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Abstract

Rio de Janeiro started in 2008 to install Police Pacification Units (UPPs) in favelas in Rio which were formerly run either by so called drug- gangs. Now in May 2014, 37 police units have been installed and more are to come. In being able to understand where the policy of pacification came from and where it leads, there is need for a broader research than a traditional security analysis. The UPPs are not only a provider of security for the population but also an instrument for urban development

The situation as it was in many favelas of Rio, a history of drugs, weapons, child soldiers, fear, execution of innocents and stray bullets was unbearable. The authorities reconquering the favelas were necessary. Anyhow, the UPPs did not come as a result of sovereignty being threatened, rather a combination of many factors, most prevailing hosting of several mega-events as the immediate precedent.

These mega events have paved the way for changes in urban managements a model based on a neo liberal model of entrepreneurship. In being able to show the city to the world, security needed be assured.

The UPPs have followed in the same direction, change patterns of sociability, working with formalization of economy and the same time doing everything possible to ensure peace, so that the neoliberal city can be successful. The UPP has blurs out the border between civilian and military, putting them in a position to secure the development they want.

Declaration

I, Steinar Rusten Grastveit, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Rio de Janeiro started in 2008 to install Police Pacification Units (UPPs) in favelas in Rio which were formerly run either by so called drug- gangs. Now in May 2014, 37 police units have been installed and more are to come. In being able to understand where the policy of pacification came from and where it leads, there is need for a broader research than a traditional security analysis. The UPPs are not only a provider of security for the population but also an instrument for urban development. Further, the local UPP commander becomes the main authority within his area, taking the lead role in social development on a local scale, being responsible for the production of governable subjects. While issues regarding security are regarded apolitical (Buzan et al. 1998), a change in governance regime together with social changes locally, are highly political.

The security policy of UPPs implemented in a pre- mega events context in Rio de Janeiro takes part in a larger change in urban management. That together with their role within local social development they control take part in a reconfiguration of the society towards a more noe- liberal regime

I will use theories of the Security Development nexus to understand how the UPPs are perceived so important by policy- makers in order to achieve the development that they want, and how soft talking together with a big stick creates an environment for highly efficient, yet undemocratic changes in urban governance that undermines UPPs goal of social integration.

I will second use data from my own field- work in Rio de Janeiros' first favela, Morro da Providência, in addition to is in now. Backed by Braathen et al. (2013) recent study it seems reasonable to believe that the settlement is going through a forced gentrification. What does this reconfiguration consist in and where does it come from?

In an ever more blurry relationship between security and development, the UPP were born. They were the result of both a need for public security and a change in urban management paradigm under the pretext of urgency created by the preparations for the mega- events. According to Commander in Chief of UPP in Providência, Captain Glauco Schorcht, the community police has two main priorities; 1. To ensure immediate public security and, 2.

Organize preventive action – wanting more than anything new schools for the kids for them to take part in “any kind of positive activity”.

I will argue that there is a (permanent) state of exception that has legitimized the invasion of the favela and will explore how this state of exception arose. By using historical data, I will argue that a many of the policies today are consistent with policies over the last century. However, as Vainer, Mascarenhas and Freeman argues, the Olympic games have created new openings for the city of exception, were neo- liberal urban policies like public- private partnerships and non- democratic decisions are made in favor of a flexible, ad hoc decision making processes that is working in favor for capital and entrepreneurism.

1.2 Research questions

How can the concept of *the security- development nexus* and *modernity* help to explain the pre-2016 Olympic Games- policies addressing the favelas in Rio de Janeiro?

How does the UPP as a security actor affect the socio- economic reconfiguration of Morro da Providência?

Key concepts: Security - development, pacification, urban management, gentrification, neo-liberalism,

2.0 Methods

2.1 Research context

In 2010 I was a student in at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, living in a small and relatively safe favela called Parque da Cidade for one semester. This was crucial for me in being able to both speak Portuguese and getting to know both people and the way of the city. Before arrival I was aware of the high incidents of violence in Rio de Janeiro. At the same time as I learned that the imagery of a violent city with dangerous favelas needed to be fragmented and revised, a brutal reality was still present. In the news we hear about wars between gangs, helicopters being shot down when trying to interfere only kilometers from my home. The gangs are burning buses in my own neighborhood for the same reasons. On the other hand I learn the stories of Candelaria- killings; a police force executes street- kids without any particular reason but removing unwanted elements from the city. The brutality executed by the Military Police special- forces (BOPE) in the very much praised Tropa de Elite movies, scared and engaged far beyond the Brazilian borders.

By that time of my first stay in Rio, the UPPs had already been installed in some favelas. Despite the rather brutal pictures on the news of police and military troops occupying the favelas with tanks and helicopters prior to the installment of the pacification police, the UPPs were seemingly a dramatic improvement and change in public security policy and the treatment of the poor.

Most of my research was conducted within the favela, Morro da Providência (the Providência Hill only Providência). I chose this particular favela, primarily because of the specifics of the favela, but also because I got invaluable tips and information from Einar Braathen at Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) guiding me in the direction of using Morro da Providência as a case.

Providência was the very first favela. It is situated in the harbor area of the city center, and has got about 4000 inhabitants. Until 2010, the favela, or community, was controlled by a criminal gang closely related to drug- trafficking called Comando Vermelho (CV), the Red Command. At this time the area was regarded dangerous both for the residents, but especially for outsiders due to shoot- outs between gang and police, between gangs and regulations set by the drug- lords. After the installation of a Pacifying Police Unit (UPP), the area is regarded less dangerous and is considered relatively safe also for foreigners.

The community is now in the middle of a process of urban upgrading, where several infrastructure projects are taking place. In the process, some dwellers have already been removed, and some fear removals due to the construction of new infrastructure, and also having houses in areas that by the government are regarded unsuitable due to high risk of landslides. A gondola was planned to open in the beginning of 2013, but has been postponed due to trials involving people who are resisting removals. UPP has now been present for about three and a half years, at the same time as there are still two and a half years until the 2016 Olympic Games.

During a period of about seven weeks, from January to March in 2013, I conducted my field research in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

2.2 Selection of methods

My starting point for this thesis was that I was interested in understanding the relationship between the UPPs and the societies, and understand better the socio-spatial reconfiguration of the community. After extensive reading on theories of security, and the security-development nexus and addition to a lot of case-specific literature, I travelled to the field, without knowing exactly what I would find. Even though having spent quite some time in Brazil on beforehand, I was unsure what would seem relevant, and this constructionist approach that I chose allowed me to understand what was important while doing the field-work, instead of trying to understand irrelevant matters.

I have primarily used semi-structured interviews, but I have also done participant observation, informal interviews and had good use of second hand data, either from articles, official statistics or videos.

As any research methods, the choice of a qualitative approach has its strengths and limits. The major weakness of any qualitative study is a lack of generalizability from the study. In order to minimize this weakness, I have at times used triangulation – comparing my findings to other sources data (either from qualitative or quantitative research) to back my data. However, I chose this type of methods for various reasons. As already mentioned, I was not sure about which topics that would be relevant until I started talking to people in the neighborhood I was conducting my research. Further, I wanted in-depth answers and pave the way in order to be able to see through their as best as possible. Through these tools, I hope that my research can shed some new light on existing theories, and the in-depth data that I do have should create a good match between the observation and theories developed. (Bryman 2012)

2.3 Interviews

All of my formal interviews during the field- work were semi-structured interviews. I made a rough interview guide, with questions regarded to various topics, and changed my guide, depending on who I talked to and also reviewed how the different questions worked. The semi- structured interview allowed me to go in depth into themes that were interesting to talk to the various actors about, as well as it gave me a frame, making sure that I talked to all of the actors about the same topics.

I recorded 11 interviews used a combination of purposing sampling methods, and talked with representatives from local civil society, a local shopkeeper, the captain of the UPP in Providência, a professor and people I bumped into by coincidence in the streets. I wanted to make sure that I got to talk to both representatives from the police and civil society, but also that I talked to regular people that I found on the streets. The people I did talk to were not chosen entirely by coincidence, but also that I regarded them interested in answering my questions. This is of course a weakness since it excluded many people that I either did not dare to talk with or that seem unlikely to want to talk to me.

I further used participatory observation, taking part in reunions of a local civil society organization called Forum Comunitário do Porto and not least I had the time to walk in the streets, having informal conversations and informal interviews with people that did not want to go on tape. Of the most important was there mere observation of the reconfiguration in the community. Unfortunately, only one of my interviewees was a woman, namely the leader of the Residents Association in Providência.

2.4 Transcribing and coding

I conducted all of my interviews in Portuguese. When I started transcribing, I started doing that in Portuguese, with the intention to translate in English on a later occasion. I understood fast however, that due to being very time consuming; I started to translate and transcribe in the same process.

I decided to do color coding by themes, more or less ignoring the questions asked, but rather go into the content of what was answered. I used more or less the same coding systems as the themes that I had for the interview guide.

2.5 Language and culture

While working with this thesis I have used Portuguese extensively. Numerous of the articles that I have read are in Portuguese, all interviews and mail correspondence during my field-work have been conducted in Portuguese and not least, all translation, both from my interviews and quotes from articles are my translations. My proficiency in Portuguese is good, but not excellent, meaning that content may have been misinterpreted during the process.

Even though there were misunderstood words in between, the meaning was practically always understood. The advantage with both interviews and articles compared to a regular conversation has been that I have always been able to go back to the source material and try to understand the exact words of particular importance. Translation is, anyhow, a difficult task. When in doubt, I have chosen rewriting to keep semantic information rather than concentrating on syntax.

As an interviewer it is important not to mislead or persuade the research participants to say something that is not intended. At the same time, I wanted the participant to cover my fields of interest. This process definitely became more difficult, both due to language and cultural limitations.

2.6 Other challenges and limitations

At the time of arrival I was hoping to interview relevant representatives from local government, both politicians, bureaucrats and the UPP, NGOs, scientists based in Rio de Janeiro and not least, many local inhabitants. At the time I did not know anybody living in Morro da Providência nor working with the issue. My intentions were to find a place to stay within the community during my field-work. Unfortunately, this proved difficult due to the fact that there are no local hostels, I was lacking local contacts and considering that Providência is a relatively popular area with a limited number of spare rooms. I believe this could have given me more natural meeting points with people in the community and could have given me more accurate descriptions of the situation. I managed anyway to stay at a friend's place in downtown Rio de Janeiro, about 30 minutes by foot from Providência. Morro da Providência is at times considered relatively safe, so I was more worried about getting to and from since it involves walking through the area of the central station in Rio de Janeiro. I therefore visited Providência mostly at daytime.

2.7 Ethics

Knowing that security might be a theme that can be constraining for some, and in order to do as much as possible to ensure that the people that I interview should feel free to say whatever they wished to say, I informed most of my informants before the interview that I would anonymize them. However, two of my informants, the commander in chief of UPP Providência and the leader of the residents association, were interviewed more because of their profession, rather than being people experiencing the changes in Providência, and I therefore asked for permission to write their names.

3.0 Main part

3.1 Theories of Security and Development

3.1.1 Recent reconfiguration of “security”

Security in itself was reconfigured in a post- cold war setting. While international security analysis during the cold war were dominated by realists analyzing power relations between states, or put more bluntly, were “counting bullets” to find out whether the US or the USSR would win a potential WWII, a post- cold war security analysis has become more contextual and holistic. There were several reasons for this change to happen. One was the vacuum that arose within intelligence and security institutions after the cold war, and a need from within security institutions to redefine what security was. Furthermore, increased globalization and reconfiguration of power between both state- and non- state- actors led to a situation where conflicts and conflict solutions were regarded more intricate and fragmented. Actors in conflicts were not necessarily states, but could just as well be political or religious terrorist groups, drug- traffickers or pirates often with influences far beyond their immediate geographic location. These supposedly more complex “new wars” or “new conflicts” was provoking a demand for new and more complex solutions for both preventing and solving conflicts (Amer et al. 2012).

The Copenhagen school (Buzan et al. 1998) have been central in redefining security and their *New Framework for Analysis of Security* in a context of international relations has been an important contribution to this academic debate. They were here seeking to map the challenges that security- academics met in a new world order. According to them, the traditionalists were arguing for strictly military- political analysis of security. At the same time, academics from social sciences have been seeking to widen the scope of security studies, applying security status for economic, environmental and societal issues like environmental- or human security (Buzan et al. 1998). While traditionalist critique of a wider agenda is mostly preoccupied with a potential intellectual incoherence within security studies, Buzan et al. (1998:4) raise a more important concern; understanding that securitization means both de- politicizing and calls for state mobilization that “*may be counterproductive and undesirable for the issue*”. He continues arguing that the aim should be desecuritization rather than the opposite, to move issues out of emergency mode and into a normal bargaining process.

The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force. Traditionally, by saying “security” a state representative declares an emergency condition, thus claiming a right to use whatever means are necessary to block a threatening development. (Buzan et al. 1998)

According to Buzan et al. (1998), «security» should only be used as long as the existence of a referent object is at stake. One can implement security efforts if the sovereignty of a state is threatened. The questions that arise from this logic are many. Can a nation securitize its culture if it is threatened? Can a state of emergency be triggered by high CO₂- emission that according to the IPCC threatens life on earth as we know it today? How do you relate to economy? Can a potential collapse in the global economy trigger a state of emergency, or what if a country’s potential economic growth is in danger of not fulfilling its potential? Buzan would reject most of these questions, but they still illustrate some difficulties in where to draw the line for securitizing an issue and initiate a state of exception.

3.1.2 Redefining development

Development in a context of international development studies used to define the state of a continent, country or group of people. Ontologically, to develop means to change and further implicates improvement. This claim, that it is possible to move from a worse condition into a better, implicates that some people are more developed than others; one can even say that some people are developed and others are backwards, primitive or underdeveloped.

While disagreeing on why some countries are developed and others are underdeveloped, both of the two classic development theories, modernization theory and dependency theory, accepts the evolutionist understanding of the term, using economy as their main referent object. Later development theories and policies reflect more diverse definitions, focusing on human rights or physical well-being. These ideas have materialized into international policies like the United Nation Millennium Development Goals that includes amongst other gender equality and measures of health and education. The discussion continues though, whether one should measure development by GDP, GDP per capita, HDI (which includes measures of wealth, education and health), the Gini- index (measure of inequality), various indexes of happiness or freedom or with a combination of these and others. Still, economic measures are often used to define level of development due to both the relative ease of quantification, not least

that it is still regarded important or crucial in order to ensure and improve people's well-being, both on an individual, national or supranational level.

If defining development is contested, the question of how to develop is not less contested. Depending on the actors' ideology, political references and definitions of development, policies are being made in order to improve the situations of countries, regions or people, often by national or international agencies. A classic example are the Bretton Woods institutions (WTO, IMF and the World Bank), famous for promoting neo-liberal policies like deregulation and privatizations, or the structuralist policies of import substitution industrialization promoted by many Latin-American governments after the great depression.

