

## **EMERGENCY CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF INSECURITY AND VIOLENCE IN RIO DE JANEIRO ("CITY PROFILE")**

### **Objective**

This part sought to analyze the main urban interventions that contributed to the formation of the city of Rio de Janeiro in order to understand how the expression of social inequality and violence was consolidated in its internal spatial organization.

### **4.1 Unequal Society**

We understand the unequal society in its socially unequal projection in the geographic space, taking into account Milton Santos (2012) who advocated that to study the spatial distribution of poverty, one must consider the reasons that make individuals of the same capacity and virtualities have a distinct "value", conditioned to the place where they live. From that, when considering the distribution of violence in the city of Rio de Janeiro, we have seen in studies that the north zone of the city, formed mostly by the middle class, concentrates the largest number of conflicting events, with 42,9% from January 1993 to July 2014, focusing on Maré, Tijuca, Vigário Geral and Complexo do Alemão neighborhoods. Then we have conflicts totalizing 21.7%, involving the whole city. Regarding the southern area, that historically has always concentrate investments to the infrastructure improvement, to the detriment of other parts of the city of Rio de Janeiro, we found 14.5% of conflicts involving neighborhoods like Rocinha, Botafogo, Copacabana and Santa Tereza, remembering that this part of town blends multimillion dollar homes to poor housing. In the West Zone, we had 12.8%, with higher incidence in the districts of Cidade de Deus, Barra da Tijuca, Campo Grande and Bangu. And in the Central Zone, we had 8.1%, involving the neighborhoods of Rio Comprido, Estácio, Catumbi and the downtown area.

If we consider the social actors mobilized in order to claim security, groups of residents and/or neighbors accounted for 45.3% of the total, indicating that local actions constitute the major part of such demonstrations. Groups of friends and/or relatives of violent crime victims accounted for 23.3%. About 8% of the demonstrations for public safety were organized by NGOs, among which highlights the NGO Viva Rio, whose actions get great repercussion in the press.

In the same period (January 1993 to March 2013), we had 643 murders due to conflicts over public safety registered in our research. Of this total, approximately 89% occurred in the city's slums and 11% caused collective protests in all other neighborhoods together. Of the 643 deaths that generated protests for security, the vast majority are young and adolescents. Over these twenty years, death rate that motivates conflicts in slums rose

about 60% in the first ten years, reaching almost 90% of deaths that led to public demonstrations in the whole period, ie, the lethality of police actions (mainly) and common crime actions (very residually) concentrated almost all murders that motivated conflicts in the city slums. When there is death that generates urban conflict, in the vast majority of cases, it originated in a slum and there were allegations incriminating the military police.

State actions in regard to public safety are seen as very divided. There is a gash, if we take the city as an arena for of actions of the military and civil police. Here the city is cutted by the practice of those who govern, of those who guide the mechanism or the public security policies. The public security policy applied in the city of Rio de Janeiro follows a guideline of "broken city", dividing its action on two fronts, one clearly oppressive, on behalf of the narcotics trade confrontation, and another one that protects public and private property, and public property rendered private. In short, the data related to the violent action of the military police in slums represents more than 53% of the motivations for all urban conflicts surrounding the issue of security. In contrast, the police violence in other parts of the city appears in a residual form, not reaching 5% of total records. In other words, the violent police action is centrally denounced by slum dwellers.

#### **4.2 State associated with dominant interests - Politics (ideology and institutions control)**

In recent years, the development and practice of urban planning among us has been heavily influenced by the spread of the canons of postmodern urbanism and of the competitive strategic planning. Multilateral agencies (World Bank, UNDP, IDB, Habitat Agency, etc.) and international consultants (namely Catalans), missionaries of the new times, launch themselves to the recovery of historic centers, to the public-private partnerships, to "market friendly" or "market oriented" planning. Since the '80s, FIFA and the IOC were the ones that most profited from the sports mega events (NOVAES and CASTRO, 2015). And still are, in this new context of the Olympics.

