos, with the coming of the soldiers to the then federal capital, in the late nineteenth century. The population of Providência, according to IBGE Census from 2010, reached 4,889 inhabitants and 1,523 households. It has a strategic position in of Rio de Janeiro's map, concentrating a big part of downtown employees.

The Morro da Providência is located in the area of major urban projects sought by City Hall in the last municipal administration, known as Porto Maravilha Project, whose main goal is revitalization and property appreciation. The Porto Maravilha Project, according to Galiza (2015), it is an Consortial Urban Operation Syndicated (OUC in Portuguese) that comprises a series of urban and financial actions aimed at promoting the rehabilitation and the social, environmental and economic development of the port region. Related to OUC was set up a law, on an urgent basis, as indicated by the author:

Complementary Law n. 102/2009 of 23/11/2009, created the Urban Development Company of the Port Region of Rio de Janeiro (CDURP), a mixed economy company, controlled by City Hall, with the task of "implement and manage the granting of the public works and services in the Port Region and manage the property and financial resources for the Porto Maravilha project (p. 90).

As stated in the document produced by Galiza et al (2013) the urbanization project that involves Morro da Providência, linked to the Porto Maravilha project includes infrastructure, transport and equipment works in the slum for which the SMH is responsible, via the Morar Carioca Program. Such works have been stalled since December 2012, by a decision obtained by the NUTH Public Defender's Office of Rio de Janeiro.

Image 4 – Morro da Providência and the zoning of the area of Porto Maravilha



Source: <http://invistanoportocom.br/regioes-do-porto/>

The complexity and heterogeneity help to compose the groups that coexist in Morro da Providência. The Residents Association, according to the interlocutors, after years as a space of legitimate representation was taken over by a group politically aligned to City Hall²⁷.

Even with the presence of the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP), there are groups of drug dealers in Providência who dispute the territory. In addition to the UPP, groups linked

²⁷ Some residents narrate that the group who participated in the resistance to the works of Porto Maravilha in Morro da Providência changed strategies and, in time, encouraged other residents to “negotiate” with City Hall. Some benefits, as positions in the local administration, were granted for some of these leaders. After it, the Morro da Providência Residents Commission was founded, and through NUTH it achieved the injunction that suspended the works of the Morar Carioca program on the hill.

to militia transit the area of Providência, although timidly resisted by some parties, responsible for the safety of the Porto Maravilha construction works.

The Porto Community Forum (FCP) was also active in the works in Providência and aggregated, in addition to residents not connected to the official Association, supporters such as NGOs, universities and autonomous individuals. In 2012, due to the lack of an effective action by the Residents' Association, a collective was created, formed by families who would be affected by the works of Porto Maravilha. To this collective, called Residents Commission, represented by the Center for Land and Housing Public Defender of the State of Rio de Janeiro, was granted an injunction suspending the works. The injunction required City Hall to present the works execution plan, information about the projects and to undertake the public hearings required by the Morar Carioca project. The project of the cable car was completed, even without the necessary documentation, with the argument that it was already in the finalization process.

At first the works of Porto Maravilha intended to Morro da Providência involved the cable car, the Inclined Plane, the Motovia, the historic center: the oratory, the sports center and the housing units, connected to the Morar Carioca project. The proposal of City Hall envisaged the removal of 832 houses, which means approximately 3,000 people.

“These are areas that will be removed step by step, then we create difficulty. It was the Morar Carioca project, it included risk... 832 homes are not 832 families. We assume that a house has two families. You know how it is in a favela, two or three families living below, above, in one house alone. There are 1,600, or more than 1,600 families. And everyone works downtown.” (Antonio, 34, administrative technician, resident).



In the June journeys, a considerable ebullition period for collective actions, one of the Morro da Providência residents, Carlos, was coming home from work when he was called by the general manager of the drug traffic to talk. Arriving at the drug dealer's

point, he said that his childhood friends, now involved in traffic, played with him, “Are you turning into a Black Bloc, Charlie?” He denied and clarified jokingly that someone had put his picture without permission, and went to talk to the boss. A few days before a picture was taken of him holding a sign, questioning removals in Morro da Providência, it had been used to call the act that day. The information given to Carlos was that the Residents Association warned the drug command that members of the Residents Committee had invited the Black Bloc gang to go up the hill and “break everything”. In that moment the media, in order to discredit the demonstrations that took place in the streets, broadcasts live images of the destruction of bank agencies and actions against troops of the military police that were occurring in the avenues in downtown Rio de Janeiro. Thus, the presence of that group in the favela could attract the presence of the shock troops of the military police. This was the manager's concern.