As understood from its various definitions, development is not an objective quantity, and neither are the policies and tools of to achieve it, Duffield (2007:2) describes development as *"a series of techniques and interventions for improving or bettering others"*. This rather provocative definition illustrates some of "developments" challenges. First of all, if these "others" belong to a different political entity, development actors place themselves in danger of disturbing the sovereignty of these "others". More important in this thesis however is the power relations implicated. There is an acting part, powerful enough to define and implement the development objectives and policies, and the passive "beneficiary", which can only respond by negotiate, accept or protest. Their channels of reaction can again be limited by the development actor.

Internal conflicts and urban crime in poorer countries in the 1990s attracted attention to a causal link between economic inequality, underdevelopment and poor government as root causes of conflict and crime (Buur et al. 2007:9). The same links have been made in the explanation of terrorism post 9/11. While poverty is not held responsible for terrorism, it is argued that poverty fosters exclusion and alienation, that terrorists again use gain support (Duffield 2007:2). As a consequence, so called underdevelopment is becoming, not only tragic for the underdeveloped, but dangerous to others. Famines and natural disasters consequently become a potential threat, calling for interventionism often with a rationale of enlightened self-interest instead of human being in danger. Development has become a precondition for security, and the role of both "development" and development actors are being redefined. Duffield (2007) argues that the role of development actors is being radicalized, incorporating security as a new area of interest. Buur et al. (2007) refer to this process as securitization of development. The word *security* works like a magic potion for

attracting attention, concern and urgency to a matter. Furthermore, a securitized issue becomes a de-politicized issue (Buzan et al. 1998); due to the perceived urgency, the issue is removed from conventional democratic processes and being brought into an exclusive political sphere of decision-making for rapid and efficient decisions.

3.1.3 Security- development

According to McNeish og Lie (2010) the linkage between security and development is often traced back to former US president Harry Truman's inaugural speech in 1949, but has not received significant attention from scholars and policy makers until the last decades. While the security- development nexus has a longer history, recent attention has been given from policymakers like the UN, OECD, European Council and the UNPD, think tanks like IPA and CIDCE and researchers like Duffield (2007), Buur et al. (2007), McNeish og Lie (2010) and Amer et al. (2012) confirms that the topic has become commonplace.

A central figure amongst the writers on the topic is the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (1998; 2008) and his philosophical analysis of the increasingly blurred line between public and private and the implications on states relation to its population. Agamben explains how Aristotle in the cradle of democracy differentiated between the naked or private life and the public life. Politics should regulate the public sphere, while the naked life remained a private concern. In contrast, we see today an increasing acceptance of state involvement in the private sphere. Title, name or reputation created the basis for public identities. Provoked by a perceived need for catching criminals, methods of identification have changed severely. Biometric data like fingerprints, iris or DNA, representing our most private features, are now in national archives all over the world. At the same time, internet and video technology have paved way for surveillance and storing of private data. The result of these and other processes is that the people, rather than being considered active decision-makers in a democracy are reduced into potential law-breakers that should be controlled in the modern surveillance society of today. Agamben further believes that the states need for control of its population has become so severe that the state of exception has now become permanent, not necessarily as a response to an immediate threat to any specific referent object, rather as a preventive policy.

How much should the state control in order to secure the wellbeing of its people? How much surveillance of innocent should be accepted to secure that the guilty are being caught. In a market economy, where on actors compete about perceived information, where it is essential

is to secure private property rights and freedoms from constraints of trade. How much control of people can justify the perceived benefits from attracting investment, economic growth and higher living standards for parts of the population? To what degree can hard power be used to secure this positive representation?

Duffield is highly critical to western interventionism and is highly critical to “*development as it is more interested in examining the role and function of these technologies in securing the western way of life*” (Duffield 2007:2). He argues that while development previously was an issue of economic growth, the nexus has created a radicalization of development that uses both military and civilian efforts to control how people live their lives, under the flag of enlightened self- interest

Duffield (2007:16) refers to development as “*a regime of biopolitics that generically divides humankind into developed and underdeveloped species-life.*” As development is not objective, it exists to improve others, in the eyes for the developer. The underdeveloped should become equally good, or worthy as the developer – and being able to do that, he obviously needs to change to be more like “us”.

Poor, or underdeveloped people, that are considered more disposed to take part in affairs considered security threats, like terrorism or as in the case of Rio de Janeiro, to become a members of a violent gang. On the other hand, development is regarded almost impossible in areas of high insecurity, like a war zone or an area of high homicide rates. The merge between security and development manages to create more attention on development, but also legitimizes the use of security measures to protect the rest of the population from the poor or underdeveloped. To securitize something, is according to the Copenhagen School “*the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics.*” (Buzan et al. 1998:23). A securitization of poverty will then legitimize that the government treat poor people “beyond the established rules”.

Stepputat (in McNeish & Lie 2010) argues that one of the problems on an international scale is that distinction between civilian and military blurs out. Using examples from Afghanistan he explains how.

The history of development is also a history of balancing between emancipation and control, between the forces that strives for both individual and collective freedom, and the fear that

drives society towards control and order. Development can mean both human well-being and freedom, but it can also mean social and political control, often at the odds of wider ideas of democracy and choice. These do not necessarily contradict, rather complement each other. The Brazilian flag has written three words that refer directly to this tension between security and development – it says “Order and Progress”. In the next chapters I will explain the origin of the expression and go forward to describe the first urban city reforms in Rio de Janeiro

3.1.4 Order and progress

Adam Smith believed that all countries, through the natural liberty of free trade, would obtain consequent progress without recession. All societies, rich as poor would move through stages, from hunting and gathering societies to industrialized manufacturing societies. The recipe was trade, based on a morality of individual self-maximization or the natural liberty of foreign trade. Smith was anyhow worried about the Hobbesian problem of how to maintain social and political order to be able to continue progress towards a manufacturing society. From start off, he was optimistic, but his thoughts were challenged by the social unrest in England at the time, not least the French Revolution following the industrial revolution. (Cowen & Shenton 1995)

For Smith, order and security was needed to protect private property, to make sure that trade could continue and humanity would grow into prosperity. Even though he believed that the free-market would create increased wealth for all, he clearly expected and took notice of some of the challenges of inequality. Indeed, he explains that the *“Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is, in reality, instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all”*(Smith & Garnier 1845:299)

The Saint Simonians challenged Smith's ideas both on the consequences of laissez faire and the rationality that it is based on. They worked on ideas for how to maintain order in a society that was going through radical change that differed significantly from Smith's world view. They argued that human beings over time had developed a collective identity through a law of progressive development that demanded a «progressive amelioration of the moral, physical and intellectual condition of the human race» (Iggers in Cowen & Shenton 1995:47). While Smith meant that collective prosperity was reached through individual prosperity and laissez faire, the Saint Simonians meant that individual prosperity could not be separated from collective prosperity. Laissez faire was for Saint Simonians a source to social unrest as it was

constantly under threat from overproduction and the problem of capital that was drawn towards the most profitable sectors of the economy. The consequences of laissez faire were according to the Saint Simonians wealth to the few and a ruined majority (Cowen & Shenton 1995). Order, they believed, would be created through development. As scientific socialist, they did not believe in private property, rather than a group of entrusted should control land guided by their moral.

Auguste Comte had many connections to the Saint Simonians, and his work was a continuity of their work. Comte is known as the father of positivism and sociology. Comte was sure of that people were inheritably good and that they also were capable of understanding the advantages of order, and to create order themselves. As human behavior could be observed and understood, the study of sociology became the key to create order. Comte defined progress as “*the development of order through love*” and meant that there was an existing social evolution that contained development that would bring progress along. Progress was only hindered by the lack of order, and while progress was relentless and inconsistent, it had to be met by the morality and consistency of the order. Through his altruistic and holistic ideas, he challenged Smiths moral of individual self- maximizing behavior. (Cowen & Shenton 1995)

Positivism introduced a society based on the belief in that people were good. They meant that society should not be based on private property, as it was based on individuality and created inequalities. It should rather be governed by a group of philosophers, guided by their moral, science and intellect. Comte believed in a “progressive development” that demanded “a progressive amelioration of the moral, physical, and intellectual condition of the human race.” Furthermore, as positivist, they believed that the world could be observed, including within social sciences. As a consequence, what is right or wrong, can be determined through science. (Iggers in Cowen & Shenton 1995:79).

In Brazil, positivist like Miguel Lemos and Raimundo Teixeira Mendes were central in the making of the nation of Brazil around its independence in 1888. Miguel Lemos was also the founder of the Church of Humanity, a religion founded by Auguste Comte based on humanitarian values. They were in opposition to the monarchy, and were therefor on the republican side. However, they were fighting for an authoritarian republic that should be guided by a council of philosophers, basing their decisions on moral, and science. The council

and government should effectuate “*dedicated politics to systematize the industrial life, based on human motives, enlightened by science*” (Teixeira Mendes in Ribeiro 2001:176). Each man should have their own tasks defined by the relation each person had to the “great organism” that man is a part of.

The regime envisioned by the Brazilian positivist was radical, progressive and authoritarian, and it believed in progress:

The Comtian concept of progress, as the linear rule of human development, determined by natural laws that submit the individuals into the collective and the inexorable social relations established by maintenance of the order is associated with taking away the possibility of the individual to establish the rules of the contract. This task is exercised by a “special class of philosophers” that detains the “spiritual power” through the “knowledge” of the doctrine that gives council to the government and the popular sectors of society. (Ribeiro 2001:177)

The authoritarianism envisioned by the positivist is rather worrying. Ruled by an exaggerated believe in science, without democratic institutions, rather an authoritarian republic guided by a council, Lemos and Teixeira Mendes wanted to create a republic based on altruism and reciprocity. When Brazil finally gained independence, the positivists had decisive roles and contributed significantly in a nation building phase. One of the triumphs that are most visual today is the motto found on the Brazilian flag: “Order and Progress”. The motto is a derivation from August Comte’s quote – “*progress as the development of order under the influence of love.*” The *love* - part was left to the national anthem (Cowen & Shenton 1995). The meritocratic government they envisioned is clearly idealistic, believing that a council would make good and altruistic policies for their people. This elitist and scientific project was supporting many radical and social policies like contributing to freeing slavery in Brazil. The positivists wanted to free slaves so that they could become free and regular wage earners in an industrialized Brazil. More confusing is their position, when they stood on the protesters side against compulsory vaccination of all citizens during revolts in the 1920s.

Some people would say that the positivists failed, as they lost influence over the first decades of the twentieth century, but their influence is still relevant.

The history of Brazilian positivism is, we believe, in this aspect, of the most curious and interesting. It was an attempt of indoctrination that, if one might say, failed, but it seems like it found, in the Brazilian spirit and mind - in which it still might be in a diffused or confused state – something of importance that is still not sufficiently revealed. (Costa 1953:98)

I will not speculate in how much credit the positivists should claim, but the absolute believe in science, progress and modernity will be recognized in many of the policies that write about in

this thesis. “Order and Progress” is also extremely relevant for policies of today. It might be a legitimate question to ask whether policymakers have believed that people are able to create order through love, or if love is still only part of the anthem. A lot of the policies made since independence have seemed more preoccupied with imposing order on others. It might even be more relevant to go back to Smith’s quote, of civil government being in place to protect private property of the rich against the less privileged.

3.2 Early 20th century modernism

Order and disorder in Rio de Janeiro

An aerial view of the city of Rio de Janeiro reveals extensive natural barriers for urban planners. The topography of mountains and beaches, lakes and rivers, forest and swampland has been a challenge to control for modernist city planners. The challenge has largely been taken, and people have as best they could tried to tame, or conquer nature. Rivers have been redirected, beaches built, mountains dismantled, islands extended and shores filled in order to organize the disorganized. The old colonial downtown was opened up in favor of wide avenues and skyscrapers. The architectural renowned Cathedral is placed where the slum and mountain Castelo used to be. In general, the striking differences between the planned and unplanned, or organized and disorganized as authorities would call it, are stunning. For the authorities of Rio it has been a headache for as long as it has existed, and the attempts to organize the disorganized have been many.

The history of the favela traces back to the late 19th century and actually starts with Morro da Providência, or Morro da Favela as it is was called at the time. Some of the first settlers were soldiers that had been taking part in the Canudos war in the northeastern part of Brazil in 1897. While waiting for properties they were promised as compensation for fighting in the war, they tented on the hillsides along with former slaves and street vendors. Needless to say, the compensation never came and settlers have been there ever since. The name “Favela” actually stems from a plant that grows in the northeast. The plant gave name to a mountain near Canudos called Monte Favela. While some historians believe that soldiers named Morro da Favela after Monte Favela, others believe that they brought the plants with them from the northeast that started growing it along the hillsides. (Perlman 2010)

Rio de Janeiro have undergone a number of city plans, in the name of modernism. The first, and most significant was the Perreira Passos reform, named after Rios mayor Francisco

Perreira Passos (1902- 1906). Benchimol (1990), in his classic “Pereira Passos: a Tropical Haussmann” from 1953, describes how rational fights the spontaneous in the strive of making a modern and efficient Rio de Janeiro. As the capital of Brazil, Rio was expected by the ruling elite to be a modern and efficient urban center that communicated with the world. With clear influence from Hausmanns city reforms in Paris, Pereira Passos built avenues, parks, and monuments. The formerly haphazardly planned city center was to be replaced by order and wide streets to create efficient communication.

For the first time in its (Rio’s) history, hundreds of buildings were quickly and ruthlessly demolished, leaving tens of thousands of people homeless- primarily workers and poor people - so that rather than the secular material structures inherited from the colony, [...], broad and extensive avenues arose, lined with magnificent buildings - forming a landscape modeled in European eclecticism that intended to give Rio de Janeiro the important and opulent aspect of the metropolis bourgeoisie of the Old World¹. A network of axis of communication, constituted by the extended and prolonged streets that established the nexus of circulation between the city center, which acquired its modern function as a commercial, financial and administrative center, and the zones of expansion, in the north and the south, that was formed or consolidated as habitation or industrial areas...” (Benchimol 1990:316)

Poor neighborhoods were partially or entirely removed in the process of modernizing the city and entire hills where poor people had settled were removed, among them 1691 tenements and an unknown number of favelas were destroyed during the process (Perlman 2010). Pereira Passos did not only change the physical appearance of the city, but he implemented a large amount of new harsh laws that were directed to combat unmodern costumes, like milking cows or selling meat in the streets. A big revolt was provoked by a new law of mandatory vaccination as many did not trust the authorities and was intimidated by the invasion of their privacy.



Ground of Avenida Central and hillside of Morro do Castelo in 1905. The Mountain was entirely removed in 1921 (Benchimol 1990)

¹ The Old World is used to describe the world known to Europeans before Christopher Columbus discovered the Americas – Eurasia and Africa. It is used in contrast to the New World – the Americas and Oceania.