Investments related to the 2016 Olympics released only in 2014 are distributed as follows: the total being invested is 36,6 billion reais, divided between the Rio 2016 Organising Committee (OCOG), holding 7 billion reais, responsible for the costs of the games, food and transportation of athletes; the Responsibility Matrix, with 5.6 billion reais, originated in public and private resources directed to the construction of sports facilities for the Games; the Plan of Public Policies, with 24 billion reais formed by public funds (federal, state and local, costing 13,7 billion reais) and also by private initiative, with 10.3 billion reais by means of public-private partnerships ( JUNIOR,

SANTOS, Novaes, GAFFNEY, RODRIGUES and CASTRO, 2015).

The State, controlled by the ruling classes that own the means of production (CARNOY, 1986), read in the current context of associations made between State and private capital, ends reaffirming these sporting events, as was well placed by Oliveira, Mascarenhas, Sánchez and Bienestein (2010), as an effective political tool for the recognition of a country's value. In the Brazil case, accounting for the same authors (2010), meaning the removal of its peripheral country condition for a "new international role as an emerging power."

#### **4.3 Large urban projects and real estate market - Territory (differentiation)**

If we consider the urban interventions and their impact on the housing sector, based on the study conducted by Junior Santos Rodrigues, Novaes, Gaffney and Castro (2015), we affirm that there is a clear direct submission of public policy to the private interests of the real estate market, represented by public works companies, the financial conglomerates and the tourism sector. As a result, the urban interventions occurred mainly in the Área do Porto, Zona Sul and Barra da Tijuca ends by promoting the removal of the popular classes. Due to the works, we have an immediate upgrade of real estate valuation, also with the installation of UPPs in the neighborhoods of Barra da Tijuca, Recreio dos Bandeirantes, Jacarepaguá, Curicica, Vargem Grande, Central and Maracanã. As areas that already have historical value and strong tourist interest, we have the south side (Zona Sul). On the other hand, the real estate sector benefits from the construction of social housing, represented by the emblematic "Minha Casa Minha Vida".

#### **4.5 Ordination programs and social control**

The public safety program adopted since December 2008 was represented by the UPPs previously mentioned, that comes to be the Pacifying Police Units. The UPPs began with violent invasions promoted by elite troops of the Military Police into slums and the subsequent occupation of new battalions, specifically trained for vigilance and permanent control activities in the territories of UPPs.

The strategic role of UPPs in the carioca urban space occurred unevenly, as shown in Junior Santos Rodrigues, Novaes, Gaffner and Castro (2015). The first forty UPPs already installed since 2008, the year of its inauguration, except for only one, would fall within the Olympic rings. The slums that have received this public safety policy end up reinforcing a social division of the carioca urban space, in the sense that it provides security and infrastructure to certain parts of the city that will be close to the olympic

events, to the detriment of other more peripheral parts. For investments received by this public security policy, according to these same authors (2015), during the 2013 Confederations Cup, the military police acted violently against the demonstrators. And parallel to this episode, the federal government allocated 707 million reais in 2013 for the public safety area, where a significant portion of these investments are directed to increase armaments.

## **5. Conclusion**

Throughout the formation process of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the survey found investments in specific and selective urban interventions, favoring certain areas over others. As a result, the imposition of a hegemonic model of urban life that is expressed in its different faces in distinct historical contexts experienced by the city turned out to make it a city of popular uprisings, signaling the strength of a horizontality that comes through centuries.

### **4.6 Coercion and popular resistance in Rio's urban transformations**

According to Abreu (1997, p. 197), "(...) We are reminded time and again that many of the country problems have distant origins in time and accompany us from the beginning of colonization." From that, when looking at the current situation of socio-spatial inequality that manifests itself in Brazilian cities, especially in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in the context of sports mega events, we face a strong social stratification, built and induced by the various forms of coercion by the State, that only reinforce a violently unjust organization of the territory. If we try to mark the beginning of this coercion process, we lose ourselves in our analysis, for violence has always been present in the conquest of any territory. Recalling that as a geographical concept, territory already carries the notion of power in their different logics of domination.

To establish control over the territory in Colonial Brazil we passed through the implementation of the hereditary captaincies system by Portugal and in the midst of this process villages and towns were founded, each one with its strategic functions of geopolitical control of the territory by the Crown (Azevedo, 1992). With the arrival of the Portuguese Imperial Family to Brazil and, more specifically, to the city of Rio de Janeiro, we began to be linked more directly to the Metropolis domain. When we rescue authors as Abreu (1997, 2004), Schultz (2008) and others, we have the picture of the evolution of a territory not only in its morphological conformation, but in its power relations, expressed in the popular uprisings and in the dispossession of people throughout history.

When it comes to expropriations, we had a great housing problem which, according to Abreu (2004), occurred in the occasion of the coming of the Portuguese Crown and its Court to Brazil. This great displacement eventually compelled the local authority, the viceroy, the Count of Arcos, to carry out a forced eviction of landlords and tenants of the best homes to house the imperial family and all its Court (ABREU, 2004). The city of Rio de Janeiro not only received a huge number of people with the coming of the Crown, but had to adopt a new urban way of life, with its social codes, to become a civilized city that would house the Metropolis (Schultz, 2008). The use of the "retirement" that was an oppressive form of expropriation of homes intended for the Regent Prince (RP) did not correspond to tenants yearnings or to the tenants' complains about the high price of rent and the poor quality of buildings. Facing a housing crisis scenario, where the landlords refused themselves to build more houses of more than one deck, according to the law, increasing the price of homes rentals not enough for all, the regent prince's authority and the creation of an imperial capital in Rio de Janeiro become threatened (SCHULTZ, 2008). As a solution to get out of this crisis it was proposed the construction of new homes in an area outside the city center, which became the Cidade Nova neighborhood (SCHULTZ, 2008) that, according to Fridman (2009), it was a "rossio" or city field, one of the areas intended to expand the city for public use.

The changes that occurred in the city of Rio de Janeiro represented by improvements in urban infrastructure, the installation of new cultural facilities and institutions not only transformed Rio in the new capital of the Empire, but reordered the organization of the territory establishing the Emperor's place of residence and for his subjects too. For example, the vilegiatura, to authors such as Fridman (2009), contributed to the production of a new urbanism with the creation of a palace for the emperor, in order to reproduce European habits of idleness practice outside the city, which would not cease to be the symbolic demarcation of a king's power in space.

Palaces and other interventions in urban space, as the landfill of marshes, drainage and construction of new roads are part of a phase of many changes in the city of Rio de Janeiro, but that should not be seen devoid of the violence of the Portuguese State, that violated the style of life that existed before its installation in Brazil. And not to mention that the number of black slaves was high, which meant a constant threat to the hegemonic order to be established.

To get a more precise idea of the expansion of the urban fabric in the city of Rio de Janeiro promoted in its colonial phase, based on Abreu studies (1997), we consider that it was not until the nineteenth century that the urban form of Rio de Janeiro was altered

with a visible social stratification. The city was limited to the Morros (hills) of Castelo, São Bento, Santo Antonio and Conceição. Social classes coexisted nearby and the style of residence was the differentiating factor. In Abreu's vision (1997), since 1870, the arrival of the donkey trolley and the steam train made possible a large spreading of the city: the "noble" classes followed towards the southern zone going along with the tram lines, while the poorer classes went to the more peripheral areas, known as the "suburbs", located in the north. The internal organization of the city of Rio de Janeiro is described very accurately by Abreu (1997), counting thirteen years after the arrival of the Portuguese Imperial Family and a year of Brazil's independence process, as a city with new limits and new areas of expansion and of allocation of social classes. Its boundaries were the parishes of Candelária, São José, Sacramento, Santa Rita and Santana corresponding to what we know as the City Centre and the Port area. The stratification of social classes in the city of Rio de Janeiro was visible by the degree of importance and functions of these parishes. According to Abreu (1997), the municipalities of Candelária and São José were those who harbored the ruling classes that had farms in the southern part of the city, corresponding to the current districts of Glória and Catete. Before the works in the mangrove areas that correspond to Cidade Nova, as this part of town was inaccessible and unaffordable to establish housing, which came to be seen so exactly the opposite face to the housing crisis mentioned above, the urban parishes of Santa Rita and Santana, namely the neighborhoods of Saúde, Santo Cristo and Gamboa currently housed the other classes with no or reduced mobility capacity in the city, based on Abreu (1997). The rural parishes nearest to the urban ones ended up being shredded in order to shelter farms of the wealthier classes, as is the case of what we know today as the Laranjeiras neighborhood. And in the case of remote rural parishes, their functions became to provide food supplies to urban dwellers (ABREU, 1997).

As the displacement was still difficult and only made by the classes with greater purchasing power, neighborhoods that we know today as Lapa, Catete and Glória that corresponded to the parishes of Glória, Botafogo (parish of Lagoa) and São Cristóvão (parish of Engenho Velho) were occupied by this class that already was escaping from the most central parts of the city that showed signs of congestion (ABREU, 1997). And in the parishes of Santana and Santa Rita, free workers, gain slaves and the poor dwelt in a concentrated form, as a function of proximity to the labor market.

In terms of urban expansion of the southern area in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Abreu (1997) states that these farms, designated for spending the summer near the beaches, became first residences, occurring even greater densification by the upper classes, such as Botafogo, Glória and Catete. The central parishes have undergone improvements in its infrastructure, such as the Candelaria parish, that received gas lighting in some parts by initiative of the Barão de Mauá (ABREU, 1997). The downtown center was equipped with a network of sewage, in addition to other improvements that eventually make it a

symbol of urban modernity as quoted Abreu (1997). However, parallel to these changes, the low-income population was still localized and resided in this part of town, attracted by the proximity to the working places. And they lived in unhealthy tenements, where there was a high incidence of yellow fever.

In short, we must bear in mind that these parishes, in their social content, represent the stratification of social classes and consequently the organization of the same in the internal space of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The role of trams and trains was to physically expand the city. Paying particular attention to the suburbs, where small urban centers were formed beside the railroads, till they suffer a population-density increase, with the emergence of new streets, etc. (ABREU, 1997). Recalling that the city of Rio de Janeiro was going through a process of industrialization, where we had a free and/or slave manpower working in sweatshops. From this, the social organization of Rio's urban areas makes all sense by being associated with what Abreu (1997, p.57) states that "train, suburb and low-income population become synonymous which where counter posed to the association tram/south zone/"modern" lifestyle.

In the early twentieth century, we had the Pereira Passos Reformation, which caused drastic changes in the physical and social morphology of the city of Rio de Janeiro. To Azevedo (2003), there was a process of urban reformation in Rio de Janeiro between 1903 and 1906 through two urban interventions. The first was directed by the federal government, designed by minister Lauro Muller and engineer Francisco Bicalho, and the second by the Rio de Janeiro City Hall through the figure of Mayor Pereira Passos, under Rodrigues Alves presidency. In the official discourse, a deep urban reform in the country's capital, Rio de Janeiro, would involve a commitment of the federal government to guarantee the improvement of the image, the public health and the economy, that were being fueled by the coffee industry, the industry itself being sustained by the European immigration policy (Azevedo, 2003). However, these were only aspects of the main objective that led the Pereira Passos Reform: seek to reorder the organization of Rio's urban space to produce a city in the capitalist molds.

There was a need to transform the city of Rio de Janeiro in a Post Second Industrial Revolution capitalist city, to facilitate modern capitalist relations. To do this in practical terms the Imperial City should be transformed into a modern and capitalist city. In this sense, the Major Passos plan aims to reshape the city, worrying about the circulation of goods and persons. It was necessary to speed up the circulation process for import and export of goods, still under the colonial mold of a port with limited capacity. And besides, it was necessary to create a strong symbolic image for the city, the country's capital (ABREU, 1997).

An emblematic case to Pereira Passos, which also served as inspiration for the studies and the construction of a Brazilian Belle Époque, was the urban interventions that took place in Paris during the administration of Mayor Haussman. Enumerating what were in fact these urban interventions in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Abreu (1997) tells us that the works were focused on the standardization of street alignment plans and establishing a progressive retreat of buildings, the opening of avenues. Abreu (1997) even mention that this alignment would occur in Lapa and Estacio streets, comprising the parishes of the central area of the city, as well as the demolition to the ground of the Senado Hill to materialize the land filling of other swampy parts of the city and for the circulation of air. Remember that at this time, we were facing a social medicine that associated unsanitary housing conditions, the miasmas, to the occurrence of epidemics and diseases that decimated a large portion of Rio de Janeiro's population.

