# VI

## URBAN ISSUE AND PUBLIC SECURITY IN MARÉ SLUM

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## Introduction

This chapter discusses the debate on the urban issue, with emphasis on how state violence manifests itself on the population living in the slums, from the study on the reality of Maré slums, one of the largest slums in Brazil, located in Rio de Janeiro.

We will assume that the slums are constituted as housing spaces of segments of the working class that historically were lateralized by the state regarding quality public policies. Contrary to the thesis that defends its absence, we consider that the State has always been present in these territories through public security through repressive, violent or with insufficient and ineffective social policies. A poor and subaltern policy for an impoverished population.

Therefore, the study of this territory, as an expression of the social issue,[1] explains the dilemmas and contradictions of the urban issue of the city of Rio de Janeiro, considered one of the cities that exemplifies the development of territories.

The starting point of this study is given the light of the thesis of the unequal and combined development of capitalism – studied by different authors who help us understand how urban space is constituted. This text challenges us to think about the set of Maré slums as part of the city, having in the State one of the main conformation and violating agents of rights.

Recent data on public security and state action in Maré explain the structuring perspective of a city that is produced unequal and thus maintained by targeted political action, which is based on low-quality public policies and in the perspective of controlling the living population via consensus and coercion, according to Gramsci (2000).

The survey that we present is originated in the study experience, research and work in the area of urban issues and public security, focusing on the territory of Maré, which reveals, among other things, the necro politics applied by the State.

[1] "As more than the expressions of poverty, misery and 'exclusion.' It condemns the banalization of the human, which attests to the radicality of alienation and the invisibility of social work – and of the subjects who perform it – in the age of fetish capital" (Iamamoto, 2007, p. 125), and in this sense also represents the organization and resistance of broad segments of the working class, that is, inequality and struggle.

## Maré as an expression of the Rio de Janeiro state urban issue

The development of modern cities follows a guiding thread of structuring from the binomial industrialization/urbanization, taking as its axis the process of unequal and combined development of capitalism, as worked by Trotsky (2007) and Lenin (2005). In this process, marked by the needs of capitalist development, the city is formed by different territories, marked by unequal state investment. But, besides the State, other social agents interfere in the construction of spaces, from the intervention in their daily life. Everyday life understood as the space of real production of life, the reproduction of ideology, the construction of social relationships of existence, considering different aspects of life, such as family, school, religion, work, culture and forms of collective organization. In this perspective, the development of public actions and state equipment are essential interlocutors for the process of production and social reproduction of life. Thus, churches, armed criminal groups, social movements, non-governmental organizations, social centers, public equipment, are being built by the forces in dispute in society.

Lefebvre (2008) defends the thesis that the industrialization process that generated urbanization, and that was once prioritized as the central issue in the sociological debate about the city, moves in contemporaneity to the urban problem. According to the author, urbanization quickly becomes a greater issue than industrialization itself, bringing contradictions and consequences to sociability, since it is still an unfinished process. Reflecting on the city,[2] Lefebvre (2008, p. 82) defines it as a set of concepts, in which the same highlights:

> a) The city is a spatial object occupying a place and a situation that must be studied, as an object, with different techniques and methods [...];
> b) In this sense, the city is a mediation between a close order and a distant order. The close order is that of the surrounding countryside that the city dominates, organizes and exploits, extorting from i overwork [...];
> c) The city is a work in the sense of a work of art. Space is not only organized and instituted. It is also modeled and appropriate by this or that group, according to their requirements, their ethics and their aesthetics, that is, their ideology [...]

In this perspective, the group of Maré slums, marked by state interventions and strong organization of residents, is constituted as an expression of the process of unequal conformation of the urban space, delimited by the very conformation of the city of Rio de Janeiro from its historical, political, cultural, and cultural, social and economic traits.

[2] For Lefebvre (2008, p. 84) "[...] the urban is distinguished from the city precisely because it appears and is manifested in the course of the city explosion, but it allows us to reconsider and even understand certain aspects of it that have gone unnoticed for a long time: centrality, space as a meeting place, monumentality etc. Urban, that is, urban society, does not exist yet and however, it exists virtually; through the contradictions among habitat, segregation and urban centrality that is essential to social practice, a full contradiction of meaning is manifested."

## Uneven and Combined Development and Urban Question

Economic development in Latin America and Brazil was distinguished by what Fernandes (1981), Harvey (2004), Ianni (2004) and others call unequal and combined capitalist development. Unequal and combined development because it integrates, at the same time, the advance and modernization caused by capitalist expansion in its different phases, specifically in its industrial monopolist phase, with archaic and conservative social elements.

In the combination between modern and archaic, between developed and pre-developed, internal and external brands are created to countries, with consequences in urban conformation. Social life is organized from the combined process between developed and developing poles, in a movement of interrelationship and mutual dependence in which the wealth and involvement of central countries takes place from the exploitation and generation of wealth of and in the peripheral countries.

