

ELIANA SOUSA SILVA

PREFACE:

PAUL HERITAGE



THE BRAZILIAN
ARMY'S
OCCUPATION
OF MARÉ

RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF
THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION
OF MARÉ

ELIANA SOUSA SILVA

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FOREWORD

THOSE WHO LIVE AND WORK IN THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO KNOW ONLY TOO WELL THAT ALONGSIDE THIS VIBRANT, happy and exuberant life there are some real difficulties. The security situation in many communities across the city is delicate and many innocent lives are lost every month. In this context, the relationship between the police and the communities they police is fundamentally important. Mistrust and tension may have built up over the years, which is why it is such a difficult challenge to break this cycle. It is why this work, produced thanks to an excellent collaboration between Queen Mary, University of London and the Redes da Maré, is so important.

The British government had the honour of supporting this work which allowed us to share Great Britain's experiences in building relations between the police and their communities with Brazilian specialists. This can only result in new ideas and practices to strengthen trust, reduce tensions and, finally, eradicate violence. As always happens with any bilateral project, I am certain that British experts learnt as much as they taught.

British government funding for this project was awarded through the Newton Fund, created to support better cooperation between the

UK's academic, scientific and innovative communities and those in other countries, including areas of urban transformation and human rights. This project is one of many which we have supported through the Newton Fund. The fund is spending a total of £75 million (R\$290 million) on joint research partnerships with Brazilian partners until 2021.

I know that issues related to urban violence and police and community relations in Brazil are complex, difficult and sensitive. It would be understandable for the British government to avoid getting involved in these subjects. But this attitude would not be coherent with the relationship between the UK and Brazil which is one of close friendship and support. In such a relationship, we work on the most important issues, and those where there are experiences to share.

JONATHAN DUNN OBE

CONSUL GENERAL — BRITISH CONSULATE
GENERAL, RIO DE JANEIRO

PREFACE

THE NINTH FOOTBRIDGE OVER AVENIDA BRASIL, TRAVELLING AWAY FROM RIO'S CITY CENTRE, is always my reminder that I have reached the point where I need to take the slip road to enter the Complexo da Maré. When I tell the taxi driver that we need to take the next right, he pulls up on a petrol station forecourt. Leaning over, he opens the passenger door and indicates that I have to continue on foot. Although there is nothing to separate this *favela* complex from the five kilometres of Avenida Brasil that it borders, few taxi-drivers are willing to turn into one of the smaller roads that launch you straight into the lively streets of the sixteen communities known collectively as Maré. The taxi leaves before I begin the short walk down Rua Teixeira Ribeiro, which will take me to Rua Sargento Silva Nunes and the Redes da Maré main office to meet Eliana Silva. There is no transition. The noise of a motorcycle taxi, which narrowly misses me, diverts my attention as I walk through the never ending exuberant flow of buying and selling, coming and going that occupies every indivisible millimetre of Maré's streets and pavements. At the corner of the first alley that runs off the main street, I remind myself to focus on the task of seeing without looking. A group of adolescents displays the arms and merchandise of the drug trade. The image of an AK47 rifle casually propped up

on a red, plastic bar table is reflected in the window of a beauty salon across the street.

With a population of approximately 140,000 inhabitants, Maré is larger than 90% of Brazilian municipalities. Its history is intertwined with the road I travelled on to get here. When Avenida Brasil was finally inaugurated in 1946, many of the workers who spent seven years constructing the new highway made their homes on the roadside, dramatically transforming what was once a community of families who made their living fishing in Guanabara Bay. Eliana arrived here more than forty years ago, at the age of seven, brought by her family following the same migratory route taken by many residents of Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*, coming from the dry, impoverished and intensely vital hinterlands of Brazil's northeast. It was here in Maré that, aged 22, she became the first woman to be elected president of a neighbourhood association in one of Rio de Janeiro communities. It was here in this complex of sixteen *favelas* on the edge of Avenida Brasil that she raised her two children, studied to go to university, and in 2009 completed her doctorate on relationships of power in Rio's marginalised districts.

It was in Maré, in 1996, that she founded the Redes de Desenvolvimento da Maré (Maré Development

Network), a community organisation that aims to improve the quality of all aspects of life in the *favela*. Eliana was Director and Research Associate at the Community University Integration Unit at Rio de Janeiro Federal University, where she coordinated a postgraduate course on Public Security for the law and social services departments. Let her be your guide within this community, as she has so often been mine:

You feel Maré's daily life as soon as you enter it: the strong smell coming from side alleys because of the appalling sewage system; the constant noise, especially funk or forró music; the main streets occupied by street vendors; small shops and businesses, many of them serving alcohol; motorbikes, bicycles and vans vying for space among people of all ages - permanently on the streets, all day, every day. The presence of people on the streets is the most striking impression people have when they enter a *favela* like Maré. The streets of middle class neighbourhoods are empty at night, everyone locked inside their homes surrounded by walls. The *favela* remains alive, the shops open and the bars full.¹

For anyone who takes the first right after footbridge number nine on Avenida Brasil, Maré will be waiting to tell its story.

I've been working in partnership with Dr. Eliana Silva for two years on a research project that we called *Someone to watch over me*. The proposal was to investigate new ways of understanding police, culture and *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, with a focus on the Complexo da Maré. This report is one of several different outcomes of the research, which was made possible thanks to a grant from the Newton Advanced Fellowship, given by the British Academy in 2015 to Eliana and myself in partnership with Queen Mary University of London. As part of the research, Eliana made a number of visits to the United Kingdom to analyse policing in disadvantaged communities, which are subject to multiple risks and where there is a perceived threat of increased levels of social violence. Her work in the UK took her to London, Northumberland and Belfast, where she met officers responsible for policing neighbourhoods and communities as well as directors of homicide and organised crime departments. She also visited artistic projects that have created interventions related to these contexts, looking to use culture as a tool for creating spaces where mutual trust and understanding can be constructed. Involvement with

¹ Interview with Eliana Silva recorded by Paul Heritage on September 28, 2016.

artists and arts organisations was part of a process through which we sought to understand how civilian supervision of police work is done in the UK through a network of government agencies and non-governmental organisations.

The Newton Advanced Fellowship made it possible for Eliana Silva, from the Maré *favela* complex, to bring together the then National Secretary of Public Security in Brazil, the head of Rio de Janeiro's State Civil Police Homicide Division, and a Military Police colonel to go out on patrol with London's Metropolitan Police. In international seminars in London and Rio de Janeiro, Eliana and I brought together Brazilian and British police officers, politicians, civil servants, human rights lawyers, local police authority representatives, NGOs, academics, activists and artists. In addition to the seminars, training, official meetings, visits to police stations, meetings with politicians and managers, we also invited the British visitors who came with us to Rio de Janeiro to travel along Avenida Brasil and turn right shortly after the ninth footbridge. Two officers from London's Metropolitan Police, a British lawyer and the director of an NGO specialising in ensuring that the police are held accountable for deaths and other abuses which happen in police custody, a Greater London Authority public safety policy advisor,

and a member of the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) joined Eliana, under the relentless tropical sun, to walk slowly and mindfully through the streets of Maré.

This report is an opportunity and an invitation to observe these streets and to understand something profound about the people who live in them. As part of the Newton grant, Eliana set out to examine the attitudes of Maré residents to the occupation of their communities by the Brazilian army. As part of a strategy of state and federal authorities to reinforce "security", the army took on the task of policing Maré for fifteen months between 2014 and 2015. Combining the rigour of sociological analysis with a compassionate and convincing revelation of the personal narratives behind the data, the research provides a clear view of a horizon that is often covered by a fog of uncertainty, prejudice, and ignorance. It shows that the most complex task, but also the most important, is to try to capture the narrative dimension of these areas and ask how people create an awareness of their place in this world. Research shows that we need to find a balance in this awareness between what is real and what is fictitious, if we wish to develop effective strategies for public security. In this report, Eliana guides us through the streets of Maré and lends her own

sensitivity to the dialogue with the personal stories revealed by the research so that, in the words of Mário de Andrade, “reason argues with the imagination”. She allows us to look beyond the precise sociological analysis of the research data, to demonstrate that the relationship between the symbolic and the real is fundamental not only for an understanding of what has already happened, but to unveil the means by which the rich potential of those living in this area can and should be the starting point of any solution.

In November 2016, we presented the initial results of this research in the Sala Cecília Meireles, one of the most prestigious cultural spaces in Rio de Janeiro. In this auditorium named after a writer who is among Brazil’s greatest modernist poets and designed almost exclusively for classical music recitals, Eliana revealed the facts, figures and stories behind the fifteen month invasion and occupation of Complex da Maré by the Brazilian army. To the military colonels and investigative agents of the Civil Police, to those responsible for public security policies in Brazil and Great Britain, to lawyers and human rights public policy managers, to academics and civil society activists, journalists and bloggers; to those who were shot and to the mothers, brothers and neighbours of those who were killed, Eliana insisted that

“ Research shows that we need to find a balance in awareness between what is real and what is fictitious if we are to develop effective strategies for Public Security”

we look again and look more carefully, to avoid reductive responses with a heavy cost in human, social and economic losses.

In addition to the interviews, case studies, data analysis and seminars, perhaps the most eloquent response to *Someone to watch over me* has been of a musical nature, which is appropriate for a research project that takes its name from a popular song. To coincide with the final seminar, we received funding from AHRC to produce an immersive sound installation call *Outros Registros/Other Registers* in the Maré Arts Centre (a cultural space created and run by Eliana’s organisation, Redes da Maré). A composer, a computer scientist,

“Official figures show that more than 800 people are killed every year by Rio de Janeiro’s State Police, a death rate which is twice as high as all the state police forces of the United States combined”

a performance artist, and an academic² from Brazil, Great Britain, and Northern Ireland joined forces to transpose the dispassionate nature of Rio’s murder rates and turn them into music that could be felt viscerally through a sound installation. They based their work on the statistics for civilian deaths by the Military Police, as compiled and published by Rio de Janeiro State Public Security Department³. Official figures show that more than 800 people are killed every year by Rio de Janeiro’s State Police, a death rate which is twice as high as all the state police forces of the United States combined. The police in Rio de Janeiro not only kill more, but are also killed more than any other police force in Brazil, both on and off

duty⁴. The scientific and artistic team transformed the data from these de-humanised statistics into music that bears the legacy of lost lives, broken families, and communities that live in constant fear. Deaths that had been turned into numbers became musical notes in eight speakers that surrounded the audience. At the centre of a cavernous octagonal space in the main room of the Arts Centre, the team chalked out a representation of the “caveirão” - the armoured vehicle used by the Military Police for invading *favelas* - and which has its own soundtrack, mixing aggressive and abusive funk with the sound of gunfire.

The score for the *Outros Registros* installation had three interconnected layers. The most constant sound was produced by the “sonification” of the

² Nicolas Espinoza, Samuel van Ransbeeck, Rafael Puetter (Rafucko) and Tori Holmes

³ <http://www.isp.rj.gov.br/>

⁴ <http://www.forumseguranca.org.br/>

number of civilians killed by the police. The second layer consisted of a sound similar to a bell ringing, creating a melody from the juxtaposition of the number of police and civilian deaths. The third layer added a human voice reading newspaper headlines related to police violence. As an audience, we were called to listen and to be present in the face of this poetically recorded data, instead of being mere witnesses to the dehumanising spectacle of statistics which is reproduced in the media. Most important of all was the space in which this installation-performance was staged: the Maré Arts Centre. Just 500 metres away from Avenida Brasil, but already entangled in the *favela* complex, art transformed murders into musical mathematical forms, in the street where yesterday and tomorrow the terrifying sound of the caveirão vehicle echoes.

It was an honour to be Eliana Silva's partner in the research she conducted during her Newton Advanced Fellowship for the British Academy. As the UK's national body for human and social sciences, the British Academy brings together the study of peoples, cultures and societies, which is at the heart of the research presented here in this publication. We began our original proposal to the British Academy with a quotation from the German writer Bertolt Brecht. It was the last verse of a poem which has the

same title and speaks of the need to never accept that change is not possible. At the end of this phase of the research, the echo of this poem continues to express the responsibilities that have been our concern throughout the project.

PAUL HERITAGE

ARTISTIC DIRECTOR OF PEOPLE'S PALACE
PROJECTS AND QUEEN MARY UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON PROFESSOR

NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CHANGE

[BERTOLT BRECHT]

Distrust the most trivial,
candid in its appearance.
Examine, above all, what seems
familiar.
We insist on asking you:
never say "this is natural"
about everyday occurrences.
In a time in which confusion reigns
in which blood flows,
in which will has the force of law
in which humanity dehumanises
never say: this is natural.
So that nothing can be unchangeable.

INTRODUCTION

BETWEEN 5TH APRIL 2014 AND 30TH JUNE 2015, THE BRAZILIAN ARMED FORCES OCCUPIED THE MARÉ FAVELAS in the city of Rio de Janeiro, with the aim of helping to bring peace to the area and establishing secure conditions for the implementation of the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). The military's actions — commanded by the General Staff of the Armed Forces and called Operation São Francisco — were regulated by a special order from the federal government known as the Guarantee of Law and Order (GLO)⁵, issued by the President of the Republic. This measure granted police power to the troops in an area of about 10 km², authorising the military to carry out on the spot patrols, searches, surveys and arrests.

Redes da Maré dedicated itself to monitoring and evaluating the impact of this occupation on residents' daily lives as part of its ongoing study and analysis of the issue of public security and the right to life. The purpose of this ongoing study is to ensure that the actions and campaigns undertaken by the public security forces in peripheral and marginal communities are better informed, contributing to the formulation of public policies that respect



and guarantee the rights of residents from low income areas.

In this context, between February and September 2015⁶, Redes da Maré carried out a survey called “Residents’ impressions of the armed forces’ occupation of Maré”, interviewing 1,000 residents aged between 18 and 69 across all Maré’s communities which were subject to occupation by the army.

It should be noted that Operation São Francisco involved members of all three armed forces. In addition to army officers, the marines also patrolled Maré and the Air Force offered logistical support to transport personnel, equipment, and supplies.

⁵ Regulated by the Federal Constitution, in Article 142, by Complementary Law 97, of 1999, and by Decree 3,897, of 2001, GLO's operations provisionally grant the military the power to act with police powers until normal conditions are re-established.

⁶ The field study stage took place in 2015. The full research project started in April 2014.



PHOTO: GABRIELA LINO / ECOM

However, in this study, we opted to focus on the army's role, since this force represented more than 80% of personnel on the ground⁷ and, consequently, they were the predominant force among Maré's residents.

In its initial phase, the study was supported by a research grant from the Social Science Research Council's Drug, Safety, and Democracy (DSD) programme. The second stage of the work was done in partnership with People's Palace Projects and with the support of the Newton Fund, through a public grant. This report's objective

is to present the overall results of this consultation with residents.

In the first part of the document, the context of Maré's *favelas* is presented before the arrival of the military forces, characterised by the activities of armed criminal groups and the police. The main purpose was to explain the residents' expectations in relation to the Military Police's activities with the possible implementation of the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) in Maré — something which did not take place.

We then present the conditions in which the research was carried out, the methodological approach adopted and the analysis of the data collected in the interviews, highlighting the residents' impressions in relation to the occupation by the military forces. I hope it makes good reading for you all!

⁷ The force consisted of 2,500 soldiers, replaced every two months. However, according to the Ministry of Defence, at times up to 3,300 soldiers were mobilised. Available at: <<http://www.defesa.gov.br/noticias/16137-ocupacao-das-forcas-armadas-no-complex-da-mare-acaba-hoje>.> Consultation held on 31st October, 2015.

THE CONTEXT OF MARÉ

BEFORE ITS OCCUPATION BY MILITARY FORCES

THE PERIOD BEFORE MARÉ'S OCCUPATION BY THE BRAZILIAN ARMY IN APRIL 2014 was critical because of the high incidence of clashes between the Armed Criminal Groups (ACGs) and the Military Police, especially its elite force, the Special Police Operations Battalion (known as BOPE). In that context, a series of violations occurred which increased the uncertainty about Maré's public security situation in the short, medium and long term. This is a region where about 140 thousand people live⁸, distributed across 16 *favelas*, making it the most populous group of *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, with more inhabitants than 96% of Brazilian cities.⁹

Violence has historically blighted daily life in Maré's *favelas*, where four of Rio de Janeiro's Armed Criminal Groups are present: the Comando Vermelho (CV - Red Command), the Terceiro Comando (TC - Third Command), the Amigos dos Amigos (ADA - Friends of Friends) and the Militia (current and ex-police officers operating as an armed criminal group). The specific nature of each group — which differ in the ways they deal with each other, the police and residents — and the conflicts between them have created a complex process which limits the right to circulate, as

well as a catalogue of other impositions on daily life. In addition, it has contributed to how Maré is considered one of Rio de Janeiro's most dangerous areas in the city's imagination that in turn has become an argument for not guaranteeing other rights for the local residents, such as the right to public security.¹⁰

In addition to making free movement difficult throughout the Maré region, the conflicts and tensions resulting from the “war on drugs” create constraints for residents to speak out about the violations they suffer or witness. This can be seen in the words of the president of a local residents' association. When asked about how Maré residents could be sensitised into being more active in the process of gaining the right to public security, he replied:

It's complicated for residents to take part. Not everyone thinks the same. Some are afraid, others are not. So, when they are asked to debate this subject, even if the invitation is through word of mouth, people are afraid. I remember when the army came to the Association and invited everyone — even

⁸ Redes da Maré; Observatório de Favelas. 2013 Maré Census.

⁹ IBGE. 2010 Demographic Census.

¹⁰ A concrete example of this limitation on rights is a city council decree by the Department of Education, authorising Maré's schools to finish classes earlier than elsewhere in the city. Aimed at protecting teachers, the practice discriminates against students in Maré and reveals a refusal by the municipal authority to fulfil its obligations to provide appropriate protection for children and adolescents.

the DPO¹¹ officers who are here in the community — to come to the social initiative that they were promoting, many residents are suspicious, fearful. They will participate because they need to, but they give the wrong phone number and address, because nobody wants put themselves at risk and I don't disagree with them.

From 2013, the residents of Maré lived through a period of great uncertainty in relation to the presence of the police and doubts about how the local ACGs would deal with the announced arrival of Rio's new policing strategy: Pacifying Police Unit (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora or UPP)¹². Presented as being similar to the concept of community policing, the UPPs were introduced by Rio's State Department for Public Security in 2008 with principles adopted from the idea of "proximity policing". By September 2013, 31 such units had been established across the city. When a Pacifying Police Unit is set up in a community, the emphasis is on building public security through a partnership between the population and the multiple institutions that are — or should be — present and active in the territory. The State Department

for Public Security launches a series of activities: (a) announcement in the media of the UPP's arrival; (b) enforcement of outstanding court orders against known individuals in the community ; (c) search and seizure by different Civil Police units, such as, for example, those responsible for vehicle theft and (d) meetings with residents' associations and other organisations, to explain the process of entering the *favela*.

The new security strategy had already had an impact on Maré even before its implementation. One of its particular side effects was the migration of many of the criminal groups' members to other allied *favelas* from the places where the UPPs were being implemented. The arrival of the UPPs in nearby *favelas* such as the Complexo do Alemão (2010) and Mangueiros, Jacarezinho, Caju and Lins (2013) caused many members of the armed drug groups who were present in those communities to migrate to Maré. This has had an impact on the existing structures and ways of operating for the local ACGs, given that these people began to share the drug trafficking related activities in Maré. As this developed from 2013 onwards it has had a profound impact on the daily lives of residents:

¹¹ "Destacamento de Policiamento Ostensivo" — a military police unit

¹² After years of postponing the initiative, the state government declared, in August 2016, that it had definitively given up the idea of establishing the UPP in Maré.

I've never seen so many different people here in Maré. These *boys* came from their *favelas*, as UPP fugitives. It's the

same faction there as we have here. But they are very different. They're on our doorstep with guns and drugs and don't even ask permission; I don't know where this is going to end. They occupy one place and the criminals flee to another. It doesn't make sense.¹³

The presence of gang members who were on the run from the police forces combined with the approach of the 2014 World Cup¹⁴ made 2013 and the beginning of 2014 brought exceptionally troubled times in Maré and an increase in the armed conflicts. It was during this period that nine residents were killed by the police in an act of revenge for the death of an officer from the Special Police Operations Battalion (BOPE) as part of an operation in Maré. That unfortunate death generated a series of bloody acts and violations of residents' rights¹⁵, and which were only

stopped by the combined action of several local organisations. The incidents were so serious that residents organised a public demonstration on Avenida Brasil, the main route into the city. They demanded that investigations be carried out and that those responsible for the violations be brought to justice and punished¹⁶. The action meant that, for the first time in the history of Maré, the Civil Police's Homicide Department came into the *favela* to carry out investigations in the places where the murders happened¹⁷. When the report was published, more than three years after the event, the investigations indicated that eight victims were killed for allegedly resisting the police's actions, and were therefore considered to have caused their own deaths by confronting the police. The ninth resident was judged to have been work

¹³ Anonymous comment from a female resident in Parque Maré.

¹⁴ There was great concern about public security in relation to the World Cup (2014) and the Olympic and Paralympic Games (2016). As the Maré region is on the route to the international airport and is an integral part of the transport network that has to be used to reach other parts of the city, there was an increasing pressure for Maré to be controlled by security forces to prevent any potential conflicts that might be provoked by the ACGs.

¹⁵ Number of deaths in Maré operation in Rio de Janeiro rises to 10. O Globo newspaper. Rio de Janeiro, 26th June, 2013. Available at: <<http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2013/06/sobe-para-10-numero-de-mortos-em-operacao-na-mare-no-rio-diz-policia.html>> Accessed on 28th September, 2016.

¹⁶ Ecumenical act honours dead in Maré this Tuesday. Folha de São Paulo newspaper. Rio de Janeiro, 1st July, 2013. Available at: <<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2013/07/1304467-ato-ecumenico-homenageia-mortos-na-mare-nesta-terca-feira.shtml>> Accessed on 28th September, 2016.

¹⁷ Homicide Department investigates excesses in Military Police's actions in Complexo da Maré (R.J). Record TV Network. 26th June, 2013. Available at: <<http://rederecord.r7.com/video/delegacia-de-homicidios-investiga-excessos-na-acao-de-pms-no-complexo-da-mare-rj-51cb7d560cf26c5058b30ba9/>> Accessed on 28th September, 2016.

ing and killed in cold blood, but to this day no police officer has ever been tried or even charged with his murder. The scenario in the period prior to the arrival of the military forces in Maré was one of great confrontation between the police and, in particular, one of the armed criminal groups that dominated parts of Maré. By handing the region over to the military, the basic policing strategy was to weaken the dominance of the armed groups, but with an emphasis on one of them. An account by one of the leaders of these groups is impressive for its clarity about how that moment played out in Maré. When asked about the arrival in Maré of people from other parts of the city with links to the group to which he belonged, he said:

It's true that we had to accept friends here in the community. You have to help others when there's a need. I'm no longer in command of everything, there is a "boca" (drug sales point) that is not mine anymore. I had to share my territory. And there are a lot of people — locals — complaining because the system was different in the communities where they were from. I'll have to talk to them, I know, because here we *respect* the locals and don't *cause* chaos on someone's doorstep. But I'm tired of this life.