Intellectuals, academics, journalists and historians contributed at the time to a the spread of an elitist and triumphant rhetoric's, celebrating the miraculous transformation of the city: Rio de Janeiro, of colonial areas, dirty, sick, dirty looking place to The marvelous city, healthy, modern, with open arms to immigrants, capital, merchandise, and foreign tourists. Journals and magazines printed proudly photography's of the magnificent mansions, examples of architecture fiercely inspired of art- nouveau and European eclecticism. This glittering image of Rio de Janeiro served and still does today, so that the other side of the coin: the terrible social cost of these "renovations" made in advantage of the big capital and of the enjoyment of the dominant classes. (Benchimol 1990:311)

Plano Agache (Agache 1930) was the next master plan. The execution of the plan is not regarded as successful as the Perreira Passos, but it is still very relevant. It followed the same ideology. The bairros (neighborhoods or districts) were designated to each their clear cut function - industrial, business, noble residential, tourism etc. Transportation leading to downtown Rio needed more efficiency and in order to go through with the plan there was made room for a highway of six lanes, todays Avenida Presidente Vargas, and cutting through the city center. Entire mountains as Morro do Castelo and Morro de Santo Antônio was removed to make room for skyscrapers and the city center airport, Santos Dumond was eventually inaugurated in 1936 on landfill from the mountains. The justifications made to clear the mountains are of economic, hygienic and aesthetic character. The need for efficient land, the supposed winds created by hills, but also the "state of mountains" are all mentioned in Plano Agache (1930) as reasons for removing the mountains.



Praça Castelo, former Castelo mountain, as visualized in downtown Rio by Alfred Agache

The favelas and their residents were clearly disturbing elements. The favela was formally recognized as species of satellite city of spontaneous formation that *by preference* had chosen the top of the mountains. The people living there were considered semi- nomadic that lived “*opposite of all and whichever rule of hygiene*”. (Agache 1930:20) Similar to explanations of today, Agache (1930) blames their existence on a lack of interest from previous public policymakers to handle the problem. In these early years, the favela represented dysfunctionality and undesirable aesthetics - the opposite to modernity, efficiency and beauty that should be guiding the politics of urbanization. (Vieira da Cunha & da Silva Mello 2011). This is how favelas and their residents are described in Plano Agache:

“It is a curious fact, serious from a social point of view, to recognize a population of the favela of 200000 souls, equally serious because abandonment of the morro, represent [for them] the abandonment of a unlimited individual liberty created from serious obstacles, not only from a point of view of social order and security, but also from a point of view of general hygiene, without even mentioning aesthetics. We should not forget however, that the favelas are infected bairros, they do not miss, in their situation, neither light, nor air or sun. They enjoy an enviable horizon, and one should not be surprised if the poor population finds themselves there more voluntarily than in the numerous villas and avenues constructed for them where there is a lack of air and space.” (Agache 1930:190)

It is interesting that people of the favelas are portrayed to want to live there because of all the benefits they have by living there, and that it is the reformers role to civilize them into enjoying proper aesthetics. They are regarded bot a threat to nature and hygiene:

“Without hindrances, they are constructed against every precept of hygiene, without water channels, without drainage, without public cleaning service, without order, with heteroclite material, the favelas constitute a permanent danger of fire and epidemic infections of all the bairros they infiltrate. It is a dirty leper neighboring the beaches and the bairros most graciously given of nature, it undresses the verdant ornaments of the mountains and corrodes until the margins of the rainforest that leans upon the hills.” (Agache 1930:190)

Agache (1930) further explained that the only solution for the problem was total destruction and that there needed to be built economic housing for them, so that they could get basic lessons to how they should live their lives. Based on the extensive focus on improving health, the ideology that Agache represents have later called the Ideology of hygienism (Vieira da Cunha & da Silva Mello 2011).



Plan for new transportation system as in Plano Agache (blue road, red railroad)

Security in the tropics

As proclaimed in Benchimols title, “Perreira Passos: A tropical Haussmann” the reform was highly inspired by Baron Hausmanns urban reforms from Paris in the mid- 19th century. During this reform, Hausmann removed tens of thousands of people. As Pereira Passos, he wanted to simplify, construct straight lines and ensure central management. The reform had heavy impact on the Parisiens conduct and sensibilities. His goal was to make Parisiens “*more governable, prosperous, healthy and architectural imposing*” (Scott 1998:59). One of the major reasons for his reform was to make the city safer for popular insurrections. He wanted to create physical order to ensure security. The reform intended to protect the city from “*nomadic population without real ties to land, and without any effective surveillance, grows at a prodigious speed*” (Scott 1998:61). The Military played in integral role in the plan, and the streets were designed to movements between barracks. The wide and long streets also created long straight lines that were easy to monitor if people were should try to revolt.

Benchimol is aware of the security aspects of the Hausmanian plan. It is anyhow remarkable that he has paid so little attention to it during his 400 pages long description of Plano Pereira Passos. It is evident however that journalists at the time described lower class Brazilians as “sources of sickness and vicious” and “dens of roguery and crime” and therefor a threat to social order. (Vieira da Cunha & da Silva Mello 2011)

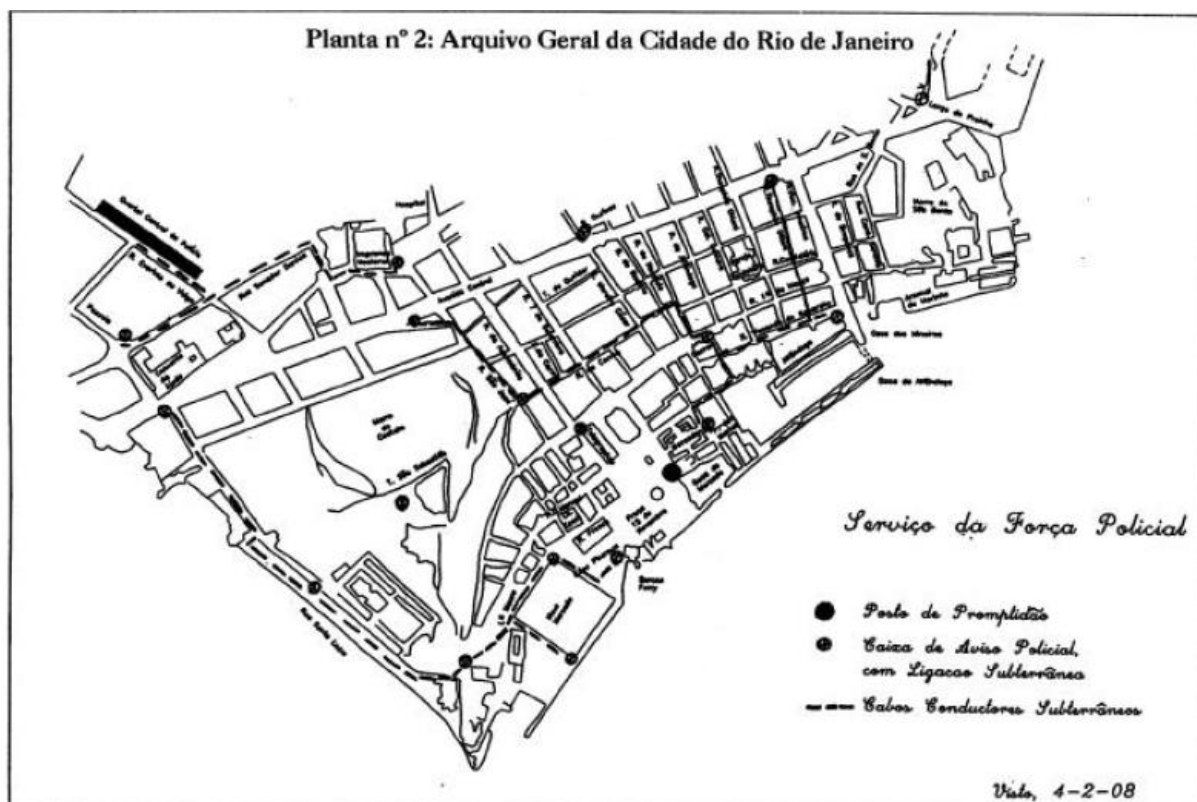
Neder (1997) has intensively studied the sociology of policing in Rio de Janeiro. She states that the modernizing urban reforms of Rio came accompanied with projects of social control. Highly authoritative governance together with exaggerated vision of the “dangerous classes” created the conditions necessary for these extensive social consequences of the reforms.

“The judgements and the repression created, under authoritarianism and absolutist fantasies of absolute social control took place not only with the operators of the formal institutions of social control (police and courts), but in the whole Brazilian social imagery” (Neder 1997:1)

Neder explains that the urban reforms took place in an already existing ambience of fear between former slaves and ruling class that was articulated into a strategy of social control of the former slaves. As in geopolitical warfare, ruling classes saw the possibilities of political and geographic expansion of the Afro- Brazilians that resulted in politics of extensive social control. The conflict resulted in strong segregation between what she calls the Quilombola² city and the European city. Many policies at the time prohibited cultural expressions associated with Quilombola like capoeira. The policies are in clear accordance with the recognition of a “scientific police” in opposition to an “empiric police”. (Neder 1997)

Around 1900, police points were put up in strategic places around the city, both in order to do surveillance and for reporting incidents. The points had inhibiting- repressive effects and were strategically located at viewpoints or in areas where poorer people lived. They avoided however cities with immediate proximity to commercial areas. In the beginning they used Morse code as means of communication.

² A Quilombola is the name of a community that former slaves created as some managed to flee from their plantations. Settling deep in the Amazon, they created a mix of Afro- Brazilian and Indian culture. The expression is also used to describe the people and culture that descends from the slaves.



Overview of policing posts in downtown Rio in 1908. (Neder 1997)

Believing in modernity

The early 20th century urban reforms had clear visions of modernity. The combinations of high levels of inequalities, both economically and culturally and a highly authoritarian regime with exaggerated belief science and progress were important elements of these radical and, at least the Pereira Passos reform, also very efficient reforms. The reforms, however, did not recognize any value of preserving the natural environment that it was aiming to reform. Many have been critical to the environmental hazards of redirecting rivers and tearing apart mountains. The ordering of nature and people has also created tensions regarding people and its identity connected to space.

Demolitions, dismantling, forced relocations (all in the name of progress and a technically defined path) have been the strategies of these reformers, [early 20th century] without any preoccupation with the preservation of the cities spaces of construction of identity. The loss of references of identity propitiated by the process of expulsion/ forced relocation and the social segregation produces effects of social detachment. (Neder 1997:4)

Neder is not critical to modernization in itself, but highly critical the all- embracing reforms, put in place by authoritarian regimes. It is evident that redefinition of urban space that took place at the time were no natural or dynamic process of modernization that was molded by the

population, rather an imposed authoritative process directed by a small portion of the people living there. The arguments of modernization as a one-dimensional, evolutionary process towards progress is clearly present still, and is influenced by these same ideas of backwards versus modern, civilized versus barbarian. (Neder 1997)

Scott (1998:4) calls it high modernism:

“High modernism is best conceived as a strong, one might even say muscle bound, version of the self-confidence about scientific and technical progress, the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature) and above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws. “

Probably not very different from other countries and other contexts, the Brazilian government has through various policies and over time been striving towards modernity. In fact, one of the symbols of modern architecture, Oscar Niemeyer, is Brazilian. Niemeyer got the honorable task to design Brasilia's new capital. Again, it should be a symbol of Brazil's modernity and wealth. The whole city of Brasilia was drawn as an airplane, from an aerial perspective. The government building in the cockpit and the housing areas in the wings. The city has enormous monuments, large avenues and huge parks, each area with its destined clean cut function. The housing areas have condominiums that are built in similar clusters, each their supermarket and cinema. Even though, or maybe because of that, Niemeyer started on a blank paper, on the plains of the central highland of Brazil, this ideal city has been criticized for its lack of livability. The large areas were did not satisfy people's needs for plazas, corners and narrow streets to wander and party. Not least, poor people started to invade surrounding areas, disturbing the airplane's perfection (Scott 1998).

The city of Rio de Janeiro had practically the opposite starting point. Depending on the glasses you are wearing, the city is either blessed or cursed with an extraordinary nature. It was the beaches, mountains and forests that made me fall in love with the city when first visiting. Still, for the city planners like Perreira Passos or Agache the nature has also been a challenge to overcome in order to create the modern city they wished for. The wild nature of Rio has been difficult to tame. Even though early city planners decided to destruct entire mountains, it has proven practically impossible organize the city like Hausmann organized Paris or Le Corbusier³ drew Chandigarh. Some of the practical consequences have been the

³ Le Corbusier, was a Swiss architect, the mere symbol of modernism. Though being extremely influential, few of his most grandiose projects were actually carried out. The city of Chandigarh in India, however, was built in 1966 on his drawings.

real difficulties of organizing access, electricity, postal service, sanitation systems, waste management systems and of course, the eternal problem of security.

3.3 The favela

The favelas are the humble neighborhoods on the hillsides next to the gated communities. By some, they are called subnormal settlements or slums. Most favelas have narrow allies and steep stairs and have mainly houses made of bricks. They have flat rooftops, ready to receive another floor whenever the family is extended. Most favelas have kids playing with their kites on the rooftops and blue water tanks for heating water. The favela is the place where samba was invented, and almost as important today, it is where the funk carioca is produced.

However, most of these characteristics also match other subnormal settlements, and some favelas do not match any of the characteristics mentioned above. The formal definition of a favela is that the houses are built on occupied land and that people do not tenure right. But this definition also becomes inaccurate as some actually do have entire or have partial tenure rights (Perlman 2010). Unfortunately, “Favela” can be pejorative, and *Favelado*, meaning from the favela, certainly has pejorative connotations. The word *comunidade*, or community has been embraced by many as a more appropriate term. Many stick to the word favela - claiming pride to it. Anyhow, both favela and comunidade are being used, both by people living there, and outsiders.

The favelas can be found in all parts of the city. Sometimes they are flat, and sometimes the favela consists of nothing but one big occupied building. No matter how hard to define, the Brazilian Geography and Statistical Institute (IBGE) has estimated that about 1.7 million, or 22% of Rio de Janeiro’s inhabitants live in a favela (in Braathen et al. 2013). The urban poor are spread all over the city, but a majority of the poor live in the northern part of the city and many of these do not live in favelas, but in another formal subnormal settlement. Many of Rios favelas are climbing up the mountains from the formal city. Some of these might have the best views in the whole of Rio de Janeiro, and not all favela residents are poor. Different from many other cities, many of the poor live with immediate proximity to the wealthy.