The process of unequal and combined development has its origin, in the colonization process, already in the first phase of globalization,[3] as characterized by Santos (2008), when referring to the maritime expansion of the sixteenth century. It is understood that capitalism, as a world process of consolidating social relationships, builds forms necessary for its expansion. In this sense, the world universalization begins in the period of trade or commercial expansion, develops, enhances and matures throughout the phases of capitalist development, until it reaches the end of the twentieth century with technological globalization articulated to the development of neoliberalism.[4]

During the colonization period,[5] the territories are organized differently, without rigor in form and social organization, marking the emergence of the first Brazilian cities. Initially chaired by development of commerce, and later by industrial development, it is only in the twentieth century that cities begin to consolidate. According to Maricato (2008), it is the advent of the free worker, of industrialization and of the republic that drive the organization of cities.

> The urban reforms, carried out in several Brazilian cities between the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, laid the foundations of a modern "trendy" urbanism "a lá mode" of the outskirts. Basic sanitation works were carried out for the elimination of epidemics, at the same time

[3] For Santos (2008, p. 23), a "[...] globalization is, in a way, the culmination of the process of internationalization of the capitalist world. To understand it, as, additionally at any stage of history, there are two fundamental elements to take into account: the state of the techniques and the state of politics." According to the author, the elements that allow us to understand the ongoing globalization process are "[...] the oneness of technique, the convergence of moments, the knowable planet and the existence of a unique motor in history, represented by globalized surplus value. A global market using these systems of advanced techniques results in this perverse globalization" (Santos, 2008, p. 24). To see more about the subject: Harvey (2004), Santos (2008), Netto and Braz (2006).

[4] According to Harvey (2008, p. 12), "[...] neoliberalism is first and foremost a theory of political-economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be better promoted by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and capacities within an institutional structure characterized by sound rights to private property, free markets and free trade." To see more about the neoliberalism: Netto and Braz (2006) and Anderson (1995).

[5] According to Haesbaert (2007, p. 45), "[...] a Marxist, within historical and dialectical materialism, will defend a notion of territory that: i) privileges his or her material dimension, especially in the economic sense, ii) is historically situated and iii) is defined from the social relationships in which it is inserted, that is, it has a clearly relational meaning."

> that landscape beautification was promoted and the legal bases for a capitalist court real estate market were established. The population excluded from this process was expelled to the hills and fringes of the city. Manaus, Belém, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Santos, Recife, São Paulo and specially Rio de Janeiro are cities that have undergone changes that combined environmental sanitation, beautification and territorial segregation in this period (Maricato, 2008, p. 17).

Cities, as a result of the development process, end up being the most tangible expression of urban space, becoming, in some cases, synonymous with urban space. However, it is worth noting that the city, despite being the symbol of the urbanization process, does not represent in an autonomous and in- dependent way the urban space. The city, when it is constituted of different territories, begins to highlight the unequal conformation of the urban space, which is expressed not in the natural geography of the territories, but in its social and urban interventions.

The urban space, defined by Correa (1995, p. 10), as "[...] the set of different uses of land juxtaposed among themselves", reveals the unequal appropriation of the soil, which becomes an important commodity in contemporary capitalist society, and the unequal distribution of socially produced wealth, translated not only by real estate constructions, but also by the distribution of public and private equipment.

The inequality generated in the appropriation and occupation of urban land forms different territories in the city, especially from the process of industrialization, and becomes a milestone in the development of the city. Countries, or agrarian and slave-owners, gradually become urban and industrial, generating the need for different adaptations and transformations.

The cities change from the conformation of new social relationships that cease to be based on agricultural production and become central focus of wealth production, industry. These relationships have a new driving tone and impose a new configuration in the appropriation of space, including from the resizing of the place of residence of workers and owners of the means of production, to the road constitution, the placement of public teams, etc.

The big Brazilian cities went through this process, emblematic from the end of the 19th century, intensified from the century XX. According to Corrêa (1995), the cities began to be divided into: central area, leisure area, cultural area, etc.

> This is what urban space is: fragmented and articulated, reflection and social constraints, a set of symbols and field of struggle. So is the own society in one of its dimensions, the most apparent, materialized in spatial forms (Corrêa, 1995, p. 9).

The development of the Rio de Janeiro urban network takes place in the same sense as that of most Brazilian cities. It begins its expansion from the proximity to the central nuclei, which are formed to access the goods produced, facilitate exchange and circulation. In this sense, as expressed in Corrêa (1995), the city center is forged from the development of trade, industry, transport and social, cultural infrastructure, etc. Based on a common need, access to services and goods, the city develops in an extremely unequal way, especially in the

peripheral countries. Inequality marked by the difference between cities of different countries, between cities of the same country and between territories of a same city. As Corrêa states (1995, p. 7), "[...] it is simultaneously fragmented and articulated: each of its parts maintains spatial relationships with the others, although of very variable intensity".

The variety in the constitution of cities and urban space derives, in other factors, from the following elements:

- Development dependent on peripheral countries;
- State action in the conformation of the space that meets the social and economic institutions of the economically ruling classes;
- Fragmentation of the territories that constitute the same city, in addition to the constitution of the housing sites of segments of the bourgeoisie and of the working class;
- Unequal distribution of public equipment, leisure areas, roads, cultural spaces, etc.

In this sense, the urban space is constituted as a product of the present actions of the State and of the private initiative, but also as a product of past actions that leave marks in its constitution. The city, in addition to promoting the uneven and combined development of the capital, also becomes a producer of meanings, desires, values and identities with the residents of the different territories.