When asked what he thought about the announcement of the army's arrival, he said:

I think the army is coming because the *canas*¹⁸ can't handle it. They *disrespect* and *abuse* residents. I've heard that in the Alemão¹⁹ residents *respect* the army, but *hate* the police. I think it's going to be the same in Maré. These soldiers are coming here to show the world that Brazil can host the World Cup. They don't come here to *confront us*. I don't even know if the army will occupy the whole of Maré. The police only come to this part. Let's see if they go there and confront our enemies here in Maré.

It was undisputed that part of the reason for the army occupation in Maré was to exercise control leading up to the World Cup which would be taking place from June to July 2014. But the concerns of Sérgio Cabral — Rio de Janeiro's governor at the time — were also transparent in the escalation of confrontations between police officers and members of ACGs, both in Maré and in other *favelas* where the UPPs had been established. It was during this period that questions about the efficiency of the initiative intensified, in particular due to repeated situations of conflict that made the deaths of police officers and residents part of daily life again.

A survey reported by *Veja* — one of Brazil's leading weekly news magazines — in June 2016, indicated that 421 police officers had been shot in the areas with UPPs since the first

¹⁸ *Cana* — reference to military police officers.

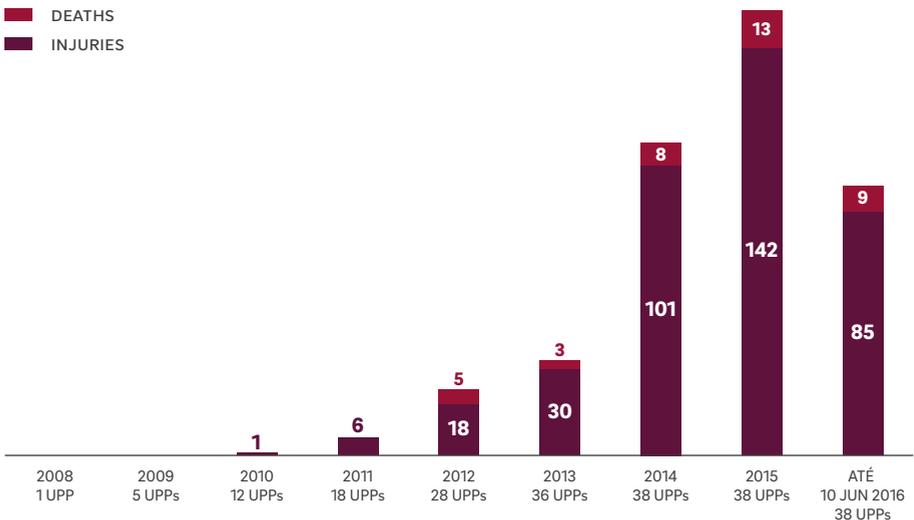
¹⁹ Another complex of *favelas* in Rio and close to Maré.

one was implemented in 2008, resulting in 38 deaths. In 2015, there were 155 cases of which 13 were deaths. However, in the first 160 days of 2016 alone, 94 police officers were shot, with nine deaths.

In that context, the occupation of Maré by the army, based on a protocol signed between the state and federal governments, signified a “cry for help”, since public security actions were increasingly being questioned

by the press and the general population. The army’s intervention was the governor’s alternative to cope with a process that was getting out of control in terms of the growing number of incidents involving the police and ACG members at the time. In 2014 this became a contributing factor to the resignation of Sérgio Cabral — by then one of the most unpopular governors in Brazil — as he gave way to his deputy Luiz Fernando Pezão.

GRAPH 1 | NUMBER OF POLICE OFFICERS KILLED AND INJURED IN UPP AREAS



SOURCE: VEJA.COM. UM BATALHÃO DE BALEADOS. 11TH JULY 2016. AVAILABLE AT <[HTTP://VEJA.ABRIL.COM.BR/BRASIL/UM-BATALHAO-DE-BALEADOS/](http://veja.abril.com.br/brasil/um-batalhao-de-baleados/)>

The legal grounds for the army to occupy Maré was Decree No. 3,897, dated 8/24/2001²⁰, issued during the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and during the mandate of the state governor Rosinha Garotinho. Its articles and paragraphs provided the following guidance:

Article 3 — In the event of the use of the armed forces to guarantee law and order and when necessary to preserve public order and the security of people and property because the means for this provided in art. 144 of the Constitution have been exhausted, it shall be incumbent on them, whenever necessary, to carry out — as if they were the police — ostensive actions of a preventative or repressive nature as such that fall within the constitutional and legal competence of the Military Police, observing the terms and limits imposed on the latter, by legal order.

Article 4 — In a situation where the armed forces are used, under Art. 3, if the means are available to use the respective Military Police even though they may be insufficient, the police will, with the consent of the state governor, act, in part or in full, under the operational control of the military command responsible for the operations, whenever required or recommended to take on given situations.

Paragraph 1. Operational control is the authority that is conferred on a commander or military chief to assign and to coordinate missions or specific tasks to be carried out by police officers who are under this control, in such authority not including, in principle, disciplinary and logistical matters.

Paragraph 2 — The provisions that are laid out at the head of art. 3 apply to the Armed Forces in any actions dealt with in this article regarding the exercise of the constitutional and legal competence of the Military Police.

By requesting the occupation by the federal armed forces, responsibility for actions in Maré had objectively been handed over to the army by the State Public Security Department. The army assumed police powers, and state police officers had to submit to their command when they needed to act in Maré. This procedure is in apparent contradiction to Article 144 of the Brazilian Constitution which details which authorities are responsible for public security:

Public security is the duty of the state and a right and responsibility of everyone. It is exercised for the preservation of public order and the safety of persons and property through the following organs:

- I. Federal Police;
- II. Federal highway police;
- III. Federal railway police;
- IV. Civil police authorities;
- V. Military police and military firefighters.

²⁰ Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2001/d3897.htm> Accessed on 29th September, 2016.

“Maré was not in a state of war, notwithstanding the political metaphor of a war on drugs”



PHOTO: DIEGO JESUS / ECOM

There is no mention of the armed forces for the purpose of policing. Despite the existence of a Complementary Law²¹ that provides for discretionary use of the army by the President of the Republic at moments of national interest and when they participate in peace operations, the issue of a decree should not serve to expand the definition of what is explicit in the constitutional text. Maré was not in a state of war, notwithstanding the political metaphor of a war on drugs. Those who wrote the constitution took the view that the training and characteristics of the armed forces are different to the skills and abilities needed to take care of public security in a residential neighbourhood inhabited by a civilian population and characterised by crimes of an urban nature and context. The lack of understanding of this crystalline reality caused the state to spend hundreds of millions of reals on an initiative whose results were inconsistent and generated lamentable loss of human life.

²¹ Complementary Law No 97, of June 9, 1999.

THE RESEARCH CONSTRUCTION PROCESS

OUR STUDY OF THE OCCUPATION OF MARÉ BY THE MILITARY FORCES BEGAN WITH THE FORMATION OF A TECHNICAL GROUP made up of professionals working in social projects in Maré, mainly in the field of public security. Redes da Maré²² coordinated a process of gathering information that could contribute to an increased understanding of the process, based on records and analyses of violence mostly committed by the State. The aim was to produce knowledge that would broaden our understanding of a phenomenon that could be compared with previous studies on police actions in Maré²³.

Although historically Maré is the consolidation of a group of 16 *favelas*, the Marçílio Dias neighbourhood was

not occupied by the army²⁴. Thus, the survey and data analysis of this research cover the 15 *favelas* that were occupied. They are situated along Avenida Brasil going from the city centre towards the city's West Zone: Conjunto Esperanza, Vila do João, Salsa e Merengue (Novo Pinheiros), Vila dos Pinheiros, Conjunto Pinheiros, Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas, Timbau, Baixa do Sapateiro, Nova Maré, Parque Maré, Nova Holanda, Parque Vaz, Parque União, Parque Roque Pinto and Praia de Ramos.

The central action of the project was a survey about the impressions formed by Maré residents about the military occupation. Residents were our priority because of the suffering they undergo on

²² OSCIP (the Civil Society Organisation of Public Interest), founded by residents and former residents of Maré, whose mission is to build a global sustainable development process for the local area.

²³ In this case, we highlight the doctoral thesis on the topic of public security in Maré that culminated in the book "Testemunhos da Maré" (Witnesses of Maré), by Eliana Sousa Silva.

²⁴ The Maré *favela* complex consists of an almost contiguous strip of occupation, running alongside Avenida Brasil, from Conjunto Esperança to Marçílio Dias, including *favelas* that originally formed part of the neighbourhoods of Manguinhos, Bonsucesso, Ramos and Penha. However, when the Maré district was created and defined by Municipal Law no. 2,119, of January 19th, 1994, the Marçílio Dias district, located at one end of the so-called Complexo da Maré, was not included within its boundaries. Thus, when reference is made to the Maré district, the *favela* Marçílio Dias is not counted, since officially it belongs to the Penha Circular district. It should be noted that Marçílio Dias is approximately 2.5 km from Praia de Ramos and between these two areas there is a set of buildings belonging to the Brazilian Navy.

a daily basis from the effects of violence which, to a great extent, is due to the state's failure to guarantee their right to public security.

Our intention was to identify the impressions of the local population about the occupation strategy and the presence of the army in Maré. It was an attempt to capture what this action meant in a territory where the population does not consider itself to have the same rights as other residents of the city. As the president of one of the sixteen Maré residents' associations indicated:

The army coming into Maré is something that could be good if it were here to help people. I don't see them coming here to help improve the residents' lives, but rather for the satisfaction of people living in the South Zone²⁵, wealthy people who are afraid of those who live in *favelas*. What I see is that they are here to escalate the war that already exists. And how are residents affected by this?

The reality of public security in Maré makes a study in this field profoundly complex. Our research guidelines take special care with the data

collection that we carry out with Maré residents. Beyond the content, we ensure that the language used in the construction of questions can be effectively understood by the local population. When the theme is public security, we redouble our care, given the delicacy of the topic and the fear of many residents in talking about issues related to it. The vast majority of residents in low-income communities does not consider public security professionals to be dedicated to ensuring their protection and preventing crime. This feeling is not coincidental. It has developed as a reaction to the way in which state authorities have historically treated residents of *favelas* and marginalised communities in Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro that has a large black population due to it being the main port of entry for enslaved Africans.

This demonstrates that there is still a long way to go in the field of rights in Brazil to guarantee that everyone, irrespective of where they live, their skin colour, gender, gender identity or age feel they are full citizens. Faced with the lack of recognition of their right to public security in their daily lives, residents of *favelas* and marginalised communities have developed their own local arrangements to obtain this right, just as they have to access urban services and facilities, defining their own rules for public spaces and criminal practices that may occur in their local area.

²⁵ The region that, since the 20th century, has a concentration of Rio's richest social groups and has privileged access to public facilities and services. The ACGs, in their process of establishing armed control of Rio's low-income neighbourhoods, have sought to legitimise themselves by establishing a monopoly of violence and repression of crimes against property. Thus they have gained their power, which in turn generates a series of questions and tensions in the daily life of these areas.

In the first stage of the study and working within an agreed framework, our team defined the topic, content and scope of the study, the research methodology and the procedures that would be used in the survey and interviews with specific groups. In addition, we established the order of the content to be worked on in the interviews, defined the profile and size of the sample, and hired and trained the interviewers in the required techniques. After defining the content and the methodology, we began contacting members of the military forces and the ACGs that operate in Maré. The purpose of this initiative was to identify how they each viewed the existing dynamic of war, what presumptions they acted from, what this could lead to, and what impact the army's presence had on the armed criminal groups' activities. From April 2014 to June 2015 we monitored the meetings and actions of the different military groups which took command of the Maré operation every two months²⁶. In this period, we conducted interviews with 57 of these professionals, even without the army command's

formal authorisation²⁷. In addition to the military officers, we were able to talk to 20 members of local ACGs, with the exception of the militia. Contact with the armed groups that are part of the confrontation in Maré was important so that we could have an overall view of the military occupation and it also helped to qualify and improve the data collection questionnaire for comparison with the residents' sample. It should be highlighted that this publication deals only with the results of residents' interviews. Dialogues with army professionals and members of the criminal groups were useful for the detailed design of this research and will be used in later studies.

The questionnaires were completed by residents between February and September 2015, and therefore continued even after the withdrawal of the occupation forces, which took place in June 2015. The residents' willingness to participate in the interviews was good in the initial period, but their attitude changed during the research process: in the first areas where the interviews were carried out, acceptance was greater than in the areas where they occurred in the final period of the military occupation. This

²⁶ The methodology of the military's actions in Maré consisted of a 2-month rotation of distinct battalions from different regions of Brazil. They were based at army barracks located in the region. After that period, this battalion was replaced by another, as was the command. Over time, this strategy generated serious problems in the relationship with the population and local institutions.

²⁷ At the beginning of the occupation, we asked for authorisation to conduct these interviews, but we never had a response: negative or positive.

is evidence that the relationship between the residents and the military became increasingly strained and illustrates the risks this type of operation in Maré may present when looking at public security in *favelas* and marginalised districts, an issue that is evident throughout this work.

THE TERRITORIAL LIMITS OF THE RESEARCH

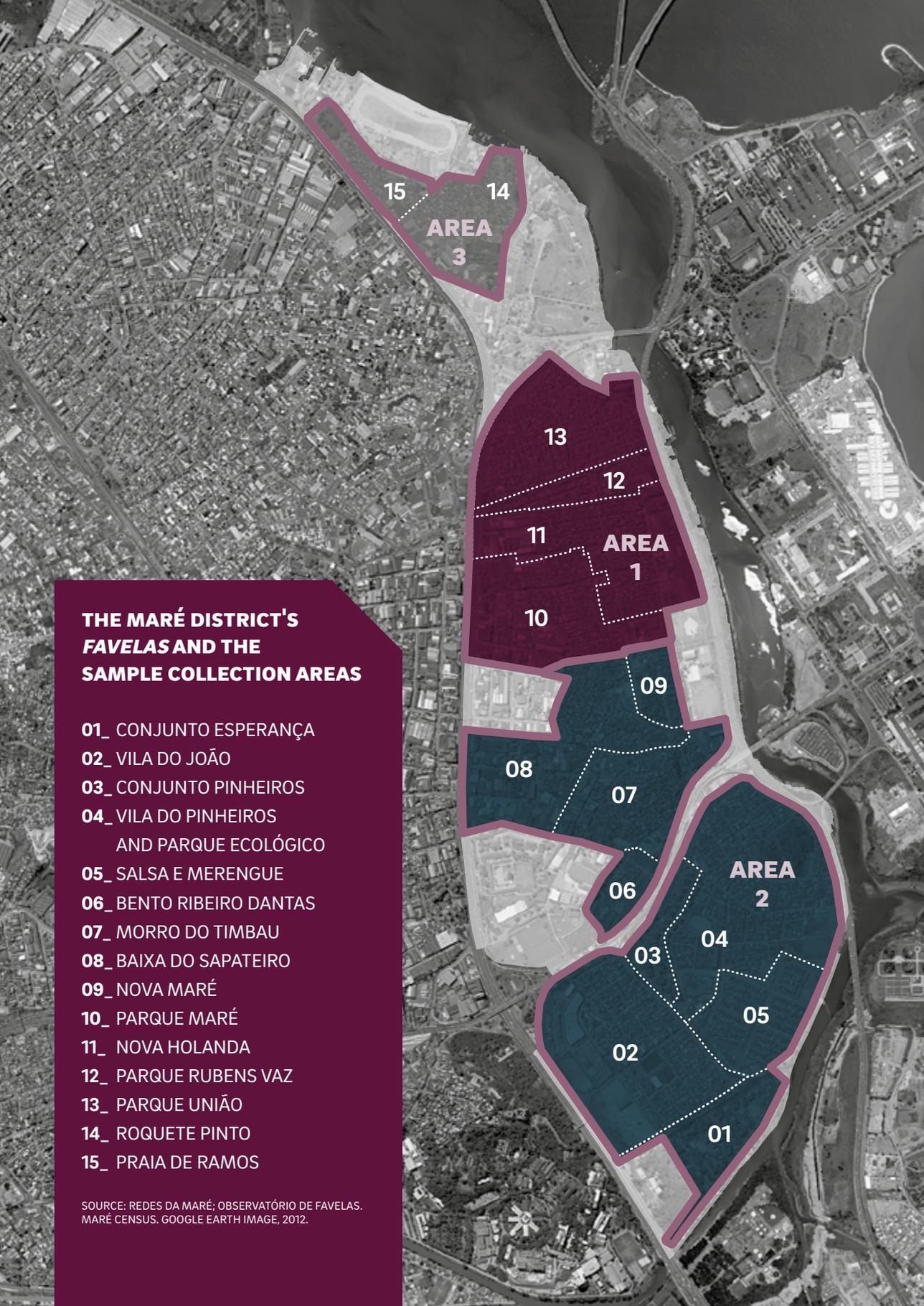
Although Maré is made up of 16 *favelas*, it is possible to identify some subgroups formed between neighbouring *favelas* that present socio-spatial similarities. These similarities are due to the historical processes by which they were formed and are marked out by different periods and changes in public policies over the time the *favelas* became established between 1940 and 2000 (the first being Morro do Timbau and the last, Salsa e Merengue). In this way, some adjacent *favelas* are part of subgroups with reasonably defined boundaries. There are at least four clearly visible areas in Maré: (i) the nucleus around Parque Maré, which includes Parque Rubens Vaz, Parque União and Nova Holanda; (ii) the nucleus around the Morro do Timbau, including Baixa do Sapateiro, Nova Maré and the Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas; (iii) the nucleus around Vila do Pinheiros, along with Vila do João,

Conjunto Pinheiros, Salsa e Merengue and Conjunto Esperança; and (iv) the nucleus formed by Parque Roquete Pinto and Praia de Ramos (Marcílio Dias should not be considered in this nucleus because of the distance of more than two kilometres separating it from Praia de Ramos).

For strategic and logistical reasons, each ACG's domain covers one or more similar *favelas*, very close to its boundaries and points of access, avoiding anything other than boundary contact with areas dominated by rivals. Therefore, what is observed is that, in the logic of territorial occupation, the ACGs are set up in Maré according to the communities' spatial characteristics.

Thus, in view of the four subgroups mentioned above, the ACGs' territories have been verified to be as follows:

- Parque Maré, Parque Rubens Vaz, Parque União and Nova Holanda — controlled by **Comando Vermelho (CV)**.
- Morro do Timbau, Baixa do Sapateiro, Nova Maré and Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas — controlled by **Terceiro Comando Puro (TCP)**.
- Vila dos Pinheiros, Vila do João, Conjunto Pinheiros, Salsa e Merengue and Conjunto Esperança — controlled by **Terceiro Comando Puro (TCP)**.



**THE MARÉ DISTRICT'S
FAVELAS AND THE
SAMPLE COLLECTION AREAS**

- 01_ CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA
- 02_ VILA DO JOÃO
- 03_ CONJUNTO PINHEIROS
- 04_ VILA DO PINHEIROS
AND PARQUE ECOLÓGICO
- 05_ SALSA E MERENGUE
- 06_ BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS
- 07_ MORRO DO TIMBAU
- 08_ BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO
- 09_ NOVA MARÉ
- 10_ PARQUE MARÉ
- 11_ NOVA HOLANDA
- 12_ PARQUE RUBENS VAZ
- 13_ PARQUE UNIÃO
- 14_ ROQUETE PINTO
- 15_ PRAIA DE RAMOS

SOURCE: REDES DA MARÉ; OBSERVATÓRIO DE FAVELAS.
MARÉ CENSUS. GOOGLE EARTH IMAGE, 2012.

- Parque Roquete Pinto and Praia de Ramos (as well as Marcílio Dias) — **Militia**.

Due to the topic of this research and the correspondence between the community subgroups and the ACGs' territories, we have chosen to group together and analyse the data according to their respective areas of occupation, with the supposition that this territorial division represents a way of identifying perceptions that might be indifferent to or affected by the ACGs' influence. In this respect, we labelled them:

- **AREA 1:** the group of *favelas* under CV control;
- **AREA 2:** *favelas* under TCP control; and,
- **AREA 3:** *favelas* occupied by the Militia.

It should be noted that a few years ago there was no news of conflicts between the ACGs in Maré — or in other *favelas* in Rio — as a result of the implementation of UPPs in the city, on the one hand. On the other hand, there is no news of groups joining forces to fight rivals or the police, not even to defend themselves. In Maré, the most recent episodes of confrontation were between the TCP and the ADA group (Friends of Friends), due to the latter's attempts

to return to the region that it had previously controlled for about six years. During the research period, the ADA group did not have territorial control in the area studied, but this scenario changed in March 2017, when the TCP and CV groups came into conflict in Maré, ending a period where there was no trouble between them.

THE SIZE OF MARÉ

According to data from the 2010 IBGE Demographic Census, the Maré district is the 9th (ninth) most populous among the 161 districts in the city of Rio de Janeiro, accounting for 129,770 inhabitants²⁸.

The 2013 Maré Census found that the population of the Maré district had already increased to 132,732 inhabitants — and, counting Marcílio Dias, it rose to 139,073.

Table 1, below, shows the number of occupied households, the size of the population, and the population aged from 18 to 69, as well as the average number of residents per household in each *favela*, according to the 2013 Maré Census.

²⁸ As already mentioned, the Maré district does not include the Marcílio Dias *favela*, which belongs to the Penha Circular district, although it is part of the group of Maré *favelas*. It is worth remembering that the territorial boundaries of this research coincide with those of the Maré district, since this was the territory occupied by the army.

TABLE 1 | NUMBER OF OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS, TOTAL POPULATION, POPULATION AGED 18 TO 69 AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS PER HOUSEHOLD, IN EACH FAVELA IN MARÉ

COLLECTION AREA	FAVELA	Nº OF OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	POPULATION	AVERAGE NO OF RESIDENTS PER HOUSEHOLD	POPULATION AGED 18 TO 69
MARÉ DISTRICT		45,510	132,732	2,91	89,661
AREA 1	PARQUE UNIÃO	7,601	20,567	2,71	14,474
	NOVA HOLANDA	4,625	13,799	2,98	8,936
	PARQUE MARÉ	4,531	13,164	2,91	8,782
	PARQUE RUBENS VAZ	2,391	6,222	2,60	4,528
AREA 1 TOTAL		19,148	53,752	2,81	36,720
AREA 2	VILA DOS PINHEIROS	5,089	15,600	3,07	10,326
	VILA DO JOÃO	4,437	13,046	2,94	9,069
	BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	3,276	9,329	2,85	6,362
	MORRO DO TIMBAU	2,324	6,709	2,89	4,501
	SALSA E MERENGUE	2,164	6,791	3,14	4,370
	CONJ. ESPERANÇA	1,880	5,356	2,85	3,862
	CONJ. PINHEIROS	1,332	4,028	3,02	2,849
	CONJ. BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	986	3,553	3,61	2,282
	NOVA MARÉ	944	3,215	3,41	1,879
AREA 2 TOTAL		22,432	67,627	3,01	45,499
AREA 3	PARQUE ROQUETE PINTO	2,867	8,132	2,84	5,319
	PRAIA DE RAMOS	1,063	3,221	3,03	2,124
AREA 3 TOTAL		3,930	11,353	2,89	7,443
	MARCÍLIO DIAS	2,248	6,342	2,82	4,172
OVERALL TOTAL		47,758	139,073	2,91	93,842

SOURCE: REDES DA MARÉ; OBSERVATÓRIO DE FAVELAS. MARÉ CENSUS 2013

SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION

In order for the sample to be spread across all the *favelas* and include men and women of different ages in each of them, 1,000 interviews were planned and carried out. If the selection method had been exclusively probabilistic, this number of interviews would have provided a maximum sampling error of three percentage points, with a 95% Confidence Interval (CI).