These large improvement works in the city of Rio de Janeiro gave the start to a very harsh period of expropriations of this poor and working people who still remained in the heart of the city, living in slums. According to Abreu (1997), most of the time the city expropriated areas more than necessary for the opening of new roads, which contribute to the real estate valuation of urban land, those costs covered in the future by the works. We had the construction of Avenida Central, the current Rio Branco Avenue, Beira Mar Avenue, the modernization of the Rio de Janeiro port, the sanitary improvement of part of the Rodrigo de Freitas Lagoon, the entire destruction of blocks of tenements, when a great part of the population was forced to move to the suburbs or to live with other families, paying very high rents (ABREU, 1997). As another housing alternative we have the emergence of slums at the Morro da Providência, Morro de Santo Antonio, etc (ABREU, 1997). Mayor Pereira Passos created rules of conduct prohibiting the exercise of certain common activities to the local population (milking a cow, for instance), as the proper type of dressing appropriate to use at the avenue.

All these transformations represented a "gentrification of Rio's landscape," an expression of Sevckenko (1985), built over the expropriation of much of the working class tenements, eventually installing a serious housing crisis in the city, and a sanitarian policy that considered the kind of housing of the poor as the biggest cause for all problems and epidemics faced by the public health services. As a result, in face of this repressive and socially selective politic of beautifying, aroused an insurgent movement known as the Vaccine Revolt.

In the period of the First Republic we had emblematic revolts, as the Canudos Revolt, the Contestado Revolt, the Federalist Revolt among others. Here we highlight the Vaccine Revolt for being a great example of popular uprising that ultimately denounces the housing and removal problem experienced in the city of Rio de Janeiro due to Pereira

Passos refurbishment and his hygienist policy. As quoted by Sevcenko (2010) the Vaccine Revolt was a movement in 1904 caused by a bill that required vaccination of all the city population against smallpox. Rio de Janeiro was the federal capital at the time, and recorded 1,800 cases of hospitalization related to smallpox, which were used by the official discourse of the authorities to establish this law to take care of public health (Sevcenko, 2010). The compulsory vaccination against smallpox led to this revolt on the grounds of the truculent form applied in the sanitary campaign. For Sevcenko (2010), the city's population, traumatized by the previous campaign launched the year before against the yellow fever, felt violently invaded in their homes, in their privacy, while being subjected to a vaccination method, advocated by public health, that was against the moral principles of the time that repudiate to show certain parts of the body in public, and still be a campaign that showed no sensibility to inform the population. The criticisms were not against the public utility of the vaccine, but against its application conditions. This revolt was not only a challenge to the vaccination, but against this bourgeois Belle Époque city deployed by Pereira Passos. A revolt against this removal of the population from the central area, that was its dwelling, now associated with disease. But the government did not offer a solution for housing the poor class, victim of these epidemics that would not be restricted to attack only this social class.

The socio-spatial segregation picture of the city of Rio de Janeiro did not present itself in a very favorable manner in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century (Sevcenko, 2010). And in 1920, the federal capital suffers a metropolization process with a population growth of 1,157,873 inhabitants. This population growth and its organization throughout the urban space are well shown by Sevcenko (2010) who initially justified this population growth through the exodus of workers from coffee plantations that came into decay, aspiring to build their lives in a city that held the largest labor market of the country and through foreign immigrants benefited by the immigration policy adopted by Brazil.

The tenements have proliferated, because their owners began to invest heavily in them to house this large contingent of workers. This type of housing, located in the central area, fits the aspirations of an elite that had to deal with a feeling of insecurity due to the increase in crime, vagrancy, prostitution and begging. The State, with its administrative apparatus located in the Catete Palace, found itself cornered in various parts of the city by mutinies and especially by the riots caused by the Vaccine Revolt, for there were a lot of tenements in the central area (SEVCENCKO, 2010). The wave of demolitions of slums in the central and port areas, promoted by the Passos Reform, displaced much of the poor to distant neighborhoods where they found precarious survival conditions. Thus, we have the emergence of slums and "zungas" or rooming houses in extremely degrading conditions with regard to hygiene. Parts of swamps and marshes that were now undervalued became occupied by very precarious buildings, housing several families.

(Sevcenko, 2010).

