

PUBLIC (IN)SECURITY

Policy Brief VI.3

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policy brief

VI.3.1. Introduction

We must be vigilant in our societies to sites that have a radical punitive framework, to places where the left arm of the State is absent and the right arm acts with firm repressive purposes. Not only out of solidarity to those who are subjected to repression in their dwelling places but mainly because these are spaces that guide the boundaries of possibility of repressive action for society as a whole, through fear. If there is such a reality, it can be extended to all, naturalizing barbarities and making the whole society susceptible to risk and danger implemented by generally illegal practices. There is in this process an extension of the boundaries of legality. And the case in point here, the Favela da Maré is a kind of vanguard of this process. The community of Maré recommended the end of aggressions committed by public bodies, a security policy formulated by the residents and fair treatment by the police.

At Maré the rights are repeatedly suspended, the infrastructure is not enough, different small armies battle it out, there are curfews to the sound of guns and murder, torture and humiliation are part of the daily scene.

The meaning of 'Maré' [tide], according to the dictionary is: "regular and periodic movement of the sea, which is the reason to the level goes up and down every day at the same place"; and figuratively: "Lot, bustling crowd: a true human tide invaded the square." The favela of Maré was born on stilts, houses built on water, suspended and connected by woods. Symptomatic is the fact that, not achieving space on land to reside, the founders of this space built a floating community in which the calculation of the impact of tidal variation was central to their survival. Calculation that remains to these days, except for the nature of the tides that affects their decisions. Residents now estimate the tidal range of rights violations, submission to armed groups and the military control of its territory. Dwellers who make up a huge collective of people, comparable to

the population of medium-sized Brazilian cities, 136 mil people, invaded by diverse and dangerous territorial control tactics.

In the last twenty years it has been stepping up extralegal measures imposed mainly by representatives of the police through the territory of Maré. Armoured tanks, helicopters, assault rifles to thousands, barricades, endless shootings, uninvestigated arrests, raids on homes without a warrant, child murders, young and old tortured, humiliation, explicit racism, countless violations without investigation, legal process or punishment to any police or military. In addition to the local forefront for radical punishment, Maré is becoming an area subject to intense illegalities, application trials and subsequent measurement of social legitimacy achieved by such acts. An experimental laboratory for extension of illegal action opportunities "necessary" to restore "democratic normality", officials say.

Since the mid-90s, when the favela was dominated territorially by two factions of drug trafficking, the Red Command and the Third Command, police raids to the territory intensified. A decade earlier, the 80s was marked by marijuana trafficking and use of smaller-caliber weapons in the operation of trafficking. The 90s inaugurated the operation of cocaine trafficking and the use of heavy weapons. More profitable and capitalist, cocaine trafficking brought higher profits and encouraged the police appetite: since then they charge increasingly higher rates to make a 'blind eye' to trafficking.

The Red Command, hegemonic over other criminal organizations in the city, working in hundreds of slums, was formed in the early 70s from the organization of various gang leaders gathered in one of the main prisons in the State of Rio de Janeiro at the time, and still holds the hegemonic position in the city despite losing spaces and markets for militias, Pacifying Police Units (UPP's), and other policies. During the 90's in Maré the main threat to this hegemony was the Third Command, criminal organization that had close ties with corrupt police officers, who sold them weapons and drugs and ensured facilities in the retailing of drugs. During all the 90's, the territory of Maré was shared between two commands that generated circulation rules and different and contradictory behavior in

each portion of the division of space. Many bloody disputes between the two factions about the police's participation added several fatal episodes for many residents.

Symbol of a spatial injustice idea, the territory is here questioned as a whole, subjected to various violations of human dignity. Although claimed by residents questioning of the different stories and realities of each of the sixteen communities that make up the complex of slums, we will focus here on the violent practices and their impact, and processes that affect the residents as a whole of a space bordered by central avenues very important for circulation in the city. Mainly through the speeches of residents we seek to describe and understand the impacts of violent practices, the different dimensions of life there.

In the 90s Maré had over one hundred thousand inhabitants and good portion of their homes was still very precarious. Fires, homeless displaced by heavy rains and the State action promoted some removals of community residents. There are reports in the Observatory of Urban Conflicts realizing the removal of more than three hundred families in the period.

The Funk parties were also very repressed by the police in the period, causing conflicts and deaths in Maré. Balls promoted by drug factions vying for customers and legitimacy through these big parties where the popular musical expression that referred to the daily lives of slum dwellers and filled the dancing places of Maré and other neighborhoods. The dances still exist, but in the 90s they were a real fashion and were important in creating legitimacy ties between residents, and managers of trafficking often distributed beer and raffling gifts in those events.