However, due to the anticipation of obtaining results for each area of ACG activity, the number of interviews was not randomly distributed, as otherwise they would not be representative of Area 3, which is less populous. Thus, in order to obtain results that allow consistent analysis of the three study areas, we defined specific sample sizes for each of them, so that the data collected would be representative. In this sense, the distribution of interviews was determined as if the sample were probabilistic, allowing for a maximum sample error of six percentage points (CI = 95%) in each area.

The selection of the sample was a combination of a random method and selection by quotas, which consists of an intentional method. In the latter, the sample population elements are divided into groups so that each element belongs to one class, with each one requiring a certain number of

interviews to be held, called a quota. Selection by quotas has the advantage of creating more homogeneous groups and guarantees the representation of all the groups in the sample. The following steps were carried out for the selection of quotas: (i) survey of the population composition, according to known, presumed or estimated characteristics that are relevant to the topic being researched; (ii) definition of the minimum sample size, based on the maximum sampling error allowed, just as in a probabilistic sample; and (iii) setting the quotas for the sample selection in accordance with the characteristics considered, forming groups in proportion to the population composition, also called classes or domains.

Once the number of interviews in each area was established, this number was distributed according to the interviewee profiles relevant to the analysis of the results — men and women, from three different age groups — proportional to the size of these contingents in the population, in accordance with data from the 2013 Maré Census. A criterion of the definition of quotas was that it had to reach a result that, in fact, was representative of the impressions of the different demographics of each area's population, in order to avoid the predominance of one profile over the others, which would compromise the research results.

TABLE 2 | NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED, FOR EACH MARÉ FAVELA,
BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

	OVERALL TOTAL	AGED 18 TO 29			AGED 30 TO 49			AGED 50 TO 69		
		TOTAL	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	WOMEN	MEN
MARÉ DISTRICT	1,000	348	179	169	418	220	198	235	113	122
AREA 1 – TOTAL	291	102	52	50	131	65	66	59	31	28
PARQUE UNIÃO	111	41	20	21	51	25	26	19	10	9
NOVA HOLANDA	86	31	16	15	39	21	18	16	8	8
PARQUE MARÉ	56	18	9	9	27	12	15	11	7	4
PARQUE RUBENS VAZ	38	11	6	5	14	7	7	13	6	7
AREA 2 – TOTAL	421	149	76	73	157	87	70	115	53	62
VILA DOS PINHEIROS	51	19	10	9	20	12	8	12	7	5
VILA DO JOÃO	63	21	10	11	27	12	15	15	8	7
BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	50	18	9	9	17	10	7	15	5	10
MORRO DO TIMBAU	48	15	7	8	19	12	7	14	6	8
SALSA E MERENGUE	42	13	8	5	14	7	7	15	6	9
CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA	34	13	7	6	13	7	6	8	3	5
CONJUNTO PINHEIROS	19	5	3	2	6	3	3	8	6	2
BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	73	31	14	17	25	13	12	17	6	11
NOVA MARÉ	41	14	8	6	16	11	5	11	6	5
AREA 3 – TOTAL	288	97	51	46	130	68	62	61	29	32
ROQUETE PINTO	191	70	36	34	86	45	41	35	18	17
PRAIA DE RAMOS	97	27	15	12	44	23	21	26	11	15

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. METADATA. 2015

The 18 to 69 age range was established to favour the participation of people with greater potential for personal autonomy and movement around the region. Thus, men and women were interviewed aged between 18 and 29, 30 and 49, and 50 and 69, in each community. It meant the scope of research was reduced from 132,732 to 89,661, as indicated in Table 1.

In order to ensure that the selection of the interviewees was as random as possible, we opted for household sampling, since we have a register of addresses, created in the Maré Census. For the selection, the addresses of each data collection area were put in alphanumeric order and a sequence of random numbers was generated for each list. Then, the addresses were rearranged according to the randomly generated numerical sequence, placing them from the first to the *n*th, *n* being the total number of addresses in each collection area.

In each household (collection unit), the person interviewed was chosen by the interviewer, in order to fill the quotas of pre-determined population profiles. In each visited home, a suitable resident who was willing to participate in the survey was interviewed²⁹ and counted in the interviewer's respective profile quota. It should be noted that once the quota was filled, the interviewer could no longer interview another person with the same profile.

In the absence of an apt or willing person to give an interview, the household was discarded and one more was added to the list of households to be visited, always following the random order that was drawn for each collection area. However, only after the second unsuccessful visit — and in some cases, the third — could the household be replaced.

²⁹ It should be noted that only one resident was interviewed per household.

CALCULATION AND EXPANSION OF RESULTS

Since the number of interviews was not proportional to the population according to the profile variables (community of residence, sex and age), we applied sample weights to return the values to the known proportions in the research universe.

The sample weight applied was the quotient between the number of residents of a given sex and age group in each community and the number of interviewees in the respective class.

The results of each variable correspond to the percentages derived from the sum of the products of the number of interviewees with a given response and the respective sample weights attributed to those interviewed according to the categories of community of residence, sex and age group to which they belong. In general, the estimated result in a variable can be expressed by:

$$\bar{x}(\%) = \frac{100}{N} \sum_{i=1}^{i=n} (r_i w_k)$$

$$w_k = \frac{N_k}{n_k}$$

WHERE:

w = SAMPLE WEIGHT;

N = POPULATION SIZE IN KNOWN RESEARCH UNIVERSE;

n = SAMPLE SIZE SELECTED IN KNOWN RESEARCH UNIVERSE;

k = INDEX OF GIVEN CLASS OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE, SEX AND AGE GROUP.

WHERE:

$\bar{x}(\%)$ = SAMPLE AVERAGE, BY PERCENTAGE;

N = KNOWN RESEARCH UNIVERSE (WHICH CAN BE GENERAL, BY COLLECTION AREA, BY SEX OR BY AGE GROUP);

i = INDEX REFERRING TO THE INTERVIEWEE;

n = NUMBER OF GIVEN RESPONSES IN A VARIABLE OF INTEREST;

k = INDEX REFERRING TO THE SAMPLE WEIGHT;

$r_i = 1$ = UNIT RESPONSE GIVEN BY AN INTERVIEWEE i IN A VARIABLE OF INTEREST;

w_k = PSAMPLE WEIGHT k ATTRIBUTED TO THE INTERVIEWEE.

The weights varied between 15.93307716 and 302.6453386. The minimum was associated with men aged 50 to 69 living in Praia de Ramos. The maximum was associated with men aged 30 to 49 living in Vila dos Pinheiros. The smaller the sample fraction, the greater the weight applied. Therefore, in collection

Area 3, the sample weight ranged from 15.8824 to 33.4191233, while in collection Area 1, it was between 18.65146813 and 302.6453386.

Table 3 shows the minimum and maximum sample weights assigned to each class of community of residence, sex and age group, to two decimal places.

TABLE 3 | WEIGHTS APPLIED TO THE SAMPLE AVERAGES FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE RESULTS, BY FAVELA OF RESIDENCE, ACCORDING TO THE SEX AND THE AGE GROUP OF THE RESPONDENTS

	WOMEN			MEN		
	AGED 18 TO 29	AGED 30 TO 49	AGED 50 TO 69	AGED 18 TO 29	AGED 30 TO 49	AGED 50 TO 69
PARQUE UNIÃO	135.45	135.75	127.15	120.52	131.55	127.63
NOVA HOLANDA	99.36	102.70	110.30	99.92	115.93	90.20
PARQUE MARÉ	164.63	172.10	138.38	163.43	130.70	208.91
PARQUE RUBENS VAZ	125.80	141.41	65.67	168.05	163.91	57.34
VILA DO PINHEIROS	175.53	204.55	152.41	187.54	302.65	187.94
VILA DO JOÃO	165.32	181.81	96.58	143.70	147.42	95.58
BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	111.28	147.93	151.63	109.75	209.80	66.64
MORRO DO TIMBAU	91.84	91.02	100.74	80.57	140.27	66.85
SALSA E MERENGUE	100.15	157.52	56.16	143.72	160.04	32.26
CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA	80.34	132.09	146.99	88.54	171.65	74.67
CONJUNTO PINHEIROS	155.41	227.86	62.43	213.68	205.34	140.37
BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	27.67	44.48	41.40	22.80	39.60	18.65
NOVA MARÉ	43.42	41.44	30.26	58.49	79.05	29.53
ROQUETE PINTO	22.03	31.13	29.15	22.22	33.42	27.95
PRAIA DE RAMOS	21.90	22.92	24.65	25.57	21.49	15.93

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. METADATA, 2015

The results are shown in percentages. In order to facilitate the interpretation of how much they represent in absolute numbers, in each table the number of interviewees is shown at the top, indicated by *n*, along with the number of inhabitants that they represent, in other words the size of the research universe, indicated by *N*.

DATA COLLECTION

The data collection work with the residents was carried out by eight interviewers who are all Maré residents and either graduates or students in higher education. The coordination team also monitored the fieldwork. Most of the interviewers said that they wanted to participate in the survey because of their interest in the topic of public security, and also because they wanted to be involved in research that seeks to address violence related issues in Maré.

The field team received guidance from a public survey specialist about how to use the questionnaires, clarification about the organisation of the content, coverage of the areas, approaching the interviewees, etc. During the training process we also had a specific discussion about the meaning of the research, what it represents in the context of Maré, and what strategies would be used to overcome the inevitable resistance

of some residents to participating, along with other questions of a more technical nature.

The interview script was structured in five sections, which, in general terms, dealt with the following content:

- a. the interviewees' profile, with information about their sex, age, education, skin colour/race, place of residence, length of residence in Maré and professional status;
- b. impressions about living conditions, movement and security in Maré, with reference to the period of army occupation, with questions about the places they frequent in Maré, whether or not they like to live there, where they usually circulate in the district and how they feel about their *favela's* security;
- c. views in relation to violence and also ways of dealing with it when it affects them; questions about what the interviewees thought about army and police activities and how these affected the life of Maré's population in terms of public security;
- d. experience of living in Maré after the district's occupation by the army and questions about their impression of changes in Rio after the implementation of UPPs; and



PHOTO: DIEGO JESUS / ECOM

- e. perceptions about army officer activities compared to police officers, the relationship with soldiers, the problems they feel exist and possible similarities and differences in their activities compared to Military and Civil police officers.

The interviewers spent 30 to 45 minutes completing the questionnaire, which had 38 to 58 questions, depending on the type of answer given by the respondent. The information was collected with the aid of an application called *QuickTap Survey*, installed on tablets.

Many residents had difficulty understanding why the survey was taking place at the same time the

military was in Maré. The first impression they had about the survey was that it was being carried out by the military command. We had to explain our status as members of a civil society organisation which, contrary to their initial perception, wanted to help guarantee the right to public security for Maré's residents. An objective example was one woman's reaction: frightened by the invitation to participate in the survey, she didn't open the door to her home completely to talk to the interviewer. With the door ajar, very suspicious, she said she didn't know why the army was there. She wanted to understand why she was being interviewed and if the whole street would be asked the same questions.

I have nothing to say. I've lived here for a long time and I live my life between work and home. What do you want from me? Only my mother and I live here and she's already retired.

In the same vein, another resident was even more emphatic:

I do not understand why you want to know what residents think of the army being in Maré. Residents here can't say what they think. If I say what I think, I could be killed by one side or the other. Do you think that's right?

If there were denials and mistrust from some residents who were approached, we also found others open and willing to talk about the topic of public security and the army's presence in Maré:

I think this door to door survey is very important. The government has to know what residents here think. They think everyone here is a criminal and we are not.

And another went further:

I can speak to you. I want to say what is stuck in my throat. I just can't be identified. If not, I'll be dead tomorrow. What are you going to do with what we say? Who will listen?

We made an effort to deal with the residents' questions and suspicions, one by one, with an emphasis on the care needed when talking about issues which are generally so sensitive in the context of life in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*. It is important to emphasise that we need a greater understanding of all the issues related to guaranteeing the right to public security of populations living in areas dominated by ACGs, and by police activities that do not recognise their rights. We understand that work like this contributes significantly to producing knowledge and new proposals about the phenomena discussed here.

What is most gratifying is that, as our direct contact demonstrates, Maré's residents are generally open to contributing to studies about public security in *favelas*, despite the obstacles encountered. This is something which allows us to think about expanding the knowledge produced on this subject, not only in Maré, but also in districts experiencing similar situations. In this respect, we will have better means of understanding the ways in which police forces relate to specific communities, such as those who reside in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*.

ANALYSIS

OF RESEARCH DATA

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA COLLECTED IN THIS SAMPLE IS PRESENTED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS about the conditions prior to the military's presence and the period of occupation itself. They were also used as input for information produced in other studies in the field of Maré's public security. The presentation of this chapter corresponds with the way in which the data collection document was structured³⁰.

Therefore, the first part of the analysis will profile the interviewed residents. The purpose is to highlight their main features. The description of the respondents' profiles allows the reader, especially foreign readers, to develop a more comprehensive view of the characteristics that are part of the lives of residents in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*. In the second part of the analysis, we take into account the responses of the Maré residents who took part in the survey, in relation to five central aspects: degree of satisfaction living in this district; ways of physically moving around inside and outside the *favela*; feeling of security in Maré; means of resolving conflicts on matters within the jurisdiction of the judiciary system; and, finally, impressions about the army's behaviour in Maré and, by comparison, the practices adopted by police officers.

Before starting to analyse the questions presented to the interviewees, it should be noted that the interviewers' first approach when making contact with the resident was to read the short text at the beginning of the document. In it, we presented the meaning and objectives of the research, and asked if we could proceed with the interview. In the survey, 84% of the residents we approached answered yes, and 16% declined to participate. As already illustrated in another part of this text, despite the residents' significant fear about participating in surveys on this subject, the desire to talk about it, with the intention of improving the current situation, is very considerable. For this reason more than 80% of the interviewees overcame their fears and suspicions to let us into their homes and talk about public security, which we find very gratifying.

The attitude of Maré's residents also stems from the confidence they have acquired through actions carried out by organisations such as the Redes da Maré (several of them in partnership with OSCIP Observatório de Favelas and local residents' associations), as well as the expectation that they may benefit in some way from the proposed activities. This kind of support and trust is due to the fact that we have not given up on looking at public security in *favelas*, despite all the recommendations against doing so, the complexity of the question

“ Despite the residents' significant fear about participating in surveys on this subject, the desire to talk about it, with the intention of improving the current situation, is very considerable. For this reason more than 80% of the interviewees overcame their fears and suspicions to let us into their homes and talk about public security”

and, to a certain extent, the possible risks involved in studying this phenomenon. Indeed, we have accumulated a track record in terms of producing knowledge about the actions of the police and ACGs, and also in liaising with many residents to guarantee their right to justice. In that sense, we gladly welcomed the participation of the 84% who joined in the survey, without losing empathy or failing to understand the fears of those who refused to take part, because the situation shows that we have many advances to make on the path to guarantee what seems to us today to be the most urgent and necessary right of residents in *favelas*: the protection and dignity of life.

PROFILE OF THE MARÉ RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED

The following tables show some characteristics of the respondents. They are: sex (Table 4), age group (Table 5), skin colour or race (Table 6), education (Table 7), work situation (Table 8) and time of residence in Maré (Table 9).

Regarding sex, 51.1% of the interviewees are women and 48.9% are men. In the three collection areas, more women were part of the sample than men. The difference is equivalent to how each group is represented in the research universe, since this variable was one of those that determined the quota sizes.

TABLE 4 | POPULATION AGED BETWEEN 18 AND 69 AND NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PER COLLECTION AREA AND FAVELA OF RESIDENCE, ACCORDING TO THEIR SEX

	TOTAL		WOMEN		MEN	
	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES
MARÉ DISTRICT	89,661	1,000	45,857	511	43,804	489
AREA 1	36,720	291	18,657	147	18,063	144
PARQUE UNIÃO	14,474	111	7,374	55	7,100	56
NOVA HOLANDA	8,936	86	4,629	45	4,307	41
PARQUE MARÉ	8,782	56	4,515	28	4,267	28
PARQUE RUBENS VAZ	4,528	38	2,139	19	2,389	19
AREA 2	45,499	421	23,355	216	22,144	205
VILA DOS PINHEIROS	10,326	51	5,277	29	5,049	22
VILA DO JOÃO	9,069	63	4,608	30	4,461	33
BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	6,362	50	3,239	24	3,123	26
MORRO DO TIMBAU	4,501	48	2,340	25	2,161	23
SALSA E MERENGUE	4,370	42	2,241	21	2,129	21
CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA	3,862	34	1,928	17	1,934	17
CONJUNTO PINHEIROS	2,849	19	1,524	12	1,324	7
BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	2,282	73	1,214	33	1,068	40
NOVA MARÉ	1,879	41	985	25	894	16
AREA 3	7,443	288	3,845	148	3,598	140
ROQUETE PINTO	5,319	191	2,719	99	2,601	92
PRAIA DE RAMOS	2,124	97	1,127	49	997	48

SOURCES:

(1) REDES DA MARÉ; OBSERVATÓRIO DE FAVELAS. MARÉ CENSUS 2013.

(2) RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. METADATA, 2015

**TABLE 5 | POPULATION AGED BETWEEN 18 AND 69 AND NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
PER COLLECTION AREA AND FAVELA OF RESIDENCE, ACCORDING TO THEIR AGE GROUP**

	TOTAL		AGED 18 TO 29		AGED 30 TO 49		AGED 50 TO 69	
	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES	POPULATION	INTERVIEWEES
MARÉ DISTRICT	89,661	1,000	29,994	347	42,642	418	17,026	235
AREA 1	36,720	291	12,876	101	17,220	131	6,624	59
PARQUE UNIÃO	14,474	111	5,240	41	6,814	51	2,420	19
NOVA HOLANDA	8,936	86	3,089	31	4,243	39	1,604	16
PARQUE MARÉ	8,782	56	2,953	18	4,026	27	1,804	11
PARQUE RUBENS VAZ	4,528	38	1,595	11	2,137	14	795	13
AREA 2	45,499	421	14,934	149	21,672	157	8,892	115
VILA DOS PINHEIROS	10,326	51	3,443	19	4,876	20	2,007	12
VILA DO JOÃO	9,069	63	3,234	21	4,393	27	1,442	15
BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	6,362	50	1,989	18	2,948	17	1,425	15
MORRO DO TIMBAU	4,501	48	1,287	15	2,074	19	1,139	14
SALSA E MERENGUE	4,370	42	1,520	13	2,223	14	627	15
CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA	3,862	34	1,094	13	1,955	13	814	8
CONJUNTO PINHEIROS	2,849	19	894	5	1,300	6	655	8
BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	2,282	73	775	31	1,053	25	454	17
NOVA MARÉ	1,879	41	698	14	851	16	329	11
AREA 3	7,443	288	2,184	97	3,749	130	1,510	61
ROQUETE PINTO	5,319	191	1,548	70	2,771	86	1,000	35
PRAIA DE RAMOS	2,124	97	635	27	978	44	510	26

SOURCES:

(1) REDES DA MARÉ; OBSERVATÓRIO DE FAVELAS. MARÉ CENSUS 2013.

(2) RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. METADATA, 2015

Age group was another variable that defined quota size, therefore the participation of each group was close to how they are represented in the research universe. However, in order to guarantee the statistical representativeness of each group in respect of any possible analysis of the results, and in order to obtain a reasonable number of interviews in each division of age, sex, and all communities, the oldest group, aged 50 to 69, had a significantly higher proportion than is found in the universe — 23.5% versus 19.0%. Consequently, the group aged 30 to 49, being the most numerous, had a smaller percentage in the sample group compared to in the research universe — 41.8% versus 47.6%. As described in the section on the Calculation and Expansion of Results, weights were applied to the overall results and according to collection areas, in order to return the values to the reference percentages.

The respondents' skin colour or race was not a controlled variable in the sample selection. Therefore, their results were subjected, on the one hand, to chance and, on the other hand, to the intentions of the interviewer, due to their active search for individuals who filled the quotas of sex and age group. It is also worth mentioning the criterion of self-declaration in the classification of colour or race: although the options offered were only the five categories

used by IBGE (Asian, white, indigenous, mixed race and black), the choice was exclusively down to the interviewee.

Compared to the universe recorded in the aforementioned 2013 Maré Census, the percentages obtained in the sample varied little. There were slightly fewer white and mixed race respondents and slightly more black respondents. In the Maré Census, 36.6% declared themselves white, 52.9% mixed race and 9.2% black.

It should be noted that in the Maré Census the classification of all residents in a household was made by a single respondent, whereas in the present sample, each respondent classified themselves.

Overall, half of the respondents were mixed race, almost 30% classified themselves as white and roughly 20% as black. Area 1 had the largest proportion of white residents, Area 2, black residents and Area 3, mixed race residents.

A very pertinent detail regarding this data is the percentage of respondents who declared themselves to be black: in the demographic censuses of 2000 and 2010, the percentage of people self-classified as black in Rio de Janeiro was 9.4% and 11.2%, respectively. Not by coincidence, considering the sociocultural characteristics of the *favelas*, the number of white residents participating in the research is well below the average

TABLE 6 | **TOTAL OF INTERVIEWEES ACCORDING TO SELF-DECLARED RACE/ SKIN COLOUR**

	MARÉ DISTRICT		AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 3	
	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%
ASIAN	12	1.2%	4	1.4%	7	1.7%	1	0.3%
WHITE	297	29.7%	106	36.4%	110	26.1%	81	28.1%
INDIGENOUS	7	0.7%	4	1.4%	2	0.5%	1	0.3%
MIXED RACE	497	49.7%	128	44.0%	207	49.2%	162	56.3%
BLACK	187	18.7%	49	16.8%	95	22.6%	43	14.9%
TOTAL	1,000	100%	291	100%	421	100%	288	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

for the population of Rio de Janeiro, which was 51.2% in 2010, and even below the national average, which was 47.7% in the same year.

One fact that has been noted, in particular with the strengthening of affirmative action programmes in recent years, is the regular increase in the number of people who declare themselves to be black or mixed race in Brazil, which may signify a weakening of the “whitening ideology” — a social and subjective process in which black people sought to identify with the white phenotype in order to feel more socially valued.