Carlos said he made clear that he did not know who had placed his picture, though he imagines that the use was intended to legitimize the act, because he was a resident. He explained that the only resident who attended the meeting about the act did not witness the resolution for actions that day. The manager said he was in favor of the struggle for housing. For obvious reasons, since it is not interesting for territorial strategies of the command the removal of the houses which exposes the site. Much less positive was the rise of riot police. Clarified the misunderstanding, he came down the hill and recognized some anarchists who were discussing with representatives of the Residents' Association, accompanied by the police and two vehicles of the UPP (Pacifying Police Unit).

Some of those who were in the group said they wanted to defend the residents from police violence. According to Carlos, no resident was aware that there would be a protest in the Cruzeiro region. Carlos and the other component of the Neighborhood Commission mediated and convinced the group that the act had not been promoted by the locals. After the crash, Carlos decided to move back from the resistance process for the permanence struggle.

4.2.1. The perception of Morro da Providência Residents Committee on the conflict

In a conversation on the insistence of the use of the word “resettlement” by City Hall, instead of removal, with the resident who has his house directly threatened by the works of Porto Maravilha, he said: “When they talk of urbanization, I began to be afraid, they are talking about removal. As well as “public safety” in the slums is the death of dwellers, dealers and thugs.” Antonio, 34, administrative technician, explains that “for us a word has a meaning and, for the rest of the city, another. It is cowardice what they do. We will resist, I do not know till when. But when all this will be over, we'll see if it was worth or not.”

Advocates that have started to follow Providência case they suggested that the Residents' Commission should talk to Pierre Batista, then Secretary of Housing, who would be in a meeting at Pedra Lisa and should seize the time to seek an entente. The invitation for the meeting at Pedra Lisa, however, was not extended to the rest of the residents, “you know the story: divide and conquer,” said the resident. The Secretary looked surprised with the presence of the rest of the residents and said that only the interested ones should leave.

The negotiation meetings were initiated and in the first of them the mayor himself announced that no one would be removed. The Residents Commission demanded representation, that the mayor denied, and clarified that he would negotiate individually with each of the residents who could be impacted by the works. At that moment they sent the project plan to Angeli, the advocate, to guide the “negotiation”. The plan has not enough specifications and “when we came to look there were places on the slope that gave only a 40cm passage. The slope stopped, and how anyone can go down the ladder? They can't!” (Antonio, 34, administrative technician, resident).

After 4 rounds of meetings that were proposed by City Hall with the presence of the Residents Committee, supporters and the Residents Association, as happened in Vila Autódromo, between August and October 2013, they signed an agreement. Such agreement, however, was not signed nor discussed with the locals. A defender, recently transferred, who therefore did not follow the conflicts involving the community, had assumed the post of NUTH coordinator. The coordinator, on behalf of the community, signed an agreement with the Attorney General Office of the Municipality, that decided about the future of residents.

According to reports made by residents, the defender Angeli arrived with the intention of “negotiate.” With the formal approval of members of the Residents Association, authorizing the terms of the written agreement that City Hall prepared “to be fulfilled by herself.” He called a meeting of the Residents Commission to communicate and said: “It’s done! Such agreement between City Hall and the Public Defendants proposed the cancellation of the injunction that could stop the works and “no house would be demolished”. However, if City Hall decides to resume the removals, it would pay reparations to the families. “That was it, overthrow the injunction? And then? And if they come with another project name? Where we get with this? The agreement was full of “buts”, “but” ...

One of the meeting participants accused the defender of being “sold”, and that worsened the conflict. Reinforcing the speech of the mayor that no one will leave, residents deeply displeased the defender, who said that the locals did not accept anything. The agreement said “that would have no removal of any house and that an injunction would be established. But, if they resume the work, they would pay compensations. So what is this?” (Antonio, 34, administrative technician). There were shouts, accusations and the attitude of said defender was recorded in the Legal Defense of the State of Rio de Janeiro Ombudsman's Office. Residents could not get the assurance that no one will be removed.” How to believe in things that have no guarantee on public record? Didn’t they tore the Master Plan? Don’t they made and unmade laws at will?”

One of the main arguments for the removal of Providência were the risk areas, according to the reports prepared by Geo-Rio. The Residents Commission ordered a counter report prepared by architects, planners and engineers, who questioned the need of housing removal, suggesting containment works, and making an accusation that one of the houses convicted for risk, according to the aforementioned municipal entity, it was a henhouse. “What kind of technicians City Hall has? They work from a helicopter? They can’t come here? They climbed over the retaining wall to see which house would be removed and it was a henhouse.” (Ana, 30, resident).

The intensity of the works in downtown Rio de Janeiro, as the VLT (Rail Light Vehicle), linked to Porto Maravilha, created several uncertainties in traffic flow, a sense of

improvisation in the city, due to the construction sites. “Almost all the ways to Morro da Providência are broken, paralyzed, poorly lit and abandoned. Providência is under siege, they do this to create more trouble for us. Till we decide to leave because of these problems.”