The 2000s began with the entry into the territory of a third faction, the Friends of Friends and residents reported that it had even greater links with corrupt sectors of the police. Clashes between factions and between them and the police have intensified and there were several public demonstrations by residents against the death of children, three, five, six, eight-year-old killed by rifle shots and that led the demonstrations. In 2001, the police bought and began operating shielded trucks, ornamented with skulls figures spiked with

knives, the so-called 'caveirões'. The Caveirão enters the favela shooting and announcing their presence through messages propagated by a sound box that threaten the population with phrases like: "Run, the Caveirão arrived!", "I came here to seek your soul." These voices cause so much panic that there is a record of a lady in the range of fifties who died by a heart attack after hearing the recording and having seen the armored truck pass by.

Radicalization of everyday violence in Maré at the 2000s also relied on the installation of a military police battalion in the community (which had army barracks in its territory since de '40s). Three drug factions, a police battalion full of 'caveirões' on your patio, a large army barracks and hundred and forty thousand poor villagers, many of them very poor, appalling sanitary conditions, State services not entered (post office, for example), poor and scrapped schools, rare, insufficient and scrapped health centers, frequent interruptions in power supply and the water supply operated by clandestine networks, Maré was a pressure cooker about to explode and, in 2008, entered into open warfare between factions:

"The most striking fact to me was that in the 2009 war, in 2008 and 2009 because in Maré you had ... you had there three factions vying for the same territory, so for me the most memorable moment even more symbolic was when I was playing, I walked into a friend's house in the Vila do João. I do not remember the faction that was in the village then, I just remember they cut off the head of a crazy rival faction and began to play ball in the middle of the court there. Of course, with the head of the nut guy, in the middle of the cheerful and playing staff (...) and me, this situation was very strange, it was very heavy, it was a thing that I was really seeing so ... I have never seen that in my life, although I has to be aware of the traffic, I did not know it was so strong at the point of severing the head of the enemy and handle it and sort of derided the other's body, catch and kick the head... I think for me this scene was the most striking, but in this process of war I had numerous scenes also... I was about 15 at the time".

Silence, especially political, is a trademark of the territory since different groups of traffickers settled there, always in dispute, which brought the police repression of everyday life. Surrounded by powerful weapons on all sides, controlled by the choice of colours for clothing that you can use while transit through certain parts of the territory, residents are forced to a permanent update of the situation of the internal disputes just for a simple walk within Maré. Indeed silenced, intimidated to grant an interview, the mention of certain words in conversations on the street, the political expression, the fight for rights is still there. It was still possible to apply qualitative questionnaires that generated blunt and revealing interviews with locals during the research.

The similar character in terms of permanent surveillance, police control, action and presence of the 'crime-useful', the degrading conditions suggest the approach of the territory of Maré with the idea of 'carceral continuum' of Foucault, prisoners who were residents in a logical of violations that approaches the slum to the idea of prison.

Because of its geographical position and trafficking groups submitting the territory instalments, Maré has always been the focus of different interventions every new direction taken by security policies. The presence of drug trafficking factions retail, a "militia", army, which occupies a significant part of the territory with a barracks, a military police battalion, conforms Maré as the territory of ongoing disputes that the disciplinary perspective mentioned above. But how to control, or rather how to spend the idea that you can control a territory, "war-torn", located between the international airport and the city? For the hosting of the World Cup 2014 and the 2016 Olympics Maré needed to look controlled, "pacified" or domesticated, ordered. Mega-events could not be thought of without an intense military action that would ensure tranquillity to the operation of their own, which was done.

Maré has been, over the last twenty years, the space/stage of all the tactics imposed by force on the daily lives of the city's slums.

All of crime organizations¹, the militia, the army and more recently the UPP's were in confrontation in the territory, occupied plots, killed people and led to the daily lives of

residents the fear, the risk, and the danger of permanent crisis in this period, making the experience of living there a real experience of living in a territory of exception. Exception that turns rule and submitting all the inhabitants of Maré to daily violence, physical and symbolic, health and war, emotional and educational. And submit all residents as a whole because the site of radical punitive disciplines the whole social body.

Giorgio Agamben in his "State of Exception" discusses the contradiction which consists of state-duty suspension in time of some "unrest", when the order and the laws are threatened, creating exceptional practices that after guaranteeing the return of legal normality that one event had to suspend. Contradiction expressed in the suspension of laws and rights for its own preservation.

"But the maximum aporia against which fails, ultimately, the whole theory of the state of necessity concerns the very nature of the need, the authors continue, more or less unconsciously, to think like an objective situation. (...) The need, far from being presented as an objective fact, clearly implies a subjective judgment and that necessary and exceptional are, of course, only those conditions that are declared as such." (Agamben, 2004)

Fear and disorder are fundamental to the management. Extralegal policies often guarantee freedom of action for the state to restrict the public spaces, the public sphere, to ensure the advancement of private spaces, symbolic or concrete. The political investment in public safety in a city like Rio de Janeiro in order to compete in the market needs no justifications, or rights, or the political debate.

And authorize to think of a Shock Planning, guided by the exceptional character of the policies introduced, for control of slums through complementary tactics of domination, managed by the introduction of new markets at the same time that introduces new forms of oppression. After the example of disaster capitalism, appears the capitalist privatization and exploitation of Mega-events, what in Rio de Janeiro and at Maré in particular has symbolized the clear example of the intertwined relationship between State and market.

The Shock Planning directed to the most conflagrated areas of the city is quickly legitimized in its exceptionality, due to give the impression of control and management of

the problematic areas for the dominant sectors of the society. Although leading to spaces dominated the shock of their combined actions, full of illegalities. There is regular obtaining of "over-power" in a process of uneven application of space controls.

The moments leading up to the World Cup soccer showed to Maré and to the city as a whole operation of the Shock Plan. And the resistance also was not intimidated. We lived in Rio de Janeiro the moment of the greatest conflicts of the last twenty years with marches and almost daily demonstrations who arrived to mobilize more than one million people on the streets in an episode that many think have had no end and which became known as "the Journeys of June 2013". A movement that started against the rising of bus fares but extended its protests to fight against corruption, against police violence, against the World Cup and other numerous fight flags.

According to Bourdieu (1996) the social space is signed by two characteristic conditions; the economic capital and the cultural capital. Such points to secrete and different social groups, whose reflection is manifested in the territorial dimension and is consequently social. From this perception, Maré, due to their socio-economic situation of low income (compared to some areas of the city) and reduced level of cultural education, emerges as one of the "peripheral" areas of Rio de Janeiro, illustrating a symbolic space and a subordinate social status.

The Complex of Maré, between mid-2014s and 2015 was attended by the military occupation of the Brazilian army. The role of the military mobilized a war structure, involving tanks, helicopters, fences, road closings, situations only imaginable in times of great wars.

At first, the Military Police troops (PM), followed by Federal Army troops get there on the morning of April 5. The same day that a group of cell phone businesses and other of cable TV, in addition to the energy public company, have filed their tents to regulate trade in their services to the population. State market is not a political outcome only, at this day literally it worked together and organized in the favela.

These task forces are part of an redesign shock-planning for the urban city which has ranged a figure of 2.700 troopers of military forces settlements - this deployment has cost a number of R\$ 1,7 million/day, on estimate revealed in the Union Official Daily Bulletin according to public security officials; in 2013, the first military deploy was supported by a special federal act named Law and Order Guarantee by curbing the local population transit rights.

The Decree Law and Order Guaranties of 24 March 2014 gave police powers to the military forces, that started to be able to patrol, inspect and arrest in the act. Less than two weeks later, the Army occupied the favela of Maré with two thousand seven hundred men, tanks, barricades, thousands of rifles and carrying a document that would make Giorgio Agambem blush: a search warrant and collective apprehension, unpublished, which at the same time allowed the Army (2050 soldiers), the Navy (450) and the Military Police (200) could get into any of the roughly 40,000 homes of Maré.

The 'occupation' of Maré was expected to last until the end of the World Cup in July 2014 but lasted until July 1, 2015, with a multitude of complaints about acts of racist humiliations, vexatious inspections and violent, permanent observation points on the rooftops of houses, home invasions that broken furniture, in addition to reported abuses of authority and cowardice.

On June 30 2015, the second step towards the so-called "peace making" troops settlement took place in the Maré Community upon the Army troops withdrawal and its substitution by the Military Police. Such military deploy replacement has been seen with a cautious approach by the local community inhabitants due to changes on the character of the occupation after the federal troops left the region. Yet, as the occupation stages are still going on, no sketch was observed on how this "peace making" policy will be led.

The political architecture of Maré occupation mounted to ensure smooth operation of the World Cup 2014 committed human rights violations, as well as set up a real state of exception.

However, this exception increasingly becomes legal and commonplace, configuring a situation of suppression of human rights. The "security reasons" are now part of a technique of normal and permanent government. The exception becomes the rule and subjected residents to a very different reality of other city neighborhoods and even the most favelas. Place of punitive radicalism which governs the whole of society in terms of threat of the possibility of multiplication of that condition, the spreading of illegalities, setting an spatial injustice radical frame.

This exceptionality generated illegal situations in the army operation mode in Maré, there were establishment of curfew in some cases, use of disproportionate force against residents, inspections of children, especially the default sort of inspection by the military, whom distinguish men, particularly younger people, as individuals associated with local drug trafficking.

The Maré, place subjected to the shock of planning, site of punitive radicalism in horrible living conditions, teaches that only the struggle changes life and the residents are organized in NGOs, collective political discussion, and very active cultural groups feed hope to residents for better days, even though the political paths indicated by the correlation of forces in the city point to the deepening oppression in this 2016 Olympics.

VI.3.2. Policy Recommendations:

- End of humiliations, killings, shootings and general rights violations promoted by State forces;
- Involvement of the population in the design and control of security policies aimed at Maré;
- Dignified treatment and citizen respect by acting State forces in the territory.