3.3.1 Destruct or remove?

Rio de Janeiro, the marvelous city, famous symbol of football and samba has also become a symbol of urban inequality. Even though urban inequality exists all over the world, the visual brutality of the Cariocan patterns of habitation is exceptional. The apparently chaotic favelas rising along the hillsides from Copacabana or Ipanema and the proximity between gated

communities with tennis courts and swimming pools and the favelas with its narrow stairs and scarce brick houses creates absurd and stunning images that have become a symbols on its own for an unjust world.

No matter how threatening the favelas have been perceived to be towards the environment, public health, aesthetics or public security, the authorities have dealt with them in one way or another without necessarily succeeding in getting rid of them. During the authoritative and partially dictatorial Vargas period from 1930 – 1950, the favelas were regarded aberrations from the normal city. Agache's advice on not considering anything but total destruction of the favelas, were not put into action, partially because of the lack of alternative housing. The government experimented by regulating some of the favelas as proletarian parks, with strict curfews and put them under state administration. (Arias 2006a). Among other policies to ensure that the favelas did not expand was to prohibit the use of permanent construction material. The total favela population continued growing anyway, and reached 100000 during this period. (Perlman 2010)

As the WWII ended, the Vargas presidency also came to an end. President Juscelino Kubitschek won elections by promising fifty years of progress in five, Rio accelerated its pace of industrialization and Kubitschek started the construction of huge highway projects and planted the dream of Brasília. As optimism raised in the south- east, droughts in the north eastern parts of Brazil pushed the countryside *nordestinos* to towards cities like Belo Horizonte, São Paulo and Rio. The new democracy created new opportunities and obviously changed power structures, also in the favela. As local politicians needed votes, patronage relations started to form between candidates and residents of favelas. There were new attempts of removing people from their homes and again did the government fail to provide alternative popular housing opportunities. When busloads of people demonstrated as response to the policies of removal, the authorities forced the favela residents to organize themselves into Associações de Moradores (AM), or residents organizations so that the government easier should be able to respond their demands. These organizations proved important in the years to come, and an association of AM were also founded – the FAFEG (Federation of Favela Association of Guanabara) – later FAMERJ (Arias 2006a; Perlman 2010). Residents now started to organize themselves in different ways. Some were starting to steal electricity from the cables that went past their houses and sell it to neighbors. Vigilant groups were created to maintain some order in these neighborhoods that were mostly ignored by the state police. (Arias 2006a)

In 1964, Brazil entered into a new phase of dictatorship. The military regime used a far fiercer hand towards the favela residents. The authorities created an agency for Habitation in the Social Interest of the greater Rio Metropolitan Area (CHISAM). They defined favelas as abnormal and planned removing them, claiming it was the only way to full inclusion of the residents. In this period, between 10000-140000 residents were removed from their homes. The protests from FAFEG were useless (Arias 2006a; Davis 2006). Some people were not offered any compensation, but many of these people were resettled in remote parts of the city, the most famous being the new neighborhood, City of God. Finally, the government was able to provide some sort of alternative housing for the displaced people. These new complexes were modern. City of God is a large flat area, with straight lines and small private houses of bricks. Others like Padre Miguel, also called, o fim do mundo – the end of the world, were big apartment complexes, again with the same modern linear organization. Of the problems that occurred was that people were removed from their jobs, and there were no job opportunities in the new neighborhoods. The same poverty existed; only that now, the neighbor relations that people had been so depended on, and the local organization of the favelas were broken.(Perlman 2010)

The AMs of the favelas that were not removed continued though improving their internal systems and set up their own register of property ownership. They also set up a law system, judging the best they could, based on the little they knew about law. Violence was still not overwhelming, but some bicheiros, places that arranges gambling, also controlled some small scale drug distribution. The police increasingly started to have unreasonable searches, extortions and arrest residents for vagrancy. (Arias 2006a)

3.3.2 Increasing focus on public security

During the military dictatorship, the police was present to protect the state from internal threats more than external. Students, professors, politicians and other in opposition were regarded a threat against the state, and hundreds were imprisoned or killed (Alves & Evanson 2011). When Brazil finally became a democracy, people expected improved human rights. But in many ways the future was not brighter than the past. Traffickers, specifically from the three most powerful fractions Comando Vermelho, Amigos dos Amigos and Terceiro Comando Puro became highly relevant authorities. The drug gangs were loose networks and badly organized, but grew and became more professional after Brazil entered a new democratic era. Many people mean that the gangs became professionalized and organized after spending time in prison together with former members of the military regime in the

prisons on Ilha Grande. Here they learned how to build organization and when they came out, they started to fight to control the sales of drugs by occupying favelas. Increasingly, the gangs needed money to finance their weaponry, the prices of drugs rose and trade of cocaine skyrocketed. The fact that the gangs started dealing with weapons also expanded and consolidated their role within the criminal networks in Rio. (Arias 2006a).

Equally as during the previous democratic period, patronage relations grew in importance. As the AMs started to lose relevance and independence because of the drug gangs, politicians started treating the gangs as community leaders, or authorities and became dependent on their cooperation to win elections. As time passed, intricate networks involving police, politicians, civil society and the traffickers themselves developed and assured that the traffickers position was not threatened (Arias 2006b). The traffickers, over time and to varying extent, created some legitimacy within the communities, by disallowing any form of crime within their jurisdiction and providing social services for the residents. Today however, the former idealistic trafficker, as one informant called it, is no longer present. Bautès og Soares Gonçalves (2011:6) writes that “*Today’s relations between the new generations of drug dealers and the residents are based on a fear and silence principle, and the close charity ties established initially declined progressively over time*”. The gangs became anyway, parallel states and threats to Brazilian sovereignty. Government officials or NGOs needed to cooperate with the gangs to being able to get access the occupied areas, whether they were there to build schools or arrest people. The gangs got enormous power, both by possession of weaponry making them able to fight the police and shoot down helicopters and through their networks of politicians and police. In 2002 the gang leaders were able to shut down commerce in the whole city of Rio de Janeiro, even though being imprisoned on the basis of discontent over prison treatment. (Alves & Evanson 2011).

Within formal politics Leonel Brizola won the elections for governor of the state in 1983 with support from FAFERH and he sat two periods from 1983 - 1986 and 1991 – 1994. Brizola put a lot of effort into improving the situation for residents of the favela. By regularizing water and electricity in addition to building schools, he became popular amongst the favela residents. The democratic government was also eager to move away from a “*controlling police system to a responsible police force.*” (Bautès & Soares Gonçalves 2011:9) Already in the late eighties the first community policing initiatives were implemented under the governor. The initiative was based on the recent constitution which sought to secure individual freedoms and rights from both public power abuse and from criminal predation.

Community policing was introduced in other states in Brazil and also a small initiative in Rio de Janeiro in '94- '95. The police should interact with people, patrol by foot instead of by car and work with preventive action like leisure activities and helping people into the professional world (Barkan in Bautès & Soares Gonçalves 2011:10). According to Arias (2006a) Brizola tried to force the police to respect the residents, but the efforts made to modify the violent practices of the police force were however rather unsuccessful. Even though the public authorities and civil society were positive the community policing initiatives, they were inefficient and did not improve the behavior of the police officers. Reforming the police system proved harder than expected and the failure is being explained both by the lack of resources and the unwillingness from the police officers to work in the community. (Bautès & Soares Gonçalves 2011). A lot of the criticism towards Brizola is based on his lack of efforts to build institutions and basing his politics on patronage instead. He ended up leaving office twice with a heritage, put boldly, of the traffickers having consolidated their power during his terms.

Of the governors coming after Brizola, Wellington Moreira Franco ('87-'90) and Marcelo Alencar (95- 98) have been considered harder on crime and violently repressed bandits and suspects. Anthony Garothino ('99-'02) and to a lesser extent his wife Rosinha Garotinha ('03-'07) again was regarded softer. Another initiative to address both public security and human rights at same time was introduced on a relatively small scale, the community policing program called the GPAE (Grupamento de Policiamento de Áreas Especias). The program came rapidly to an end partially because of financial reasons. The program managed to decrease the murder rates, but did not put an end to the drug- traffic issue in the neighborhoods they were engaged in. GPAE has anyway been an important inspiration for the development of the UPPs.

3.3.3 Choque de Ordem – a zero tolerance policy

From 2008, the authorities of Rio entered a new era. In 2007 Sergio Cabral was elected governor of the state in Rio de Janeiro. From the same party, PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), Eduardo Pães was elected mayor 2007. Even though coming from the Labor Party (PT), the President of Brazil Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva ('03- '11) and his successor Dilma Rousseff ('12 -), were both supporting Cabral and Pães candidatures. This cooperation paved the way for efficient implementation of policies on all levels, which is crucial as the army, the military police and the police answers to authorities on different levels.

The challenges they were facing were however enormous. Despite years of efforts to remove favela residents, they have always been growing faster than the rest of the city (Perlman 2010). Security was high on the agenda, but many before them had been trying to reform the police without succeeding. Interdependent networks involving gangs, politicians and police were consolidated. Corruption and repressive methods lead to low confidence in the policing units, even though especially among the middle class, The Military Police (PM) and their special forces, BOPE, were regarded less corrupt than the regular police forces. On the other hand they were more brutal. Many have blamed bad policing on low police wages and others on a policing culture from the military dictatorship. Former minister and special secretary of human rights, Paulo Vannuchi, explain how, despite efforts to include classes of human rights into the curriculum of the police academies, they are in the next class taught:

”that if you have a car with three black men, you have to stop it, because statistically it has been established that the men are criminals, and you cannot ask them to show documents from inside the car, because an officer who did this was shot in the forehead. So with a gun drawn, you have to order them to get out of the car with their arms raised, and if you feel some trepidation, you start kicking them” (in Alves & Evanson 2011:196-197)

Worst of all however are the homicide rates, in what Lopes de Souza (2008) refers to as the fobópole, the city of fear. The middle and upper class, not to mention the media or the police were afraid of the traffickers too, resulting in being suspicious of all people living in favelas. While the people living the favelas in the years of the military dictatorship were afraid of displacement, they have in recent years been afraid of stray bullets, police invasion or their kids being shot on their way to school (Perlman 2010). Lopes de Souza (2008) argues that this fear has fueled fragmentation of the city and contributed to provoke a militarization of the urban management;

Pães and Cabral, was also preoccupied with the lack of sovereignty, not to mention the reputation of Rio de Janeiro as a dangerous and violent city, scaring away investors. They promoted anyway, a zero tolerance policy of confrontation, supported by middle and upper class and the media. There were frequent reports of excessive police violence in favelas, executions of “bandidos” at all ages, large numbers of disappearing people and frequent use of armored vehicles by the Military Police Special Forces (BOPE) in favelas. These same armored vehicles, called Caveirões, big skulls, have been reported to use schools as shields and used music with lyrics like “I’m gonna kill you, I’m gonna steal your sole” in the favelas to intimidate the traffickers (Alves & Evanson 2011:144). A tipping point came in 2008 with the so called pan- killings (at the times of hosting the Pan- American Games) in the favela

Complexo do Alemão, when techniques of war were used for the first time, besieging the area for four months. People were screened, checking documents of people coming in and out, looking for weapons and so on. The national security force, the state military police and BOPE were involved in the operation. It was no coincidence that Alemão was chosen for the operation. Recent intelligence had informed that the majority of the drug- traffic was coordinated from here. (Franco 2012). Media at large supported the policy, while commentaries started calling it a criminalization of poverty. (Alves & Evanson 2011) The policy, anyway, only superficially damaged the gangs using these tactics. (Bautès & Soares Gonçalves 2011)

Not surprisingly, these methods contributed to spreading a feeling of insecurity shared by the entire city, reinforcing the negative representations of the city in the national and international press. The homicide rates raised even higher, both in battles between civilians, but first and foremost between civilians and police.

3.4 Towards pacifying police

Paralleled with the policy of confrontation, another public security trend started to resonate in Brazil; the dream of an old school community policing, of Cosme and Damião, the two police officers from a distant past that were part of the community and that treated the citizens with respect. On a national level, a program called PRONASCI, National Program of Public Security with Citizenship was introduced. Of the programs tasks were to integrate national efforts with efforts on a state level and initiate programs to include human rights into policing. Henrique Oliveira Vianna, a Rio de Janeiro coordinator of the program explains it like this:

PRONASCI is exactly this: it is security with citizenship, unlike the programs that were established in a very fragmented manner because they were either for security of citizenship. PRONASCI was created to implement the part of citizenship. It's easy to understand, but very difficult to do. PRONASCI also has something very important.: significant investment by the federal government for the Civil Police, Military Police, the Fire Brigades of the Military Police, municipal guards, and prison guards with low salaries to take training programs in public security and human rights. (Alves & Evanson 2011:142)

Various academics were also pushing for a comprehensive approach, both in regards to a present police force, rather than one that enters and leaves, and the hope for a community police, a police of approximation. Also internationally, community policing has become an important trend (Brogden 2004). One of the first organs to start convincing public authorities in Rio to introduce community policing were members from the UNDP. On the team they got members from FIRJAN (Federation of Industries in the State of Rio de Janeiro), SESI-

SENAI/RJ (Social Service of the Industry – National Service of Industrial Education in Rio de Janeiro) and SEBREA/ RJ (Brazilian Help Service to Small and Micro Companies). Representatives from the above mentioned organization travelled together with to Medellin and Bogota for inspiration from the community policing efforts there. In 2007, Jose Mariano Beltrame, Secretary of Security in Rio de Janeiro was convinced after the mentioned occupation of Complexo do Alemão. (Franco 2012)

In the first months we analysed the whole city, and we saw that it had spots, it was sort of a chess board, You have places in Rio de Janeiro that is a normal city, regular, like the others, a you see that, inside this normal city, you have islands of pure violence, of exclusion... You have a dictatorship imposed by crime (Beltrame in Franco 2012:79)

Beltrame was also the one to change the name from Communitarian Police Unit to Pacifying Police Unit, on the basis of that they actually were in war, and that the wording had to fit the actual situation in order to succeed. (Franco 2012)

There were many things that pointed the authorities into another direction of security policy. The military force is not regarded of any use for long term improvement of quality of life as long as education or health systems are not in place, but without authority at place, monopoly of violence is contested which has been a threat to the sovereignty of the country. When nobody can guarantee anybody's security, the opportunities of working with infrastructure, or do development work was regarded very limited. Permanent presence from authorities in drug- gang controlled areas would demand big sums of earmarked funding. At the same time, a grand opportunity opened up to make big changes in a little time.

Mega- events

As an international exchange student in Rio de Janeiro in 2009, I was invited to be part in a video to promote the application for the Olympic Games in 2016. The promoters of the games headhunted international Brazil- loving representatives from one of the most expensive Universities in Brazil, not only to show the world a picture of a successful Brazil, but further to underline an increasing international acknowledgment of Brazil. Later the same autumn, I was discussing the decision of giving the games to Rio de Janeiro with my capoeira group. While hundreds of thousands were celebrating at Copacabana beach, Lula was present in Copenhagen and declared international citizenship for Brazil. For Lula, the victory meant international recognition, that the world trusted Brazil to be capable of hosting the world's largest sporting event. It is also a great opportunity to promote foreign investments to the country. My friends and I were still in doubt that it would benefit the people. We all knew the

stories of how authorities used “make- up- policies” when the worlds eyes were turning to Brazil, like during the Pan- American Games or when the when the Pope came to visit Rio some years before. We knew about the walls that were built along the highway from the city airport to the city center that supposedly should prevent sound pollution for the residents. We suspected that they would protect the tourists from seeing what was on the other side. We knew about the walls that were under construction surrounding the some off the favelas like Santa Marta as we sat there. Again, reports said it was to protect the Mata Atlantica⁴ from environmental degradation and the citizens from building houses in areas in danger of landslides. Landslides are real threats in and around Rio de Janeiro and people die every year as a consequence, but still, many suspected that the walls primarily were put in place to make sure that the favelas around the city center should stop growing. We knew about BOPE and their armored vehicles, caveirões or Big Skulls as they are called and police brutality associated with them. What methods would be used this time to make the games secure for the tourists? The feelings were many, and of course, we also dreamed of Summer Olympic Games in one of the most beautiful cities of the world, with samba and parties in the streets. Could the games bring positive changes, also for the less privileged, or will the games primarily benefit the privileged and to promote Brazil internationally? Many fear, still today, that the games primarily will be an arena, *para Inglês ver*, for the English to see the bright and modern future of Brazil as was the case during International Exhibit of the Centenary of Brazil in 1922 (Jaguaribe 2011).

Hosting Mega- events

Mega- events har i økende grad etter 9/11 spilt en viktig rolle i både byutvikling sikkerhetspolitikk (Giulianotti & Klauser 2010).

The power of international sports organizations like FIFA or IOC has in the last few decades attracted a lot of media attention, and their relative power has created polemic especially as games have been hosted by countries considered to be emerging markets, like China, South Africa or Russia. Rio de Janeiro have been, are going to host or co- host a great deal of mega- events in only a decade. It started with the Pan- American games (2007), Military World Games in (2011), Earth summit (2012) and The Confederations Cup in 2013 and will be highlighted by the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and not least the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2016.

⁴ The Mata Atlantic is a specific type of rainforest through Rio de Janeiro and along the coastline towards North-east.

Hosting mega- events can pave the way rapid changes within the urban governance, partly on the basis of the increasingly strict requirements on security, sponsoring or infrastructure from FIFA or IOC, but also on the basis fast and efficient governance that is needed in order to stay within time limits. The Olympic committee from Barcelona '92 were directly involved and used as councilors during the bidding stages. Agencies have been created that have been accused for ignoring both the general guidelines of Plano Diretor, a democratically embedded city master plan, and the regular institutional bureaucracy in order to install a neoliberal model of an entrepreneurial management of the city. Civil society has especially been complaining about a resolution that has weakened the democratic processes during contracting of firms to build Olympic venues. Vainer (2011) argues that this policy, that liberates itself from political control creates a “city of exception”, a policy that stops considering general interests, rather promoting specific private interests of dominating groups. Various writers have reported significant changes in urban governance regime based on ideals of market based economy, public- private partnerships and entrepreneurialism, made possible with the help of the Mega- events. (Bienenstein et al. 2012; Mascarenhas 2012; Vainer 2011)

Backed by media, municipal executives and representatives of the Olympics have succeeded in depicting the Olympics as a magical receipt that will solve all general problems of the city. In an interview with one of Brazil’s main media houses, Mayor Eduardo Paes his own words describes the feeling, when he understands how useful the Olympics are to create changes:

“Do you remember that time when the light bulbs from Light (PPP) started to explode here in Rio? Sure! I don’t have anything to do with Light, but the Mayor is always to blame... This woman passes by –“hey Mayor! How are we going to arrange the Olympics with these light bulbs exploding?” When I heard her talk like that I said “Guys! How will we stay alive until then? It has got nothing to do with the Olympics. The problem is if we manage to stay alive until then with this shit exploding?!” And then it came to me. I said: “This Olympics thing is a sensation. I need to use it as an excuse for everything” So, everything that I need to do, I now need to do for the Olympics. There are things that involve the Olympics. There are things that have got nothing to with it, but I use it!”⁵

Being regarded one of the most dangerous cities of the world; it should be no surprise that security is high on agenda now that Rio de Janeiro is preparing to host the upcoming mega-events. There is little doubt that they have paved the way for big investments within the field of public security.

⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hh-7UC7GmLw> (accessed 10.05.2014)

3.5 Unidade Policia Pacificadora

“This moment that we live now is fundamental for the port project [Porto Maravilha] to go forward. Without the tranquility, without the necessary security, the revitalization would be totally ruined... And this is an area with an extraordinary potential of tourism, of gastronomy, of culture and of business... immense possibility in construction of new buildings, of that new headquarters of companies will come over here, and without any doubt, the presence of public security is vital for this to happen. So I think that today we are taking a, I would say essential, step; a precondition for the success of the port was without doubt to have a UPP in Providência.”⁶

Sergio Cabral, press conference during inauguration of UPP Providência

With several mega- events coming up, a powerful political coalition on all levels, the industry on board and partially financing from EBX Group, where business magnate Eike Batista sits as chairman, the first favela was pacified in 2008. Santa Marta was chosen partly on coincidence and as a test project, but until May 2014, 37 favelas have been pacified. The UPPs are a part of the Military Police in Rio de Janeiro. They are a coercive power, and part of a military strategy of reconquering areas formerly controlled by the drug- gangs. They use both military vocabulary and strategies. The pacification process consists of various phases. BOPE occupies the favela, often in cooperation with the army, regular PM, sometimes the navy and other police forces. The initial phase is the occupation, using armored vehicles and sometime even tanks. The invasion ends by placing the Brazilian flag in the favela, symbolizing re- occupation of Brazilian territory. During the next phase, Military Police and BOPE stay heavily armed in the favela for some time to assure that the drug- gangs are not fighting back. The UPPs take charge of the favela some weeks after. Contrasting many earlier police actions in the favelas, the occupation phases have had relatively low indices of violence. Traffickers have mostly been imprisoned, but many have also escaped, creating rumors that they might have been informed up front.

The UPPs consist of a commanding officer, the captain, a group of officers, sergeants, corporals and soldiers. The following description is retrieved from the official UPP site online:

The UPPs are managed under the principles of Police of Proximity. This is a concept that goes beyond the community police approach and has its strategy based on the partnership between local residents and law enforcement institutions. The pacifying police approach, which is guided by dialogue and respect to the culture and uniqueness of each community, eases conversations and stimulates the growth of local leaders⁷

⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bqEPdlnbfZM> (accessed 11.05.2014)

⁷ http://www.upprj.com/index.php/o_que_e_upp_us (accessed 11.05.2014)

The UPPs further invests in social, cultural and educative efforts, often in partnership with other state organs, companies or NGOs. Again from the official internet page:

Social actions as well as in the health and educational areas, the creation of jobs, sanitation and urbanization sponsored by the State and private companies turned out to be almost indispensable not only to the consolidation of the new reality these dwellers are now experiencing, but also to assure them their sustainability. (ibid.)

UPP social has the responsibility follow up these questions. The UPP social is a partnership between the UPP, The Pereira Passos Institute and UN- Habitat.⁸

Alongside the pacification policy, you also find some more traditional programs of urban infrastructure and habitat upgrade like Porto Maravilha⁹, Morar Carioca¹⁰ and the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC)¹¹. In various ways, and different from favela to favela, they are seeking to upgrade infrastructure, social services and encourage entrepreneurship in order to integrate the residents into the formal city. The mentioned policies can be argued to be a step away from the traditional relocation practices, but as will be argued later, many still has to face the fear of being involuntarily removed from their homes. (Neder 1997). As former city upgrading projects, they are criticized for being weak in consulting the local population and sometimes accused for benefitting tourist and investors more that the local population (Braathen et al. 2013; Sluis 2012).

3.6 Morro da Providência

In 2007, the military occupied Morro da Providência. The intention were to keep the commanding drug gang, Commando Vermelho, at arm's length while introducing a social project called Cimento Social¹², aiming to revitalize the facades and roofs of 780 houses in addition to some other infrastructure. (Braathen et al. 2013)

About 6 months later, in April 2008, three young guys called David, Wellington and Marcos Paulo, at the ages of 17, 19 and 24 took a taxi back home to Providência from a baile funk in a

⁸ <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/web/ipp/upp-social> (accessed 12.05.2014)

⁹ <http://www.portomaravilha.com.br/> (accessed 11.05.2014) - Urban infrastructural upgrading program for the port area of Rio de Janeiro

¹⁰ <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/web/smh/exibeconteudo?article-id=1451251> (accessed 11.05.2014) - Program created in 2010 with the objective to promote social inclusion through “complete and definite urban and social integration in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro within 2020 - (accessed 11.05.2014)

¹¹ <http://www.pac.gov.br/sobre-o-pac> (accessed 11.05.2014) - National program to promote grand social, urban, logistical and energy constructions in the country, contributing to accelerated and sustainable development.

¹² Cimento Social was infrastructure, housing and sanitary program in Providência. The name – social cement - is a reference to the discourse of the divided city.

different favela¹³. As they came out of the car they were loud and laughing, getting attention of some local shopkeepers at the central plaza of Providência, Praça Americo Brum. Eleven armed militaries also heard the noise and came to see what was going on. As they were moving around, something bulging was spotted at the waist of one of the guys. The militaries acted immediately and started shouting. They guys understood they had to go into a wall. At the time they were all loud and angry catching many more neighbors' attention. Witnesses later told that the militaries were obviously surprised as they learned that the gunlike object was a mobile phone. Still, they did not let the kids go, wanting to bring them to the station for questioning. The guys were swearing and angry, and the militaries answered. The guys shortly managed to escape their hands, but were caught again as the military started to shoot warning shots. Time stood still until morning at 7.30 when they were put into a jeep and brought down to the station. Neighbors were ensured that three young men would be back shortly, but they still disliked the situation. Mothers and grandmothers that were informed about the incident rushed down the military base to understand what was going on. Witnesses that were able to get a look the guys observed torn shirts and signs of excessive physical strain.

The military in charge of bringing the kids to the station Vinicius Ghidetti talked to the commander-in- chief of what had happened and that he wanted to frame them for “disrespect of authority” as 18 others had been during the few months the military had been stationed in Providência. He was ordered by his chief to bring the kids back home. Ghidetti has later told that he at the time remembered a phrase from plan of the operation in Providência: “No fraction of the Ground Force can be defeated and the Brazilian army cannot be demoralized”

Instead of driving them back home, he decided to give them a lesson. Ghidetti, took the boys into a car and drove into another favela, run by Comando Vermelhos enemies, Amigos dos Amigos. He left them there in the hands of drug traffickers from Amigos dos Amigos. He himself has insisted that he just wanted to give them a lesson, but few people believe that he did not know that he led the kids into a certain death. The bodies were found on a landfill some time later.

The case has been to court ever since. The 11 militaries were suspended and another sentenced for the crime. A part for one year incarceration for disobeying his superintended

¹³ <http://revistapiaui.estadao.com.br/edicao-46/questoes-de-seguranca/o-exercito-o-politico-o-morro-e-a-morte> (revisted 24.04.14)

order, Ghidetti has not yet gotten a sentence due to mental instability¹⁴. However outcome, this case illustrates many of the contradictions, dilemmas, and historical luggage of security and development issues in Rio. What was the motivation for revitalization of the facades and roofs of favela residents and why was the military sent to secure the process? It illustrates the suspicious members of authorities, treating people as criminals even after innocence is proven. It is easy to understand the fear from both parties side of the story that lead suspiciousness. It shows how the authoritarianism from the military regime is not too far away.

Two years later, the 22nd of march, 2010, BOPE, with help from the Batalhão de Choque (Riot police) invades Morro da Providência¹⁵. Because of its strategic location Providência was one of the first areas to receive pacification. According to Brazil leading media source, O Globo, the invasion was calm and without exchange of fire. Five people were arrested, two of them reported to be caught with drugs.¹⁶ The police seized a kilo of cocaine, a kilo of crack, a pistol and three grenades. According to Secretary of Security Jose Mariano Beltrame, 600000 people that travel through the central station nearby everyday will benefit from the occupation, in addition to the 10000 inhabitants that lives in and around the area. He adds that the occupation is a key to the recuperation and revitalization of the port area. On April 26rd, BOPE left UPP in charge of the favela. Power had shifted from Comando Vermelho and back to the state once again. The people carrying guns are no longer wearing shorts and t-shirts, but black and blue uniforms. 40 officers from the UPP are patrolling Providência day and night trying to make sure that law and order is obeyed, at the same time as they guarantee security for the infrastructure project.

Still, after the initial story, it is not very difficult to understand why Fátima, a woman that raised Marcos Paulo, when she looks at the UPP saying: “I only want wish that they would tell me why I should believe that the Pacifying Police will do right this time”

Background

Despite its relative small size, Morro da Providência is considered a strategically important favela by the authorities – both because of the strategic location near the old city center, now

¹⁴ <http://www.jb.com.br/rio/noticias/2014/02/21/justica-anula-absolvicao-de-militar-por-morte-de-tres-jovens-da-Providencia/> (revised 24.04.14)

¹⁵ <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Rio/0,,MUL1539475-5606,00-BOPE+FAZ+OPERACAO+NO+MORRO+DA+PROVIDENCIA+PARA+INSTALAR+UPP.html> (revised 23.04.14)

¹⁶ <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Brasil/0,,MUL1539639-5598,00.html> (revised 23.04.14)

business center, and also because of its historical and cultural importance. The first settlements came to Providência already in 1893 and it is regarded the first favela and the origin of the name Favela. The place has also been an important center for afro- Brazilian culture, including music, dance and religion.

For the moment, Providência is taking part in the urban upgrading projects; PAC, Morar Carioca and Porto Maravilha. At the same time, there has been a major change in authority structures in Providência as the traffickers who use to be in command were evicted and a UPP was installed in April 2010.

The Morar Carioca program is an urban upgrading program run by the aiming to promote social inclusion through upgrading infrastructure, equipment and services. Morar Carioca is a part of the Porto Maravilha program and the legacy Olympic Games. Porto Maravilha is an urban renewal revitalization program of the old harbor area in the city center. Both programs are run by SMH (Municipal Board of Housing) (Braathen et al. 2013) In addition to urbanizing Providência, Porto Maravilha seeks to revitalize the old harbor area, with a new tramline system, new residential areas, removing an elevated highway etc. In addition, an Olympic media center is being built close to the City of Samba next to Providência.