Territories are spaces in which social relationships unfold, from the construction of everyday life. In this sense, Lefebvre (2008) and Santos (2008) claim that the space is built, not born ready, finished. And as Harvey (2004) states, it cannot be defined only by geographical dimensions. It is a challenge to understand the different dimensions that constitute the social relationships producing meanings, identities and relationships that produce the social subjects in the territories. Subjects materialized in social classes, even if they do not develop such consciousness, limiting themselves to a superficial position of understanding and positioning in society.

The territories are constituted from the economic dynamics and also from the identity of its residents. In a dialectical movement, the territoriums are constructed by the real subjects who settle there, with their identities, values, perspectives. At the same time they organize themselves as a space, they produce new[6] identities and subjectivities. In this perspective, the city is not static; on the contrary, it is in constant process of mutation, as it is a product and producer of identities, subjectivities and meanings for urban life.

According to Santos (2007, p. 13), "[...] the territory is the place where all actions, all passions, all powers, all strengths, all weaknesses, that is, where the history of man is fully realized from the manifestations of his or her existence." In this sense, the territories of the city are also the result of disputes and contradictions proper to social relationships, as spaces that embody the existence of the subjects, which explains to us the experience in Rio de Janeiro.

[6] The concept of identity has been discussed since antiquity, not having only one definition, since each area of knowledge defines it from certain parameters. In this work identity is considered as the set of characteristics present in the social relationships of a given group considering social, economic, cultural and territorial aspects that forge their daily lives.

## Rio de Janeiro and the constitution of the Slums space

Rio de Janeiro's experience regarding the genesis and development of slums, as well as in other Brazilian cities, expresses a process of modernization based on segregation and fragmentation of urban space. Rio de Janeiro state's slums appear at the beginning of the last century, parallel to the process of industrialization and urbanization of Brazil, directly linked to the particularity of the Brazilian social formation, which has in its slave roots its greatest expression. In this sense, the origins of Rio de Janeiro state's favelas also carry the mark of a process where the population, especially black, without work, without land, without roof, and the population, is not the same. without employment and housing, it seeks spaces to ensure the social production of life.

The main theoretical productions show that the field-city migration process occurred in Brazil in the late 1930's and early 1940's also influenced the demand for housing. Thus, slopes of the hills and tenements were constituted as a possible place of housing of this population segment that required a place to live.

In Rio de Janeiro, the "Morro da Providencia" is considered by some scholars as the site that, at the end of the 19th century, marked the slums origins. In Valladares' studies (2005), the soldiers returning from the Canudos War[7] settled in that space, building their homes and seeking to pressure the Ministry of War to pay them the wages due. Hence, we have the rapid association between hill and slum before this form of occupation of urban space and the hill/asphalt binomial that in the future would add a stereotyped logic of slum *versus* formal city.

Morro da Providência became known as "Morro da Favella" entering literature and social sciences as the first *favella in* Rio de Janeiro. To this process, Valladares (2005) calls for a "myth of origin", Euclides da Cunha's vision of the village of Canudos in his work "Os sertões*"* express the period in which the *carioca* favela is "discovered". At that time, the main focus of the hygienists was the "tenement". These collective, where people with lower purchasing power lived, were considered by doctors as a great danger to the city due to excessive agglomeration of people in small dormitories, lack of hygiene and, consequently, the proliferation of diseases. According to Valladares (2005, p. 24),

> Defined as a true "social hell", the Rio de Janeiro's tenement was seen as the forerunner of vagabond and crime, as well as a place conducive to epidemics, posing a threat to the social and moral order. Perceived as a space that propagates disease and addiction, it was denounced and condemned through medical and hygienist discourse, leading to the adoption of administrative measures by the city governments.

Since the beginning of the century, the tenements and their demolition have appeared on the political scene as an important issue, which presses governments. With the

[7] The Canudos War, which took place in the period from 1896 to 1897, was a military conflict among the residents of Arraial de Canudos, led by Antonio Conselheiro and the government of the state of Bahia, because the former refused to pay taxes and follow the government guidelines. The conflict came to an end in the third attempt to attack the state's armed forces, reinforced by military personnel sent by the federal government. The Canudos War, according to the author, meant the resistance of the marginalized populations of the northeastern backlands to the social injustices of the time (Moniz, 1987).

impossibility of development of the tenements in the central area of the city, the self-construction of precarious housing on the slopes and the expansion of housing in the suburbs and peripheries of the city occur more intensely where the control of the public power was smaller.

According to Campos (2004), in 1821, the black population constituted almost 60% of the total population of the city of Rio de Janeiro, and about a quarter of that was formed by black people. In his research, the author shows the existence of the relationship between the quilombo and the slum. He also highlights how this relationship is an intrinsic part of an ethnic and geographical-political bond, since both would have been constructed as "criminalized spaces" and that were gradually occupied by people from the slavery process that at the time composed the free labor force.