In terms of education, just over half of the respondents — 56.6%

— had, at most, completed their primary school education, with a shocking 3.5% stating that they had no education at all. It means that most of Maré’s residents have spent well below nine years in school, which is the length of the first elementary stage of education. On the positive side of the data, more than 40% of interviewees went into secondary education. Additionally, 4.5% of respondents went into higher education. The data reveals that, fortunately, the education of Maré’s residents is increasing significantly over time. The census carried out in Maré in 2000 found that little more than 1.6% went into higher education. Thus, the fact that one in

TABLE 7 | TOTAL OF INTERVIEWEES ACCORDING TO EDUCATION LEVEL

	MARÉ DISTRICT		AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 3	
	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%
HIGHER EDUCATION COMPLETED	17	1.7%	8	2.7%	7	1.7%	2	0.7%
HIGHER EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	28	2.8%	10	3.4%	8	1.9%	10	3.5%
SECONDARY EDUCATION COMPLETED	252	25.2%	65	22.3%	111	26.4%	76	26.4%
SECONDARY EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	137	13.7%	36	12.4%	67	15.9%	34	11.8%
PRIMARY EDUCATION COMPLETED	138	13.8%	41	14.1%	57	13.5%	40	13.9%
PRIMARY EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	393	39.3%	121	41.6%	157	37.3%	115	39.9%
NO EDUCATION	35	3.5%	10	3.4%	14	3.3%	11	3.8%
TOTAL	1,000	100%	291	100%	421	100%	288	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

every 22 respondents reached higher education, even if they stopped or did not complete the course, is significant and is, without a doubt, related to the implementation of affirmative and inclusive public policies in recent years in Brazil. In the case of Maré, this process was strongly driven by the availability of community courses to prepare students for the university entrance exams and the ENEM entrance exam, such as the course offered by Redes da Maré,

which has already contributed to more than 1,200 students enrolling in university institutions. The situation correlates to the figure for those who have gone into secondary education, since the percentage is four times higher than the one attributable to Maré's heads of households in the year 2000, according to the IBGE Demographic Census

In relation to work, 32.1% answered that they are self-employed and 31.4% are in employment. Of those

employed, just over two thirds have a formal employment contract. The unemployed totalled 13.8% and those retired or drawing a pension, 8.8%.

The number of respondents who declare themselves to be self-employed — almost 1/3 of respondents — is striking. Of course, the fact that people work for themselves, often in their own home or in a neighbouring establishment, increased the chances of them being selected in the sample,

that is, of participating in the survey.

On the one hand, informal workers, such as street vendors and housekeepers or cleaners, who see themselves as self-employed, can be counted in this contingent. But among those interviewed there may also be people who have their own business. This is because Maré's economic strength is significant: the Maré Census of Economic Enterprises, one of the products of

TABLE 8 | TOTAL OF RESPONDENTS WITH ACCORDING TO THEIR WORK SITUATION

	MARÉ DISTRICT		AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 3	
	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%
EMPLOYED WITH A FORMAL CONTRACT	215	21.5%	86	29.6%	79	18.8%	50	17.4%
EMPLOYED WITHOUT A FORMAL CONTRACT	99	9.9%	25	8.6%	48	11.4%	26	9.0%
SELF EMPLOYED	321	32.1%	72	24.7%	154	36.6%	95	33.0%
SELF EMPLOYED	138	13.8%	49	16.8%	39	9.3%	50	17.4%
RETIRED OR ON A PENSION	88	8.8%	24	8.2%	29	6.9%	35	12.2%
HOMEMAKER	67	6.7%	18	6.2%	30	7.1%	19	6.6%
STUDENTS	55	5.5%	13	4.5%	34	8.1%	8	2.8%
NEVER WORKED	6	0.6%	1	0.3%	3	0.7%	2	0.7%
OTHER	11	1.1%	3	1.0%	5	1.2%	3	1.0%
TOTAL	1,000	100%	291	100%	421	100%	288	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 9 | DO YOU OR A FAMILY MEMBER FREQUENT AN NGO IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT		AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 3	
	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%
NO	863	86.3%	243	83.5%	344	81.7%	276	95.8%
YES	137	13.7%	48	16.5%	77	18.3%	12	4.2%
TOTAL	1,000	100%	291	100%	421	100%	288	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

the Maré Census, revealed that there are more than three thousand commercial or service industry units in the local area, with around 2,500 entrepreneurs residing in the neighbourhood³¹.

Also within the scope of the profile, the interviewees were asked if they or anyone in their family had ever attended a non-governmental organisation (NGO) located in Maré. There was no attempt to explain what this type of organisation is, leaving that interpretation to the interviewee. 13.7% of interviewees answered yes.

Considering the size of the local population, we think it is a very significant number, revealing the strong presence of this type of institution in the daily lives of many residents.

Regarding the question about length of residence in Maré, almost 80% of interviewees said they had been living there for over ten years, compared to less than 2% who arrived less than a year ago. In this respect, an important characteristic related to the Maré population is observed: their permanence in the district.

This may explain another important peculiarity of Maré residents, which is the history of community campaigns undertaken with very positive results. At the same time, the strong mobilisation of residents to have access to urban facilities and services leads to the area being valued and the residents staying.

Indeed, considering its geographical location, the facilities and services supplied by many local organisations and the state, as well as the historical identification of residents with the region, Maré serves as an

³¹ Redes da Maré; Observatório de Favelas. Maré Enterprise Census. Rio de Janeiro, 2014.

attractive district for people rather than a repellent one. Thus, due to socioeconomic conditions, cultural considerations and access to urban services, Maré is one of the most attractive places of residence for Rio de Janeiro's low-income classes. It is not by chance that the value of real estate is increasing, even without the arrival of the Pacifying Police Unit. It should be noted that the real estate market has increased significantly in recent years, which not only drives up house prices, but also rents. With this, the *favelas* of Maré already have a reasonable number of estate agents focused on the local market.

The transformation of Maré into the largest low-income housing hub in the city began with the Projeto Rio project in 1979. The Federal Government's initiative focused on landfilling large areas, removing stilt houses and rehousing their residents, as well as those in surrounding areas, in four housing estates — Vila do João, Conjunto Esperança, Vila dos Pinheiros and Conjunto Pinheiros. In the 1990s, the city council built three more estates — Nova Maré, Bento Ribeiro Dantas and Salsa e Merengue (inaugurated under the name of Novo Pinheiros). As a result, the original group of six contiguous *favelas* — Morro do Timbau, Baixa do Sapateiro, Parque Maré, Nova Holanda, Parque Rubens Vaz and Parque União — was transformed into sixteen districts through

consolidation with other nearby *favelas* and the construction of the aforementioned housing estates. In fact, the residents who settled in the new estates were mostly from the initial core of Maré communities, and from families that had a long-standing relationship with the region. This helps to explain why, even though the buildings are more recent, the residents have lived there for a long time.

Undoubtedly, considering the specifics of *favelas* and marginalised communities in Brazil, long-term residency allows the creation of neighbourly bonds of sharing and affinity, and engenders an assertive sociability, as well as many solid and transformative community experiences. It was not our intention to analyse the relationship between length of residence and the respondent's availability or interaction, however, it was possible to perceive that residents who had lived in Maré longer felt more secure in expressing opinions on the issue of public security. These people already know about initiatives developed in this field, carried out by certain institutions in Maré and, in some cases, have even participated directly. In addition, they know more residents, including past or present members of ACGs. Therefore, an issue that should be pursued in future research is to identify the profile of residents who feel comfortable talking about the subject of public

security, and their degree of interest/commitment to dealing with the problem.

THE AFFECTIVE LINK WITH MARÉ, MOVEMENT AND THE FEELING OF SECURITY

The tables presented so far showed some of the interviewees' characteristics, in order to present a quick profile of the selected public in the sample. In the following questions, however, the answers reveal the opinions, points of view, evaluations, impressions and expectations of the interviewees.

The results are presented by means of relative frequency, which is

the ratio between absolute frequency and the total number of observations, usually expressed as a percentage. However, the values presented here are weighted by the sample weight.

In other words, the percentages in the following tables do not properly express the ratio of the number of responses to the total number of respondents. This is because the number of respondents, used as a denominator, is weighted by the number of residents each respondent represents, according to the profile variables considered: community of residence, sex and age group. Thus, as described in the section, Calculation and Expansion of Results, the percentages express the weighted sample average and represent values

TABLE 10 | TOTAL OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN MARÉ

	MARÉ DISTRICT		AREA 1		AREA 2		AREA 3	
	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%	INTERVIEWEES	%
MORE THAN 10 YEARS	796	79.6%	228	78.4%	340	80.8%	228	79.2%
3 TO 10 YEARS	129	12.9%	43	14.8%	42	10.0%	44	15.3%
3 TO 10 YEARS	56	5.6%	17	5.8%	26	6.2%	13	4.5%
LESS THAN A YEAR	19	1.9%	3	1.0%	13	3.1%	3	1.0%
TOTAL	1,000	100%	291	100%	421	100%	288	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

expanded for the research universe. Therefore, in each table it is possible to see the number of interviewees (n) who were consulted in the sample, and the number of residents (N) that they represent for whole of Maré and for the collection area.

In the first item of this section on opinion and perception, interviewees were asked whether or not they like living in Maré (see Table 11). The idea of identifying the interviewees' satisfaction with living in Maré was to learn how the district is perceived and imagined by those who live there, as well as its integration in the city. The result reiterated what we have already observed in other surveys: 85.3% stated that they like living in Maré.

It means that almost nine out of 10 people like to live in this *favela*. This data is very relevant, mainly because almost all the indices that measure the quality of social life: the Human Development Index (HDI), the Social Vulnerability Index; the Multidimensional Poverty Index and, to a lesser extent, the Social Progress Index, do not take into account the residents' satisfaction with the locality in which they live. Thus, the perception that is generally formed is that life in wealthy areas is almost a paradise, and that life in *favelas* and marginalised communities is hell, in which people's daily lives are characterised by difficulties and suffering. The fact

is people like to live in Maré, as they do in the great majority of *favelas*, despite the negative aspects of access to rights in these areas.

The satisfaction of Maré's residents may be justified by the following reasons: proximity to commerce and services; ease of travel to different parts of the city; low cost of housing; long term personal relationships; presence of schools and health centres; good infrastructure for water, sewage and waste collection; provision of social projects; churches of different denominations, etc. As for the reasons for not liking life in Maré, we have already identified in previous surveys that armed conflict is the major aversion to daily life in the *favela*. It is no coincidence that the largest percentage of dissatisfied residents live in Area 2 — 18.3%.

This is precisely the area where recent confrontations occurred between the TCP and the ADA over control of the territory, particularly in Vila do João and in Conjunto Esperança. Likewise, it was the area wherein most of the local armed group's confrontations occurred with the army.

At the other extreme, in Area 3, which is controlled by the militia and where there are no conflicts between factions or with the police, the percentage of dissatisfied residents drops to less than 6%, that is, three times less than in the area with the

TABLE 11 | DO YOU LIKE LIVING IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
YES	85.3%	87.9%	81.7%	94.4%
NO	14.7%	12.1%	18.3%	5.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA. 2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

most conflicts. Area 1, on the other hand, where there are occasional conflicts which decreased during the occupation by the armed forces, is between the two extremes, with 12.1% of its population dissatisfied with living there.

The statistics reveal a lot about the impact of armed conflict on the subjectivity of people and on their daily lives, and suggest that it is not simply the presence of an ACG that generates greater dissatisfaction in the population, but the conflicts that may occur as a result of its activity in the area. This reiterates that we must listen to the people living in areas dominated by conflicts, and build policies based on them which, above all, preserve their interests and demands. It is essential that the primary objective of public security policy is to preserve the life and integrity of people.

Data on the residents' links with Maré also help us to quash some pre-suppositions that derive from a hegemonic perspective of *favelas* in general. Indeed, these areas are often thought of as being separate from the city, with very poor infrastructure, insecurity, lack of organisation, etc. We define this perspective from what Silva called in 2001 the "Paradigm of Absence". It conceals the creative and powerful dimensions of *favelas*, rather than revealing and acknowledging them. Silva concludes that we can challenge this perspective through identifying a perspective which works from the presence of these dimensions: a "Paradigm of Power". In this sense, we should not stop acknowledging residents' demands for facilities, services and multiple rights in low income areas, but we must also take

into account the ways in which they construct ways of dealing with their needs through collective and innovative strategies. Therefore, this reality, in which the satisfaction of living in an area with so many contradictions is an emblematic element, challenges us to seek original solutions to the obstacles that are present in the *favela*, especially the violation of rights often carried out by state authorities.

The issue of physical movement inside and outside Maré is another relevant aspect of the research. The residents interviewed were asked if they usually circulate in other Maré *favelas*, since there are 16 of them, and also whether they travel to other parts of the city.

In relation to movement within Maré, 66.8% go to *favelas* other than

that in which they reside (see Table 12). As a result, we see that, unlike what is so often stated, the majority of Maré residents travel outside their own area, despite the presence of rival criminal groups and possible conflicts with the police.

Obviously, there are people who do not feel secure in going to areas where a faction operates that is different to the one in their community. Our experience with other surveys in Maré has taught us that the possibility of local movement varies according to education, sex and, especially, age group. Thus, a young, educated man tends to travel more than an older woman with a poor education at the other end of the scale.

Analysing a breakdown of the data reveals that residents of Area 2,

TABLE 12 | DO YOU USUALLY CIRCULATE IN OTHER COMMUNITIES WITHIN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
YES	66.8%	67.1%	70.0%	45.6%
NO	33.2%	32.9%	30.0%	54.0%
DIDN'T REPLY	0.0%	-	-	0.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

made up of nine *favelas*, travel more outside their area than residents in Area 3. This is also because the two *favelas* in the latter area — Praia de Ramos and Roquete Pinto — are not contiguous to the rest of Maré, and its population historically uses Maré's central facilities far less, especially the commercial part of Parque União and Nova Holanda/Parque Maré. Above all, we have observed that as conflicts between factions decrease, Maré residents gradually lose the fear of travelling and accessing opportunities in *favelas* that are far from their home. This account by a resident from Baixa do Sapateiro illustrates the change taking place:

I always wanted to take my daughter and participate in the courses offered in Nova Holanda, but I was always afraid to cross the *frontier*³². So a friend went there with me because her son is already studying there, and I saw that it wasn't such a scary place. If you don't owe anyone anything, you have nothing to fear. [J. BARBOSA]

I go to all corners of Maré. Neither me or my family *owes* anything to anyone, but I know a lot of people are sometimes afraid even to go and visit a relative. I'm not. I live in Nova Holanda, but I have a sister in Vila do João and on Sundays I always go there or she comes here.

[C. COUTINHO — NOVA HOLANDA RESIDENT]

The issue of residents' physical movement outside Maré is another variable to be taken into account when talking about the right to travel, given that, in general, this guarantee is not part of the public policy agenda implemented in the city. Data shows that 81.5% of the local residents travel to places outside Maré, while 18.5% say the opposite (see Table 13). What is striking about the information is the fact that residents of Area 3 are not only those who travel less in Maré, but also in other areas of the city.

Even among the people who travel outside Maré, the vast majority go to nearby areas, especially the Bonsucesso district. Although its population is almost seven times smaller than Maré's, it offers public and commercial services, such as banks, which do not exist in Maré. This demonstrates the need to travel. Like the trend observed in the movement habits within Maré, working men are the ones who travel the most to other districts of the city, as well as young people with a higher level of education. The latter travel because

³² The term *frontier* has become a normal term in Maré. It describes the territorial divisions established by the factions, which are organised, as discussed, according to the boundaries that demarcate the communities. Thus, the factions control the whole area of a *favela* and never just a part of it.

TABLE 13 | DO YOU VISIT OR SPEND TIME IN PLACES OUTSIDE MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
YES	81.5%	81.6%	82.4%	75.1%
NO	18.5%	18.4%	17.6%	24.9%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTA: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

of their studies or in search of cultural and leisure activities.

In line with research carried out previously on the physical movement of Maré's residents³³, women and elderly people are, as already mentioned, those who move less in and outside the *favela*, which implies that an elderly woman is the least likely to travel beyond her immediate vicinity.

In the survey section about feeling secure, 60.1% of residents state that they feel more secure in Maré than in other parts of Rio de Janeiro, 24.4% feel equally secure in Maré as in the rest of the city, and only 15.4% feel less secure than in other regions (see Table 14). In fact, the feeling of security in relation to crime is higher than the average for the city, especially for

crimes against property — which is a paradox for those who do not know Rio's *favelas*. For example, burglaries, vehicle theft, and even street muggings are atypical. At most, crimes are committed against certain types of business, such as supermarkets or lottery agencies. Even these are generally carried out by assailants from outside the area, never by those who live in the *favela* itself. The explosion of crack use in the second half of the 2000s, and the creation of UPPs saw an increase in the number of crimes against property in some *favelas*. But in the case of crack, this process was quickly stifled by the ACGs' clamp-down on users. In districts with UPPs, the recent resumption of territorial control by the ACGs has contributed to a reduction in this type of crime due to the fear of punishment by these groups.

³³ Redes da Maré; Observatório de Favelas; CEIIA. 1st Sample on Movement in Maré. 2014.

In view of these results, we may infer that the feeling of insecurity in Maré is caused more by the risk to life posed by the possibility of being caught in the crossfire of possible armed conflicts, than a fear of crimes against property, or even of being deliberately murdered by a criminal.

Closing the section on how secure the respondents feel in Maré, we inquired whether they had reported being the victim of any crime or offence (see Table 15). The purpose was to identify how Maré residents understand the necessary process of reporting crimes they might suffer. Only 6.1 per cent reported crimes to the police personally, or know a relative who did. It should be noted that

a third of the victims said that it happened in the period before the army occupation (see Table 16).

It is evident that not everyone has been a victim of crime or considers themselves to have been. But such a low number of reports reflects the historic distrust of *favela* residents in police authorities. These are not seen as institutions dedicated to the defence of people's rights, but rather instruments to repress rights, especially those of the poorest. In addition, it is known that the vast majority of crimes, especially thefts or robberies, are not investigated. Thus, as is the case in much of the city, citizens are not given space for their rights to protection of life and property to

TABLE 14 | COMPLETE THIS SENTENCE: IN MARÉ I FEEL...

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
...MORE SECURE THAN IN THE REST OF THE CITY	60.1%	57.8%	59.7%	74.6%
...AS SECURE AS IN THE REST OF THE CITY	24.4%	24.5%	25.1%	19.6%
...LESS SECURE THAN IN THE REST OF THE CITY	15.4%	17.7%	15.2%	5.4%
DIDN'T REPLY	0.0%	–	–	0.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 15 | **HAVE YOU OR SOMEONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD EVER BEEN A VICTIM OF CRIME IN MARÉ AND REPORTED IT TO THE POLICE?**

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
NO	93.9%	96.4%	91.6%	95.2%
YES	6.1%	3.6%	8.4%	4.8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 16 | **WAS THIS BEFORE OR AFTER MARÉ'S OCCUPATION BY THE "PACIFICATION FORCE"?**

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n=58 N= 5,480	n=11 N= 1,322	n=33 N= 3,804	n=14 N= 355
BEFORE	64.7%	80.8%	58.7%	67.9%
AFTER	35.3%	19.2%	41.3%	32.1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

be respected. Thus, the only crimes that are generally reported by people are murder, by obligation, and vehicle theft, since a criminal report is needed to claim insurance.

However, the statistics cannot be interpreted as meaning that many Maré residents use the ACGs to solve their problems in cases where they

suffer violence or some kind of attack on their property. It should be noted that the vast majority of residents do not accept this hypothesis and do not want to resort to criminal groups in these situations.

In view of the above, the feelings of security and insecurity of *favela* residents are quite complex, given

their ambiguity. Historically, the convention has been that within *favelas* certain types of crime do not occur, such as assault, robbery, rape, etc., because protecting residents against crime is incorporated within the laws imposed by the ACGs. Instead, crimes are often committed outside the *favela* by the groups themselves or with their complicity. But this is a biased stereotype engrained in the imagination of low income communities. The fact that residents feel safe in the *favela* is, above all, because reparation for certain crimes will be carried out by the criminal group, with no recourse to appeal, and through no instrument of the legal system, as should be the case.

We can consider this reality to be an aberration from the point of view of democracy, ethics and the rule of law. Beyond those immediate advantages, this phenomenon generates the normalisation of certain types of violence, and establishes practices for those who live there that are considered unacceptable in other areas of the city. The episode below, by M. Oliveira, a Nova Holanda resident, illustrates the depth of the problem we are considering:

I lived with my husband for eight years and we had a daughter. Over time, my husband changed and began to come home drunk, spending part of his salary on binge drinking, until I found out that he was going out with other women. I even followed him to some bars here in Nova Holanda. One day, I got tired and told him to go away and leave me; he set upon me, wanting to assault me. As this happened several times, I decided to go and see the chief drug dealer, who at the time was Jorge Negão. I asked a friend to come with me to talk to him. He met us on the roof terrace of a relative's house and I explained what was happening. He asked me what I wanted, whether it was a case of sending him away or scaring him. I said I wanted him to leave. My husband didn't want to leave, because he had bought the little house where we *lived*, but I said that he couldn't leave me on the streets with a daughter. The drug boss then told me I could go home because he would sort it out. I left and *went* to my father's house. I was a little afraid because I didn't know what they would do. When I got back home, my husband had already been there, taken his clothes and left. I never saw him again in the community. I found out that Jorge Negão had sent one of the boys who *worked* with him to tell my husband that he was going to have to leave the house.

The story demonstrates how justice carried out by the criminal groups can be swift, if we think about these cases in context. The central problem is that the residents of *favelas* and marginalised communities generally have no means of recourse in the judicial system to deal with conflicts in their lives. Thus, as we can see, the idea of security or insecurity for those living in Maré's *favelas* happens outside the scope of the democratic judicial system established in our country. In fact, the model established by the state generally still only serves the richer and more educated sections of society. Its inability to serve the poorest people universally generates a haemorrhage of rights, and a lack of legitimate state authorities for those who most need them, which incapacitates their ability to exercise citizenship. Therefore, the historical lack of commitment of the state in fulfilling its role of regulating public space and social life is the central element that jeopardises both citizens' rights and democracy in Brazilian society.

The state's absence — which even affects how public bodies, such as schools, crèches and health centres, function in *favelas* and marginalised communities — can only be resolved by recognising the residents of these areas as citizens, and by creating innovative practices that allow the state to increase its legitimacy and its capacity to exercise sovereignty.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY'S OCCUPATION PROCESS OF MARÉ

We now arrive at the central block of the investigation proposed: learning about residents' impressions of the army's occupation of Maré. As a preliminary point of the study, we seek to understand the military and civil police's operations in the period preceding the armed force occupation. As already mentioned, there had been a variety of major police interventions, particularly by the BOPE, focusing on Area 1.

Thus, in some aspects, we seek to understand how they felt about the practices implemented by military officials, with a specific focus on raids on homes.