This socially divided space will acquire new contours from the strengthening of the industrial sector in the Revolution of 30, occurred in Brazil during the Vargas period. As part of the main political actions of President Getulio Vargas, encouraging the industrialization process, it contributed to the population growth of Brazilian cities, as noted by the study called "Rio de Janeiro, a city in time" linked to the Municipal Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports in 1992. Based on this study, we can say that in general the Rio suburbs went suffering a higher populational density. The south area of the city got more and more valued by the real estate sector, passing later by a vertical integration process, and the central area went being land filled in some points with the dismantling of certain hills, for example the Santo Antonio, which eventually exterminated the Santo Antonio slum. And we can not fail to mention here the construction of emblematic buildings like the Capanema Palace, of tunnels to facilitate the movement from both who lived in the South or in the North zones towards the central area. Taking into account this important 1992 study, we point out many of these urban transformations, the expulsion by the Estado Novo of certain industries from the central, north and south areas and relocating them in areas defined as industrial suburbs. We had industrial expansion axes in the city of Rio de Janeiro that were not restricted only to the Estrada de Ferro Central do Brasil (Brazil Central Railroad), but began to follow other axes as the Leopoldina Railway, Rio D'Ouro Railway, the Auxiliary Line and the construction of the Avenida Brazil in 1946, linking the city to the interstate lines, which contributed to the emergence of slums next to this highway. This would be the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro, whose expansion, that had taken other directions, still had the city's southern area as a concentration of infrastructure and more and more valued by the ideology of living at the seaside. Since the 50s, neighborhoods in the South Zone as Copacabana and Ipanema have received a middle class, while the wealthier classes were directed to the more mountainous parts in the far west of Leblon and at the banks of Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas. If we are to list here the works of embellishment, we should highlight the remodeling of the Tijuca Forest, the Jardim de Alá (Garden of Allah), the Maracanã Stadium, etc. In the southern zone of Rio de Janeiro, water and sanitary supply works were carried out, but very little was done in the suburbs, according to the study from 1992 cited above.

The slum as a popular housing alternative that was limited to the central area began to proliferate in other parts of the city, as in the south and north. Although slums signaled housing and public health problems due to their poor hygiene conditions, in the 50's housing projects were built in the suburbs, but unfortunately only met the needs of a

small part of the working population according to the 1992 study.

In the period 1960-1980, characterized by the developmentalist model, the consequences for the city of Rio de Janeiro, as shown by the study of the city of Rio de Janeiro from 1990, were works aimed at improving the use of cars by building tunnels, as the tunnel Santa Barbara during the administration of Governor Carlos Lacerda. And in the suburbs works were aimed at the construction of an enlargement of several accesses for Avenida Brasil and viaducts. In 1960, Rio de Janeiro loses its status as federal capital, under the government of Juscelino Kubitschek and becomes the State of Guanabara. As a result, it began to receive part of a small portion of foreign investment and lost space to the economy of São Paulo. However, as shown by this 1992 study, the population growth rate accelerates, based in the arriving of more labor-intensive manpower.

Returning to the 30s, we had the Agache Planning that, according to Pires (2010) was a “modernist proposal for the organization of public space at the time” that, reaffirmed the interests of an elite, concentrated its construction works in the center and at the south zone neighborhoods, Ipanema, Leblon and Gavea, to the detriment of the suburbs, as well said by Pires (2010). With the *coup d'état* of 1964, that was the beginning of the period of military dictatorship in Brazil, we had an even greater valorization of industrial entrepreneurs representing urban policies that more and more socially segregated the urban space, retaking the 1992 study. We had an intense process of slums removal for the promotion of recreational areas in the south zone of Rio de Janeiro. In the 70s, we had the expansion and urban occupation by the richer classes towards São Conrado and Barra da Tijuca. In 1975, we had the merger of the State of Guanabara with the State of Rio de Janeiro and nine metropolitan areas were created. One of them was Rio de Janeiro, as pointed out in the 1992 study.

The city center of Rio de Janeiro became increasingly valued and the southern zone and the Barra da Tijuca increasingly expanded, with better infrastructure conditions in comparison to the periphery. The slumming process of people that were expelled from parts of the city center only intensified. The urban interventions led traditional neighborhoods to loss their characteristics, driving up the price of rent. At the end of the 70s, the 1992 study states that we passed through a strong popular mobilization of Rio inhabitants, articulated through residents' associations, but the great works of urban interventions such as building an elevated highway that connected the Santa Barbara tunnel to Avenida Presidente Vargas bulldozed the Catumbi neighborhood. This is just one of many examples we could give here.