With the expansion of industrialization, the slums were constituted as a "urban and social problem", which challenged public administration in the first decades of the 20th century. At this juncture, where political and economic changes boosted the migration processes from the countryside to the city, the slums are now included in the public power intervention plans. Thus, progressively, the issue of slums gains attention from the authorities since the process of urbanization and population growth of the city was affected as the process of industrialization progressed. In this sense, the population growth, the difficulty finding cheap housing, the investment in housing policies, drive the formation of irregular housing and settlements, which end up becoming slums very quickly. The impossibility of the formal real estate market to meet the demands of much of the working class expresses the fallacy of the neoliberal model of self-regulation of the market. With this, it "expels" to the most remote and precarious places this large portion of the population.

For Valladares (2005), after the period of "discovery" of the slum, there is a second period in which they will constitute themselves as a social and urban problem, followed by a third moment, when the idea of admitting the problem takes the form of concrete policies and actions. For the author, a fourth moment includes the production of official data through slum censuses and the transformation of a local phenomenon into a national reality, an example of the SAGMAS Report: Human Aspects of the Rio de Janeiro Slums, which is a socio-economic analysis developed by the Society of Graphic and Mechanical Analysis Applied to Social Complexes (SAGMAS). This document, published in 1960, demonstrates the actions aimed at controlling the poor population, and shows the first actions of institutions working in the slums. To this day, as Valla, Algebaille and Guimarães (2011) highlight, this study is considered by many as one of the most exhaustive works carried out in Brazil on slums in Rio de Janeiro.

As Valladares (2005) synthesizes in her studies, it is possible to highlight six main phases in the relationship between the State and the slums in Rio de Janeiro, namely:

> 1st) Years 1930 – beginning of the process of slum-growth of Rio de Janeiro and acknowledgement of the existence of the slum by the Code of Works of 1937; 2nd) Years 1940 – the first proposal of public intervention corresponding to the creation of proletarian parks during the Vargas period; 3 th) 1950 and early 1960 – uncontrolled expansion of slums under the aegis of populism; 4 th) from the mid-1960 until the end of 1970 – elimination of slums and their removal during the authoritarian regime; 5th) Years 1980 – Urbanization of the slums by the

> NHL (National Bank of Housing) and by public services agencies after the return to democracy; 6th) Years 1990 – Urbanization of the slums by the municipal policy of the city of Rio de Janeiro, with the Slum/Neighborhood Program (Valladares, 2005, p. 23)

This reflection adds, in the 2000, the program *Minha Casa Minha Vida*, launched in 2009 during the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2006 and 2007–2010) and maintained in the government of Dilma Rousseff (2011–2014 and 2015–2016), and which was constituted as a great program of popular housing. However, the process depicted above, along with other smaller initiatives, reveals the historical procedurality of the construction of the Rio de Janeiro State's slums, expressing the contradictions typical of the capitalist society. As the city develops, the scarce spaces of public policies and services that enable a dignified life are expanded. In summary, it is a choice for the construction and production of unequal spaces that reiterates the thesis that the capitalism cannot develop without its spatial adjustments, as pointed out by the studies of political geographer David Harvey (2004).

According to Harvey (2004), the capitalism builds a geography marked by inequality that facilitates the accumulation of capital at a given stage in its history, which means producing proletarian territories, devoid of quality goods and services, in places where a significant portion of the population resides. Today, the city of Rio de Janeiro has 1.4 million people living in slums. According to the IBGE Census 2010, considering only the population of this city, about 22.2% of the cariocas, or almost one in five, were slum's residents.

The city of Rio de Janeiro can be considered one of the most unequal cities in Brazil: a municipality that lives without parsimony with millionaire projects such as the City of Music, the Museum of Tomorrow and, at the same time, explicit misery, where more than 15 thousand people are on the street, according to the most recent survey of the State Public Defender Offices[8]. Finally, on the one hand, we have a population chronically lateralized by the State that target low-quality public policies that do not respond to the demands of this segment and, on the other hand, a city produced for the rich.

It is a population that faces, in turn, with neighborhoods that enjoy quality goods and services, such as museums, cultural centers, shopping malls, leisure spaces. And others in which the actions of the State are restricted to the violent action of the police and/or fragile and insufficient social policies, favoring the consolidation of the process of a true social *apartheid*, as it is the case of Maré.

## Some considerations about the Maré Set of Slums

The Maré Complex, considered one of the largest and most populous popular spaces in Rio de Janeiro, is located between Avenida Brasil and the Red Line, on the banks of Guanabara Bay. It is more another expression of the unequal forms of appropriation and occupation of the city.

[8] For more information see: https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio–de–janeiro/noticia/2019/11/21/prefeitura–da–inicio–a– levantamento–para–realizar–o–1censo–da–populacao–em–situacao–de–rua–do–rio.ghtml. Access on: Jul. 13th 2020.

The formation process of the neighborhood was consolidated between the years 1940 and 2000. In its landscape, it insisted, until very recently, the presence of stilt houses. This led to a considerable contrast with the surroundings, as the Maré Complex is reasonably close to Galeão International Airport and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

The population is distributed to 2.91 residents per household in their 16 communities: Marcílio Dias, Praia de Ramos, Roquete Pinto, Parque União, Rubens Vaz, Nova Holanda, Parque Maré, Nova Maré, Baixa do Sapateiro, Morro do Timbó, Bento Ribeiro Dantas, Conjunto Pinheiros, Vila dos Pinheiros, Novo Pinheiros, Vila do João and Conjunto Esperança. It should be noted that within some of these communities other spaces were formed, with the influx of new residents and house constructions, as it is the case of Marcílio Dias, which is now subdivided into Kelson and Mandacaru.

The neighborhood is marked by a disorderly process of occupation and the speed of vertical constructions, mostly devoid of roughcast or any type of finishing. There is great circulation of people and vehicles, an extremely developed trade, with shops, bars, beauty salons, as well as many churches. Marked by a set of characteristics that differentiate it from other spaces in the city, Maré stands out for its organizational capacity, for example, with two population censuses and an[9] Entrepreunerial Census carried out by local organization. The first one, produced in 2003, and the most recent one, started in 2012, performed visits in 92.01% of the 47,758 households in the slums. In this census it was possible to affirm the existence of 139,073 inhabitants, being considered the 9th most populous neighborhood in the city.

Considered as a space marked by violence and devoid of decent living conditions, according to the Maré Census (2013), there are different profiles in the ethnic-racial identification of residents, where 62.1% declared themselves as black or brown. The ethnic-racial profile also varies according to the slums. Nova Holanda has a higher concentration of self-declared black people, while Morro do Timbau has a higher number of white people, compared to the other slums. Most people who live in Maré, 61.8%, say they live on site since they were born, however, the northeast presence is considerable. The Maré Census (2013) points out that 35,884, almost 26% of the total number of residents were born in the Northeast, in the states of Paraíba and Ceará. This population, in general, is in subalternized socio-professional conditions in comparison with those of the other spaces of the city.

If we deal with the total income of the people living there, we identified that this is 49% lower than in the other neighborhoods of the city – considering people of the same education, age and "race", according to a recent study.[10]

The struggle for education is historical among the residents of Maré, a fact that has resulted in the substantial increase in the number of public schools in recent years. The number of schools went from 22 municipal units in 2013 to 44 in 2018. With regard to educational infrastructure, 51 educational units are installed in Maré, 7 kindergartens, 14 Child Development Spaces (EDI), 1 Youth and Adult Education Center (CEJA), 24 Elementary School Units and 5 State Network Units that offer High School.

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[9] Available at: http://mareonline.com.br/wpcontent/uploads/2019/05/ Censo_Empreendimentos_24_julho. pdf. Access on: Jul. 16th 2020.

[10] Data produced by research coordinated by researcher Marceno Neri (FGV) on "Inequality and 'Cariocas Slums'", Available in: https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/desigualdade–o–rio–na–contramao–do–brasil/. Access on: Jul. 16th 2020.

Despite the structural advances, low schooling is also an important factor. The Census reports that 30% of the residents of Maré dwellers attend the school and highlights the chronic situation of school dropout during adolescence, because 19.6% of the adolescents between 15 and 17 years do not attend school. However, in the age group from 6 to 14 years, Maré has a rate of 2% of children outside school, less than the average observed in the municipality, in 2010 by the census, of 3.1%. The percentage of non-literate people in Maré is 6% among people aged 15 years or older, which is more than twice the rate of illiteracy in the city of Rio de Janeiro, 2.8%. The Maré Census was performed in 2013 and the publication used as it is in the bibliography, is 2019, by the institution Rede da Maré, point out that 18.6% of the residents completed only elementary school and 18% completed high school.

While 8% never attended school, only 0.93% finished the undergraduate degree and 0.03% completed their master's degree or doctorate. Of the total, 53.47% of residents of Maré did not complete elementary school.

The absence of quality public policies crosses the daily lives of the population. The majority of the Maré households are deprived of Land title regularization, that is, there is no writing of the properties due to the occupation of the site. Some buildings, such as the Conjunto Nova Maré, for example, were built without slab, floor and with low quality materials. However, this same housing complex, according to Silva and Barbosa (2005), received an international award for the aesthetic appeal of its architectural form inspired by the buildings of Paris, France. It also stands out the fact that families still reside in houses made of cardboard and wood, very common in recent constructions on the edge of Av. Brazil and in the community of Marcílio Dias, which reminds us of the existing stilt houses until very recently. In these houses it is very common to live with rats, the absence of basic sanitation and the difficulties of access to public health, education and transport equipment. Another important element is that 0.3% still do not have piped water and, as for garbage collection, in 26.4% of the houses the residents take the garbage to a collection place and in 71.5% of the households, in which the garbage is collected at the door,[11] frequency is limited during the week.

An important fact is the constant changes of address that are frequent for various reasons, especially: the socioeconomic difficulties, which make families migrate from one state to another, such as the considerable population of the Northeast; the sensitive increase in the price of rent; and the trafficking war produced by armed civilian groups and the ostensive action of the police. The issue of violence, repression, contributes to the construction of an exclusively violent image about the slum. The idea is accentuated by the way the media portrays it, which criminalizes the residents. However, the violence that the State imprints in these territories, by not guaranteeing quality public policies, as in other spaces of the city, is very expressive. There is a real genocide going on to the poor, black and slum-dwellers people that is the expression of the way the state develops public policies in these territories.

[11] For more information see: https://www.redesdamare.org.br/br/info/12/censo–mare. Access on: Jul. 16th 2020.