According to Braathen et al. (2013) you will find amongst other a construction of a teleférico (gondola), a plano inclinado (funicular) and a 'Knowledge Square' with IT center, an amphitheater and a kindergarten. In addition to findings of Braathen et al. (2012), an online video also shows how the government wants to remove houses around the old chapel in Providência in order to make it visible from the harbour area (Assefa 2012)

The cable car is intended to connect Providência with the main railway station in Rio, Central do Brazil, on one side of the mountain, and on the other side the City of Samba where a planned Olympic media center is being constructed. The infrastructure upgrading is disputed. There has been a lack of consultation, and the urbanization plans seems to be only partially supported by the local residents (Braathen et al. 2013). 800 families are being or are planned removed in the process, some houses controversially categorized as "risk area", and the compensation given by the authorities is not considered satisfying.

Braathen et al. (2012) and local civil society members are speculating in a significant change in neighborhood profile, some kind of forced gentrification. There have already been signs of property speculation. When the housing prices have been rising, the former house owners

might have profited, while people who have been renting probably will have to move to places more distant from friends and jobs.

4.0 Findings - Voices of Providência

These are the following priorities of the pacification unit in Morro do Providência according to captain in command, Captain Glauco Schorcht:

1. Public security
 - Being in the streets, doing check- ups and intelligence work, looking for suspicious behavior (not suspicious people)
2. Preventive action
 - Open library and other after school activities for example kick- boxing, jiu-jitsu and Physical education for seniors.

4.1 Security

Security is still difficult to talk about for people in Providência. José explains how security as an issue is complicated to talk about and that few people talks, also between themselves, about the UPP. He says that when it comes to security, he was always reserved and preferred not to comment. The saying goes as follows: *“See, listen and keep quiet”*. Still, according to my informants, few people doubt the positive effects on security issues within the pacified favela of Providência. The community seems to agree that there is less shooting in the area now, and that they feel a lot safer now than what they used to. People tell stories about how they were afraid to go to work or bring the kids home from school, because they were afraid that the police would come and start shooting at the bandits. Captain Glauco Schorcht of the UPP in Providência states that he walks around alone or with visitors without being afraid. A middle aged man called Pedro states that he did not want to live there before, but because of improved security he wants to stay. Others back his story, but the whole picture is slightly more ambiguous.

While Francisco was afraid of the traffickers with guns, David, doesn't have more trust in the police; *“the fear that he [the resident] had for a rifle, he still has, it has just changed hands”*. Still, he is confirming that the violence that the police were responsible for ended. He further insists that the violence that used to be there was between police and traffickers, and that there was no violence within the community without the police being there. Marcos from Forum Comunitário do Porto, an organization that is mainly working to defend the rights of people facing displacements, explains that *“You never knew, when the police would come, if there*

would be a shootout, if there would be a “corre-corre”.¹⁷ The local UPP is obviously aware of the lack of trust from parts of the community and seems very eager to improve the situation. An optimistic Captain Glauco Schorcht explains how important this is for the police, and how surprised he is over how fast they have gained some trust. He says that police are changing their way of thinking; they have understood that they need to be more in touch with the community. Now people and especially kids come to talk to him directly and some greets him, something that didn't happen before. José, a local historian and capoeira teacher is backing his story, confirming that *“the confidence is a lot better. The people are accepting a lot more, even with reservations, but 115 years of history you don't change from one day to another.”* He believes in the intentions from the UPP and says that they have started many good projects in addition to trying to dialogue and converse with the people. Pedro on the other hand explains that he cannot see that the UPP incorporates people in the locals in the process and is disappointed, but he does not know if it's *“our ... or their fault”*. He regards very arrogant even though some are educated. He does not speak with them. Sometimes he tries with a good afternoon but the police only respond sometimes. Marcos is afraid that UPPs will not approach the people from the favela in the same way as people in the city when something occurs. *“Because the law is different, because the rights are others... One kilo can be 500 grams or it can be 1500 grams”*

Marcos explains that he believes the presence of the UPP has got more to do with other interests than the residents and that it mostly serves the people around the area. He has a feeling that the police are working as guardians making sure that *“people don't leave the place, that they don't create more problems in the vicinity”*. Even though there are less shooting, the presence of drug traffic is still present. David states: *“They (UPP) cannot front the traffic”*. It seems like everybody is aware of that the drug- traffic is still going on, and are trying to accept the existence, underlining that it is not a top priority to work with. Even Captain Glauco Schorcht admits that drug trafficking is a problem, but that it exists everywhere.

Captain Glauco Schorcht says that he wants to bring the reality from the asphalt up there, where people can complain with loud voice not having to be afraid of a legal system outside the state. His deepest fear of his work is that something should happen that would break the reputation and trust that they have been building up with the community.

¹⁷ Corre- corre means run-run and is being used to describe people in a hurry, often disorganized. In this context referring to the reaction in the community as the police were approaching.

4.2 Economic aspects

4.2.1 Economy and market presence

With the police taking place within the community, there is a reconfiguration of the economic dynamics of the favela. First of all, there is little doubt about the valorization of houses within Providência. Everybody is talking about higher prices on buying and rental and that the pressure is high. This is common for the whole of Rio de Janeiro, but there are also empirical evidences that prices are raising faster in pacified favelas than other places (Frischtak & Mandel 2012). Fernando says that rent practically doubled the last years and Francisco that a house that was worth 18000 – 25000 before the UPPs entered is now worth 80000. *“I have a friend who sold his house for 80000 and went to Paraíba.”* David continues explaining how he bought his house a community center for 26000 Reais in 2009 and was offered 63000 from the government to destroy it 2012.

New economic actors are finding their ways to Providência. Reports have been given from various favelas that private companies selling cable-TV or telephone services have entered soon after UPP reoccupied the communities. Providência is no different. Both Fernando and Pedro states that people from SKY, Claro, Imbratel, Light etc. came “right after the entrance of UPP”. Internet is supposedly offered for free as well via Ponto Digital. Most of these are companies of telecommunication and/or TV in addition the Light, the electricity company.

Pedro is excited about the new offers given to the community; at the same time he explains that *“unfortunately for me these services are expensive. In the conditions were in, it’s expensive. Unfortunately, cable TV is for the ones earning slightly better... Unfortunately what I’m talking about is the social inequality. Our country is like that, it’s social inequality.”*

In commercial actors who are present to sell products, there are further several other commercial actors, public-actors promoting the private sector present. Some of these are initiated by the UPP themselves and others are private or public partners of the UPP. In common for most of them is that they in some way are related to UPP either directly or indirectly. Captain Glauco Schorcht explains that different actors “Offers of qualification for the job market, professional training, within the area of teaching – to improve to level of schooling.” All this happens via public partners (FIRJAN, SESI-RJ, SENAI-RJ) or private partners like IESA (Oil and Gas company) or NGOs and partnerships like the UP (English classes with and sponsored by SENAI and the American Consul).

Marlene from the AM also mentions that various private and public-private companies that are present due to the infrastructure work that is taking place. She mentions the Porto Novo, Porto Maravilha, Hécio Gomes Engenharia, and Rio Faz.¹⁸

4.2.2 Regularization /formalization

The prefecture has also a goal of formalizing both business and property. Captain Glauco Schorcht uses this example to explain how this benefits the government and that is therefore should not be a problem to keep on funding the UPP also after the Olympics.

One of the most important efforts here is done formalize business in various favelas through the program Empresa Bacana.¹⁹ The program is cooperation between the Municipal Secretary of Work and Employment, the Secretary of Public Order, SEBRAE, the Pereira Passos Institute (Coordinator of UPP Social) and the Syndicate of Accounting Services. Of the justifications for the formalizations are that the former informal companies are getting a formal identity papers (Cadastro Nacional Pessoa Jurídica - CNPJ) that will secure higher income, legality and prosperity, in addition to recognition as citizens.

Another is the former communitarian garbage collection system has been replaced by the official COMLURB (Braathen et al. 2013)

When it comes to regularization of housing the process has not come that far. There are indicators from the urban city Master Plan (Plano Diretor) that they want to formalize property rights, and that they have started in other favelas of the south but that the process have not started yet in Providência. Marcos states: “Here nobody has got documents on anything and it continues equal.” David on the other hand fears entitlement of the properties. He would prefer that there were created a territory, on the basis of the laws of the Quilongo. He explains that these territories cannot be sold and are having the function of usufruct of the families. He fears that property entitlements will make it easier for the government to make people leave fast, and that new people will move in that has a different notion about what it means to live in a community like Providência.

Marcos from Fórum Comunitário do Porto – FCP, has a different meaning, hoping that properties will be regularized: *«Nobody owns their own house now [...] Who wouldn't prefer that? Having a legal document saying that you are owner of the house, not only because you*

¹⁸ All involved in building infrastructure. Various partnerships and engineering companies.

¹⁹ <http://www.uppsocial.org/acao/empresa-bacana-10/>

are born and raised there more than 30, 40 or 50 years, but that you are the legitimate owner of the house.” He further thinks it is a good idea that people start paying some small taxes for their property, water or electricity. He explains that even though many people don’t pay their bills, he pays, saying that if he didn’t he couldn’t have been complaining about the lack of service either.

Pedro speculates in some rumors saying that the old collective transportation system, the small buses, will be removed after the Teleférico has come in place. The small buses have been running in the streets of Rio for years, being an informal and illegal mode of transportation, but it has been accepted by the government since they have been the only option for people to access the favelas were public transportation has not been allowed to access by the traffic and also because of the difficult access with buses into favelas.

There are still many jobs and services that are community based, the postal system being one of them. At the time of observing the favela, the postman was sick for an indefinite period of time. Mail was then delivered at a local bar/ shop and the residents of the favela came there to collect their post. There was, however, no system of organizing the mail, so people manually searched through the mail of the whole community in order to find their own mail.

4.2.3 Job opportunities

Luizinho has got a kiosk at the top of the mountain with a beautiful view. He expresses that business is good. Still he is preoccupied about that some of his customers already went away when houses were removed and is concerned about what will happen if even more of his immediate neighbors should disappear, something that seems probable. At the same time he has visits from tour companies as we speak that evaluates the possibilities of having tours in Providência and using his kiosk as a station on their tour. He is enthusiastic about this and hopes they can come as soon and often as possible. David has got the same kind of visits to his community house. He believes that it is easier to be an entrepreneur now that untrustworthy drug- traffickers are no longer in power. He further believes that Providência needs visits from both foreigners and Brazilians since the customer base within Providência is comparatively small to other favelas. He believes that Providência is in urgent need of creating new jobs:

“Providência is a port favela. 70% of the families were involved in the port area. Now this fell a lot, now it is maybe 40%. Many are retired. The demand for work in the region was the port. This is stopping. Now many people are working in construction. There are also many working in carnival (4-5 months), and also in the rest in the city.”

He further believes that Providência still will be dependent on the informal sector of carriers etc. since the project does not open up for heavy transport. He explains why this is a problem when it comes to the short lives and the health situation for the carriers.

Some of the people that I spoke to were complaining about the lack of jobs. Fernando however cherished the presence of the new Center of Job and Revenue that offers, intermediary services of labor²⁰. Marlene further points at all the new jobs that are created through the infrastructure work in the area. However, observing a local worker at the Teleférico, I asked some people in a grocery store if many of the workers were local. The answer was; “only him”

4.2.4 Social projects and infrastructural changes

The Police is focusing a lot on preventive action, there are police officers, some educated in physical education, giving classes in jiu- jitsu, karate and kick- boxing, in addition to and also physical education offered for seniors. On the other hand, some citizen does not see any change in what is offered. Pedro says that there might come “various social works over here, that we haven’t seen anything off, saying that UPP social is more a word without meaning.

Fernando again, tells me about more sport activities like basket at various courts around. He also talks about the new gymnastics hall being built where his house used to be and also mentions a new kinder garden. José says that there has come a “family doctor” after the entrance of the UPP that directs people to determined health stations.

The big issues are the teleférico and the Plano Inclinado. There are many mixed emotion about the teleférico. Some, like Francisco, believes that it can make things better, but fears that it is mostly for tourists. While he thinks that he will use it, Pedro who lives a couple of hundred meters underneath the station says that it is not practical for his house. He adds that he does see how the community needs it, especially since they already had access to Praça Americo Brum with the small buses already. While the teleférico looks good, most would rather have investments in schools, health clinics, kinder gardens, supermarkets or drugstores, and fears that the money spent on the teleférico will come expense for investments in the “social part”

²⁰ Public center of employment, job and revenue in the Port Region:
<http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/web/snte/exibeconteudo?article-id=2736877>)

There have been promises made that people from the community will get subsidized transport, but Pedro doesn't trust it will be for free for community even though it's what their saying. "they always make us pay" There are still people like Fernando that believes that it will benefit many people and Marlene that enthusiastically proclaims that "the residents nor I nor nobody would imagine that we would have a teleférico."

Everybody agrees, from Residents Association (AM) and police to civil society agrees that infrastructure is needed to improve the community. Many mention the bad quality of the sewer system, water and not least making sure that people have a dignified place to stay. Various actors talk about that Providência was a "forgotten society" since the origin and that it is time for improvements. Still, there are many disagreements on how this should be done. Most of the critical voices are most concerned about processes. Marcos from FCP says that he is not against any infrastructural project, as long as it is an inclusive project. "Every project needs to bring benefit to the citizens; it is not good enough that everyone wants to do a project only for the government or tourists of public interest." He believes that government should do a mapping of the needs of the people in the society to see what needed to be improved and explains that people are resisting now because it is a process from above and down.

Neither David nor Marcos can see that Providência are getting more included into the city, rather the contrary. David says that *"I see that the city gets access to Providência in the aspect of tourism etc. nothing else."* He believes anyway that Providência will get something back unintentionally.

There is again a general distrust that the government will fulfill the projects that they start. Francisco complains that they have started projects earlier that never finished, and that what is already there is not being taken care of, but recognizes that many things changed, especially around Praça Americo Brum.

Marlene from the AM tends to have a very different angle than other people I talked to. She blames the lack of good will to the project in lack of information; "there are more people who doesn't like it that. The truth is that they were wrongly informed. They don't believe that Providência will have an evolution. They don't believe it." Fernando agrees with Marlene that many good things are happening, but he thinks it is a pity that many people are going to have to leave now that the community is getting all these improvements.

4.3 Removals

“First I was unhappy from the beginning. The work of intervention that interfered in the work of the prefecture. I was photographing 200 residents, and put them on the walls of houses that was to be removed and in some other houses as well and we linked this project to the project of JR - on internet. It turned into a worldwide, it had great force. We made them change the side of the Plano Inclinado. This house was in fact to be destroyed as well. The Plano Inclinado was supposed to be on the other side, but then I discovered that in the plans for of the prefecture. That the other side. All houses were to be removed because of a determination of GEO- Rio, which is an engineering enterprise within the prefecture that measures the grade of risk. I saw that the whole other side was to disappear. So if the whole side was to be removed, why couldn't they put the houses on the other side? What I understood very well, is that this project, within Providência, it is a project that wants to remove a maximum of houses from the Morro. It wants to thin out it wants to open up a lot of the favela. Remove many people. I don't have anything against the project of opening up. I have nothing against opening up space within the favela. I am against the removing of the people within the favela. There are existing ways to construct within the favela. The prefecture could have been thinking of a project of housing within the Morro da Providência, which was not considered.”