In the late '70s, according to Pires (2010), we passed through a breakdown of policies based on national developmentalism. The State was no longer able to bear the costs of

social reproduction, understood here as collective consumption. And at the height of these social problems the social movements were subtly emerging in the struggle for social rights. In this sense, in the late '80s, several municipalities have adopted a model of more participative urban management. Due to external pressures, as the "Washington Consensus", the Brazilian State is forced to reduce its stake, reducing the State power, which can be read in the city of Rio de Janeiro as costs reduction and partnerships with private power. We were about, therefore, to go through the Strategic Plan discourse in the '90s (PIRES, 2010).

The '90s in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in terms of urban intervention works, are to be understood through the Decennial Director Plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro (PDDCRJ) which was established by the city council in 1992. It established standards for urban policy, allowing public participation, defending the social function of urban property. However, with the Complementary Law Projects, the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, taking as inspiring example the case of Barcelona, signs an agreement with the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro (ACRJ) and the Federation of Industries (FIRJAN) to promote the Strategic Plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro (PECRJ). The Strategic Plan conceived the city administration as a company management, where we now had new power relations formed by companies and business associations as, for example, a consortium of 46 companies and associations, related to a consulting firm of Catalan architects and planners. They were in charge of this plan (PIRES, 2010). The Strategic Plan of the Rio de Janeiro City suffocated the actions of local power and left us the legacy of large investments construction works, unfinished. And besides, the force of attraction to host mega events did not succeed, and the city of Rio de Janeiro based very few of them. The works were, as well listed by Pires (2010), the Teleport Project in Rio de Janeiro, the Porto Rio Project, the Pier Mauá Project and the Music City Project. In the late '90s and early 2,000s, few events were hosted by the city of Rio de Janeiro with great expressiveness. We can highlight only the Pan American Games in 2007. And such interventions also reinforced a clear division of the city of Rio de Janeiro, built in the course of successive urban reforms among poor areas that lack infrastructure and the more and always privileged areas (PIRES, 2010).

According to Pires (2010), in 2009 the PCRJ launches the Strategic Plan of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro (PEPRJ) after the official choice of the city of Rio de Janeiro to host the World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016. The plan announced 46 urban intervention targets in Rio de Janeiro. We highlight the areas of infrastructure and transport from 2010 to 2012 which in general had as goals the reduction of the time spent and the cost of public transportation, as well as the construction of popular housing and, among others, the deconcentration of investments allocations for improving the infrastructure in certain parts of the city, including the recovery of public roads in the North zone. They also had as a proposal the objective of

reducing slums 3.5% by 2012 and reduce by 20% the most critical flood points of the city of Rio de Janeiro. As embellishment works some of the proposals were the Porto Maravilha Project, to perform works concerning urban mobility, inaugurating the TransCarioca that would GO from Barra to Madureira and the TransOeste that would GO from Barra to Santa Cruz, being finalized by 2012 (PIRES, 2010). These were just some of the many urban interventions that were held in the city of Rio de Janeiro and were not mentioned here. This Project, intended to build an Olympic city image for Rio de Janeiro, still carried in his hegemonic speech an advertising of its urban actions aimed at the welfare of the Rio population, where such investments would bring an improvement in living conditions that would be one of the major "legacies" of mega sporting events. On the other hand, to Pires (2010), the central issue of these actions would take place in the financial investment that each construction work would require, which tells us a lot of the priorities of an hegemonic discourse that in its urban intervention actions has always repress local power and allocated 85% of the project investments to the Porto área and Bairro Maravilha, TransOeste and Grota Funda Tunnel, and only 9% for the social area.

Therefore, before the exposed frame of the internal organization of the city of Rio de Janeiro, we assumed the words of geographer Maurício de Almeida Abreu (1997) that, when stating that many of the problems we face now lead us to the many problems already built in our colonial past. We will complement stating that despite that, "(...) the places can also be strengthened horizontally, reconstructing, from the actions locally constituted, a base for life that increases the cohesion of the civil society, at service of the collective interest (SANTOS, 2009, p. 287 and 288). "

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