## State Violence: Public insecurity

The theme of lethal violence, as a public security problem, in the particular case of Brazil, begins to be debated in the field of human and social sciences in the mid-1980, along with the process of redemocratization of the country (Misse, 2006; Soares, 2003; Zaluar, 2007). The growth of the violence in this period of re-democratization, in addition to being related to inflation and unemployment, is also related, according to Caldeira (2000, p. 56), "[...] with the bankruptcy of the judicial system, the privatization of justice, the abuses of politics, the fortification of cities and the destruction of public spaces". In this same vein, Adorno (2002) shows that, in addition to violence in Brazil being a phenomenon determined socio-historically, it is also associated with the crisis of the public security system, the intensification of social inequalities and the weakening of public policies of citizenship rights implemented in the 1980 and 1990.[12]

From another angle, (Zaluar, 2004) demonstrates, through empiric data, that during the process of re-democratization there was a change in "[...] transnational crime organization that affected mainly metropolitan regions and, in them, the popular neighborhoods and slums" (Zaluar, 2004, p. 210). According to Magaloni, Beatriz, Franco and Melo (2018), the inefficiency of the state's performance in terms of guaranteeing the right to public safety in the slums and popular spaces, it is correlated with the emergence of the organization and strengthening of armed groups that commercialize illicit drugs in retail and establish forms of regulation of public space and social order. In the author's assessment, as the state perceives the armed groups as a real threat, it declares a "war against crime", which is reverberated in war against the territories and those who inhabit it.

Soares and Guindani (2007), when looking at the selective responses of the State and society to the manifestations of criminal violence, in contemporary Brazil, indicate the need to understand the process that many authors have designated as an "authoritarian way of developing capitalism"[13] in the country, which has bequeathed to us the tradition of the pact of elites and of the business transitions, whose counterpart has always been the impoverishment, of a sharp cut of management and race, of the subaltern classes. In other words, the slow crime, as an expression of structural violence, is intrinsic to the process of formation of racism and patriarchy in Brazilian society, being present in authoritarian logics and cultural imposition from the time of colonization to the present day (Guimarães, 2004). There is an explicit and historical expectation of more order and more social control over the unwanted poor, black people from slums and the outskirts, through ostentatious policing,

[12] The studies indicate that a set of factors may have contributed to the growth of the rates of lethal violence, between the period 1980 to 2000, when it presents growth in other forms of violent crime, especially those enhanced by the policy of war on drugs, expanding and diversifying the group of people involved in selective and racist criminal policies. According to the literature, what characterizes the context of the years 1990–2000 is an intensification of the phenomenon in urban areas and explicitly, in full force of the democratic regime, and the formation of criminal organizations (Soares; Guindani, 2007).

[13] The authors indicate a list of theorists on the subject: Carlos Nelson Coutinho, José Paulo Netto, Florestan Fernandes, Otavio Guilherme Velho, Luiz Jorge Werneck Vianna, Simon Schwartzman, Raymundo Faoro. They highlight that the terminology was more varied than the semantic substance of the concept and oscillated according to the theoretical-political affiliation that the author privileged. They also highlight that other scholars of culture interpreted the historical model highlighting the phenomena of "ambivalence" and "syncretism", by different and sometimes opposite angles: Sergio Buarque de Holanda, Gilberto Freyre, Roberto Schwartz, Roberto Da Matta, Luis Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, Ricardo Benzaquem de Araújo, Kant de Lima, among others (Soares; Guindani, 2007).

understood as synonymous with public security. This demand sensitizes the media and the institutions that make up the justice and security system, which are pressured to meet the cry of the Brazilian elite.

In this perspective, it is important to point out, in this article, how the[14] criminal policy systems in Brazil are reproducing the conservative and authoritarian biases of the autocratic State, ubiquitous in the social and political formation of the country. It is verified that a dominant ideological aspect, in the name of "Public Security" and very distant from the democratic logic that guides principles and guidelines of other public policies[15] in the field of Social Security, induces (and reproduces in) the persecution of "dangerous black young people" and in fighting war against territories ("risky slums") that supposedly threaten the established order. In other words, the fragile democracy in force in Brazil, after the 1988 Constitution, has not yet been experienced by the slum dwellers. In this territory, physical and symbolic violence and violations of rights, practiced daily by public security agents, are still presented as a rule.

According to Soares (2006), public security policy, in general, is inefficient in prevention and qualified repression, research and understanding of the indispensable trust of the population. The police have no evaluation and planning practices and spaces of dialog with civil society that can create diagnoses on the problems of violence and effective ways of coping with them. The author analyzes the police as "[...] reactive, inertial and fragmentary machines, registered in a disjointed and inorganic institutional environment, governed by rigid and inadequate legal frameworks" (Soares, 2006, p. 100). In addition, public security institutions still presented significant[16] responses to the assimilation of the new standards and values of Human Rights and the Democratic State[17] of Law, as we will see below in the case of Fluminense police.

## Police and armed violence in the Maré Set of Slums

The territory that makes up the 16 Maré Set of Slums is one of the spaces of the city where structural and institutional racism is reproduced (Almeida, 2018) through armed violence that directly impacts the lives of the population. Even with all the social equipment and the significant process of struggles, the Maré slum residents have experienced for more than three decades a situation of extreme instability before the urban violence. Armed groups linked to international drug and arms trafficking began to exercise territorial control and regulate social relationships in various communities in Maré. Even in the late 1990's, groups of militiamen were also present in some communities, playing the role of controllers

[14] Criminal policy systems, according to Delmas–Marty, Mirelle (1992), involve criminal and extra criminal policies for crime prevention, public security policies, the prison system and the socio-educational system (Guindani, 2015).

[15] The process of reconstruction of our incipient Brazilian democracy, which has been underway since the late 1980's, has been characterized by incongruities, especially in relation to the democratic logic that guided other public policies, especially in the areas of health and social assistance, as in the cases of the Unified Health System and the Unified Social Assistance System (Guindani, 2015).

[16] See Analysis on resistances to the implementation of the Single Public Security System (SUSP) in Soares (2006).

[17] The defense of human rights, including human freedom (physical integrity of citizens), political rights and civil liberties, is one of the most widely used indicators to measure the level of a democracy. These rights relate mainly to the administration of access to justice, with equality before the law, access to an impartial and independent judiciary, protection against arbitrary detention and torture, mechanisms for control against corruption, etc. (Azevedo, 2005).

of certain illicit activities, such as irregular transport and security services for the region's merchants.

The State, in turn, does not present itself through effective public policies that may break the cycle of violence in that territory. The policy of "war on drugs" incorporated the process of militarization of political actions in Maré and thus developed a series of violations of the rights of the perpetrators, which are constantly suffering from police interventions and other armed confrontations where they live and paralyze them in their day-by-day activities.

Under the argument of confronting armed groups that operate in the region, the State operates from a series of rights violations, from the establishment of public services to the violations of individual rights, through invasions of domicile, threats, physical, verbal and psychological aggressions, among others. The logic of action of public security policy is characterized by punctual actions, through police operations marked by intense armed conflicts. Police actions usually happen at school entrance and exit times, where many children and adolescents travel through the streets and are at risk of life, affecting access to the right to health and education.

Data from the Public Security Institute of the State of Rio de Janeiro (ISP, 2020) indicate a trend in the state of violent lethality fall in recent years. Violent deaths that accounted for 6,714 cases in 2018 decreased to 5,964 (11%) in 2019. However, in the same period, there was an increase of 18% of deaths by intervention of security professionals in certain regions of the city, such as the Maré neighborhood. In the city there were 1,810 deaths committed by police intervention, compared to 1,534 in 2018. This practice of police action in Rio de Janeiro impacts, in this sense, directly in the violation of fundamental rights of the poor, black people and slum-dwellers population, especially the right to life and access to justice.

According to information extracted from the Bulletin Right to Public Security in Maré, which exposes the data of armed violence in numbers, "[...] between 2016 and 2019, 132 lethal victims were counted, 121 people injured by firearms [...]" (Redes da Maré, 2020, p. 8) arising from police operations in the Maré slums.

In 2018, 16 police operations were carried out which resulted in the total in 19 people killed, 10 people injured, 10 days of school closure and 11 of health agencies (Redes da Maré, 2019, p.3). Of the 19 deaths by intervention of state agents (ISP index), only three had real expertise. This year, the rate of this type of death in Maré was 13.7 per 100 thousand inhabitants, while the rate of the state and the municipality are, respectively, 9.0 and 8.4 (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 8). Of the 16 operations, none was carried out in Roquete Pinto and Praia de Ramos that are controlled by paramilitary groups (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 5). There were 27 clashes between armed groups that accounted for 5 people dead and 7 injured but did not impact the functioning of schools and health facilities (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 3). In addition, 41 people reported violations of rights of Redes da Maré, 15 people reported verbal/psychological violence/threat, 12, physical violence/torture, and 8, private prison, among other types of violations (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 7). People of the male sex represent 96% of the victims, 79% are black people, and 72% are aged between 13 and 29 years. The lives of children, even, have been taken away by State agents (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 9).

In 2019, 39 police operations were carried out, 13 with the use of helicopter, which resulted in a total of 34 people killed (greater number since 2016) and 30 injured by firearms, in addition to having impacted the closure of schools (24 days) (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 6) and Basic Health Units (25 days), with impact on 15,000 visits that were no longer carried out (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 7). The increase in police operations and their lethality is represented in the rate of deaths by intervention of State agents, which in 2019 was 23.4/100,000 inhabitants, while in the state the rate was 10.5 and in the municipality of 10.9 for every 100,000 inhabitants (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 19). This year, 20 actions were also recorded among armed groups that totaled 15 people killed, 15 injured and 117 days of shootings in different Maré slums (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 5).

The reports of rights violations were higher in 2019, 30 of which were caused by armed groups and 110 by state agents, totaling 140 complaints. Of these 110, 89 people reported that the violations were committed by agents of the Military Police and 21 of the Civil Police (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 14). A preferred target of these violations of law by state agents, 58% of victims are women (Redes da Maré, 2019, p. 15).

The most affected groups were repeated as in 2018. People of the male sex represent 94% of the victims, 96% are black people, and 85% are aged between 15 and 29 years. A very significant fact in 2019 is that 100% of people killed in police operations were black or brown, opening up institutional racism embedded in public security policy.

According to the 8th Edition of Boletim de Olho no Corona!", produced by Redes da Maré, in the first half of 2020 there were 11 possible operations that resulted in 12 injured people and 4 people murdered. The bulletin draws attention to the fact that these actions have become even more damaging with the onset of a pandemic, bringing more complex impacts, since they limit the mobility of residents across the territory, interrupt the care of health units, cause panic and affect the mental and emotional health of the dwellers.

From the scenario of violations of rights instituted due to the pandemic of the new coronavirus, residents of the slums, the public, organizations and social movements requested the suspension of police operations. Minister Edson Fachin of the Federal Supreme Court on June 6th, in a preliminary ruling, ordered the suspension of police operations in Rio de Janeiro slums during the pandemic period, except in cases of exception. According to the minister, in these cases, care should be taken not to put at even greater risk the population, the provision of public health services and the performance of humanitarian aid activities carried out by residents and organizations working in these territories.

When comparing the impacts of armed violence in the period of social isolation between 03/16 and 06/20 this year, with the same period of 2019, according to a survey by Redes da Maré, police operations reduced from 16 to 4 and, as a result, the number of deaths due to these actions fell from 15 to 1, the number of firearm injuries reduced from 19 to 7, and the days without care in health units fell from 9 to 3. In this sense, when comparing the two periods, it is estimated that 14 lives were saved (Redes da Maré, 2020).

## The right to life amid the "necro politics."

On May 6th, 2019, a large police operation took place in Conjunto Esperança, one of Maré's slums. On that occasion, a helicopter along with two armored cars, trapped four people linked to a criminal group, who entered a resident's house. In this house, when

confronted by the police, the young people threw their weapons on the ground and surrendered with their hand up. Even acting in this way they were executed by the police in the presence of the residents. Their bodies were dragged from the third floor of the house and placed inside the armored car. Soon after, in this same operation, the deaths of four more people were recorded, in the same street where the previous four homicides occurred. That is, in just one day, on a street, eight young people, mostly black, were murdered by agents who should protect their rights (Redes da Maré, 2019).

The fact narrated exemplifies the farce of constitutional rights and the illegality of the State. Democracy in Brazil is geographically and racial unequal, and with regard to public security policy this inequality is enhanced. The report demonstrates, among other violations of rights, a challenge to the right to life and expertise, without constraints on the part of the agents. Although the State carries out police operations in the slum territories outside the legislation, the truth is that these actions end up representing normality. It does not fit the case law, but its everyday practice makes them establish themselves as a model of public safety.

The state political power appropriates death as an object of public management. A management called by Mbembe (2018) "necro politics", which is essentially linked to structural oppressions of race, class and gender. The control of life in the hands of the State is characterized not only by death itself, but also by generating conditions that favor it. Thus, the State decides who dies, how he or she dies and under what conditions the same dies.

The "necro politics" is directed mainly to the slums and popular spaces, where the democratic state does not prioritize the lives of the population, but rather its extermination. Police operations have used force as the first and almost only instrument of intervention in the slums. These interventions characterized by the disqualification, inconsequence and illegality of the action that negatively impact the lives of residents and does not guarantee the right to public safety, on the contrary, appear as the main instrument of violation of rights.

## Conclusive reflections

The Brazilian cities are today the urban expression of a society that has never managed to overcome its colonial heritage to build a society that would distribute its wealth nesses less unevenly. Its construction was marked by the concentration of land, income and power, by the exercise of coronelism, favor policy and arbitrary application of the law. With the intensity of urbanization, differentiated spaces are produced, identifying their residents differently, being divided between center and periphery.

Socio-spatial segregation is one of the main marks of racial inequality engendered in Brazilian cities developed in a specific context of peripheral capitalism. The management of public policies by the State in segregated regions of the city, such as the slums and popular spaces, is guided by the illegality of actions and has violence as the main element.

From the data of armed violence in Maré, it is noticed that the lives of the almost 140 people living in Maré, especially young black people, are not protected, in practice, by any constitutional provision. It is urgent to build mechanisms that guarantee the collective and individual rights of the residents of Maré and other slums of Rio de Janeiro. Mechanisms that expand forms of access to justice, democratic spaces and social participation and collaborate to reduce police violence in the slums and the outskirts.

Within the limits of bourgeois democracy, a police model is possible that values the reduction of damage and institutional racism, provided that it focuses its function on guaranteeing the fundamental rights of all citizens and integration with people. A police highly trained to see society as a conflict environment in which the problem of violence and crime is complex, so public security must pass through the social and cultural sphere. Therefore, democracy requires police action that does not restrict itself to the function of guaranteeing public order only in repressive actions, but essentially with the protesting function of the citizen in an environment of conflict.

To build efficient mechanisms to reduce police violence; to prioritize the prevention and investigation of crimes against life; to act in the control of firearms, reducing their availability; to create social prevention programs of violence; to think about release from prison and adopt drug policies that protect those affected by systemic violence are essential measures to think about a model of public safety that prioritizes life. Such measures shall be accompanied by social control and transparency of information. To stop the tragedy of crimes against life is a necessary condition for building a democratic society.

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