In the section which presented the interviewees' profiles, one of the questions was on the length of time which they have lived in Maré (see Table 10). This data confirms an important characteristic of the Maré population, which is long-term residency in the region. There is no continual flow of movement and, considering the housing conditions in low income areas, living in Maré has a higher degree of valorisation than average for the majority of the *favelas* and marginalised communities in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, even when

families increase, the tendency is to continue living in their place of origin. This is confirmed by the continuous process of building upwards, which takes place in the majority of the local *favelas*.

However, in order to research the pacification force's occupation process of Maré, it was necessary to discover if the interviewee was already living in the area before it started, as some of the questions were only directed towards those who had experienced the previous period. The aim was to pinpoint the respondents' benchmarks with situations prior to the occupation. As we noted in the section on the interviewees' profiles, we identified that 96.4% were already living in Maré before the army's arrival (Table 17). A fundamental factor related to long-term residency is that the residents know

about the local reality, both in terms of the criminal factions and police officers' practices, and the institutions which act to defend their rights. Therefore, the majority were happy to take part in interviews which organisations such as Redes da Maré hold, as they know that they aim to contribute to attaining more rights for residents in the *favela*. Similarly, the longer residents have lived here, the more they develop a detailed opinion and can evaluate practices put into effect by state institutions in local communities.

On the question on feeling unsafe living in Maré before the army's arrival, 55.2% of residents had never or rarely felt unsafe (see Table 18). The percentages for the answers are not very different to those which we had in relation to feeling safe, compared to other areas of the city (see

TABLE 17 | DID YOU LIVE IN MARÉ BEFORE THE PACIFICATION?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
YES	96.4%	97.6%	95.2%	97.7%
NO	3.6%	2.4%	4.8%	2.3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 18 | HOW FREQUENTLY DID YOU FEEL UNSAFE BEFORE THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S OCCUPATION OF MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 970 N= 86,441	n= 286 N= 35,838	n= 402 N= 43,329	n= 282 N= 7,274
NEVER	41.6%	31.6%	49.7%	42.0%
RARELY	13.6%	13.2%	13.3%	17.0%
SOMETIMES	27.3%	36.0%	20.5%	24.1%
FREQUENTLY	9.3%	9.2%	9.0%	11.2%
ALWAYS	8.4%	9.9%	7.5%	5.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

FSOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

Table 14), but, to some extent, show that a higher proportion of people started to feel at risk. In the earlier question, we presented a spatial reference, in this one the reference is temporal. Therefore, when a resident thinks of the location of Maré in the city, he feels more protected in his own place, his local space. However, when we speak of the experience in Maré, taking into account the period immediately prior to the army's occupation, the feeling of insecurity increases.

However, we observed that 17.7% of residents always or frequently feel unsafe. Considering the depiction of

violence in Maré, especially as portrayed in traditional media, it is a small percentage. Therefore, when we think that the right to security is the most basic and primary in social life, preceding all others, it is evident that the percentage of people overcome by insecurity is worrying.

A relevant point to highlight about this question in particular, and data collection in general, is with regard to subjectivity in the process of producing impressions and, therefore, responses. It is known that a survey is a good instrument to gather general impressions but leaves much to be desired in relation to the meaning

TABLE 19 | IN YOUR OPINION, DID THE PACIFICATION OF OTHER AREAS OF THE CITY INTERFERE WITH THE SITUATION IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 970 N= 86,441	n= 286 N= 35,838	n= 402 N= 43,329	n= 282 N= 7,274
NO	66.0%	58.4%	69.1%	85.2%
YES	33.7%	41.6%	30.4%	14.0%
DIDN'T REPLY	0.3%	–	0.5%	0.8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

of the replies given. In this case, the use of other data collection methods would be necessary so that we may understand what people really think when they say that they never or always feel unsafe. According to the way that they deal with life, institutions and daily tensions, they may have different impressions of similar situations and have thereby developed different feelings in relation to day-to-day security. What is most important when interpreting the feeling of security is understanding that it is more influenced by the way that an individual relates to the environment in which he lives than by the objective social risk that he runs. Therefore, it is possible that residents in places with low crime rates feel more insecure travelling in the city than

people who live in areas with high crime rates.

Asked if they believed that the introduction of UPPs in various *favelas* in the city had caused any interference in the daily dynamics in Maré, 66% consider that there was no interference and 33.7% believe that there was (see Table 19). According to information from other sources (police and the media in particular), many members of criminal factions would have migrated to other areas of the city, the Baixada Fluminense or other cities in the state, on account of the pacification units' arrival. In the case of the Maré *favelas*, as we have already indicated in another part of this report, the joint occupation of the Alemão communities by the army and, later, by the

military police, as well as Jacarezinho, Mangueiras and Lins, would have attracted many Comando Vermelho members, especially to areas controlled by the faction in Maré — Parque Maré, Nova Holanda, Parque Rubens Vaz and Parque União, which we group together in Area 1. Thus, it is not by chance that we have a higher percentage of residents in this area — 41.6% — who consider that the introduction of UPPs had an impact on their community — much higher than the 14% of those interviewed from Area 3 for example. The migration of members of this faction to Maré brought great unease to residents at the time, since the increase in firearm circulation and drug sales points was significant.

In the next question, we inquired if in the period before the army's occupation, any of the residents in the home of the person being interviewed had been the victim of any type of violation of rights, such as the police's unauthorised entry into their home, physical injury or damage to property. The result obtained was that 77.9% of residents did not experience any of the violations suggested (see Table 20). However, 22.1% experienced some type of violence from the police in Maré. The question sought to capture the percentage and pattern of violation which takes place in Maré, basically from police actions. Since 2009, some institutions

in Maré have been drawing attention to the violations which take place in the region, the result of specific police incursions but frequently called *police operations*. As there is no regular presence nor preventative approach by public security officers, a significant number of deaths and injuries and/or violations of residents' other rights are observed every time these operations take place. In addition to disruptions, with the closure of schools, pre-schools, family clinics, commerce and other activities, there are renewed complaints about the disrespectful way that the police approach residents. Thus, no doubt the many who experienced such a violation recalled these events. It is no coincidence that in Area 1 (Parque Maré, Nova Holanda, Parque Rubens Vaz and Parque União), the region with the highest incidence of police operations, more than 25% of interviewees confirmed that they had suffered a violation, followed by Area 2, in which approximately 1 in 5 had this experience. The counterpoint is Area 3, with 7.7%, which is controlled by the militia and, therefore, is constantly spared these operations.

Data collected by Redes da Maré professionals who work with public security, reveals that 36 police raids took place in Maré between July 2015 and May 2016: 3 were coordinated by the armed forces; 6 by the civil police; 22 by the military police; and it

TABLE 20 | IN THE THREE YEARS BEFORE PACIFICATION, WERE YOU OR ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD THE VICTIM OF ANY TYPE OF VIOLATION OF RIGHTS (FOR EXAMPLE: ENTERING YOUR HOME WITHOUT AUTHORISATION, PHYSICAL INJURY OR DAMAGE TO PROPERTY) BY THE POLICE IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 970 N= 86,441	n= 286 N= 35,838	n= 402 N= 43,329	n= 282 N= 7,274
NO	77.9%	73.0%	79.6%	92.3%
YES	22.1%	27.0%	20.4%	7.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

was not possible to identify who was responsible for five of them. An example of their impact on daily life related to school closures: data from the 4th Regional Coordination Office of Education, a Municipal Department of Education (SME) institution, shows that municipal schools in the region had 23 days of classes suspended between July 2015 and May 2016, as a result of conflicts between the police and ACG members in Maré (see Charts 1 and 2).

In dialogue with the Municipal Department of Education, the professionals confirm that, in addition to cancelling classes, there are consequences which cannot be quantified, such as children and adolescents' learning difficulties in a context of

frequent conflicts, and psychological problems caused to students and other members of the school community, which cause a high number of days absent, due to stress and panic attacks. A further worrying measure, although it seems unacceptable to us as a justification, denying the guarantee of the basic right of children in Maré to education, is reduced school hours on account of the lack of security.

For the interviewees who confirmed that they had suffered a violation, we asked how many times this took place and also the type of offence committed by the police. More than 25% of victims, went through this situation a minimum of three times (see Table 21). Once again,

**CHART 1 | SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
SUSPENDED DUE TO POLICE
OPERATIONS BETWEEN JULY
AND DECEMBER 2015**

DATE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS CLOSED	TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS AFFECTED PER DAY
02/07/2015	13	6529
03/07/2015	15	8295
08/07/2015	13	5780
07/08/2015	11	4845
21/08/2015	11	5046
25/08/2015	3	520
03/09/2015	11	4504
08/09/2015	4	4340
09/09/2015	10	4946
10/09/2015	6	3345
15/09/2015	5	2312
22/09/2015	6	124
01/10/2015	10	5231
08/10/2015	7	3193
13/10/2015	9	3400
23/10/2015	12	4600
28/10/2015	10	5120
10/12/2015	11	5302

18 DAYS WITHOUT LESSONS

SOURCE: RIO DE JANEIRO CITY COUNCIL/ MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. 2015.



**CHART 2 | SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
SUSPENDED DUE TO POLICE
OPERATIONS BETWEEN FEBRUARY
AND MAY 2016**

DATE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS CLOSED	TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS AFFECTED PER DAY
03/02/2016	17	6213
22/02/2016	10	3522
01/03/2016	16	5362
16/03/2016	13	5786
18/03/2016	13	4305
11/04/2016	5	1835
13/04/2016	11	3158
12/05/2016	23	5736

8 DAYS WITHOUT LESSONS

SOURCE: RIO DE JANEIRO CITY COUNCIL/ MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. 2015.

Area 3, which presents the lowest proportion of people with the impression that they had suffered some type of violation, is the area where people who recognised that they had suffered a violation by the police, experienced this on a lower number of occasions.

With regard to the type of offence suffered, almost two thirds indicated raids on homes and 57.8% the form of approach (see Table 22). In Areas 1 and 2, raids on homes are the violation which affected the highest number of people. However, in Area 3 the form of approach has the highest incidence.

Data on the frequency of breaches against residents and also the types which have the highest incidence, reinforces some current perceptions that

the police have historically established a standard of work in Maré, and other similar spaces, incompatible with what is expected of public servants. The fact that more than 60% of those harassed suffered a breach when approached by police or when their home was raided confirms the arbitrary and disrespectful approach to Maré residents' right to public security.

The practices highlight the idea that residents of *favelas* are potential criminals or are the "civil population of the enemy army"; an expression used in Observatório de Favelas' publications, and therefore do not need their basic rights respected. The residents are often seen as dangerous, accomplices of criminals or complicit, at the very least. Thus,

TABLE 21 | HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU SUFFERED A VIOLATION?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 176 N= 19,082	n= 75 N= 9,688	n= 79 N= 8,836	n= 22 N= 557
ONCE	42.8%	44.2%	38.7%	84.1%
TWICE	31.1%	34.0%	29.1%	11.9%
THREE TO FIVE TIMES	14.2%	12.8%	16.5%	4.0%
SIX TIMES OR MORE	11.8%	9.0%	15.7%	–
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABELA 22 | COULD YOU INDICATE THE TYPE OF INCIDENT? YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE OPTION

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 176 N= 19,082	n= 75 N= 9,688	n= 79 N= 8,836	n= 282 N= 7,274
RAIDS ON HOMES	63.6%	73.3%	54.9%	35.0%
FORM OF APPROACH	57.8%	61.4%	54.2%	51.2%
VERBAL AGGRESSION	41.6%	32.7%	52.1%	29.4%
VERBAL AGGRESSION	24.9%	16.3%	35.4%	7.9%
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	21.4%	10.1%	32.5%	41.7%
DAMAGE TO MATERIAL GOODS	18.6%	16.1%	20.8%	27.5%
OTHER	10.0%	7.4%	12.3%	19.7%
NO ANSWER	0.6%	-	1.1%	4.0%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ.
PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

housing conditions come to define a specific type of marginal character or behaviour, which is an immense prejudice held by the police.

It should be emphasised that the police's perception of the *favela* population is not unique. In fact, they reproduce an opinion which is dominant among a large part of the Rio de Janeiro population that does not live in the *favelas*. This stigmatisation generates intolerance from the local population in response to the police, which means that various types of conflict and violent situations take place during police raids.

Asked if they had reported the violation of rights suffered, nine out of ten people who had their rights infringed did not register their complaint (see Table 23). Among the few who did, a little more than half went to a police station. The remainder contacted a military police patrol, army representative, complaints hotline or even residents' associations, churches and non-governmental organisations (see Table 24).

With a view to increasing residents' capacity to defend themselves from these violations, some institutions which are active in Maré ran the

TABLE 23 | DID YOU OR ANYONE FROM YOUR HOME REPORT THIS/THESE INCIDENT/S TO AN INSTITUTION?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 176 N= 19,082	n= 75 N= 9,688	n= 79 N= 8,836	n= 22 N= 557
NO	95.9%	97.4%	96.3%	64.6%
YES	4.1%	2.6%	3.7%	35.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ.
PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 24 | WHERE WAS/WERE THE COMPLAINT/S REGISTERED? YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE OPTION

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 14 N= 779	n= 2 N= 252	n= 4 N= 330	n= 8 N= 197
POLICE STATION	58%	46%	70%	55%
MILITARY POLICE PATROL	17%	54%	–	–
ARMY	13%	–	30%	–
RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION	10%	–	–	39%
CHURCH	6%	–	–	23%
COMPLAINTS HOTLINE	3%	–	–	11%
NGO	3%	–	–	11%
OTHER	33%	54%	30%	11%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ.
PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

first “We are from Maré — We have Rights” campaign in 2012, which was held again in 2016. This work seeks to directly mobilise residents, door-to-door, by distributing printed material which contains information on how a police action which respects residents’ rights should be carried out. This initiative has allowed many Maré residents to understand the need to report a violation. In addition, they discovered that acts of abuse committed by public servants can be tackled, and that there are institutional channels which should be activated by the people directly involved in these episodes.

An item of major relevance in this research, which we have given greater attention to, is regarding the Maré residents’ feeling of security. As already confirmed, perhaps this is the most basic right: feeling that you live in a social world which is not hostile, and in which you can travel safely, without being afraid.

As we have seen in a previous response, 60% of interviewees feel safe in Maré in relation to the city as a whole (see Table 14) and 55% did not usually feel unsafe before 2014. Therefore, it is not surprising that for 69.2% of the adult population of Maré, the armed forces’ arrival did not increase their feeling of security (see Table 25). We should take into account that security was not a problem for them, a factor that contributes

to this type of response. Therefore, this is not necessarily negative, nor does it represent a problem.

However, what attracts more attention arises from the fact that 22.4% declared that this feeling worsened a little or a lot. From this perspective, it should be emphasised that 28.1% of residents frequently or always felt unsafe following the army’s arrival (see Table 26).

Similarly, as demonstrated in Table 25, the fact that less than one third thinks that the feeling of security improved perhaps falls short of expectations, considering the high state investment, from any point of view: economic, logistical, military, political and social. Thus, Operation São Francisco should receive a far better evaluation of residents’ impressions, which should be the primary target for state action.

In fact, the central problem which also characterises the UPPs’ action is that the focus of military intervention is not the guarantee of residents’ rights but control of the area, people and social practices. In the name of combating criminal groups, it is considered that the *favela* can be treated as an “exclusion zone”, in which guarantees of rights from the republic’s system do not need to be effectively followed. This explains why the army uses tanks to patrol the streets as though it were normal, walks around with high calibre weapons of war, and

TABLE 25 | DID YOUR FEELING OF SECURITY CHANGE WITH THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ARRIVAL IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
IMPROVED GREATLY	8.4%	10.3%	4.8%	20.4%
IMPROVED A LITTLE	22.5%	33.4%	12.6%	28.7%
DID NOT CHANGE AT ALL	46.8%	45.7%	47.3%	49.0%
WORSENER A LITTLE	7.7%	5.7%	10.4%	0.7%
WORSENER A LOT	14.7%	4.9%	24.8%	1.2%
NO ANSWER	0.0%	–	0.1%	–
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTA: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

places barbed wire and sandbags in the streets and cycle paths, which effectively transforms the landscape into a war scene, in all senses. All of this taking place in an area with 140,000 people, almost 32,000 per km². In such a densely populated region, police intelligence work should be the foundation of action to combat crime, so as to avoid people, including the military forces themselves, running unnecessary risks. However, it appears that this perspective has never been the backdrop to police or armed force intervention in Rio de Janeiro.

The presence of army troops became very visible on the Maré landscape but we sought to find out from interviewees the more direct contact they had experienced with these public servants. Therefore, each interviewee was asked about possible incidents, and to reply if they had had this experience. The result of the interviews indicates that half of the residents acknowledge that they had a direct experience with the occupation forces.

Although it was not targeted in the question, it is possible that some incidents may have occurred with the

TABLE 26 | HOW FREQUENTLY DID YOU FEEL UNSAFE FOLLOWING THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ARRIVAL IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
NEVER	25.9%	21.7%	25.6%	48.4%
RARELY	16.7%	19.0%	11.9%	35.1%
SOMETIMES	29.1%	36.6%	26.0%	11.5%
FREQUENTLY	15.4%	11.7%	20.5%	2.9%
ALWAYS	12.7%	10.7%	16.0%	2.1%
NO ANSWER	0.2%	0.4%	–	–
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTA: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

interviewee's friends and families, only to be taken as their own experience. Nevertheless, the fact that personal searches affected 34% of residents (see Table 27), according to the sample, is significant, since this is not a normal event in most of the city. In addition, 21.6% saw a violent confrontation between soldiers and ACG members. These percentages reveal how Maré effectively became a region dominated by the mentality of war and is thus, at no time, a *peaceful area*. They also highlight the lack of a sense in using the term *pacification*, which was the institutional

trademark adopted by the armed forces, as a way of identifying the military action. However, peace never materialised as the institution's aim but instead, control of the area and its residents, aiming to establish a situation to repress possible forms of crime. As it was clear to many Maré residents, the military occupation was an external demand to prevent the ACGs from acting in other parts of the city. The army was not in the *favela* to protect its residents but to prevent actions taking place there which may affect other areas of Rio de Janeiro.

The data on personal searches is so significant that more detailed analysis is required. Breaking it down according to the interviewee's sex, as expected, it is observed that men are submitted to more searches than women, at 48.6% and 20% respectively (see Table 28). When the filter is by age, young people between 18 and 29 emerge as those who are searched the most, affecting 46.3% of them (see Table 29). For skin colour or race, the result of the sample highlights a percentage of 62.2% for

residents of indigenous origins but in this sample, only seven residents who were interviewed declared that they were members of this ethnic group, which does not allow us to consider the result significant for the residents' universe. The group with next highest percentage was black people — 44.5%. In contrast, the percentage is 26.4% among white people (see Table 30). With regard to level of education, the results cannot be considered representative of those who attained university degrees and those without any

TABLE 27 | WHICH OF THESE EXPERIENCES DID YOU HAVE WITH THE PACIFICATION FORCE SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
NONE OF THESE OPTIONS	49.1%	61.0%	34.5%	79.7%
PERSONAL SEARCH	34.0%	30.5%	40.2%	13.4%
A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION INVOLVING SOLDIERS	21.6%	7.0%	36.6%	2.2%
HOME SEARCH	8.7%	5.7%	12.1%	2.6%
COMMUNITY EVENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOLDIERS	5.2%	3.6%	7.0%	2.3%
ARREST	1.1%	0.3%	1.9%	0.3%
REGISTERING COMPLAINTS WITH THE SOLDIERS	0.8%	0.4%	0.9%	1.9%
NO ANSWER	0.9%	0.3%	1.3%	1.9%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

TABLE 28 | WHICH OF THESE EXPERIENCES DID HAVE YOU WITH
THE PACIFICATION FORCE SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	WOMEN	MEN
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 511 N= 45,857	n= 489 N= 43,804
NONE OF THESE OPTIONS	49.1%	60.6%	37.1%
PERSONAL SEARCH	34.0%	20.0%	48.6%
A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION INVOLVING SOLDIERS	21.6%	21.7%	21.5%
HOME SEARCH	8.7%	9.3%	8.0%
COMMUNITY EVENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOLDIERS	5.2%	4.5%	6.0%
ARREST	1.1%	0.6%	1.6%
REGISTERING COMPLAINTS WITH THE SOLDIERS	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%
NO ANSWER	0.9%	1.2%	0.7%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

level of education whatsoever, due to the low number of interviewees.

However, generally speaking, the comparison of those who did not complete primary education and those who finished secondary education suggests that there are no distinct patterns between the segments (see Table 31). Perhaps, as it is not a visible characteristic, like sex, age and skin colour, this variable did not figure as a determinant in the army's actions.

Without a doubt, more specific investigations are required from a methodological point of view, so that certain inferences, such as the influence, or otherwise, of education, can be consistent. However, the results suggest confirmation that young black men are the preferred targets for personal searches, known vulgarly as "dura" ("hard").

With regard to the violation of rights, 9% considered that they had suffered an action characterised as

TABLE 29 | WHICH OF THESE EXPERIENCES DID HAVE YOU WITH THE PACIFICATION FORCE SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AGED 18 TO 29	AGED 30 TO 49	AGED 50 TO 69
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 347 N= 29,994	n= 418 N= 42,642	n= 235 N= 17,026
NONE OF THESE OPTIONS	49.1%	40.5%	48.6%	65.6%
PERSONAL SEARCH	34.0%	46.3%	33.8%	12.8%
A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION INVOLVING SOLDIERS	21.6%	22.3%	23.7%	15.4%
HOME SEARCH	8.7%	7.6%	9.4%	8.8%
COMMUNITY EVENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOLDIERS	5.2%	7.6%	4.0%	4.1%
ARREST	1.1%	2.5%	0.4%	0.3%
REGISTERING COMPLAINTS WITH THE SOLDIERS	0.8%	1.3%	0.8%	–
NO ANSWER	0.9%	0.9%	0.5%	2.2%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

TABLE 30 | WHICH OF THESE EXPERIENCES DID HAVE YOU WITH THE PACIFICATION FORCE SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	ASIAN	WHITE	INDIGENOUS	MIXED RACE	BLACK
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 12 N= 1,594	n= 297 N= 26,844	n= 7 N= 681	n= 497 N= 43,083	n= 187 N= 17,460
NONE OF THESE OPTIONS	49.1%	69.8%	58.0%	19.3%	49.0%	35.0%
PERSONAL SEARCH	34.0%	6.3%	26.4%	62.2%	35.0%	44.5%
A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION INVOLVING SOLDIERS	21.6%	22.6%	17.4%	48.6%	21.3%	27.9%
HOME SEARCH	8.7%	–	7.6%	9.3%	8.6%	11.4%
COMMUNITY EVENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOLDIERS	5.2%	–	4.0%	27.3%	4.9%	7.7%
ARREST	1.1%	–	–	11.8%	1.1%	2.4%
REGISTERING COMPLAINTS WITH THE SOLDIERS	0.8%	1.4%	1.4%	24.0%	0.4%	–
NO ANSWER	0.9%	–	1.4%	–	0.8%	0.6%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.