David, informal community leader

The major cause off popular mobilization in Providência the last period has been the threat of people being removed from their houses. According to the residents, the Municipal Secretary of Habitation (SMH), came up to Providência and wrote SMH on the houses that were planned removed. The reasoning could be to make room for the teleférico or the plano inclinado, it could be to open up spaces on the top of the favela to make the view more attractive, or it could be because of the danger of landslides. Many residents have resisted, and the organization, FCP (Communitarian Forum of the Port), have been in front of the protests. In February, 2013, Globo reports that the cases still are in the justice system, and that only 196 of the 671 expected reassessments have been taking place.²¹ People who have been requested to leave have received various forms of compensation, either in money or are promised a different housing opportunity via the national infrastructure program PAC. Still, many are not happy with the offers they are receiving.

Fernando's house was demolished, and he is waiting for an apartment. In the meantime he needed to move far away to get a house, since there is a lack of housing opportunities in Providência and everything is turning very expensive. He says that most people accepted the deal when the prefecture came to negotiate, but that some people entered into the justice system. People were afraid that they would leave, the houses too would be demolished and afterwards, they would not get anything. People did not trust that they were promised what

²¹ <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/morro-da-Providência-aguarda-ansioso-seu-teleferico-7600618>

they were promised. Some people trusted that they would get something better since they lived in a “high risk area.” He explains that the majority that left are in the peripheral areas of the city, because they weren’t able to get housing here. The rent became expensive so they had to go far. He himself spent six months in Baixada Fluminense, before he was able to rent a house in Providência again. He does not want to leave the place. *“I’m used to it. I’m born and raised here, I can’t live in another place [...] There are better health system and schools to transportation system, and a feeling that people there are different and that he did not get to know anybody.*

There is a large deal of insecurity amongst the residents about the question of removals. Fernando says that he does not know if the surrounding houses will be removed or not. He says that there is *“an intense uncertainty.”* And continues: *“They always change the plans. Some of the houses that were supposed to leave aren’t leaving anymore and others which weren’t are now supposed to leave.”* A neighbor is renovating his house, but he does not know if he will be removed or not. Marcos, whose house is in danger of being removed, and volunteer in the FCP, explains that SMH have stopped marking houses because of criticism and discomfort. *“Houses that aren’t market can be removed and some that are marked will not.”* He continues explaining that removals are benefitting for some people that have small houses, but it is the small minority. People that have bigger houses will lose in material aspects.

“Still, it is not only the building they are fighting for, it is the story of peoples and families lives... My father has got health related problems. Imagine throwing him away from here to another place. It would be where he wouldn’t know anyone, without any bonds to anyone, where everything would be more difficult. How would it be then?”

Marcos is pro- infrastructure work, but also critiques the lack of consultations:

“The people feel that they are discriminated in the structural project, is that many projects aren’t discussed with the residents in determined localities. Then the resident feel as much marginalized as damaged in this project. But these projects, I really believe that they will be good – as long as there is participation from the whole community. Who is it that judges what is good and what is bad. Who will judge? It’s because of this that we see this big conflict within the community of Providência”

David agrees that the government does not consider other aspects than the material house. “Habitation for them is just making more apartments.” Francisco is critical to the government officials, He believes that they will remove more houses, but don’t think they do anything to help people in their social life.

Many people seem to agree that living condition in Providência got after the security situation improved, but feel that there is incoherence in making Providência a better place to stay and wanting that people move out at the same time. David says that *“now that everything is getting better, and they had conscience of leaving, the prefecture is creating the opportunity of leaving. People thought not long ago that getting a better life were to leave the favela. So the prefecture creates this possibility in this moment that it’s good to stay here. So there is a big incoherence.”* Fernando, who actually had his house removed and was forced to live in a different part of town before moving in with his sister, also has the feeling that they want people to get away from there and that *“they are really throwing out many people.”*

On the other side of the story, we find the vice president of the residents organization (AM), Marlene. She continues saying that people will be get compensation until their apartments are ready, and that they help people to pay the extra fee since the 400 Reais too little. She continues explaining that people also have other options: can use the assisted buying; *“Which is, the prefecture goes there, evaluate their house and you, find another house and the prefecture goes there and pays for it[...]Indemnity, were they go there as well, they evaluate your house and they pay you in money and you go to buy wherever you want. So it’s the options are good.”*

Two different elderly women explained independently about their strong personal ties to the community. One was born there and the other came to Providência from a different region of the country newly wedded with her husband to start a life. They both have several children and grandchildren there and both had their houses marked for removal. One of them was already appointed to an apartment that was under construction. She was very angry about the situation and proclaimed that she would never leave Providência. The other one were in a more uncertain situation, with a house marked a long time ago, but without news from the government in a long time, living a limbo, but still, surrounded by her family in her neighboring houses.

Gentrification

There are two problems here. One is that many people do not seem to want to leave. They live close work, family, community and means of communication and there seems to be many arguments for staying. João Batista rhetorically asks *Do you think we want to move away from here? Leave over there and live in Caxias, Nova Iguacu... We don’t want to leave there no! And this view...”* Still, David says that some fear that violence will rise again and sell

houses when the prices are good as they fear they will fall again. For young locals it seems very difficult to get an accommodation in the area since prices are rising so fast. David state: “With UPP, houses became more expensive. Today, a young couple will not be in the condition of buying a house here.”

Pedro refers to speculation over that richer people will buy properties to build multi-story houses for rental as the pressure is so high in the city center, especially with the Olympics coming up.

David is mostly preoccupied with the potential fast changes with market presence and property speculation and how this will affect the community. “The big problem is, to sell for another person to come; it’s complicated, because the other person will not create the same relation to the favela. The person who will buy this house is without doubt not a favelado. And she will not adapt, she will not be a part of this so easy.” He thinks that it will change the value of union. He says that there are still not many people from the outside living there, but that there are many people that are speculating in living here. He adds that the teleférico will make it more a more accessible favela.

While the people might, or might not enjoy better services, this further opens up for gentrification, or *remocão branca* as it is called in Portuguese. There are clear evidence both from my research and from amongst other Frischtak og Mandel (2012) that housing prices have been skyrocketing since the establishments of the UPPs. While Frischtak og Mandel (2012) argues that lower crime rates leads to raising property prices and therefor will reduces inequality, they forget in their analysis that the less fortunate might have to leave the favela in order to live in cheaper neighborhoods in order to be able to pay their raising bills.

4.4. Culture

The culture of the favela is distinct from the culture of the asphalt. It’s been exoticized, idealized, and criticized. The tourism industry is taking advantage of a huge interest to visit these supposedly dangerous and exotic hotspots of the city and it was recently big news that over 50% of all tourists visiting Rio also wanted to visit the Favela. After movies like *City of God* and *Tropa de Elite* the conciseness of the Favela became global and Favela Chic became fashion. “Favela” has been used as brand names of bars in Europe wanting to express authenticity and danger as well as it is associated with styles of music like Samba, Brazilian Funk and the dancing martial art of Capoeira. The mash-up of Afro- Brazilian religion, music and not least the exotic authenticity of poverty and danger together with the supposed feeling

of community has proven interesting for outsiders, but also insiders show pride of at least parts of their history, religion and culture. José explains:

“...the favela, the sub world in our present world is something that didn't pass through the social control... The favela was during a long time were practically forgotten by the society. The only representative of the society that entered the morro was the police that entered to repress the drug- traffic, the smuggling, the robbery, the violence. And the Catholic Church was here to indoctrinate, to catechize the people. But there were never any secretary of education, of culture, these people never entered here. Along the history of the favela, there were created a proper society. It was a rural piece within the urban zone with a proper culture, with its own music. And within this these, movements were born, like the funk, the samba which is a lot earlier than all the others, and today the modern hip-hop”

When Fernando was forced into moving from Providência as his house was removed he went all the way to Duque de Caxias. He tries to explain to me how he felt somehow like a stranger there:

“I didn't talk so much with people. But people there are also different. Me, I'm a favelado, there they are different. I don't know how to explain. I have one style they have other. They are... how to say it... a bit less social. They aren't into conversing. Here it's different. Everybody joke and talk to everyone, smiling. There the people are more serious, closed. There isn't much intimacy. Here it's like everybody know each other as it was a very big family.”

José says that the question of housing, or the occupation of physical space, is just a small part of the larger dimension of occupation of the intellectual space. *“Where will it be this culture of favela, when everything is brought here from the outside? What exists isn't being respected”*. He continues explaining how he feels that the media talks about the favela in a less pejorative term after the pacification, as a producer of culture rather than related to violence, prostitution and garbage. He continues:

“So I ask you, why is it that all the projects that comes to the favela, they are to children and youngsters? They aren't for adult, they aren't for seniors.... The children are in this thing of being mold, being molded. But not by the proper favela, by the society, in this globalized society that we are living. So this globalized, neoliberal society, it's in this society that we live. And it is this is being brought to our kids. That is the production of culture.”

Having been working as a teacher of capoeira for 18 years in Providência, José explains his perspective on the police bringing many other martial arts to the community like karate, muay thai and jiu jitsu. First of all he is frustrated that the police did not take initiative to dialogue with the group of martial arts when they came to cooperate. Second, he feels that his role as a teacher of capoeira is not being valued. He says that the people who have a formalized education in PE are supposedly more qualified than the capoeira professors that already

existed here. He means that the erudite knowledge, the academic culture, technical, scientific, universitarian is being prioritized to capoeira which is an artistic cultural activity. He explains that some years ago, there was a formalization of the curriculum for the teachers within physical education, making him unsuitable of teaching capoeira at school, even though he had the title *professor* – teacher as a rank. This led to conflicts and confrontation between him, who is educated within the semi- formalized education within the capoeira movement, and the teachers in PE who has a fully formalized education from the public education system. *“They want to take control of it. But the capoeira can’t let itself be dominated of this. I’m against that.”*

José emphasize the importance of the favela- residents recognizing its, own value, and not simply accept what is attributed to him. *“That is one of the great threats at the moment, not only in the favelas, but in whatever community that isn’t recognized by the state -that this today is the concept of the favela without the planning of a public power, public administration.”* He explains how *“it’s important to be integrated into the society, but at the same time you have to... maintain your identity... There is a concept, a consensus in the collective imaginary, today in the modern society, that the traditional has to be substituted in the modern. That the modern is better than the traditional.”*

People have different opinions though to whether Providência is turning more modern than it used to be. Fernando states that *“It goes on modernizing, it’s happening.”* Luizinho both thinks and hopes that it will modernize cause: *“it was always forgotten, so it’s time to get an improvement, a clean-up”* Francisco means that a bank, ATM and the teleférico are proofs that Providência is turning more modern. Others like Marcos believe that everything is continuing the same way. He does not believe that the teleférico changes many things. *“We continue doing the things we have doing for years. I still buy my bread normally, I throw the trash down there, doing the same as we have been doing for a long”*

José finds what he calls the conflict between the modern and traditional very interesting. *“There is a consensus in the collective imaginary, today in the modern society, that the traditional has to be substituted in the modern. The modern is better than the traditional. But it is what I tell people. People end up, without the traditional, executing certain things with any technical knowledge of what he is doing. He does because it’s cool to do it.”*

4.5 Security- development

The UPPs has two main priorities; to ensure public security, and the other is to engage in preventive action. Within the category preventive action follows several after school activities that organized in by the UPP social in cooperation with the coordinators of the project UPP social. Captain Glauco Schorcht further says that “Our main priority is public security – to guarantee the rights of the residents.”

The policing part, he tells, mainly consist of the being present in the streets, doing intelligence, police check- ups and being present to whatever happens in the streets. I observed that the police from time to time were checking all the cars entering the favela and asked what they were looking for:

It's a routine that we have because there exists still the people who didn't understand that deal with the drug traffic, work with the drug traffic, is not a something positive in our way of seeing it, and we do controls, because they still try to bring drugs to the community, encouraging this illegal market. [...] it's not the individual who is suspicious, there are attitudes the he has in that moment that turns them in to a suspect. The behavior, the way of looking - he is walking and when he sees the police officer he turns around... it's not “Eduardo Silva” who is suspicious, it's the attitudes that he has in that specific moment that turns him into a suspect. So, many times, the police officer, on the basis of these criteria, he does a check-up of the individual.

The mandate of the Pacification Police is more than working directly with security issues, their “preventive action” has a far broader mandate. They do organization of leisure activities, invite partners to work with formalization of business activities, invite various partners to teach professional training.

The captain in command explains that they are cooperation a lot with the Municipal Secretary of Housing – SMH and Morar Carioca etc. They take part in their reunions, passing messages from residents to them – they call themselves a link for dialogue between cooperating organs, private or public. Maria Helena Dos Santos from the AM agrees that they have a good relationship with the UPP and that the captain replies them very well every time they ask. Through this cooperation they succeed in communicating to the community that they are there to bring improvements to the community, not shootouts and disorder as they are used to from the past. And they secure the physical guarantee of the partners that work inside the community. They participate in reunions and take an active part in question of water, electricity etc. He further explains that the area around the UPP office got better access from road, electricity and sewage – which are good for the community as well. According to the captain, these changes were not possible before because of a lack of security. Fernando agrees and does not think that anybody would do investments if security could not be guaranteed.

David does not think that the government would have the courage to come in without the UPP – he further ties it to the removals, saying that he doubts they would have that project without. Marcos, however, points to the Favela Bairro projects under Cécar Maia, another initiative made to transform the favela into a “bairro”, a regular neighborhood, was well executed, even though the police was not present.

It is obvious that the rising property prices are related to the entrance of the UPPs. David expresses worry about that no young couples from the society will be in condition to buy a house there today. He fears that the feeling of community will change as people from the outside moves in.

José is happy that the UPPs are bringing after school activities to the society, but he is still frustrated that they did not get in touch with the local society to map what already existed and cooperate with them. The police is bringing many martial arts to the community like karate, muay thai and jiu jitsu and José seems worried that it will be difficult for the traditional Capoeira to survive the competition.

6.0 Discussion

Both in the Agache plan and in the today debates, there is a recurring argument for the state of the favelas, whether discussing the lack of infrastructure or schools, or if authorities are explaining crime, the lack of presence from previous governments is always to blame. This has had to change. The lack of sovereignty within gang- controlled areas have been not only been a threat towards the elite that have controlled the capital, it has also been a problem for the security of the residents of drug controlled areas. It is obviously a democratic problem not to choose your own leader. It is a problem that any type of infrastructural improvement or social programs can only be implemented with a drug- dealers blessing or that anyone can be sentenced without a trial, in a non- democratic legal system. It is a problem that gangs constantly were fighting other gangs for power, and innocents were caught in the crossfire. Independently, without of considering potential business or protection of World Cup tourists, the regime of drug traffic needed and still needs to come to an end. Still, there are parts of present policy of the UPP that is problematic, but what do they consist in and how are they different from previous policies that have been trying to handle the “favela problem”

6.1 States of exception

A state of exception is when you go beyond the conventional rules of the game. It is the situation that occurs when the existence of a referent object is threatened. A reasonable example could be if the sovereignty, or monopoly of violence of a state, is threatened as is the case in the favelas of Rio.

The favela has always represented undesirable behavior for the ruling classes. In the Pereira Passos and Agache reforms, the favela represented abnormality, undesirable aesthetics, dysfunctionality and threats to environment, health and order and security. By letting the “leper” spread, the beautiful nature would be lost. Without proper hygiene, the city would be contaminated by all kinds of illnesses. The recipe was mandatory vaccination, eradication of favelas and civilizing the uncivilized through affordable housing that would learn the underdeveloped accepted behavior in a modern society. Security was another threat towards the state, but further down the list. Braathen et al. (2013) call it the tyrannies of environment and health. The underdeveloped was a threat to the referent object *health* and the referent object *environment*, and therefor needed to be removed.

6.2 Securing development

The situation from the 1920s is not principally very different from today, but the development envisioned by the ruling parties have evolved.

Due to the historical of role of the Brazilian police, from the early 20th century, throughout the military dictatorship and until present times, it is might be not be precise to call the present policies *exceptions* from the *normal*. Anyhow, there has been an escalating involvement from the police force ever since the drug gangs started to consolidate their power. Threats against the territorial sovereignty have been present ever since. The UPPs does not either represent an escalation of violence against civilians, rather the opposite. What is special about the UPPs is the role they have as mediators between civilians and state organs, as hosts for official visits to the favela, of offering after school activities, and PE for elders. Locally they are also responsible for inviting NGOs or private companies to engage in the work they do in the specific community. Marcelo da Silva og Santos da Silva (2012) also raises critique towards the UPPs as a new public and administrative authority in the favelas that constitute threat to the Human Rights of the favela dwellers through territorial militarization and compulsory social control.

What triggered the implementation of the UPPs, were not a sudden emerging threat to state sovereignty, rather the hosting off several mega- events. The state of exception was not triggered by various arrangements that should, not only be a nation- building projects, but further be catalysts for economic development. As Sergio Cabral states in his inauguration speech for UPP Providência: “this is moment is fundamental for the port project to go forward”, referring to, Porto Maravilha, a project that in addition to building collective transportation and museums seeks to “*expressively heat the economy in the region*”²² In Providência, various reforms are taking place in order to make the area more attractive to tourism and shine as a model example of a successful policy. The teleférico that is being built between the central station, Providência and an Olympic center of journalists, have not been requested from the citizens, and while it might be used by them as well, it seems probable that it was built to make the area more accessible to external visitors. A range of houses around a chapel is planned removed in order to improve the view around the chapel, another action to make the area attractive to outsiders. Most important however, as Providência is both a historically important favela, and is situated in the middle of the financial center of Rio, the

²² <http://portomaravilha.com.br/web/sup/OperUrbanaApresent.aspx> (accessed 15.05.2014)

crime rates was certainly a threat to the climate of investments in the area. The strategic selection of favelas with proximity to areas of importance to the 2014 FIFA World Cup or the 2016 Rio Olympics, and then again with proximity to the richer southern Zone, have reinforced the critique about the UPPs mainly being a policy that will not benefit the people living in favelas. The same critique was found from within the favela. The teleférico that were not mainly of their interest, not least the fact that the state made it so easy for people to leave the favela now that they finally had some sort of security. Marcos explains that he believes the presence of the UPP has got more to do with other interests than the residents and that it mostly serves the people around the area. He has a feeling that the police are working as guardians making sure that *“people don’t leave the place, that they don’t create more problems in the vicinity”*.

From a police perspective, Tierney (2012) argues that the pacification police are both more humane towards the population and that their relatively less repressive methods are spreading to other departments of the military police, but one can ask if it is reasonable that a softer military police can justify a securitization of development efforts.

6.3 Modernity revised

In an interview in 2008, the governor Cabral refers to Hausmann and Paris, stating that Rio has experienced growing without planning, and that *“we now have to enter the modern world – in logistics, in the physical part, in accessibility”* (in Alves & Evanson 2011:204) –

The longing for Hausmann is still present amongst the Brazilian decision-makers. Cabral still seems to dream about straight lines and the finely defined bairros. Concretizing the former quote, he adds that firefighters, post- and not least police-officers cannot enter communities as they look now, a demand that probably many people in the favela also would appreciate. Before UPP, it was further a regular argument that the favela terrain was favorable for the traffickers in a combat situation. According to Captain Glauco Schorcht however, the problem was less relevant now that his soldiers knew the area just as good as traffickers.

History says that these efforts of modernization are result of a change from “leper” and total extortion – via removing to remote places by force – to removing to closer and only scarcely remote places using indirect force. It seems now that we are heading towards a semi-authoritative regime that uses soft power to modernize the favelas through reforms, rather than removal. The big amount of efforts, especially around Providência to upgrade the favela, suggests that authorities have taken one step away from forced removals of whole societies.

The revised modernity is a compromised version of the early 20th century modernism. Rather than exclusion, the present securitized development seeks to include the favelas into the regularized society through infrastructure upgrade, formalization of economic activities, opening spaces through thinning out areas of the favela and invite representatives of the market into the favela.

My impression from providência was that many people did not yet have regularized electricity and tv bill. Vieira da Cunha og da Silva Mello (2011) reported however from Santa Marta, the first pacified slum, that the electricity company, Light, have had programs of education for consumers, learning how to save electricity and modernizing the electrical system. The authorities were further mapping the society and giving people addresses to be able to send them bills. Formalizing business and getting people to list themselves as job- seeking are also ways of organizing people, not only as Duffield would say, governable objects, but creating future entrepreneurs, that can create even more jobs and carry the city.

This type of inclusion seems to be a market-based liberal inclusion that believes in social inclusion through the moneys earned from work through a formalized business.

These strong links between police units, citizens and the business sector designs a new model of definition of the social that distance itself from the political and institutional that traditionally have responsible for citizenship

In Providência, some people were intimidated by the presence of the police, not trusting that they would treat them fairly if anything should happen. Some hade however rather good relationships to the police. While one person argued for communitarian property rights, rather than individual, many others would like to have papers that stated who was the true owner of a house. No one that I spoke to were skeptical about building infrastructure in the society, but my research objects were not happy feeling that they had no opportunity to voice their opinions, that the governments should have been looking for alternative house inside the favela etc. Some people also feared the consequences of a gentrification – the potential lack of communitarian feeling, the unfairness of so many people having to leave etc.

The strongest opinions however came from the capoeirista, who was both himself a bearer of ancient culture, that was afraid the traditions inside the favela would die out. He was especially disappointed of the police not having tried to include them in the social projects as they arrived. For his business and culture, the police became a competitor.

While Captain Glauco Schorcht goal is that, “*they can now complain and scream to the neighbors without fearing reprisals as they had to before*”., the other side of the coin is that

Once a *favela* has been pacified, the police force can, in the name of the residents, request the establishment of public services from the State, trying to resolve conflicts involving families or neighbors, forbidding or granting permissions to carry out cultural events, organizing the displacement of domestic refuse and, finally, playing a role in the surveillance of the suburb. (Bautès & Soares Gonçalves 2011:21)

Even though Providência has not yet been fully formalized, both the empirical material from other favelas and the policies implemented in Brazil show clear evidence of there will come a gentrification of some sort. It is still undecided how many people that will have to move because of the forced removals due to projects of infrastructure, nor people living in areas exposed to high risk of landslides etc. It is further not sure where, if and what kind of alternative housing these people will be offered in the end. Frischtak og Mandel (2012) argues that UPPs, through pacification, are increasing property prices in the pacified areas. From there they derive that UPPs are contributing to decreased inequality in Rio de Janeiro via increased house prices. While this might be partially true, I believe that this politics can create new winners and new losers. The economic winners might be the ones that are able to stay, despite of higher prices and people who will have to move, that were willing to move for a good price. If, however, formalization of expenses like electricity or TV will eventually result in a semi- forced eviction for people who rent or have low income. How this reconfiguration will take place on a city- wide basis, is still hard to say and depends on a variety of factors. One can only speculate to whether the present ever so fragmented socio – economic urban map will change towards a dualistic representation, dividing north and south, poorer and richer.

6.4 The contradictions of a liberal regime

It is hard to say if the inherent positivism is very relevant for the politics of today in Brazil. One might say the elements of authoritarianism, the believe in that the truth exist and that the authorities can act upon this truth are still present. In addition, I believe that the element found in the Brazilian flag, order and progress, might be very important in nation building, without necessarily communicating the same as Compté wanted to communicate. “*Order and*

Progress” changes its meaning when it is written on the flags planted on a favela by heavily armed military police looking out towards the apparent chaos of the favela.

Tensions of development and security, emancipation and control, order and progress have always been going on in Brazil, and most certainly longer than the early 20th century. When defining development as a tool to improve others, Duffield might have right, but this tool have also existed before, in this case, one wanted to civilize others. As the years have gone by, both the developed and the underdeveloped have been present, one of them trying, to improve the other to become more like the norm. Smith’s worry of inequality being a source of unrest is certainly present in Brazil. The police function to protect those who have property against those who does not as well. The contradictory idea of liberalism is that it demands a good amount of security. The freedom of investment, trading and owning property is threatened by mistrust, disorder and war. One might argue that it was the change in government regime, towards an entrepreneurial, liberal economy driven by the hosting of the mega events that fuelled this highly efficient fund- raising and implementation of a whole new security regime in so little time. What we see now is that the pacification of the favelas and the ever more liberal economy might be excellent tools to force parts of the favela resident into both a formal economy, and maybe also, to use Duffield again, a more “western” way of life.

With such an analysis, Duffield’s (2007:2) writings that is *“interested in examining the role and function of these technologies (of development) in securing the western way of life”* and his definition of development as *“a regime of biopolitics that generically divides humankind into developed and underdeveloped species-life”* (2007:16) starts resonating in this local context.

In the middle there are people who face the consequences of the strive for modernity, the people who lived at Morro do Castelo at the time of removal in 1921 or the people who now lives where a new gondola is being built in Morro da Providência,

Police in Brazil have been accused of using a big stick to defend its country also from internal threats. The extensive use of violence have led to pressure from various academics to argue for a softer police force, where community policing is claimed to be part of the solution.

The recent demonstrations all over Brazil starting in June 2013 addressing amongst others the contradiction of Brazil having enough money to host mega- events, while not ensuring health and education for its population, can be regarded some sort of a lakmus- test of how pacific

the police have become. On one hand, president Dilma Rouseff is cited in the media saying that people have the right to protest, on the other, the extensive use of tear gas and rubber bullets against pacific demonstrators shows that there is still a long way to go.

7.0 Concluding remarks

The situation as it was in many favelas of Rio, a history of drugs, weapons, child soldiers, fear, execution of innocents and stray bullets was unbearable. The authorities reconquering the favelas were necessary. Anyhow, the UPPs did not come as a result of sovereignty being threatened, rather a combination of many factors, that had the hosting of several mega- events as the immediate precedent.

These mega events have paved the way for changes in urban managements a model based on a neo liberal model of entrepreneurism. In being able to show the city to the world, security needed be assured.

The UPPs have followed in the same direction, change patterns of sociability, working with formalization of economy and the same time doing everything possible to ensure peace, so that the neoliberal city can be successful. The UPP has blurs out the border between civilian and military, putting them in a position to secure the development they want.

Epilogue

Since ending my field work for this thesis, hundreds of thousands were demonstrating in 2013 and partly also in 2014, because of violent police practices, high bus prices, low budgets on health and education, and corruption and high spending around the mega- events. More incidents have recently been reported of UPPs using excessive violence, breaking the emerging trust. People are now raising their voices in the streets for the first time in decades. What the future will bring in Brazil is harder to say than ever.

Maybe the giant finally woke?

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Abbreviations and glocary

AM: *Associação de Moradores/* Resident Associations

BOPE – *Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especias* – a special forces unit operating under the Military Police in Rio de Janeiro Brazil.

FCP – *Fórum Comunitário do Porto* – Communitarian forum of the port – Local NGO based in the port area around the city center of Rio de Janeiro. Working predominantly with issues regarding displacement of people in the port area, mainly in Providência

GPAE - *Grupamento de Policiamento de Áreas Especias* – Policing groups for special areas.

PRONASCI – *Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania/* National Program of Public Security and Citizenship

PM: *Polícia Militar/* Military Police

SMH: *Secretaría Municipal de Habitação/* The Municipal Secretary of Housing

UPP - *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* - Police Pacification Unit. Operation under the Military Police in Rio de Janeiro

Some Portuguese word are both essential and hard to translate. Most of them are related to socio- economic inequality and indentity in Rio de Janeiro.

A **barrio** is a neighborhood. It is a formal neighborhood and not a **favela**. The favela is Brazilian equivalent of a slum. **Comunidade**, meaning community can also be used to describe the same phenomenon. It is the politically correct term, regarded less perjorative than favela. **Morro** is yet another term to describe a favela. It literally means small mountain. It is often used to contrast the **asfalto** in the same way as favela contrasts the bairro. Unless I am quoting, I will use the term favela in this thesis.

Funk Carioca is probably the most popular music and dance genre in Brazil today. It is characterized by repetitive and often sexualized lyrics and a rhythm that can best be describes as a mix of hip hop and raeggeton. A **Baile funk** – or a **baile**, refers to parties arranged in favelas where the music style funk carioca is central. A baile has often been arranged by the gangs, and has been used both to praise leaders of the gangs and also to finance their business. It has however become more mainstream and diverse in recent years.

Name	position	remarks
Captain Glauco Schorcht	Chief in Command UPP Providência – ‘10 -‘13	Was later promoted to Major and got a new assignment in UPP Babylonia in 2013
Luizinho	Young grandfather of 41. Owner of a small shop	
Francisco	58 year old. Lived in Providência since he was three	
Fernando	25 years old, born and raised in Providência. Works with laundry at the foot of the hill	Was removed by force, lived away for some time, before returning, living temporarily with his sister while waiting for alternative housing
Maria Helana dos Santos	Vice- president of the Residents Association (AM)	
David	Informal community leader, running NGO.	
Pedro	Working in private security company, adult, spent most of his life in Providência	
Marcos	Local community leader and member of Fórum Comunitario do Porto	
José	Adult Capoeirista, historian and conservator of historical building.	



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