The testimony of another resident, Jorge, merchant, 24, is that some of the residents were removed by “lack of understanding, lack of time to devote to information and resistance. Others do not think they can fight and win the fight. Another group thinks it’s better to leave. Some people left, they went to the 'Nabuco' because they wanted to leave. Then comes City Hall and abandons the work.” The resident refers to Motovia, listed in the works of Porto Maravilha to Morro da Providência:

It is a motovia that can’t be used by cars, only motorcycles or small trucks from City Hall to collect garbage, coming from Vila Portuária, which is near Santo Cristo neighborhood, to Gamboa, which would end in Américo Brum square. They began to do it, they didn’t get even to 20% of the project, they removed a lot of people, about 40 families or so, and now decided not to construct it anymore. The people that were expelled, each followed his own destiny.

“The filth is so big, things happen and you realize that Providência is only a small part of the concern of the mayor in Porto. The works of the Morar Carioca Project that compose Porto Maravilha are suspended so far, both by the injunction, as by the lack of funds to implement the program. A resident said that, during a meeting, the mayor wanted to know if all residents were present and wondered: “He must be thinking: how can 10 people hamper a work of R\$ 170 million? “.

The responsibility for the works suspension, however, was attributed by City Hall to the Residents Commission which prevented the improvement works in Providência. Other residents, whose homes wouldn’t be directly impacted, blame the Commission's group, by influence of the Residents Association, for the failure to undertake works. “It is like this: as he [the major] does in Vila Autódromo ... We can not dialogue and yet ... we are the intolerant ones ... It is like this, 'what I'm giving you is a lot, why are you still complaining?’” said the same dweller.

4.3. Complexo da Maré

The Maré complex is formed by a variety of slums: Parque Roquete Pinto, Parque Rubens Vaz, Parque União, Ramos, Comunidade Vila do Pinheiro, Avenida Canal, Avenida Canal II, Timbau, Pata Choca, Baixa do Sapateiro, Parque Maré, Maré (Rua Guilherme Frota), Nova Holanda, Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas, Conjunto Esperança, Conjunto Nova Maré, Conjunto Pinheiros, Conjunto Salva e Merengue, Conjunto Vila do João, Conjunto Vila Pinheiros, Joana Nascimento e Paraíbuna²⁸. The total population is 129,770 divided into 41,759 households²⁹.

Image 5 – The Area of Complexo da Maré



Source: <http://www.riomaisocial.org/territorios/mare-em-ocupacao/?secao=mapas>

²⁸ The data is on the website of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro, produced by the Pereira Passos Institute, based on the IBGE Demographic Cense (2010).

View: <http://www.riomaisocial.org/territorios/mare-em-ocupacao/>

²⁹ See: <http://www.brasil.gov.br/defesa-e-seguranca/2014/09/prorrogada-acao-das-forcas-armadas-no-complexo-da-mare>

Although most of the favelas that make up the Rio territory, not only Maré, being targeted by the Military Police raids through the Special Operations Battalion's actions, using *Compania Destacada*, among other interventions conducted by the Military Police of the State of Rio de Janeiro, we will focus the analysis on the intervention of troops from the Armed Forces in the Complexo da Maré, with a duration of 15 months. The State government project is the installation of four Pacifying Police Units (UPP) in the locality³⁰.

Leite (2012) indicates a change in the management forms of security policies in the favela territories. For the teacher, between 1990 and 2000 it was noted the intensification of actions taken by the State against drug gangs that incorporates residents, in a general way, as an “enemy”, “almost bandits” or an “evil to counter”. From 2008 the process called “pacification” of the favelas, features a new form of management of these territories through the UPP's, “in order to resume the armed control of these territories and thus 'civilizing' its residents as a condition for the integration of these territories to the city” (p.375). The UPP's generated an important and controversial debate from the point of view of the public agenda, as well as the academic. The presence of troops from the Armed Forces in the Complexo da Maré precedes the installation of UPPs in that territory.

In April 2014, the government of the State of Rio de Janeiro asked the Federal Government for support of Army and Navy troops in the so called “Pacification Force”, in order to seize weapons and drugs. The renewal decree signed by President Dilma Roussef, on September, 12, 2014, known as Law and Order Guarantee, extended the permanence of the armed forces in the Complexo da Maré. The military retain authority to make arrests, patrols and inspections. The first occupation of Maré by military troops was in April 2013 and, according to official information, they would stay there until after the FIFA World Cup (2014).

³⁰ I do not believe much in the role of the UPPs, not when facing the things we hear. Amarildo is there as an example. I had the experience of a workshop on Borel, and young people told me things and nothing was positive. One thing they said that has improved was circulation, because they could attend other communities. But most reports were negative: violence from the police agents, rape issues, heavy relationships with girls, calling the inhabitants bums just because they are on their doorstep. I understand it is a project that is bankrupt. We have a policy of public unsafety, the UPP brings a different media visibility. The media is on top of everything, we see the example of Complexo do Alemão. The UPP is to be seen by the guys in the South Zone, by foreigners (Viviane, 28, social worker, resident).