TABLE 31 | WHICH OF THESE EXPERIENCES DID HAVE YOU WITH THE PACIFICATION FORCE SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	HIGHER EDUCATION COMPLETED	HIGHER EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	SECONDARY EDUCATION COMPLETED	SECONDARY EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	PRIMARY EDUCATION COMPLETED	PRIMARY EDUCATION NOT COMPLETED	NO EDUCATION
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 511 N= 45,857	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 489 N= 43,804	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 1,000 N= 89,661
NONE OF THESE OPTIONS	49.1%	51.3%	41.9%	50.9%	35.5%	40.8%	55.9%	61.1%
PERSONAL SEARCH	34.0%	28.2%	51.8%	32.5%	49.5%	41.1%	27.1%	8.4%
A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION INVOLVING SOLDIERS	21.6%	23.9%	33.5%	22.6%	25.0%	22.3%	18.3%	21.8%
HOME SEARCH	8.7%	8.8%	0.9%	7.4%	14.4%	8.4%	7.8%	9.6%
COMMUNITY EVENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOLDIERS	5.2%	1.2%	9.5%	4.3%	10.5%	4.5%	4.2%	-
ARREST	1.1%	4.2%	-	1.1%	1.8%	1.3%	0.7%	-
REGISTERING COMPLAINTS WITH THE SOLDIERS	0.8%	-	2.6%	1.0%	2.7%	0.6%	-	-
NO ANSWER	0.9%	3.1%	-	0.3%	1.3%	0.2%	1.2%	4.4%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

such (see Table 32), particularly soldiers' entry into homes. It should be highlighted that mentioning this type of event (violation) in this question was spontaneous.

More than 40% of those who suffered a violation confirm that this took place more than once (see Table 33). The form of approach (70%), verbal aggression (46%) and physical aggression (31%) are the violations put forward by most people, according to the research (see Table 34).

However, less frequent data in the sample attracts attention: raids on homes by soldiers, which were already commonplace in police operations in Maré. Taking into account that the neighbourhood has more than 45,500 homes (see Table 1), the sample indicates that approximately

4,000 homes may have been invaded by the army. It should be highlighted that this number can be inferred from responses to the question which asked about having certain experiences during the military occupation (See Table 27). However, in the question in which the wording refers to breaching rights, the estimation of the number of houses invaded becomes approximately 1,200 homes, with physical and verbal aggression being cited by a much higher number of interviewees (Table 34). This may mean — and the data illustrates this — that lack of respect for privacy and also the absence of legality in the act of raiding homes are not, in a universe in which people have little knowledge of laws and their rights, acts easily identified as a breach of

TABLE 32 | FOLLOWING THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ARRIVAL, WERE YOU OR SOMEONE IN YOUR HOME THE VICTIM OF ANY TYPE OF BREACH OF RIGHTS (FOR EXAMPLE: UNAUTHORISED ENTRY INTO THE HOME, PERSONAL INJURY OR DAMAGE TO PROPERTY) BY SOLDIERS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
NO	91.0%	94.3%	87.5%	96.1%
YES	9.0%	5.7%	12.5%	3.9%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 33 | HOW MANY TIMES WERE YOU THE VICTIM OF ANY TYPE OF BREACH?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 82 N= 8,072	n= 15 N= 2,099	n= 55 N= 5,684	n= 12 N= 289
ONCE	56.6%	42.0%	62.3%	50.9%
TWICE	25.8%	24.6%	26.2%	26.1%
THREE TO FIVE TIMES	5.9%	6.7%	5.5%	7.6%
SIX TIMES OR MORE	11.4%	26.7%	6.0%	7.7%
NO ANSWER	0.3%	-	-	7.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 34 | COULD YOU INDICATE THE TYPE OF INCIDENT? YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE OPTION

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 82 N= 8,072	n= 15 N= 2,099	n= 55 N= 5,684	n= 12 N= 289
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	31%	28%	31%	51%
FORM OF APPROACH	70%	51%	78%	50%
RAIDS ON HOMES	29%	27%	30%	27%
VERBAL AGGRESSION	46%	45%	48%	26%
VERBAL AGGRESSION	24%	26%	23%	15%
DAMAGE TO MATERIAL GOODS	15%	-	21%	8%
OTHER	9%	14%	6%	15%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

rights — at least, not as much as an assault on a person, in the form of physical and verbal aggression.

According to the estimate from the results of this research, only 13% of residents who felt that their rights were breached by army troop members, made some kind of complaint or registration (see Table 35) and a little more than half took the complaint to official institutions, notably the army itself — the army command, the (neighbouring) Centre to Prepare Reserve Officers, army battalion and Pacification Force Unit — and the police station (see Table 36). This percentage, although low, is higher than what we have in relation to complaints of breaches of rights by the police, which was 4.1% (see Table 23). It should be emphasised that all the Area 1 interviewees stated that they had not made a complaint or report.

In some ways, the greater willingness to report any abuses by members of the army could be the result of residents' increased confidence in this institution and, perhaps, a greater belief that the armed forces could have more interest in taking measures to defend residents' rights. There are other hypotheses which may justify this difference, including a higher level of tolerance for army acts, a stronger feeling of intimidation, a greater sense of how meaningless it would be to make a complaint, or a lack of clarity about which authority to report this to.

The questionnaire that we used did not anticipate asking the reasons for registering this complaint, or otherwise, just as with questions about other behaviour in the interview, as this would become exhaustive and jeopardise the quality of the

TABLE 35 | DID YOU OR ANYONE IN YOUR HOME REPORT THIS/ THESE INCIDENT/S TO AN INSTITUTION?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 82 N= 8,072	n= 15 N= 2,099	n= 55 N= 5,684	n= 12 N= 289
NO	87%	100%	83%	65%
YES	13%	–	17%	35%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 36 | WHERE WERE THE COMPLAINTS REGISTERED? YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE OPTION

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 14 N= 1,071	n= 0 N= 0	n= 10 N= 971	n= 4 N= 100
POLICE STATION	3.9%	–	4.3%	–
ARMY	52.8%	–	58.2%	–
OTHER	47.2%	–	41.8%	100.0%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ.
PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

responses in general. We have to acknowledge that the absence of some explanations is part of the characteristics of the data collection methodology used and, therefore, further studies are required to arrive at a conclusion with regard to specific results. A central question in this sample was the level of approval of the army and its activities, as demonstrated in Table 37. Generally speaking, we observed that 4% evaluated it as excellent and less than 20% as good. Therefore, we estimated that only 25% of the adult population of Maré had a positive opinion of the military occupation. At another extreme, 13.9% considered it terrible and 11.9% bad which, broadly speaking, also reflects the opinion of one in every four residents. However, when we divide this data by the three areas,

the result shows that the impact of the occupation was very distinctive in the different regions: In Area 3, controlled by the militia, the level of satisfaction with the occupation was much higher than in the others. For more than 60%, the military presence was good or excellent, and less than 8% evaluated it as bad or terrible. In turn, in Area 2 only 13.5% considered the military action good or excellent, and 36% bad or terrible. Area 1 was midway: 28.7% evaluated it as good or excellent, while for 16.9% it was bad or terrible. Accordingly, this area had the highest percentage for a regular evaluation of the army occupation: 54.4%.

Two factors contribute to explaining such a significant discrepancy between the interviewees' impressions. The first stems from the

TABLE 37 | IN GENERAL. YOUR EVALUATION OF THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ACTIONS IN GENERAL IS:

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
EXCELLENT	4.0%	4.8%	2.4%	9.2%
GOOD	19.9%	23.9%	11.1%	53.7%
REGULAR	49.5%	54.4%	49.1%	28.0%
BAD	11.9%	9.8%	14.9%	4.3%
TERRIBLE	13.9%	7.1%	21.1%	3.5%
NO ANSWER	0.9%	–	1.5%	1.2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

militia's distinctive strategy in relation to the police forces and, in this case, to the occupation forces. Being controlled by police officers³⁴, the militia had never confronted the State of Rio security forces. Similarly, they had never been attacked. Seemingly,

the army maintained the same logic with this criminal group. It should be emphasised that the militia, unlike the drug dealers, blackmail residents in various ways, such as charging a monthly fee, like a *tax*, on property sales, among other forms of economic exploitation in the area. Thus, although legitimised by the monopoly of violence and repressing crimes against property and the sale of drugs, its presence in the areas it occupies is dominated by economic interests, which become even more perverse, as we are referring to a population with one of the lowest average income levels in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

³⁴ In 2011, the police unit for combatting organised crime arrested three militia leaders from Area 3: one was a military police sergeant; his son, a civil police inspector, was another; and the third, a police chief. Nevertheless, as the Estadão article, available at the following link: <<http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,milicianos-continuum-no-controle-de-favelas-da-mare,1147914>>, registers, the criminal group continued to act freely in 2014, just before the occupation force's arrival and, at a time of heavy confrontation in Area 1 in particular.

The second factor is related to the greater rejection of the army in Area 2, due to the fact that its communities are dominated by the Terceiro Comando. In prior military police actions in Maré, particularly by the BOPE, the strategy was to constantly attack the Comando Vermelho, as the police believed that this faction might put up greater resistance to the armed forces' occupation. Thus, many faction leaders left the *favela* during the process. The same did not take place in relation to the Terceiro Comando: having suffered less combat from the police forces, the faction's military power and men were more preserved. The imprisonment of two important members of this group, without an earlier process of decreasing the faction's military power, produced a certain destabilisation in the region and a process of constant conflict with the army, which culminated in the death of a corporal in Area 2 in November 2014³⁵. Following the soldier's death, tension grew in the occupation process, with the new groups of soldiers who arrived in the *favela* taking on a more reactive and aggressive attitude towards residents. Thus, the residents' level of dissatisfaction with the occupation increased as its stay

was extended. Moreover, the drug traffickers gradually returned to their normal operations, selling drugs in the alleyways, with the majority of their labour force formed by teenagers carrying weapons, although of a lower calibre — usually guns. Therefore, the failure of the armed forces' presence and their inability to alter the reality of public security in Maré became progressively clear to the residents.

With a view to identifying the level of contact between residents and the occupation forces, the interviewees were asked if they had requested any type of assistance from the soldiers. As expected, within the context of recognising ACG power and considering the residents' historic distrust in relation to the security forces, the results allow us to estimate that 98.5% of residents did not request any type of assistance (see Table 38).

Even more revealing data (although there is little consistency, given the low number of interviewees to whom the question was directed) concerning how residents, unfortunately, had reason to distrust the security forces, confirms that, among the few who turned to the army for some type of assistance, more than half evaluated this help as terrible or bad (see Table 39). Indeed, army soldiers receive specific training — no different to that of the military police — which tends to lead them

³⁵ Available at: <<http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2014/11/morre-cabo-do-exercito-baleado-na-cabeca-em-ataque-na-mare-rio.html>>

TABLE 38 | DID YOU ASK THE PACIFICATION FORCE FOR HELP?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
NO	98.5%	100.0%	97.3%	98.2%
YES	1.5%	–	2.7%	1.8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 39 | HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE HELP RECEIVED FROM THE PACIFICATION FORCE?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 17 N= 1,375	n= 0 N= 0	n= 11 N= 1,239	n= 6 N= 136
EXCELLENT	–	–	–	–
GOOD	44.0%	–	43.9%	44.5%
REGULAR	3.2%	–	3.6%	–
BAD	7.5%	–	4.7%	32.5%
TERRIBLE	45.4%	–	47.8%	23.0%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

to treating *favela* residents as being potentially dangerous individuals who need to be controlled, so as not to pose a risk or practice dangerous acts. In this case, the low-income classes are identified as dangerous, as registered in various Human Science field studies in Brazil.

Some of the occupation force's command sought to tackle the limitations highlighted here to some extent. A good example of this attempt to get closer to the local population was the distribution of sweets and snacks to children from Maré.

Asked about this attempt at proximity, 48.3% of residents were in favour of this attitude, the majority totally agreeing and the others partly (see Table 40). At the other end of the spectrum, 31.9% totally or partially disagreed with the conduct. Among 19.2%, the position is that they may agree or otherwise, depending on the situation.

As has been demonstrated, only approximately one third of residents disagreed with the distribution of sweets and snacks to the children. This fact shows that the great majority

TABLE 40 | IS IT A GOOD ATTITUDE FOR THE PACIFICATION FORCE TO DISTRIBUTE SWEETS AND SNACKS TO CHILDREN?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	34.5%	31.6%	34.4%	48.9%
I PARTLY AGREE	13.8%	16.7%	10.6%	18.6%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	19.2%	18.5%	21.2%	11.0%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	4.5%	4.1%	4.8%	5.4%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	27.4%	29.1%	28.0%	15.7%
NO ANSWER	0.5%	–	1.0%	0.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 41 | IS IT IMPORTANT THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO REQUEST THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S AUTHORISATION TO ORGANISE A LARGE STREET PARTY?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	33.0%	34.3%	30.7%	40.7%
I PARTLY AGREE	15.9%	18.1%	13.8%	17.9%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	11.2%	9.3%	12.9%	10.4%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	7.6%	7.6%	7.7%	7.4%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	31.2%	30.7%	33.0%	22.1%
NO ANSWER	1.1%	–	1.9%	1.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

of the population did not have an *a priori* position of rejecting the security forces or army. Their rejection is directed towards specific attitudes practiced by soldiers in particular. A change in the military force's posture, from the perspective of having attitudes in keeping with a republic, respecting residents' rights, and a new operation which does not have the logic of open confrontation as its main thrust, may improve the conditions of the police presence in Maré, as well as generate greater receptiveness from residents.

In fact, as other studies which have already been performed in Maré

reveal³⁶, residents are developing representations of social practices which are in line with those asserted by residents of other areas of the city.

This includes acknowledging state power. Therefore, it is possible to understand why, even with Maré being a region where the state has not demonstrated the capacity to manage public space, a task which the ACGs perform instead, 48.9% of interviewees agree either totally or partially that asking for the army's authorisation is necessary in order to hold

³⁶ SILVA, Eliana Sousa. Testemunhos da Maré – Doctoral thesis; PUC/RH, 2009.

TABLE 42 | IS IT IMPORTANT FOR THE PACIFICATION FORCE TO PATROL THE STREETS, ESPECIALLY AT NIGHT?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	51.0%	61.4%	40.1%	65.6%
I PARTLY AGREE	14.8%	15.0%	14.7%	14.2%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	9.1%	7.2%	10.7%	7.8%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	4.6%	4.0%	5.1%	4.3%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	19.5%	12.3%	27.4%	6.7%
NO ANSWER	1.1%	–	2.0%	1.3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

a street party. This means acknowledging the legitimacy of the security forces to manage the *favela's* public spaces (see Table 41). On the other hand, 38.8% disagree in relation to this interference. Therefore, as stated, there is capacity for state institutions to have the population's support in asserting a process of management of public space in the *favela*, as long as they do this from the perspective of a republic and not the presupposition of the *favela* as an "arena for war and extermination".

In order to learn about residents' insights about the way the security forces acted, we asked the

interviewees if they considered it important that the soldiers patrolled the streets of Maré, particularly at night. This question is important as this type of action presents a high risk of confrontations with members of criminal factions. Nevertheless, approximately two thirds of residents were in total or partial agreement with the proposition, while 24.1% disagree (see Table 42) and a further 9.1% think that it depends on the situation. The residents' level of agreement with this type of activity shows that the way the security forces act in the *favela* has been normalised. Of course, ostensive policing is a type of

action which takes place throughout the city but it takes on a different nature in the *favelas*, especially in those with heavily armed criminal groups.

Firearms are increasingly being used in Rio de Janeiro to patrol urban areas. This type of strategy contributes to placing the lives of more people at risk. First and foremost, systematic intelligence work to remove these weapons from circulation is fundamental to decreasing armed conflicts and the number of victims. Between 2011 and 2015, 278,000 people were killed in Brazil, the great majority by firearms³⁷. Creating strategies which decrease these fatalities should be the security force's central task, and not continuing to use policing paradigms which increase the risk of death. This question should be prioritised on the public security agenda.

Another central question in the field of security is the link between racism and victimising black people, particularly young people who live in the *favelas* and marginalised neighbourhoods. They make up a significant proportion of Brazilians who have been killed or imprisoned³⁸, which contributes to explaining the

fact that the country has the highest number of people murdered in the world, although it is only the fifth most populated. The state institutions do not deal with this as a central question nor do they mobilise society as much as they should.

In view of the above, we asked the interviewees if a person's skin colour influenced the way that they were treated by army troops.

As can be observed in Table 43, a proportion corresponding to 41% totally or partially disagree that a person's skin colour influenced the form of treatment, and 48.6% agree with the proposition. A further 10.1% think that it depends on the situation, which may reflect the opinion that skin colour does have an influence but that there are other variables which also carry weight, such as a person's attitude and clothes, etc.

The radical division between those who agree and those who disagree about the relationship between skin colour and the police's approach could illustrate the principal characteristic of racism in Brazil. It has been historically denied as a widespread social practice, with the understanding that discrimination and social problems derive from an individual's prevailing economic condition. Despite many social and economic indicators, such as fatalities, level of education, percentage of inmates, homeless people and income, indicating a clear

³⁷ According to the Brazilian Forum on Public Security's annual report, 2016.

³⁸ Available at: < <http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-36461295>: every 23 minutes, a young black man is murdered in Brazil, says CPI >.

association between racism, including institutional racism, and black people's social and economic conditions, the majority of the representations are that there is no structural practice to explain these indicators, but that they have arisen from individual actions (or a lack of initiative).

However, it should be emphasised that there is a great possibility that a significant bias occurred due to the bad formulation and, consequently, understanding, of the wording. The previous questions presented propositions in which agreeing or disagreeing with the sentence coincided, respectively, with a favourable

or unfavourable position towards the situation. Agreeing was the same as being favourable and disagreeing was the opposite. However, for this, it was necessary to distinguish between the act of agreeing that the fact exists, and the act of agreeing with its practice or, in other words, of being in favour of it. The interviewee could agree that the practice exists but disagree with its propagation. Therefore, various people replied, bearing the truth of the phrase in mind, but others may have simply expressed a position against this type of discrimination in their reply. Thus, it is possible that an interviewee against racism replied that he

TABLE 43 | DOES A PERSON'S COLOUR INFLUENCES THE WAY HE IS TREATED BY THE PACIFICATION FORCE IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	38.6%	35.1%	44.5%	19.9%
I PARTLY AGREE	10.0%	9.9%	9.6%	12.7%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	10.1%	8.7%	11.2%	10.0%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	5.9%	5.8%	4.5%	14.1%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	35.1%	40.4%	29.5%	42.8%
NO ANSWER	0.5%	–	0.8%	0.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 44 | THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ACTIONS IN MARÉ ARE POSITIVE AND SHOULD NOT CHANGE?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	25.7%	31.7%	16.6%	51.2%
I PARTLY AGREE	21.5%	22.6%	20.3%	23.5%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	11.8%	15.5%	9.1%	10.7%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	13.5%	14.6%	13.4%	8.3%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	25.9%	14.9%	38.3%	4.8%
NO ANSWER	1.6%	0.7%	2.3%	1.5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

totally disagreed with the proposition when, in fact, he agrees that racism was reproduced in the soldiers' operations. In view of the above, we should accept that the result of this question was affected, due to this doubt.

The military occupation had an immense economic cost: according to data from the Diário Oficial government publication, it was R\$ 1.7 million per day, R\$ 51 million per month, and may have come to more than R\$ 700 million during the 14 months of the operation³⁹.

Consequently, it is disappointing that only one quarter (25.7%) of interviewees fully agree that the operation was positive (see Table 44). Even when adding those who partially agree, a little less than half (47.2%) considered it positive. Those who totally or partially disagree with the military occupation's positive nature comes to a total of 39.4%.

And, separating out the data, it is observed that in Area 2, where the largest segment of the population resides in the areas which we established, less than 40% evaluated it as positive, while more than 50% were totally or partially against it.

³⁹ Available at: <<http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/presenca-de-militares-na-mare-custa-17-milhao-por-dia-12601748>>

Considering that there are few public resources, and that they should, therefore, be used in a scrupulous and rational way, with a view to providing a long lasting benefit to the largest possible number of citizens and, in particular, those who most need state support, we cannot fail to question the use of such a large amount of economic resources, especially when the beneficiary population does not feel included in the intended results. We will look further at this in the conclusion of this report.

A number of reasons may explain why a large part of the population of

Maré does not positively acknowledge the armed force's occupation. For example, we know that the population in general feels disrespected by the police actions in the area. Consequently, it was necessary that the military intervention was acknowledged in a different way.

In numeric terms, we had a positive response: 58.3% totally or partially agree that the soldiers had respected residents' rights (see Table 45). However, 25% disagree and 15.3% said it depended on the situation, conscious that the negative reaction in Area 2 is above the Maré average.

TABLE 45 | IN GENERAL, DO THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ACTIONS IN MARÉ RESPECT RESIDENTS' RIGHTS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	33.2%	41.3%	21.4%	65.4%
I PARTLY AGREE	25.1%	27.4%	24.3%	19.0%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	15.3%	15.4%	16.6%	6.9%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	9.1%	6.5%	12.1%	3.0%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	15.9%	9.4%	23.1%	4.4%
NO ANSWER	1.3%	-	2.4%	1.2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

It is a citizen's basic right to feel respected by public servants. Thus, further reflection on these results alerts us to the fact that it is unacceptable that only three in every five residents of Maré state that they feel respected by the army forces. The soldiers physically represent the Brazilian state. The residents understand that they have a mission to fulfil and many of the responses signal this concept. Therefore, the population does not have an attitude of resistance towards the work the troops carry out. The fundamental question is: why can't this be carried out in a way in which almost

none of the people feel that their individual rights are affected, as a result of the respective action? As we have reiterated, the fact of living in a *favela* cannot be the reason to lose one's rights. It is the security force's responsibility to construct strategies in which they acknowledge residents' fundamental rights, seeing that they overlooked the installation and sovereignty of the ACGs in so many low-income areas. This is the challenge posed, and the indicators on the police's attitude and way they treat residents are central to us understanding the link between security actions and

TABLE 46 | DOES THE PACIFICATION FORCE ACT IN A DIFFERENT WAY TO THE POLICE IN MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	59.7%	60.3%	60.2%	53.0%
I PARTLY AGREE	15.2%	18.2%	12.6%	16.4%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	8.5%	9.0%	7.4%	12.6%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	5.3%	3.7%	6.8%	4.3%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	10.2%	8.9%	11.0%	11.1%
NO ANSWER	1.2%	-	2.0%	2.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

TABLE 47 | ARE THE SOLDIERS MORE HONEST THAN THE POLICE?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	38.6%	44.8%	32.8%	43.9%
I PARTLY AGREE	16.3%	16.2%	16.4%	17.0%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	21.5%	20.9%	21.4%	25.2%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	6.5%	4.1%	8.6%	4.8%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	15.6%	14.0%	18.2%	7.9%
NO ANSWER	1.4%	–	2.7%	1.1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

respect for the democratic state governed by the rule of law.

With regard to if there are differences between the way that the army and military police operate, 74.9% totally or partially agree (see Table 46). Only 15.5% disagree and 8.5% hold the opinion that there was a distinction according to the situation or, in other words, not in every aspect.