When the army arrived, we were afraid. We thought: they are prepared for war, how will it be here in Maré. There was a lack of respect, confrontations. I listened everywhere the speech: when the police will enter, it would not be like this. We never saw the presence of the army, but we had several events involving the police and they were traumatic. Residents today have a different look about the police because we have more experience to understand who they are. (Viviane, 28, social worker, resident).

In this work we will use the statements of the entities that develop specialized activities in social policies as CEASM and the Luta pela Vida [Fight for Life]. Since 2004, the CEASM develops projects related to education, communication and culture and includes preparatory courses for public tenders and for the access to university or to high school in Rio de Janeiro, seeking access to qualified public education on equal terms. One of the projects offered by CEASM is the Museu da Maré, created in 2006, which develops actions related to communication, registration and history of Maré communities, involving exhibition projects, collections, presentations, with educational and research character.

The report includes the testimony of residents involved with the Luta pela Paz [Fight for Peace] project that, besides boxing classes and martial arts offers a kind of mentoring, which stimulates critical issues related to citizenship: school support, training for the labor market, leadership training and support by social workers. Founded in 2002 by the anthropologist and former amateur boxing fighter Luke Dowdney in the Maré slum and in London, the organization has 135 partner groups in 25 countries.



Rita de Cássia, 51, domestic, left 25 years ago the state of Maranhão and came to Rio de Janeiro in search of employment. She had left the two children with relatives, each in a different place. Moving to Rio de Janeiro was made possible by some cousins that worked in a “family home” and encouraged her to come to Rio de Janeiro. Rita de Cássia says that she use to watch beautiful images of the city through the telenovelas that she followed and was always interested in the city. The Favela da Maré, more

precisely, Nova Holanda, was the place where she rented the first room, as allowed by her economies. Three years later, employed as a maid in one of the homes where she started as a day laborer, Rita “sends for” the children who still lived in Maranhão. One of them developed a certain distance, because of the mediation established by the responsible person during those years. Although now living in the same house with her children, Rita explains that living in a slum like Maré, with two young sons who “knew nothing of life”, as she said, was a great challenge.

Every night, till the children arrive at home, she was taken by feelings of anxiety and fear. Rita narrated that several times in the crossfire between police and drug dealers or between dealers from rival groups, she waited at the window of the now rented apartment for the son who had not returned from school or work, worried that some of them could be targeted in the confrontation: “No one appears at the windows when a shooting is happening. Only desperate mothers. I stayed there, watching and praying that nothing happened to any of them. I did it so many times, I do not know how a bullet did not pick me up, they get even the people who stayed inside.”

The harassment suffered by their sons from the “soldiers” of traffic, seeking to recruit those interested in being at their service, was the center of numerous conversations that Rita had with the children, as she explains: “I said that they were workers. I would not want to look in the face of any of them if they wanted to be gangsters. They could earn little, but there is no sufficient money that pays to sleep with the tranquility of being honest. Thank God the two are workers. I battled all my life, I would not accept that.”

When asked about the first impression she had when she arrived to Favela da Maré, Rita summarized: “I was very innocent. I did not understand things ... I thought that a bandit was a bandit, that a policeman was a policeman.” Then Rita narrated a case she witnessed. She had just come from one of the houses of Zona Sul where she worked and saw a group of people by the road from the bus stop to his home. An unidentified body was sliced in parts, from the joints, publicly. Rita, who had arrived in Rio de Janeiro three months before, horrified, screamed: “Call the police!” A neighbor held her mouth shut and took her away from the group, explaining that the man who was

mutilating the body was a Military Police agent. She found that the human flesh had much resemblance to pork, and after that never managed to eat pork again.

In another situation, she explained that the house where she lived with the children had an external staircase that allowed access to the balcony. One night she heard the noise of the gate allowing access to the stairs, and found it strange that the two sons were at home, close to 11 p.m.. A man had entered the balcony. She asked him to leave, he didn't obey and explained that he was looking for a place to prepare a marijuana cigarette. Rita immediately went to the local dealer point, not knowing if she had chosen the best alternative, but she was afraid of what might happen to her sons. Getting there, she asked to speak to the manager and exposed to him what was happening. Rita had never spoken to him, let alone go there. But she knew him by sight and, like other residents of the area, knew his name. The manager told Rita that it would not be repeated and ordered the boy to "apologize to Aunt". Twenty minutes later the boy went to Rita's house and said he was sorry for the incident. Rita explained that the balcony could be used as a strategic point in firefights. Over time, Rita said she had grown accustomed to live with "curfews" and with the difficulty for getting in or out the slum in cases of police intervention and with the law of silence.

The facts described by Rita are thematized as central problems of Brazilian cities. The issue involving the drug market, the presence and action of the police in slums, the "hardening" of public security policies passed to be, since the 1990s, the central target of the public agenda, and of the academic agendas linked to the social sciences in Brazil (Kant, MISSE, XXXXX). The fact that the city of Rio de Janeiro is a typical example of the Brazilian urbanity, causes that the significant conflict in the public arena reflects in the sociological apprehension, undermining the objectivity of these conflicts. Machado da Silva (2009), in its panoramic text over 40 years of experience of Urban Sociology in Brazil, reveals how the themes that characterized it, over time, were the specific issues of the public agenda: as changed the agenda theme, changed the subject of sociology of cities. Questions that thematize forms of social control in big cities has been, for some years, the center of public and academic debate.

4.3.1. The experience of violence in the territory of Maré

Cases of violence perpetrated by the police are widely reported by interviewed. Security policies designed outside the territories of operation and by external groups produce the understanding that the resident is perceived as “the enemy” of groups that belong to other regions of the city. The resident is responsible for the geographical extent and for the “stigma” of the slums, and is not understood as “someone to be protected, but as an enemy.” Belonging to that territory make your life worth less. In the words of Marcele,

[...] You are considered less than other citizens of Zona Sul. If killed in a confrontation or reached by a bullet, will not cause commotion. You are a threat. If you live in a slum you are guilty until proven innocence, is not the other way around, where you are innocent until proven otherwise. We start from the premise that you are always a criminal. The police approach that is made here is not the same as it is done in Zona Sul, in the prime locations of the city.

Machado *et al* (XXXX) refers not only to the practical dimension of the police actions, but on the “cultural and ideological acceptance that areas of the city, already penalized by the presence of armed groups, can be taken by assault by police forces that repress, kill and do shady dealings.” (p. 29). The authors extend the understanding of the social acceptance field about arbitrariness, the logic that public safety becomes legitimate in “detriment of the other.” The “other” in this semantic field, is aimed at slum, the “other” of the city. The groups that live there have become killable, by security agents, with the endorsement of those who “feel relieved” or “vindicated” by use of force in places where proliferates the organization of armed bands operating the drug economy “ (ibid).

“The police is there to defend those who have from those who don’t have.” The formulations about the origins and motivations of police actions in slums, in the case of Complexo da Maré, emerged in the interviews. To find a cause, an explanation for the numerous cases of violence they witnessed along their experience in Maré, or in an attempt to solve the problem by proposing alternatives.

The police is violent, the police kill, there is not a public security strategy that actually contemplate the Maré in its totality. Only the police is not a solution... Over all these

years, man, I do not recall any intervention that we can consider positive by the police. Especially because the real intention is to keep these undesirables of society in a second place, which is the favela (José, teacher, 40, resident).

The relationship of the police with the population of Maré is expressed by Rodrigo, teacher, 32, as “hate”. The respondent tells us he had the opportunity to offer classes for preparatory courses for police contests and says that “they have hatred for the poor, without reason, because they are also poor people”, “on these courses to become a policeman, the vision already is to kill, they want to kill people, I find it surreal, it makes no sense: a person entering the place with intent to kill when the police function is to protect.”

The opposition between “love and hate” appears on the testimony of another teacher about the relationship between the residents and the institutions that occupy the favela territories, legitimized on the speeches of order and security. “Love” is linked to the expectation that the problem will be solved. “On the other hand hate, because the police and even the army is present and they don’t have... They don’t have the proper behavior toward the resident. Perhaps for carrying some prejudice, some social stigmas, he ends up dealing with the resident in an aggressive manner too.” (Silvio, teacher, resident, 35 years). Expectation slips to the feeling of disappointment, “because you realize that, in general, there is a make-up. A make-up: there is not, indeed, a security policy that can contemplate the territory in all its demands, in all its needs.”

One of the female interviewees tells when “the penny dropped”: She lived in a situation pervaded by violence and at the moment she realized that she had “naturalized”: Viviane accounts the death of Matheus, 8 years old, who was killed by police when leaving home to buy bread at his mother's request. The boy didn't had on the school uniform shirt, for he had been released in early hours. He was shot at the nape and fell down with a one real coin that he carried for the bakery. Noticing the police, the child had tried to return home when he was shot. At the time, neighbors claimed that there was no shooting going on and prevented the body to be taken away without the proper forensic examination. The interviewee tells us of pain about what

happened: “Then I had a few bad moments: when the police entered my house and put the gun at the face of my sister; another time a thug jumped into the shop of my parents and started a negotiation, within my backyard, where money rolled.”

One of the teachers, who is also a resident, said that the fact related to violence that has scored him the most was in the 1993 massacre that killed 8 people in Vila do João. The teacher says that at the time, on his way to school, he had to dribble eight bodies lying on the street. “I was much impressed to see it, people crying.” The teacher says that in the same year, in an exchange of fire inside the school where he studied, in Vila do Joao, one female colleague was shot in the head, a few meters from him. “That also marked my life, and thanks to God, she is recovered, she's fine. But it was a big scare” (Francisco, 35, teacher, resident).

Between the years 1990-2000 occurred the period of conflict intensification between police and groups involved in the drug economy. Leite (2012) speaks of the promotion by the State of a “war” on drugs. Most respondents mentioned the difference between the old school dealers last and the perception of the armed conflict between police and “commandos” (the rival gangs of drug traffic). The access by the “commandos” to the most sophisticated and powerful weapons make up this scenery of change. “It was the profile of the dealer that changed. In the past the dealer used a small gun when having conflict with the police, and suddenly, in a snap of fingers, this dealer started to use rifles and heavy things” (Silvio, teacher, resident, 35 years).

The perception of the conflict by the child's look is different and the change of understanding was mentioned by most respondents, in a sense, as a characterization of the passage to adulthood³¹. The perception of clashes, shootings, drug sales, factions and the relationship with the police: another resident told us that at the age of 12, coming back from a carnival parade in the company of an aunt, he noticed a lot of bullets on the floor, the remains of a confrontation and, at that time, he realized the danger.

At that age by the first time I realized that, and from then I perceived the insecurity... losing friends, people who die from “lost” bullets or found, or induced, or indicated

³¹ The complexity of the relationship between the residents and traffickers, that can traverse family, neighborhood and affinity ties.

ones. At last... people who were related to residents or not, people you know, schoolmates...

The resident Marcelle, 25, acts as a researcher at the Maré Museum. Born and raised in the slum, she says that one of the most striking memories of his childhood was the Caveirão³². She says that a song accompanied the vehicle, as its loudspeakers signaled its arrival in the territory, causing panic. She was afraid that something could happen to a resident and, especially, to anyone in her family: “It was very aggressive, they had a little song that impressed me much “Boi, boi, boi da cara preta” [a famous Brazilian lullaby]” In his narrative, Marcelle is concerned with problems related to the mental health of residents of Maré. Living with weapons in daily life, the impact of military occupation, stress, panic, “certain issues end up influencing and impacting hypertension problems. If you're in a cross-fire and has heart troubles, how do you cope with it? And if you have a stroke?”

Despite the uncertainty linked to the conflicts related to the war on drugs policies, Marcelle feels some security, inside Maré, that she does not feel in other places in town. “Personal things that I do not bring up, but I feel safe here. I'm not afraid of being robbed, attacked, kidnapped, but I fear a possible shooting, in this sense that any kind of confrontation is risky.”

Viviane, social worker, 28, a Maré resident, said the feeling of “security” is questioned with the presence of agents of the pacification police and disputes between the “comandos”. “How do you feel safe in a place where at any time shit can happen or a shootout may begin.” The sense of security, for her, is something complicated: “the clashes that happen sometimes at 10 am, 11 pm. You can arrive in time for one of these clashes...I can't say that now I feel safe in Maré. Only in my childhood time.”

She evaluates the sense of social control maintained by the rules of the drug traffic groups as “coercion and concession.” The concession is given through mediation by violence, explained by her by reason of a lack of State: the possibility of resolving

³² This is an armored car that has openings for machine guns used by the Special Operations Battalion of the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro on raids in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Inside it had room for 11 police officers. Like other actions and strategies used by the Public Security Secretariat of the State of Rio de Janeiro, it caused controversy and polarized the debate. On one hand, the reasoned argument of human rights and on the other, the effectiveness of the policy to repress the drug market. Numerous political actions of residents thematized deaths of residents arising from raids.

family disputes, basic food baskets's delivery, resolving a quarrel between the neighbors, a gas cylinder theft, to concede the authority to solve. The threat on order in the favela is frowned upon by traffickers, according to the interlocutors, and maintained by violent practices. "Here rises the violence: it is made to frighten, to mark and to tell who's the boss on the block. Thus, it's a violence somewhat different from State violence. Of both forms of violence, which is the better or worse? I do not know, both of them kill, neither is legal." There are countless cases where residents who work outside can not enter the slum because of armed clashes. Incursions alter the itinerary of children who find the schools closed, and in a great part of the cases, return home amid the shooting.

The geographical demarcation established by the "comandos" in the territory of Maré sets limits to residents living in delimited areas. People of a certain place can not circulate on others, controlled by a different faction. The experience of having matured in the environment of territory conflict, as we have seen, is frequent in speeches: "As a child I did not understand what a criminal gang was. We mature, with the media assistance, or by our experiences here in Maré. But there was the drug traffic and Maré became a complicated space: 16 slums, 3 criminal factions fighting for power in the territory." These settings establish serious limits to residents. Thus, the possibility of a job outside, an output, can be reevaluated by the danger of circulate by inappropriate places. Tiago, a teacher, 30 years, despite not being resident of Maré, understands the circulation schemes among residents.

But they are too afraid to go outside. My work as a mentor, is to show what they have to do in life. Many do not know how to get an identification document, and so they are very afraid to go to Avenida Brazil, to be standing at the bus stop, because we have problems with another faction that is just here on the side. So I think it's a relationship of fear, of being out of here and be recognized, despite the millions of persons who live in Rio de Janeiro.

Factions have established the ability to articulate their domain territorially from a network of relationships, drawing borders through a geography of armed conflict. According to residents accounts, geographic delimitations, interfere deeply in the lives of locals "compromise our freedom to come and go." The professor said that one day

he called a student to accompany him in a region and the boy refused to go. The student in question, despite having relatives on the other side, was forbidden to cross the boundaries. Risks can mean provocations, such as occur in border areas, aggression or cost life.

4.3.2. The presence of the Armed Forces in the Complexo da Maré

An interesting situation was narrated by one of the interlocutors, a teacher, who does not live in Maré. She noted that during a game of the FIFA World Cup (2014), based in Brazil, after Brazil's victory over Chile, a family who was watching the game in a garage celebrated at the time that an army jeep with soldiers passed on the street. The soldiers responded celebrating: "Brazil, Brazil!" At the same moment, across the "border", a group of drug dealers, a few meters behind them, also celebrated. The soldiers realized that the teacher was filming the party and turned their faces, trying to avoid identification. She said that, in a normal situation, they would ask her to stop shooting.

The army presence is compared to the police by locals. Tanks, jeeps, training drills and tours are revealed by residents. The daily contact with bellicose elements helps to set the scene that lasted 15 months in Complexo da Maré. "It's hard to have a battle tank in front of the market where you are buying food. You see soldiers running, in position to shoot anyone; we also see bandits riding motorcycles, with the same risk of shooting someone ... We live in risk ... but this is still the place we live in ... (Viviane, 28, resident, social worker).

At first the Army, in general, appears in interviews as "less aggressive" than the military police. This, however, does not mean it is a relationship permeated by equality and recognition of rights. Such comparison, however, is not perceived by all respondents. A teacher mentioned the strangeness of soldiers to slum areas. The young age of the soldiers, the lack of experience in these places, according to the respondent, is used as a complication for the occupation by the military forces. Insecurity, for the teacher, may be causing violence:

The Army boys are very young boys. As for me, I've seen a lot of people saying that when you act violently with someone is because you are afraid of a situation. So I realize that they are afraid to walk here. I've seen a garrison of Rio Grande do Sul and other from Minas Gerais, and they do not know how to walk around here, so for me their arrogant and violent attitude possibly is due to the fear of where they are, and not knowing what might happen when turning a corner (James, teacher, 30 years).

Another shared perception by one of the respondents is that the army's presence is more “quiet” than the military police. He claims that with the soldiers of the Armed Forces residents can “circulate” while the police appear and begin shooting. Even with the provocations made by drug dealers, the soldiers stayed calm. The dealers provoked the army but the response was not shooting like crazy people. As there was exchange of fire, it was dangerous, but it was not as violent as the police response.”(Francisco, 35, teacher, resident).

One of the respondents could see a gradual change in the performance of soldiers of the Armed Forces. The loss and injury on people because of the process of “pacification”, he said, got worse.

I think this happens because they are young and not prepared. They have between 18 to 24 years at most, so there's no military preparation and they are in a territory that they do not know and that is hostile to them. They are afraid, they feel cornered and tend to react more aggressively, so it's always getting worse (Sílvia, teacher, resident, 35 years).

There is a difference in dealing with residents, according to the interlocutors, both by military police and by the Army: the different treatment towards black and white residents. According to the narrative, there is considerable difference of treatment between residents groups. This distinction aggravates, locally, the suspicion and criminalization intended for slum dwellers, which worsens when it comes to black residents, which generates ratings between “black”, “lighter” or “darker” in certain situations, reinforcing the stigma and racial prejudice enrolled in Brazilian society.

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The relations between local populations in their territories - Vila Autódromo, Morro da Providência and Complexo da Maré - reveal relations of violence in different modulations. Intimidation, threats, lack in providing information, inadequate housing, fear, death threats, murders, massacres and armed disputes between drug dealers and the police or between groups linked to drug trafficking. In addition to these variations in the types of violence, the fragility of regulatory frameworks, particularly those involving guarantees for the popular movements, linked to the right to housing and to human rights, which neutralizes the spaces for politics and undermines the possibilities to forecast where clashes could unfold.

Empirically worked situations are considered “marginal” or outside those that would be recognized by the State as “normal”. Vila Autódromo, Providência and Complexo da Maré, therefore, are “margins” that transcends purely geographical understanding and begin to re-signify social relations in which the groups and their territories are treated beyond “normality” (DAS and POOLE, XXXX). The authors developed the concept of “margin” through experiments where the government is situationally (re)founded, ordering and (re)making laws. Regulatory and disciplinary practices, including the performance of public agents, constitute what may be perceived as the State itself. The exception, in this sense, is not understood as the absence of the State, but “as a component of the rule” (XX).

The authors not only recover the usual sense related to the margin, but increases it. Margin, primarily, relates to the bodies that were only “relatively” socialized by and in the Law. As happens in Vila Autodromo and Providência, the State uses the technologies of power that aim to “manage” or to “pacify” by force or by trickery persuasion. In situations like this, the transition from “subjects outside the law” to “within the law” trigger certain identities which presuppose disciplinary practices (slum dwellers, indigenous people, women). The second definition is limited to the field of official legality; the other side of formalized bureaucratic legibility. And finally, the third definition incorporates the “normalality” that triggers the notion of the Foucaultian biopower. The margin would summarize experiences that occur beyond the official legality, the uncertainty or lack of clarity about the state protocol exercise, or,

as we have seen, the experience of certain bodies registered on the sidelines of the “normal”.

The “public security” as a political problem, through images as described above, conveyed daily by the media mainly from the 1990s, “territorialized” the favela as a problem and, instead of classifying certain groups as “dangerous”, as it was in other moments (XXXXXX), delimits areas of the city as “dangerous” (Machado da Silva, *et al* XXX). From this assignment, both the occupation of certain territories by drug dealers and police procedures polarize the debate.

Security policies intended to the territories of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, according to the understanding of these authors, were anchored in social perceptions that oscillated with the legitimization of certain political forces. If in one end there was the need to civilize the police institutions, as well as the operators of policies, aiming to make the social controls of urban life more “legitimate”, at the other end the shared view is that the “dangerous classes” should be “civilized”.

“whose archetype are the slum dwellers, especially in the exemplar case of Rio de Janeiro - in order to prevent the dissolution of the social order? Thus we have all the ingredients that reproduce and ossify the displacement of social conflicts, of the structure of social inequality to the issue of institutional controls that ensure the daily routines”(p.27).

The authors add that the guidelines that involve tackling the problem were given and, in general, will not allowed “outputs” that may involve the language semantic field of “rights”, “citizenship” and “development.” This logic strengthens itself in view of the considerable increase in violent crime, linked to the drug economy, guarantees the energetic view of the repressive power of the public institutionalism, polarizing the complaint for the excess of force employed by the security institutions, with lower penetration on the public opinion. The degree of legitimacy of the first perspective allows a wide range of autonomy to the institutional apparatuses, supposedly responsible for the “restoration of the social fabric”. Slums therefore comprise an inseparable connection with the “public safety problem” and others poverty areas.

Control strategies of the territory and demonstration of power enthralled by the groups involved in the drug market feature what Machado da Silva (XXXX) understands

as “violent sociability”, when the force appears as the main mediator of actions and does not require a system of justification (Boltanski, XXXX). Due to violent sociability a submission chain establishes itself, formed by the imbalance of the force that articulates the constant threat of rules breaking in the controlled territories, the law of silence, the need to maintain social order is established according to the understanding of these groups or their leaders.

The levels of violence against black and poor in slums and outskirts territories, as indicated by Machado *et al* (2008) hold genocide contours. These crimes are not carried out only by the police but also by militia groups and drug dealers. The Amarildo case, the bricklayer's helper who disappeared in 2013, in the Rocinha slum, and was last seen in the presence of UPP officers, internationalized the case of this type of crime in certain parts of Rio de Janeiro, still today, in the presence of Brazilian democracy. Araújo work (2014) on enforced disappearances recognizes a “social division of labor” between the agents mentioned in acts of disappearance of bodies.

The “violent sociability” can be recognized also in the performance of militia groups. The presence of militias is recorded shyly by the residents of Vila Autódromo and Morro da Providência. Their presence appears as a kind of intimidatory mediation that rebate, even, the way residents register their existence³³.

State forms of illegality (Telles, 2010) relocates the notion in position between the legal and the illegal. They would be, for the author, forces that move and redefine the forms of control and power, enabling even an oscillation of the criteria and evidence incriminating - or not incriminating - certain practices and activities. The State practices (GUPTA, XXXX), do not take place through the illegalities in terms of a “weak” or “failed” state. On the contrary, the illegal dimension, or the “margins” dimension, make up the very form of existence of the State in relation to certain groups and territories. Public policy and public agents performances have the capability to regulatory policies and practices that are the State itself.

³³ There are few works that thematize the relationship of these groups with the local population. It is known that there is control by militias in the unit owners of PMCMV in the west region of the city of Rio de Janeiro, *see* (FAULHAUBER, AZEVEDO, 2015).

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