The distinction between army and police actions does not appear to be directly related to their perception of the level of honesty of members of these two forces. After all, according to the research results, a

little more than half the residents — 54.9% — consider that the army soldiers are more honest, whereas 22.1% disagree with this opinion and 21.5% think that it varies according to the situation (see Table 47). It is worth remembering that considering army officers to always be more honest, or only in some situations, does not mean that the interviewees think that the police are more honest. We know from prior research, already mentioned in this report, that the majority of the Maré population and the city as a whole do not attribute this virtue to the police force.



PHOTO: DIEGO JESUS / ECOM

Our attention is drawn to the fact that one in every five residents thinks that the honesty of members of the army depends on the situation. In this case, the interviewees appear to admit that the honesty of the army soldiers is not a moral principle which characterises an individual's actions on every occasion but which is displayed at some times and not at others. It is tantamount to saying "opportunity makes a thief". In any event, the fact that more than 40% of Maré residents do not trust the complete honesty of members of the army shows institutional weakness and

the *favela* population's lack of confidence in the security forces.

It is not by chance that Brazil is the country with the highest number of murders in the world. As we have already mentioned, the trivialisation of violence stems from the lack of value given to the right to life by a large segment of the population. Research commissioned by the National Forum of Public Security in 2016, painfully confirms that half of the Brazilian population agrees with the idea that "a good criminal is a dead one"— a saying from groups which fight against recognising the

TABLE 48 | SHOULD THE PACIFICATION FORCE KILL FACTION MEMBERS,
EVEN IF THEY ARE ABLE TO ARREST THEM?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	7.7%	5.9%	8.7%	9.8%
I PARTLY AGREE	4.9%	7.3%	2.6%	6.2%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	8.9%	7.0%	10.1%	10.7%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	5.9%	6.5%	4.8%	9.7%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	69.8%	72.8%	68.6%	61.8%
NO ANSWER	2.9%	0.4%	5.2%	1.9%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

right to life for all citizens, including those who commit crimes⁴⁰.

Therefore, considering the national context, it is encouraging that almost 70% of *favela* residents, who are obliged to deal with ACG members on a daily basis, totally disagree with the idea that the army troops should kill criminal faction members, even if they are able to arrest them (see Table 48). Much lower than

national research, only 7.7% completely agree with the statement, while 4.9% partly agree. Interestingly, the percentage of those who did not express an opinion was 2.9%, still low, but above the percentage of non-respondents in the vast majority of the research questions.

In any event, we will not diminish lethal violence in Brazil as long as we are unable to overcome the belief of the great majority of the population who consider that rights, including the greatest of these, the right to life, can be guaranteed differently, according to individual behaviour. This

⁴⁰ Available at: <<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2015/10/1690176-metade-do-pais-acha-que-bandido-bom-e-bandido-morto-aponta-pesquisa.shtml>>

idea only multiplies the manifestations of violence in the country, and increases the feeling of detachment from people who commit crimes in relation to civic institutions. The people who commit crimes, even in Maré, must not be *demonised*, a mental process in which a human being is dehumanised and, thus, bound by subjective conditions that eliminate him from human interaction.

Along the same lines as recognising their rights, the question if the occupation forces should use all means to tackle drug trafficking, even if residents are at risk, indicated that 73.2% of residents totally

or partially disagree with this possibility (see Table 49). Nevertheless, it is disturbing that 24.6% agree or sometimes accept this possibility. It means that there is still a lot of work to be done, so that people understand that the main objective of public security should be to protect people, and not to sideline this duty, while prioritising fighting a type of illegal action, the sale of drugs, which, if appropriate and following a decision by legislative powers, might no longer be considered a crime.

We are not in a position to discuss the nature and definition of crime in this report, but it should be

TABLE 49 | SHOULD THE PACIFICATION FORCE USE ALL MEANS TO TACKLE DRUG TRAFFICKING EVEN IF THIS PUTS RESIDENTS AT RISK?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	11.6%	13.9%	9.5%	14.0%
I PARTLY AGREE	7.9%	9.6%	6.6%	8.0%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	5.1%	4.2%	5.1%	9.7%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	6.6%	7.3%	5.7%	8.8%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	66.6%	65.1%	69.3%	58.1%
NO ANSWER	2.1%	–	3.8%	1.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

recognised that interpretations of what is or is not a crime, are the outcomes of disputes between world concepts and are not related to the phenomenon of violence. Thus, for a long time in Brazil and other countries, the theory of the crime of legitimate defence of honour served as an argument to absolve men who killed their wives, or other men, on account of adultery for example. This is no longer admissible in the light of Brazilian laws, as it lost legitimacy in the social world. Similarly, the number of countries which are decriminalising the consumption and/or production of drugs for personal use

and regulating their sale is growing. However, as the majority of society understands that these measures are harmful, despite the clear failure to prevent access to drugs, legal prohibition remains.

Tables 50 and 51, which conclude the presentation of the results, demonstrate that despite the problems which took place during the occupation process, the majority of the population supports army intervention in the *favelas*. Practically six in every ten residents (58.5%) think it necessary that the pacification force continues to operate within the *favelas* and 13.2% consider that this

TABLE 50 | IS IT IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY FOR THE PACIFICATION FORCE TO CONTINUE OPERATING WITHIN THE FAVELAS?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	40.7%	50.8%	29.3%	61.3%
I PARTLY AGREE	17.8%	20.0%	16.0%	17.4%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	13.2%	13.2%	13.8%	9.9%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	4.9%	3.1%	6.4%	4.1%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	22.5%	12.9%	32.8%	6.6%
NO ANSWER	0.9%	–	1.7%	0.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

intervention process should depend on the situation. Less than 30% totally or partially disagree with this proposition.

An aspect which should be observed, since it corroborates a fundamental criticism of the model of operation adopted, is that the defence of the army presence in the *favelas* in Area 3, controlled by the militia and in Area 1, by the Comando Vermelho, is much more widespread than in Area 2, dominated by the Terceiro Comando. In this area, the most affected by armed confrontations between soldiers and the faction which controls the region, the proportion of those who agree with the continuity of the pacification force is much less than the others, not even reaching one third of the residents, according to the research results. Therefore, it is evident that the way that the armed forces act is what defines higher or lower approval of using this strategy in the area of public security.

Lastly, Table 51 presents revealing data on the feelings of the majority of the population in relation to the state: during the army troops' stay, there were great expectations about the Pacifying Police Unit's arrival in Maré. Thus, we asked the interviewees if they believed that there would be greater security for Maré with this initiative. Almost 60% totally or partially disagreed, according to an

estimate from the interviewees' answers. In Area 2, the percentage is almost 72%. From another standpoint, 21.7% agreed with the question. It is relevant that 18.9% understood that improving security may vary according to the situation, which could be interpreted as the conviction that it does not solely depend on the arrival of the police programme but the way it operates. However, as we have already recorded, following numerous postponements, in March 2016, the State Department of Security buried any expectation that the UPP would be installed in Maré⁴¹.

⁴¹ Available at: < <http://veja.abril.com.br/brasil/br-trame-anuncia-que-nao-fara-upp-na-mare/> >



TABLE 51 | WHEN THE PACIFICATION FORCE LEAVES, THE ARRIVAL OF THE UPP WILL BRING MORE SECURITY TO MARÉ?

	MARÉ DISTRICT	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3
	n= 1,000 N= 89,661	n= 291 N= 36,720	n= 421 N= 45,499	n= 288 N= 7,443
I TOTALLY AGREE	10.8%	14.6%	5.9%	22.4%
I PARTLY AGREE	10.9%	12.6%	7.5%	23.8%
VARIES/DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION	18.9%	23.9%	13.6%	26.5%
I PARTLY DISAGREE	8.8%	7.1%	10.0%	9.4%
I TOTALLY DISAGREE	49.9%	41.8%	61.8%	17.2%
NO ANSWER	0.6%	–	1.1%	0.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: RESEARCH ON RESIDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES' OCCUPATION OF MARÉ. PRIMARY DATA: 2014/2015.

NOTE: THE TOTALS WHICH DO NOT COME TO 100% ARE DUE TO ROUNDING UP THE FIGURES TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION EMERGED FOR OUR RESEARCH TEAM FOLLOWING DATA ANALYSIS and other aspects pertaining to the experience of the army's 14 month occupation of Maré: did the action have an impact on improving conditions, to provide public security for Maré's residents? We have confirmed that it did not.

Considering the operation's enormous economic cost, the impact of creating a literal *frontline* in Maré and, last but not least, the lack of results with the local ACGs' armed control of Maré territory, who started to use even heavier weapons, becoming more rigorous in controlling the right to come and go and use more teenagers and children than before the experience, the military occupation in Maré could be evaluated as a mistake and a failure.

It could indeed be considered that the armed forces obtained results from what many denounced as its true intention: controlling the region while the FIFA World Cup was

being held. This could certainly have been the central reason for the occupation. However, it is not relevant to make a connection between a possible criminal faction initiative which places the event at risk in some way and the army intervention in Maré. The best proof of this is that the military occupation did not take place during the Olympic Games, which were held exclusively in Rio de Janeiro, with a much higher number of people — both athletes and visitors — and there was no type of security problem for the event.

There is no easy, simple, immediate or low-cost solution to guarantee the right to public security in the *favelas* and in other marginalised communities controlled by Armed Criminal Groups. The occupation of Maré was expensive but simplistic and short-term. Under these conditions, it had no chance of being sustainable. Similarly, the UPPs, with greater investments, popular support and durability, lost their initial

“ There is no easy, simple, immediate or low-cost solution to guarantee the right to public security in the favelas and other areas in marginalised communities dominated by Armed Criminal Groups ”



PHOTO: DIEGO JESUS / ECOM

strength after failing to embrace the fact that the question of public security in the *favelas* is complex. Essentially, it requires the following:

- I. the local population's participation in constructing innovative ways to regulate public space;
- II. increased investments in social policies and economic structure, which require greater presence from the state and businesses; and
- III. a long term, integrated global development plan, with an institutional forum with the power to construct such a initiative, evaluate it and suggest changes in direction, if need be. Linked to this set of actions is the need to recognise the ACGs as effective forces in the region, which requires constructing actions and strategies which cannot simply be armed conflict. On another scale, it requires the struggle to decriminalise drugs to reach a

new level, which entails constructing a communication plan that increases social support for changing legislation on this subject in Brazil.

The path is long, complex and difficult. However, we must never give up, as this is the only choice we have if we want a fairer, more humane and dignified city for all of its inhabitants, without exception.

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MY NAME IS MANOELA SILVA. I AM 29 AND HAVE LIVED IN VILA DO PINHEIRO, IN MARÉ FOR TEN YEARS. I have an eight-year-old daughter. I came here because I married someone from here. I used to live in Baixada Fluminense. My mother and Felipe came a little while later. They also came because of financial problems and stayed for two years. My mother left after what happened.

After the last war here, in 2010 if I'm not mistaken, I felt the difference of having moved from Baixada to Maré. It was a little while ago but there was some terrible violence here. A real "bloodbath". Terrible! But there is a real difference between then and now. Now it has changed for the worse. Because it used to be ADA, you know? It was more organised. Now it's all a mess; really dirty; *the police* come, *shoot* and leave. Just *nasty types*.

When the police come here, we are anxious; the children don't have any lessons; they can't go anywhere. They swear at us; call us whores and bitches. You can't be out on the street. It's really bad because they go into people's houses here. If the door isn't open, they *open* it with their special skeleton key. It's really bad. It's really invasive.

Regarding the army: initially we thought that their arrival was going to be OK, you know? But it wasn't good at all because they came to do stupid things. They killed a load of people. They bullied people. When they didn't kill them, they beat them up. A lot.

There was the son of someone my husband knows who became deaf. They hit him so much in his ear that the guy became deaf. It was horrible. That is apart from the abuse, with them swearing at people. It wasn't good at all, not at all.

We thought that the boys would calm down or even that a little bit of this violence would end because it's violent for us with them selling drugs. We have children and we hope that it's better for them growing up. Just because we live in a *favela*, we don't have to live with this, do we? So, when the army arrived, we thought that it was going to be OK; there wouldn't be any shootouts; it was going to be alright but it wasn't like that at all, not at all.

The thing that affected me the most about the army's presence was the case of Victor. Man, Victor was at home. He was sitting down and playing a *videogame* with my husband. When we knew that it was Victor, Vitorinho, we were devastated. Everyone in my family; even those who didn't know him. He was a really good kid. And then there was my brother... Well, that was another story.

We were anxious the whole time because you went out into the streets and didn't know if everything was OK. You arrived there, up ahead, and they went past in their cars, throwing up dust onto residents. And then they came back, shooting.

They went into my mother's house and turned everything upside down.

This was before my brother passed away. Horrible! Horrible! When my husband was coming home from work, the army *stopped him* and said that he had been caught in the act. Not at all. They even swore at my father-in-law. So, it was like that, one ridiculous thing after another. A lot of abuse. They glared at residents and everyone was terrified; it was horrible.

My brother lived in Jacarezinho with his father. There was always friction between his father and my mother. After he had been through a phase with his father, he came to live with my mother and stayed here. He lived here for two years. During these two years, Felipe wound my mother up about what he did and didn't want. He didn't respect her. He exploited her. Until he decided to go and live in an drug dealing spot.

My mother tried to help him all she could. His father is a child protection officer. She tried to talk to him and his father wasn't able to get anywhere either. This rebellious teenage phase was very difficult.

There was a time when he left home and went to live on his own and then came back. All this in two years. Then he got involved and stayed there for three months. He did everything in those three months. He was arrested, stayed with the drug dealers and died. My brother's life went by very quickly, you know.

He experienced everything and a little bit more. Really quickly. It

“They went into my mother's house and turned everything upside down (...) When my husband was coming home from work, the army *stopped him* and said that he had been caught in the act (...) So, it was like that, one ridiculous thing after another”

seemed that God had a plan for him, like: “you are only going to live until the age of seventeen because you have something to do up here”.

He was arrested for the first time in October 2014. It was the army. Well, they didn't beat him up, they just took him to DEGASE prison. He stayed there for a week and in that week a lady talked to him, trying to make him mix with normal people, you know? (laughter). When he came back, he went on a course and from that course my mother put him in school but he didn't go. He went to the course for a few days. That was when he came back and passed away. He died on 3rd November 2014 at 9.03 am.

He had to go and study but he didn't go. He should have been taking a course or working, doing something which kept his attention, so that he didn't go back or so that he didn't get another conviction. But that didn't happen as there wasn't time. And he didn't have that opportunity.

I was working and I came here to Vila do João. The lady said that he was killed on the roof terrace, that he ran a bit and was still breathing, *struggling*. So they rolled the body up in a rug; came down with him and took him to the emergency unit (UPA).

When he arrived at the UPA, the social worker said that they just left him there and made an *official report*, saying that he was 35, that he was in a shootout and that was it. Just that it was nothing like that; it was the other way around.

He was still alive when they took him from the roof. He was shot in the heart. I think that it was even to end the breath of life. He was still struggling a lot. He arrived dead at the UPA. I don't think that's what they did, put him in the van and "fuck, I'm going to kill him". They didn't do anything, like smother his breathing, nothing like that. He was nearly dead. I think that with the heart it's a matter of seconds, isn't it? He went into the UPA dead.

We went to the police station and I started legal proceedings. I went there to see about his situation. When I got there, they told me that he had a conviction. Then we went to try and chase it up. A week later, we spoke to a lawyer and he said that there was no point. He said not to go to court because we would be starting a case against Dilma. It was a waste of time because Dilma is the army. He said that we would spend money and nothing would be resolved.

So we went to the ... What's the name of it? At the army base that we have here in Maré, to find out and see how the case *was* going and everything but they said that it *was* closed and that they were not going to do anything else about it. We went back to the police station and they said that there was no way of doing anything and that only a lawyer could re-open the case.

But to start the proceedings, the lawyer asked for 10,000 reais. My mother was really down, you know? "I don't have that kind of money," she told me. Where are we going to get 10,000 to start the case?

His father is a child protection officer and didn't want to know anything about the situation. So, we didn't have any resources. That was when Irone appeared with this proposal for us, of coming to look for you. My mum was "a little, you know". She even went somewhere with Irone to give an interview but I think it scared her. When she got there, she thought: "Wow, there are so many people with their children alive, missing, who need this even more than me because mine has already gone, he's at rest."

Each person reacts differently. I, as a sister, practically brought up Felipe for my mother to be able to go to work. I think what they did was really upsetting. However wrong, however bad the situation, they shouldn't kill. Especially since he already had a record at DEGASE. They just needed to take him

there. They are doing stupid things being here. No, they intended to kill! They aimed to kill because he had his back to them and they aimed for his heart! It was to kill! They didn't even give him time. I thought that my mother could ... [deep breath]. But no, poor thing, she didn't even cry! She didn't cry. And I think that is important.

It was his birthday on the 13th. He would have been 20. Every 3rd November and 13th January is over for my mother. In fact I go to see her because I know that it is shit for her. I am there and I don't know how the situation is going to continue but I go.

After the army left everything went back to how it had been before. The guys there *are* armed, drugs are still rampant with the gangs. The police don't come because they pay them, don't they? But, well, it's still the same old thing!

They are not invading like before the army was here. They used to come here all the time; there were a lot of gunshots. The BOPE came here all the time too. And, I at least, haven't seen this anymore after the army left. But I even think that it is to do with them paying more money. But ... Everything is the same.

I don't know if I have any expectations about change. Man, I don't know. It's really vague, this. Because even the residents don't help. Honestly, like, I am here giving an interview, you know? And I don't want to speak up

myself, so how many don't speak up? I think that if everyone showed their face at the same time, perhaps it would be a little better. Like Maré Vive (community media channel) right?

People talk a lot. They say what they think about the community, but it's never real. I think from now on it is going to be the same if nobody looks, if the residents don't *come together* and if the community itself does not drop this thing of asking permission to talk. Almost no-one knows that you *have* this proposal of helping.

Irone *was* saying that she knows someone who lost an arm, I think, and he doesn't want to talk. He doesn't want to go after it. So, while there is this thing in us, it doesn't change. Irone was spreading the word like a crazy thing. We *saw her* going past here; she didn't eat; didn't drink and was always tired. She went to Wagner Montes and what did Wagner Montes do? *Not a thing!*

Is the state giving that person what he is entitled to? And how many anonymous people are there, today, in a wheelchair because of events, such as a BOPE shooting or another police force shooting? They didn't die but they are in bed, paralysed. Or even others who were at the window, like the girl who died, you know? How many were shot at their windows and are there vegetating in bed? While one, two or three are *talking*, Maré doesn't change, this here continues. It is a constant, all the time.

MY NAME IS VITOR SANTIAGO BORGES AND I AM 31. I was born in Vila dos Pinheiros, in Maré. I had the best childhood possible here in Vila. We could play at doing a *tour* of the street and run from one end to the other. Everyone got together in the street and stayed out until late, talking, without any shootouts, no chaos and no threats. Even buses ran around here! My childhood was good; normal; I did everything that a child does: played marbles, with spinning tops and flew kites. We played in the street until late. We did everything like children did then, you know? But today we see that it is really different, even because of technology and accessibility to a lot of things. Today it is much easier for children to get things, much quicker than when I was a child. Apart from that, 20 years ago, the violence and the parallel power, the things that take place here in the community were completely different. Those who are older, and were born before, have more experience than I do; they know that this is the truth. But apart from this, I did everything normally. My childhood was excellent! Before living in Vila dos Pinheiros, my parents lived in the stilted houses in Nova Holanda. They only moved here when my grandmother came to live here.

Thinking about Vila dos Pinheiros and the problems that we have today, I see getting around as a big problem, which is a little bit complicated. Also

the young people are very different to how they were. We see children of 12, 13 involved, carrying firearms and such. There is this difference in the way that the police come into the community. In the past, the police came in differently. The way that it is done at the moment, you'd think that 99% of the community, the residents, are colluding with the criminals; that 100% take part in trafficking in some way. It is the way the police approach residents; the raids on the community... It is much more hostile...

Before, they, the police, went into people's houses, just that they didn't do exactly what they do now. See: the times that I experienced this, that I saw it, I noticed that it was a bit different. It was a little more social, because they asked to come in and so forth. They have already come in my home here. They have been up on to the roof, asked us to tie up the dog so they can come in but in a polite way. There were other cases of going in with a skeleton key, as nobody was there or they called out and so forth. But it was different! Now they come in breaking everything, you see?

These days, any type of raid is an abuse of the residents. They come into your house, hit you and force you to do things. They come in without permission, without documentation and search; they think they have the right to do anything. They exchange gunfire with criminals, if we are in the

“ These days, any type of raid is an abuse of the residents. They come into your house, hit you and force you to do things. They come in without permission, without documentation and search; they think they have the right to do anything. They exchange gunfire with criminals, if we are in the street or not. There is no set time to be able to come in or do raids, causing various types of problem”

street or not. There is no set time to be able to come in or do raids, causing various types of problem. I have a four year old daughter and sometimes she has stopped going to school because of an early morning raid, at 7.00 am, 6.00 am, and other schools also close because of this.

I remember that the police presence in the community was more constant before. It really was more constant! We have a police station in Vila do João, where at least there were police cars; we saw police at the door, even if they didn't do anything, we saw that. In fact, there used to be a bus route that ran through here. It went past my front door. So there was greater and wider access and the police, I remember that they came in more often; they went past here more and such. When the army was here in the community, I remember as if

it were today, I *was* at a pagode show here with my brother. They had authorised the army's entry into Maré; they arrived in the early hours of the morning. I followed their arrival here because I came home in the early hours with my brother; we came in together with them. And I confess to you that at the beginning I had hope of things changing in the community. It's because whenever I talk about my case, I say that. They had plans, didn't they? Social projects, or whatever, to get children off the streets, doing something, occupying young people's minds, occupying children's minds, so that they didn't become how they are today, in the situation that they are today. I had hope about that, you know? From the age of one, I only saw the police come into the community; I saw an increasing number of drug dealers around here

because of a lack of opportunities, of projects, lack of something to do. And I saw a lot of police coming in here. With the army coming in, I thought that it would be different. I remember when I turned 18, I really wanted to be a soldier! I was the first in my year to join up, the first to do the test but then I didn't get in because there was a surplus.

I really had faith that things would change with the army here, you know? Because it was not the actual police but being an institution of order, it would put order into the community and, for me, I believed that it would work out. I would pass them with my daughter; my daughter would wave, they would wave, they played with her. I stopped in the street with her to see a tank go past, an army car go past and such. But it was nothing like we expected, you know? Mainly nothing that I expected. I saw a lot of human rights violations for sure. For example, sometimes you walked 300 or 600 metres and if there were three army checkpoints you were stopped at all three. Once they stopped me here; I had my door key in my hand; they made me leave the stairs; I had to go back. A series of questions and a violation of privacy. They tried to look at people's mobile phones; Whatsapp chats and stuff like that; invaded houses; broke into houses. Everyone knows about that! They stole things from people and everything.

I don't remember how long they stayed here but there were a lot of reports about that part. And I was really positive about this, I thought that things could move forward, help in some way and so on. But, incredible as it may seem, destiny played a nasty trick on me. The person who saw this as positive, was shot twice by army soldiers and is now in the state that he is.

On 12th February 2015, I went to watch a football match with my friends. My friend *was* here on holiday in Rio; a Sergeant in the Air Force. We were in a bar and from there we went somewhere else. You know what it's like: February, Carnival, in fact it was Wednesday or Thursday and Carnival started on the Friday. The programme *was* already organised in the community and it had been a month, coming up to a month that I *hadn't been* working. We went to see the match and we came back; we came back on the Linha Amarela road and were stopped by the soldiers. It was all normal until then, we showed our documents. Nobody had anything to hide, there were no problems and we carried on. We left. 15 minutes later, in another area of the community, they opened fire on the car I was in with another four friends. This happened between 2.00 am and 2.30 am. And it was then that everything happened. Later they alleged that we shot at them, that we did not obey the order to stop. Lastly, they said that we tried to run over a soldier

and, so, because the driver had committed an attempted murder, they opened fire against the car. But it was nothing like that, you know? There are photos and evidence which show that it was nothing like that. It was there that I was shot twice. One shot in the back, at rib level, which went through my lung and hit my spine, as there was an invasion of the spinal cord. I became paraplegic, at T5 level down, a little above my stomach. The second shot hit my leg in the right femur and went through the left femur because I *was* on the back seat. The left femur couldn't be saved, so the limb was amputated above the knee.

I filed a suit against the state because of this violence. The Public Defender's Office didn't do anything. Human rights did not look at me. I received a lot of help from the community, a lot of help from organisations, from people connected to NGOs, influential people in this area who helped me. The people from Redes da Maré, Amnesty International, Global Justice, Grupo Reaja and a lot of people from the community, a lot of friends. And I didn't get an adapted bed from the State of Rio de Janeiro, I didn't get a wheelchair from the government, for example. I got the wheelchair that I used from friends. The bed that I slept in, I got from friends. Dressings, nappies, those things, I got everything from supportive people, here from the community. That's it, we are in court now

trying to make them pay for the consequences of what happened.

I was in Getúlio Vargas Hospital for 98 days. I was 7% alive on arrival at the hospital. So, time went by and I was discharged in May. And June, July, August, September, October and November came and no help. My mother is a fighter. She became an activist with me in the hospital. While I *was* there, she went to meetings, to talk to influential people. My mother talked to a lot of people behind closed doors, a lot of important people, a lot of really influential people in Rio de Janeiro. And they said that it was going to be in the Public Prosecution Service's hands, that I had a public lawyer to resolve the case and such. And the case was going on, going on, going on and nothing. It was then that my mother managed to get a private lawyer. The people at the Reaja group sent him here, to advise me, you know? To know how to resolve this.

This lawyer went to find out what stage the case *was* at and we discovered that there had been an inquiry, an internal army procedure against the driver of the car, which placed me as a witness and not a victim of the case. And in February 2016, we decided to go to court with this lawyer. That was because one year had gone by and the Public Prosecution Service hadn't done anything. The only way was to hire a private lawyer because my mother went to places and

was already hearing about “closing the case” and that *was* making us desperate because I didn’t get sick. I wasn’t born with physical disabilities. They imposed this on me; they made me like this. In February 2017 it was one year since the lawyer has been on the case. So, thank God, some things have changed. But not in the way that we wanted, you know? That is because, in the long run, we are going to have to give up on part of the money, regardless of if we receive compensation, we are going to have to give up some money to be able to pay for the lawyer’s services. That was something that the state should have done for us, right? That would have been fair! In fact they didn’t do it.

This situation outrages me because at the beginning, when the army arrived in Maré, they acted one way and then they changed. How did this happen from the point of view of the work that they should do with residents? It was really very different at the beginning. At the start, I think in the first 15 or 20 days, they were very different and friendly.

Yes, it was really different at the start, when they arrived. I think that the idea of putting the army in Complexo da Maré, in the communities, was kind of in the dark because they didn’t know, had no idea, in this case the army, a federal institution, how parallel power actually operated in Rio de Janeiro. I think that they only had

one idea of how it operated and when they arrived here, saw that it was completely different. And I am going to say that here, the community did not really embrace the cause, that is the truth. It didn’t really embrace the cause.

They felt invaded by the “law”, by an institution that suddenly would put order into some things. But without any preparation, organisation, and so the community started to reject the army. From then on, I think that they started to respond in kind, in the same way. Since we are not well received here, we are going to do justice. And that was it: abuse of power. The community always held parties, a lot of things. A lot of people here have birthday parties; they hold them in the street; put the stereo on and do something, invite the community. They didn’t ask, discuss it with the residents. In fact, they ordered the parties to stop but the parties were private. They went into homes, the searches and approach were completely different. They searched everything, they made people take things out of their bags, spread everything out and then made people pick it all up. It was like that, not even like the police.

Making a comparison with the police checks that I’ve had in my life, they were completely different to those by the army. It was worse, much worse. They even tampered with my mobile. They threatened

me with prison for not letting them, because I didn't let them touch my mobile, you know? For invading my privacy in this way. The lack of information, I think, was really huge because it's unacceptable! It's even funny, in the space of 600 metres, on a straight road, there are three checkpoints of soldiers; the army at three checkpoints, you know? You are checked at three points. Something that could be resolved with simple communication between them. You were searched at three places the whole time. Sometimes, you turned the corner, sometimes you were searched here and they saw that you had already been checked at the second point and, arriving there, you were searched again. It was completely different from all the police checks that I've had throughout my life. It was relaxed at the start; they stayed at their checkpoints and so on but then it was what I said: the community didn't really embrace it, you know? They started to reject it. And they felt rejected and wanted to do justice and do the same.

I always said to my family and friends that public security in Rio de Janeiro is completely wrong in many ways, you know? Firstly, thinking that putting the army in a community will resolve anything. I think that that what needs to take place is dialogue, isn't it? I think they have to talk, have to know, have to make more

investments in other plans, in social projects, to be able to get people off the streets, to occupy young people, these people who are 13 and 14, who do not have any expectations in life and only see hope in a life in trafficking. So that things can be resolved.

I think that they need to give the police better training. But also it is not just better training. The best thing is training and making it worthwhile for professionals to act correctly in their professions because people take exams, become police officers and don't earn a good salary. They come into the community to be able to exchange gunfire with criminals and they don't have a salary; don't have any money?! The cost-benefit is not worthwhile and that is why so many become corrupt. There are police extermination groups and so forth; I think it's like that. Public security in Rio de Janeiro is really wrong in many ways. I think that setting up UPPs in the communities doesn't resolve anything, does it? There are various examples that they haven't resolved anything; residents still disappear, there are still shootouts, trafficking continues and so on. I think that a better approach is with the residents, together with the Residents' Association, the NGOs that exist within these communities, it would really change; it would help a lot with the violence and way that life is in Rio de Janeiro today.

If you would like to ask anything else, you can. Have I forgotten anything?

Honestly, I can't, I can't see any difference in the police and army's operations. There was no difference at all!

There wasn't anything different, better, which has changed anything in the community. Nothing. Nothing. Nothing. Really nothing. They didn't have any social projects; there were no plans; no programmes or plans for improvements. You know, basic things. Things they could coordinate like basic sanitation and rubbish collection. But nothing, there was nothing different, nothing, nothing. On the contrary, I think that there was fear, you know? People felt very intimidated here. Because it is what I said and I have heard that too and it's an opinion that I share: the police became a showcase in Rio de Janeiro, in cases of violence, and we know that it is the police who come into the community.

Those who come in to try and resolve things, are the police. When the army arrived, a lot of people got scared because they started to see a lot of things that they hadn't seen before. I had never seen a tank so close up, so near, a real tank, I saw it during the 7th September parade. Army helicopters, motorbikes, jeeps, barricades, you know? A lot of war-like things!

How can they do that? Sandbags, barbed wire, war tactics, I had never seen that, I had only seen it on television, it was exactly the same here as what we see in films. It happened here, God knows, we were at war. I think that it was World War Three. I had never seen that before. Their military power was really strong. Man, how do you walk around in a community with tanks and bazookas? How do you walk around in a community, holding a bazooka in your hand, what's that all about? To intimidate residents and that is what happened.

“ Sandbags, barbed wire, war tactics, I had only seen on television, it was exactly the same here as what we see in films (...) we were at war. I think that it was World War Three. I had never seen this before, their military power was really strong”

Residents felt really intimidated, they didn't go out and I went out because I had to work, I was working at the time.

I worked at a company that distributed surgical supplies. I worked in orthopaedics: pins, screws, plates, that sort of thing. And, in parallel, I was taking a technical course on occupational security and, as incredible as it may seem, an ironic twist of fate, the guy who saw positivity in all of this, the guy who was cheering for social projects, changes, was shot twice, as I already said, and is in a wheelchair.

At this moment, I miss going to job interviews, I miss grumbling, looking at my watch and saying that it's 10.00 am and waiting until 5.00 pm to be able to leave work. I miss dancing. I miss walking and doing everything that I used to do. I miss lifting my daughter onto my lap, as I used to. I miss taking my daughter to the beach, going out with her. I miss all of that, which they took from me.

I used to dance, you know? I was part of a Maré dance group project, which I belonged to for three years, I travelled to various places in Brazil. I am a musician, you know? People who know me, know that. I've always played instruments, cavaquinho, guitar, bass guitar and I can sing. And today, I can't do absolutely any of that. Not yet, I mean, you know? Not yet.

Because I have a really great positivity within me. I know that my life has gone into slow motion, but things

will go back to normal, I know that. This has changed my life too much. I don't do the things that I used to do. I live on the second floor, in a big house, with a good living room, hallway, bedrooms and kitchen. But it is a house made for people on two feet; people who walk normally, you know? And the state made me different, didn't it? I was born with two legs, I was born to walk and I have always been extremely active and now I am a wheelchair user, an amputee, for me to go down and up to my house and do things, I need about three people with me to be able to do things. I have to pay for everything. I have to pay for a car to go somewhere and it's really expensive.

They left me this way and didn't give me what I am entitled to. In fact I didn't have the choice, they didn't give me the right to the basic things that I need. I don't have an ambulance to come into the community, to come in and pick me up to do a routine examination. Everything is really complicated. I have to wait in the SisReG queue; in the national health service (SUS) queue, for a normal consultation, whatever, for urology, a blood test.

This changed my life too much and everything is more complicated now. I miss everything. Now I can't do what I used to do. My daughter asks for a lot of things but I can't do everything now. I have a new routine.

I have been out a few times, I started rehabilitation four months ago. But that's it, it really changed my life, really altered it a lot. I really miss, really miss what I used to do but ... let's be positive!

Thank God, I am alive. It would have been worse if I had died; the worst is over isn't it? Now I'm fine, I am relaxed, I see my daughter, I see my mother, I see all of my family, my girlfriend, and so on. And now, let's be positive. And so, for some time now, my interest in talking about this has increased, or going to the major institutions, to talk about this, to give talks, and talk at campaigns and such, you know? Like Amnesty and Redes da Maré, and show my face at many other places, in these places, to show that I am a victim and I am alive and to make sure that these things don't happen to other people, inside and outside *favelas*. You see?

I see that my future depends on my present now because the past has been left behind, what happened has happened. From the moment I woke up in hospital, I knew that everything would be different from then on. From the moment that I left hospital, I also knew that it would be different from then on. And everything is different today. I have a different life, a

completely different, new life but I didn't want this life. That's the truth.

But the future depends on today. I need to, I have done, I am doing rehabilitation now. My independence in my things has increased. Really, a guy who was only 7% alive on arrival at hospital, and today is doing the things that I do is already really great progress. However, I started physiotherapy, rehabilitation late, due to the delay in the SisReg, the SUS queues, the delay in general. I don't know about my future. I am focused on my rehabilitation, my family, getting better and on my compensation case, which I hope is awarded as quickly as possible.

I want to have an adapted house, an adapted car, my right to come and go again, that I once had because I did everything. I want to do everything again. I want to drive. I hope that this is my future. I am retired now. I managed to get a disability pension and that's it. I am waiting for the case. My head is not in the right place to work or do anything because of the physiotherapy, rehabilitation, my family, my daughter and the case. After all of this is resolved, I am thinking about investing in something, to give my mother, my daughter a better life and continue like that: let's be positive!

DOCUMENT TO COLLECT DATA ON THE PACIFICATION FORCE'S ACTIONS IN MARÉ

QUESTIONNAIRE B | RESIDENT INTERVIEW

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER:

NAME OF INTERVIEWER:

Dear Sir/Madam,

This instrument seeks to collate information on the military actions in Maré since March 2014. We are asking for your contribution by filling it in, so that we can discover more about how residents in the region perceive the police presence. In order for this work to result in consistent research material, we request that the responses are extensive and the information supplied is sufficiently detailed.

It should be noted that the information will remain confidential and the results will be used in an ethical and responsible way, always with the research participants' prior consent. With this in mind, information on specific cases will not be made publically available. Dissemination, when permitted, will be restricted to presenting the sum of the cases and in the form of statistics for all the entities researched.

The questionnaire will always be applied in person.

We would like to thank you for your assistance and we are available to resolve any doubts which may emerge during completion.

SECTION 1 | INTERVIEWEE'S PROFILE

1.	Sex: <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Male <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Female
2.	Age: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> years old
3.	Race: <input type="checkbox"/> 1. White <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Black <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Mixed Race <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Asian <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Indigenous
4.	Level of Education: <input type="checkbox"/> 1. No formal education <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Primary Education (1 st level) incomplete <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Primary Education (1 st level) complete <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Secondary Education (2 nd level) incomplete <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Secondary Education (2 nd level) complete <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Higher Education incomplete <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Higher Education complete <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Postgraduate level <i>Latu Sensu</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Masters (or equivalent) or Doctorate

5.	<p>Community of residence in Maré:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 1. Conjunto Esperança</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Vila do João</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Vila do Pinheiros</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 4. Salsa e Merengue</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 5. Conjunto Pinheiros</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Morro do Timbau</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 7. Baixa do Sapateiro</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 8. Nova Maré</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 9. Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 10. Parque Maré</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 11. Nova Holanda</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 12. Parque Rubens Vaz</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 13. Parque União</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 14. Parque Roquete Pinto</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 15. Praia de Ramos</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> 16. Marcílio Dias</td> </tr> </table>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Conjunto Esperança	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. Vila do João	<input type="checkbox"/> 3. Vila do Pinheiros	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. Salsa e Merengue	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. Conjunto Pinheiros	<input type="checkbox"/> 6. Morro do Timbau	<input type="checkbox"/> 7. Baixa do Sapateiro	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. Nova Maré	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. Conjunto Bento Ribeiro Dantas	<input type="checkbox"/> 10. Parque Maré	<input type="checkbox"/> 11. Nova Holanda	<input type="checkbox"/> 12. Parque Rubens Vaz	<input type="checkbox"/> 13. Parque União	<input type="checkbox"/> 14. Parque Roquete Pinto	<input type="checkbox"/> 15. Praia de Ramos	<input type="checkbox"/> 16. Marcílio Dias
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<input type="checkbox"/> 15. Praia de Ramos	<input type="checkbox"/> 16. Marcílio Dias																
6.	<p>Length of residence in Maré [PLEASE STATE WHETHER MONTHS OR YEARS] <input type="text"/></p>																
7.	<p>How many people, including yourself, live in your household? <input type="text"/></p>																
8.	<p>Work:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. Work, with an employment contract</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Work, without an employment contract</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Unemployed (has worked before and looking for a job)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4. Never worked <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Student <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Retired or pensioner</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 7. Homemaker <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Other. Please specify: <input type="text"/></p>																
9.	<p>Do you or a member of your family go to a NGO in Maré?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p> <p>9.1. If yes, which one? <input type="text"/></p>																
<p>SECTION 2 GENERAL QUESTIONS</p>																	
10.	<p>Do you like living in Maré?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p>																
11.	<p>Do you visit or go to other places outside of Maré?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No [GO TO N° 12] <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p> <p>11.1. For which reason/s? Up to three reasons in order of importance:</p> <p>Main reason: <input type="text"/></p> <p>2nd reason (optional): <input type="text"/></p> <p>3rd reason (optional): <input type="text"/></p>																
12.	<p>Do you usually circulate in other communities within Maré?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p>																

SECTION 3 | ABOUT THE PERIOD BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE PACIFICATION FORCE

The pacification force's occupation of Maré started in March 2014. Considering the reality of Maré in the **three years prior to this process**, please answer the following questions:

- 13. The pacification force's occupation of Maré started in March 2014. Considering the reality of Maré in the three years prior to this process, please answer the following questions:**
[EG. RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION, CHURCH, FRIENDS AND RELATIVES, TRAFFICKERS, MILITIA OR ARMY, ETC.]
The benefits considered here could be: food, money, medication, help with rent or paying bills, etc.
 1. No 2. Yes
- 13.1.** If yes, from which of these?
 1. Residents' Association 2. Church 3. Friends or relatives
 4. Traffickers 5. Militia 6. Police 7. Politician 8. NGO
 9. Other. Please specify:
- 14. In your opinion, before the pacification of Maré, was it safe or unsafe to live here?**
 1. Safe 2. Unsafe
- 15. In your opinion, after the pacification of Maré, was it safe or unsafe to live here?**
 1. Safe 2. Unsafe
- 16. Was there a change or not in relation to the feeling of security with the pacification of Maré?**
 1. There was a change 2. No change
- 17. In your opinion, did the pacification of other areas of the city interfere with the situation in Maré? How?**
 1. Yes, Maré became safer with the pacification of other areas of the city.
 2. Yes, Maré became less safe with the pacification of other areas of the city.
 3. No, the situation in Maré did not change with the pacification of other areas of the city.
- 18. Which of the following alternatives do you consider to be true?**
 1. While in Maré, I feel as safe as in the rest of the city.
 2. While in Maré, I feel safer than in the rest of the city.
 3. While in Maré, I feel less safe than in the rest of the city.

- 19. Have you or anyone in your household been to a police station to register a criminal offence, which you were the victim of? E.g.: burglary, robbery, aggression, theft, offence or discrimination, etc.? If yes, was it before or after the pacification?**
1. Yes, before the pacification of Maré
 2. Yes, after the pacification of Maré
 3. Yes, before and after the pacification of Maré
 4. No

Consider the following situation taking place in the three years before the pacification:

A resident in your community damaged his neighbour's wall while he was doing renovation work. The affected neighbour charged for the damage caused but this resident did not accept this and threatened the affected neighbour.

Using your common sense and knowledge of the reality of Maré, which of the following groups do you think the affected neighbour should turn to, in order to resolve the problem?

20. Residents' Association:

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

21. A local NGO:

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

22. A local church:

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

23. Traffickers or militia:

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

24. Legal System (Public Defender's Office, Special Court, etc.):

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

25. Police station:

1. Yes 2. No

Why?

SECTION 4 | ABOUT VIOLENCE

26. In the three years before the pacification, were you or anyone in your immediate family the victim of any type of direct violation – entering the home without authorisation or physical injury or damage to property – by the police within Maré?

1. No 2. Yes

26.1. How frequently?

1. Never 2. Once 3. Twice 4. More than twice

26.2. If it has taken place, can you give a brief description of the incident?

26.3. Did you or anyone in your family report this incident to an organisation?

1. No 2. Yes

26.3.1 If yes, indicate where the report was registered:

1. NGO. Which one?

2. Church. Which one?

3. Complaints Hotline 4. Police station 5. Residents' Association

6. Other. Please specify:

SECTION 5 | ABOUT THE PACIFICATION FORCE AND FACTIONS' ACTIONS,
INCLUDING THE MILITIA

Have you or any member of your immediate family experienced any of the following:

27.	Personal search	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
28.	Search of your home	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
29.	Arrested	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
30.	Taking part at community events (debates, social actions, cultural activities, etc.) where soldiers made a contribution	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
31.	Taking part at religious events where soldiers made a contribution	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
32.	Taking part at events where there was special monitoring by the pacification force	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No

33.	Violent confrontation involving soldiers (where firearms and/or other devices were used)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
34.	Registering reports/complaints with soldiers about occurrences in the community	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
35.	Other. Please specify: <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. No
36.	<p>Following the pacification force's arrival, were you, or anyone in your immediate family, the victim of any type of violation of rights – entering your home without authorisation or physical injury or damage to property – by soldiers?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p> <p>36.1. How frequently?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. Never <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Once <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Twice <input type="checkbox"/> 4. More than twice</p> <p>36.2. If it has occurred, could you give a brief description of the incident?</p> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <p>36.3. Did you or anyone in your family report this incident to an organisation?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes</p> <p>36.3.1 If yes, indicate where the report was registered::</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. NGO. Which one? <input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Church. Which one? <input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Complaints hotline <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Police station <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Residents' Association</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Other. Please specify: <input type="text"/></p>		
<p>In relation to the following statements, say if you: FULLY AGREE; THINK THAT IT DEPENDS/ VARIES ACCORDING TO THE SITUATION; TOTALLY DISAGREE</p>			
37.	<p>It is a good attitude for the pacification force to distribute sweets and snacks to the children.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree</p>		
38.	<p>It is important that it is necessary to request the pacification force's authorisation to organise a large street party.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree</p>		

39.	It is important for the pacification force to patrol the streets, especially at night. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
40.	A person's race still influences how he is dealt with by soldiers (think if you agree with the statement, not the act) <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
41.	In general, the soldiers' operations respect residents' rights. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
42.	In general, the soldiers who operate in Maré use more force than necessary. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
43.	The actions taken by the soldiers in Maré are usually positive for the local community and should not change. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
44.	The soldiers act differently to the police. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
45.	The soldiers should kill faction members, even if they can arrest them. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
46.	The soldiers should use all means to tackle drug trafficking even if residents are put at risk. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
47.	When the soldiers leave, the arrival of the UPP will bring more security to Maré. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree

48.	Society values the soldiers' operations more than those of the police. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
49.	The soldiers are more honest than the police officers. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
50.	It is important and necessary that the soldiers continue to operate in the <i>favelas</i>. <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I totally agree <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Depends/Varies according to the situation <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I totally disagree
51.	Your evaluation of the soldiers' actions in general is: <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Terrible <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Bad <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Regular <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Good <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Excellent
52.	Have you made use of the soldiers' assistance in an everyday situation when this was necessary? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes
53.	How do you evaluate the soldiers' response in general when you made use of them? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Terrible <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Bad <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Regular <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Good <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Excellent

Those who live and work in the beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro know only too well that alongside this vibrant, happy and exuberant life there are some real difficulties. The security situation in many communities across the city is delicate and many innocent lives are lost every month. In this context, the relationship between the police and the communities they police is fundamentally important. Mistrust and tension may have built up over the years, which is why it is such a difficult challenge to break this cycle. It is why this work, produced thanks to an excellent collaboration between Queen Mary, University of London and the Redes da Maré, is so important.

JONATHAN DUNN OBE

CONSUL GENERAL — BRITISH CONSULATE GENERAL, RIO DE JANEIRO

PRODUCED BY:

redes^{da}maré

SUPPORT:

