

PEOPLE, PLACES AND INFRASTRUCTURE: COUNTERING URBAN VIOLENCE AND PROMOTING  
JUSTICE IN MUMBAI, RIO AND DURBAN  
RESEARCH PROJECT

**STATE VIOLENCE, SOCIAL INEQUALITY, COMMUNITY RESPONSES**

RIO DE JANEIRO TEAM REPORT

English Version

TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO,  
UNIVERSITY OF KZWAZULU-NATAL  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

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## **ABSTRACT<sup>1</sup>**

This is a project that uses spatial justice as a fundamental concept for the analysis of situations and forms of violence, poverty and inequality in cities in three countries of the southern hemisphere: India, Brazil and South Africa.

It is argued that the alliance between the state and the market is a key factor for socio-spatial transformations their joint action often contributes to reinforcing urban structures and to guiding practices that maintain and produce injustice, inequality, insecurity and violence.

However, in cities one can find actively marginalized groups engaged in negotiation and resistance. Through networks that enable a variety of strategies, including informal strategies and tactics, these groups often frustrate actions they are subjected to, and frequently subvert situations in which they are placed. Their struggles and experiences are thus fundamental to deal with the institutional violence of the state-market axis.

The project is dedicated to the complexity of factors that lead to violence and insecurity in cities. It also looks at the responses of dispossessed groups when addressing and confronting violence. It aims at identifying the lessons these responses provide for the promotion of peace and social justice.

Researchers in Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro and Durban identified in their cities, communities that should function as case studies for the purposes of this research. In the case of Rio de Janeiro the following cases were selected. The choice was based on accumulated information and consultation with the research team, as well as with social actors considered relevant in the debate on the land struggle in Rio de Janeiro:

- Complexo da MARÉ;
- Morro da PROVIDÊNCIA;
- Comunidade VILA AUTÓDROMO.

This report seeks to organize the information already gathered, to indicate the direction taken, and to present a short list of research activities.

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<sup>1</sup> This summary is a simplified review of a work of the Mumbai team.

## **RESEARCH TEAM**

The research team was organized in four distinct nuclei. The division results from a strategy for the simultaneous development of three case studies:

- Coordinating Nucleus:
  - Carlos Vainer (Coordinator);
  - Pedro Novais (Executive Coordinator);
  - Fernanda Sánchez (Large Scale Urban Projects impacts)
  - Jully Suarez (Administration);
  - Renato Cosentino (Communication).
- Maré Nucleus:
  - Breno Câmara (Local Coordinator);
  - Luiz Augusto Lourenço (barefoot researcher);
  - Filipe Sousa (barefoot researcher);
  - Jorge Martins (barefoot researcher).
- Providência Nucleus:
  - Letícia Viana (Local Coordinator),
  - Tatiana Torres, (barefoot researcher).
- Vila Autódromo Nucleus:
  - Mariana Medeiros (Local Coordinator);
  - Paolla Lima (barefoot researcher);
  - Robson Santos (barefoot researcher).

The research also has the support of other members of the ETTERN Laboratory at IPPUR/UFRJ: Camilla Lobino, Daniel Sousa, Fabrício Leal de Oliveira, Giselle Tanaka, Helena Galiza.

## 1. THEORETICAL CHALLENGE

Addressing a "social problem" as the one on urban violence, suggests the identification of practices and policies, as well as agents able to adopt them, contributing to "safe and inclusive cities". It turns out that a "social problem" - the label which identifies a crisis in society (LENOIR, p.60) - results of a process of collective construction in which a given representation of reality (in the case: urban violence) is socially accepted and institutionalized in discourse, on standards, and on social organizations. The latter contribute for a representation to become dominant, usually mixing (confusing) the institutional (administrative, legal, instrumental) perspective of the social problem with the complex reality from which the problem is formulated (LENOIR, 1996, p.61, p.92-95).

An important part of the literature on violence and public security is based on data constructed from representations that are part of the very reality that must be understood. For example, the problem of violence is measured by numbers of offenses recognized in laws, i.e. by institutionalized categories, which validate the dominant analysis of reality and affect the decisions to be taken. Renoir (1996, p.93) notes that surveys that use categories identified with certain institutional reality help to legitimize the institutions that finance them. At the same time researches gain legitimacy for its results are identified with the reality that the financial institution contribute to exist. This way institutions are reinforced and thus the dominant manners to identify and act on problems.

It is said that we are facing a dilemma: despite the growth of wealth and the reduction of poverty, levels of violence increase<sup>2</sup>. The enunciation of the theoretical problem in the form of a paradox is a strategy to challenge what many authors consider common sense, the explanation of violence (crime) by economic and social factors (typical in a condescending Christian religion). They argue that security policy should be directed at four different lines, related to i) "reduction of impunity", ii) social prevention, especially of young people in areas of social vulnerability, iii) reform of criminal code and the Children's Statute and Adolescents, to increase penalties for serious crimes and to lower the age of penalty, and iv) "rationalization of the management of crime control programs and projects" (SAPORI & SOARES, 2014, p.131).

As can be seen, these proposals are supported by another common sense (rational and liberal), which defines the security problem at the individual scale, and that limits its solution to social control practices or, to be precise, to the practice of self control, and secondarily to the internalization of social models. As violence is taken as the result of rational individual choices, the authors minimize the social relations that serve as its propellant.

This research aligns with another area of the literature on violence and public security which considers that individuals are interdependent, occupying different positions in the social structure, and are thus constrained by structured relations. From this perspective, one finds notions such as violence as a social relation, or of "social accumulation of violence" (MISSE, 1999, p.46) - which indicates a concentration of

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, Sapori and Soares as: "how to explain the increase in violence in a country that has advanced, and in poverty reduction [?]".

social factors gathered in a pessimistic representation of the social. Another idea is that of the perpetuating or reproduction of violence given that it stimulates more violence on the social fabric (violence leads to violence). According Bourdieu (1998):

“You cannot cheat with the ‘law of the conservation of violence’: all violence is paid for, and, for example, the structural violence exerted by the financial markets, in the form of layoffs, loss of security, etc., is matched sooner or later in the form of suicides, crime and delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, a whole host of minor and major everyday acts of violence” (BOURDIEU, 1998, p.51).

The challenge of the research is to characterize the process of perpetuation or reproduction of violence stimulated by state action (holder of the monopoly of violence!). It also seeks to identify forms of non-violent resistance to institutionalized violence, especially by groups that are the subject of the latter. The elements of the violent urban experience to be highlighted are not related to poverty, but to the experience of inequality and of socio-spatial injustice, taken as a result and at the same time, inducers of violence.

Two categories were selected for the study of empirical cases; "socio-spatial justice" aims at dealing with the structure and the social hierarchy in the urban (violent) condition. It allows identifying how certain groups or classes experience violence (in psychological terms, as oppression, humiliation, etc.; in physical terms, living conditions in police brutality in the form of forced removals). The other category we call "state-market axis" because it refers to the social actors who actively contribute to making the structure a reality. These actors are positioned at the top of the social hierarchy and benefit from their position. The notion also indicates a break with the monolithic view of the State. In opposition, actors are considered the network relations (MARQUES), or as a condensation of social relations (POULANTZAS).

## **2. THEORETICAL-CONCEPTUAL RATIONALE**

It is necessary to qualify the concept of "violence", preventing it from being associated exclusively to crime (criminal violence; MORAIS, p. 78): There is institutionalized violence, and the state, according to Max Weber, has the legitimate monopoly of violence. Moreover, the demarcation of what is crime and what is acceptable is always changing. The State, for example, often acts in order to place certain individuals and groups in informal, even illegal situation.

The following notes provide a draft of the theoretical and conceptual discussion. Moreover, the debate on market-State relationship has yet to be brought to the text.

### **2.1. THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE**

Violence is treated as a violation of integrity (Bufacchi, p.13), an expropriation of the individual or group start the individual's physical and mental dignity (MORAIS, p.25).

Although generally subjected to a moral condemnation, it should be noted that violence is frequently explained as a means of "self-affirmation" or as an act to resist domination. According to Braud (2012), physical violence is the means of those who believe they have no other alternative, although it can also serve to increase the earnings of those

who are in top condition. This suggests that violence can be deliberated, i.e. object of calculation, but also the result of uncontrolled emotional stimuli (a way to "liberate aggressive drives [... caused by] unbearable psychological tensions", BRAUD, 2012).

For Braud (2012, any violence has a psychological dimension. This dimension is essential to define violence as such, since it "establishes meaning to suffering, supported or imposed." So there is never physical violence without subjective violence (although the latter can take place regardless of former), which, ultimately it is predominant, since the perception of violence continues, as humiliation (for example), regardless of termination of physical violence.

Symbolic violence is particularly problematic because it implies that the individual face difficulties regarding the representation of the self. For Braud, it means suffering. Violence suffered is painful because it shows that the one who experiences it is vulnerable. It points out the perception of powerlessness and inferiority thus implying humiliation. The essence of the violence suffered relates to self-esteem, it implies a "taint to the self-image" (BRAUD, 2012). So when perceived at stake, the self (or group, in the case of a collective) seeks restoration and turns against the aggressor. The restoration of the self is full (or nearly so) when the dispute is won, it is frustrating and personally destabilizing when lost.

Symbolic violence, identified with the disdain for the other contributes to the possibility of physical violence. The dominant feel "authorized" to attack devalued, while "the members of the group dominated rebel against confinement in a social position (status) no longer acceptable" (BRAUD, 2012).

The distance between social positions - and the advantages and disadvantages associated with them - is often perceived as unfair. Injustice diminishes the person or the group in the lower positions, highlighting its weakness and impotence. However "injustice victims often choose not to recognize the injustice of the situation, mainly because of the degrading nature of being a victim" (BRAUD, 2012). This is the essence of the notion of symbolic violence - it is consented.

## 2.2. BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE REPRODUCTION OF VIOLENCE<sup>3</sup>

There is a symmetrical relationship (mutual) between spatial transformation and violence. As experienced in large urban projects, spatial transformation processes result in significant physical violence (removal, expulsion) as well as symbolic violence (destruction of tangible and intangible heritage, threats, uncertainty, insecurity, fear). They imply social disruption (destruction of sociability conditions) and economic derangement (expropriation of assets and areas of gentrification), favouring some groups and putting others at a disadvantage.

According to Bourdieu (1997), the physical space and the social space keep homologies with each other. They can be thought of as similar and should be considered articulately: the reality of a particular place must be seized in the relationship between the structures of the physical world and the structures of the social world. The attention to appearances of a particular location, i.e., the emphasis on the superficial aspects of the physical space encourages that the condition (higher or lower) of one place in

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<sup>3</sup> this section takes advantage of a work published at Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais (NOVAIS, 2014).

relation to the other be taken as a natural, i.e. dependent reasons that can be found that place.

The production of space results from the interaction between different positions in the social hierarchy. They are unbalanced struggles, since individuals or groups have unequal conditions to impose their interests. Oppositions and hierarchies of social space are therefore found in physical space, although translated or transplanted imperfectly. Differences and social inequalities are manifested in the form of spatially uneven distribution of public services and infrastructure. Homologies between physical space and social space reveal that the former is a kind of expression of the latter, that is, the physical space is a "spontaneous symbolization of social space" (Bourdieu, 1997).

The elements that structure the physical space identified in notions such as distance, centrality and accessibility, indicate an ordering. They function as mechanisms of mediation between the social and the individual. In other words, they operate the fit between social structures and mental structures related to predispositions to perceive, think and act. These elements facilitate the reproduction - in thought and language - of social oppositions found in physical space (so that one can say that the physical space contributes to naturalizing social asymmetries, that is, the belief that differences and inequalities are in essence of things). In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the dichotomies 'formal and informal', 'slum and neighbourhood', 'hill and asphalt', name the elements considered socially relevant to identify differences in the city. By doing so, they sanction opposition and facilitate the acceptance of inequalities.

The idea that the physical space participates in the formation of individual predispositions is not new. It can be identified on the observation Winston S. Churchill (1943), for whom, "First we shape our buildings and then our buildings shape us." Villaça (1997) notes the effects of space produced on the social. For a certain spatial configuration is required for the development of certain processes of political domination. Wolch & Dear (1989) argue that there are situations where social relations are mediated by space, among other ways, by the effects of friction of distance. So some territorial practices contribute to the reproduction of social relations, while others allow transcending them. Santos (2007) refers to the strength of forms (in capitalism) in determining social relationships.

In the local real estate market, the relatively recent change in the way slums are called, notes the importance of the symbolic dimension in the urban dynamic. Considered stigmatizing, the term "slum" has been replaced in the real estate advertisements for "community." It is a strategy to decrease the resistance of those seeking properties in the higher ranges of the market, generally predisposed to consider problematic the proximity to informal areas of the city. "Favela" refers to the unknown (after all, it is the place of the different, that is, of another class or social stratum) and inspires fear. The term is associated with poverty, violence, incivility, whereas "community" makes reference to harmony and to the predominance of affection.

The retranslation in terms of mental structures, social oppositions registered in physical space also consolidated through direct and daily experience with spatial inequalities. Bourdieu notes that the continued experience with spatial distance covered, for example, in the daily displacement of residents of peripheral areas, contributes to the acceptance of social distance from the richest strata of society. A similar role with respect to the internalization of order and position in society is also observed in other structural elements of the physical space: the rise and decent, input

and output (in social spaces: inclusion, exclusion, segregation), accessibility and deprivation (of common goods) (BOURDIEU, 1999).

### **3. OBJECTIVE<sup>4</sup>**

The aim is to find out 'how', that is, explain the process, to make explicit the relations - mediated by the state, between classes and social groups in the social space, but also in physical space. In more detail, it is expected to:

- Highlight the subtle violence operated by the institutions,
- Demonstrate, with the help of case studies, the mechanisms by which the state acts in cooperation with the Market,
- Characterize the experience of the groups that are the subject of institutional violence,
- Explain the processes of reproduction of violence, with attention to the spatial configuration,
- Identify practices that could be taken as positive answers to the question of violence.

### **4. JUSTIFICATION**

The project aims to present an unorthodox point of view on the subject. This is not an unfamiliar perspective. What is new is the possibility to discuss institutional violence (State), based on case studies in which it is possible, with relative accuracy, to identify coordinated action between state agents and agents representing market forces as opposed to social groups in the bottom of the social hierarchy.

### **5. METHODOLOGY**

The research strategy was designed collectively with the teams of Durban and Mumbai. In each city will be studied 3-4 cases. They constitute low-income communities affected by large projects made possible thanks to the market-state joint initiatives.

#### **5.1. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES**

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, further discussion took place with the ETTERN team, and then at a meeting with community guests. Three main decisions were made:

- Work with areas on which there was accumulation of information (Maré, Vila Autódromo and Providência were chosen);

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<sup>4</sup> In this report we seek to develop an overview from the perspective of the Rio de Janeiro team, including for the purpose of further discussion with other project teams (Mumbai and Durban), as we move towards the completion of the case studies. Therefore the next 4 sections, the report resembles a research project.



- Make use the database of the Observatory of Urban Conflict;
- Resort to semi-structured interviews, in order to apprehend the individual representations and identify the social categories with which residents conceive their place.

Decisions imply, first of all, ums reinterpretation that seeks to reorganize the existing material and give it meaning according to the available information, including new.

The simultaneous study of three cases requires a data collection that allows linking each case to the other, making it possible - or at least aiming for - the comparison. At the meeting held in Rio between teams from different cities, it was decided to employ a comparative table of different dimensions of socio-spatial continuum, not only for the communities of the same city, but later across the three cities studied.

With regard to the mapping will be used the database of Urban Conflict Observatory data. For Vila Autódromo are also available maps of evictions in Vila Autódromo and a study of "emotional mapping".

## **6. COMMUNICATION OF FINDINGS RELATED TO LIBERATING PRACTICES**

A decision was made to contribute to the strengthening civil society, supporting social movements and communities threatened by large urban projects. Two main reasons substantiate the decision. The first is that in Rio de Janeiro institutional channels of participation are not consolidated as possible arenas for dialogue, able to intervene in the interest of the population processes. On the contrary, they appear as spaces for ratification and legitimation of public policies for private interests. So, and secondly, acting with civil society groups is needed to ensure dialogue with the government through other channels, by means of the confrontation of ideas and the design of the city's planning and management models. This ensures the debate is effectively brought to the public arena. The experience of recent years - particularly in the case of Vila Autódromo - shows that, in this way, it is possible to influence decision makers, achieving objective results for the communities involved in social conflicts.

## **7. CASE-STUDIES**

The cases selected for the research in the city of Rio de Janeiro were chosen mainly because they are related to the urban restructuring that takes place in Rio de Janeiro, made possible by a certain economic recovery of the country and driven by preparations for holding the Cup FIFA world 2014 and the 2016 Olympic Games.

In the past, the city has undergone at least two other major urban interventions that resulted in a high number of forced evictions (they were aimed at the annexation of low-income areas). In the government of Mayor Pereira Passos (1902-1906) nearly 20,000 people were removed, the government of Carlos Lacerda (1961 to 1965), ahead of the State of Guanabara (at the time the city and the state shared the same territory), about 30,000 people have been removed. These experiences were traumatic and the practice of forced evictions came to be seen as problematic in urban, as well as economic and political terms. As elements of urban policy, removals, it was abandoned

in the following decades. However they were resumed recently, the administration of the mayor Eduardo Paes, in which case the largest number of removals in the history of the city: about 70,000 people.

Since the 90s, during the first administration of Mayor Cesar Maia, the City had engaged in attempts to host the 2016 Olympics (following Barcelona experience, presented as a successful territorial transformation process while preparing for the games 1992). At that time, the deputy mayor of the West Zone was Eduardo Paes, who currently holds the second term as mayor of the city. Since then, Paes was determined to attract investment and boost real estate values in the region by removing poor communities. Not coincidentally, the first threat to remove the Vila Autódromo happened in 1993.

The Pan-American Games of Rio de Janeiro took place in 2007. The event was considered successful and served to support the choice of the city in the selection process to host the 2016 Olympics. Pan in 2007 also allowed greater proximity between the Mayor, the Governor and the President, setting up a political and institutional alignment between the three spheres of political power (federal entities). Although governed by different parties, often in dispute, the rulers of the city of Rio de Janeiro (municipal level), the State of Rio de Janeiro (state level) and Brazil (federal level) have developed a common policy agenda. This agenda was one of the main points the proposal for the 2016 games, whose definition was given in 2009.

Much of the works for the Pan American Games was allocated in Barra da Tijuca, a city expansion area. The development of Barra da Tijuca, which is consolidated as a new center in Rio de Janeiro, gained momentum in the administration of Mayor Eduardo Paes, with preparations for the 2016 Games. The Olympic Park - where the main sports activities will take place in 2016 - is being built on the ground of an old racecourse. The region is called "New Barra", a place of intense real estate investment, which explains the pressure for removal of the few low-income communities in the vicinity, as is the case of Vila Autódromo, located next to the Olympic Park (Medeiros, 2014).

A new set of speeches and actions was adopted by the city of Rio de Janeiro from 2009 and circulate through the city, "reducing slum areas", "urban freezing", "clash of order" and "removal for the Olympic Games." These are expressions that have entered (or returned) to the political vocabulary and mark a change in the conduct of urban policy. The resumption of the debate on removal of slums and communities was marked by the expression "break the taboo of removals". This is just one of the marks of a rhetoric of "order" that has been adopted in reference to the expansion of slums.

The right to build in communities became subject related to "public order", which is why the monitoring was intensified, followed by demolition of houses in an irregular situation. Several buildings have been the subjects of actions to ensure "order shock", and the demolitions carried out without prior authorization from the judiciary. The rhetoric is accompanied by practices such as the incorporation into the Strategic Plan of the municipal government (PPA) the objective of reducing the slum areas at 3.5%, and the adoption of an urban policy of "urban freeze", represented by the adoption of decrees that they were withdrawing the "right to build" communities and slums.

It should be noted that the works on the built environment are just one of the interventions in the city. Others concern to public safety.



Author: FAULHABER, 2012.

Vila Autódromo is located in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro, region treated as the city's expansion area, which concentrates most of the investments in the property market. The community land is adjacent to the construction site of the Olympic Park, where occur most activities of different sports of the Olympics 2016. Although it is being held in public land, this is a private enterprise, which will be exploited or sold after the Olympics, targeting a middle-class audience. The permanence of a low-income community in the neighbourhood is considered a negative externality. The City has already presented several plans for Vila Autódromo that result in the removal of low-income housing area. A significant portion of residents, plan to stay in the area and have come together to address the removal attempts.

By numerous mechanisms, City Hall obtained the adhesion of some residents. Those who first left their houses were given apartments in the Carioca Park condominium (built with funds from the program Minha Casa Minha Vida, of the Federal Government). Later, City Hall began reparations in cash. With resistance from residents, City Hall began offering increasingly high levels of compensation. The permanence of current residents has been hampered by several constraints, including the denial of access to the area for cargo transport vehicles delivering furniture or building materials, and the demolition of individual houses, as soon as they are traded. Threats of removal continue, although residents are in regular legal situation with regard to ownership.

The Maré Complex is a cluster of slums in the north of Rio de Janeiro. The area is situated near the campus of the Federal University and the International Airport. It is bounded by the two main access roads to the city (Av. Brazil and Linha Vermelha). In 2011 Maré was the target of a joint operation of different police and army forces whose aim was to install a Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). After the operation, the Brazilian Army occupied the site until and will remain there until the state police take place and UPP's facilities are ready to operate. The replacement has been gradual: the army continues with tanks and heavy weapons in the alleys of the complex, but the presence of the state is limited to its power apparatus, which ensure that private companies may operate providing private or public services.

Morro da Providência is recognized as the oldest informal settlement in the city. The occupation began in colonial times, with “quilombos” that housed runaway slaves and also newly freed slaves. During the Republic, Providência housed part of the soldiers who fought in the War of Canudos. The location is privileged in relation to the city center (CBD), to the administrative center of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro City, and to the bus and to the railway stations of the city. Above all, it is an area included in the Porto Maravilha Project, a large-scale urban operation, related to the revitalization of the port area of the city.

### 7.1. VILA AUTÓDROMO - FIRST ANALYSIS

The occupation of Vila Autódromo goes back to the 60, originally a fishing village, then stimulated by the construction of roads, as well as resettlement occurred in other areas of the city. A public program recognized the right of residents remain in the area (1996-98). Barra da Tijuca, which has a history of landing concentration (for example, company Carvalho Hosken) and land grabbing complaints, is presented as "natural" city expansion area and is being constructed as a new center in Rio de Janeiro, focusing greater investments in urban infrastructure. There is no record of drug trafficking in Vila Autódromo, or of paramilitary organizations, despite the fact that militias dominate several nearby communities.

#### 7.1.1. Characteristics of Public Interventions (project or program)

The community of Vila Autódromo is named by locating up the side of the old International Race Tracking Nelson Piquet, known Autódromo of Jacarepaguá, where they were disputed Formula 1 races from 1978 to 1989 (the community roads are designated with names of pilots this mode). The Autódromo gave way to the activities of the 2007 Pan American Games and then gave way to the Olympic Park, currently under construction. The area of public property, surrounded by land belonging to the company Carvalho Hosken, consisting of 1.18 million square meters, valued at about \$ 400 million. It was granted to the private sector in controversial bidding process.

The following timeline shows the main events related to the history of the area and the community:

- 1960 c.a. - Fishermen village on the edge of Jacarepaguá lagoon.
- 1970 - the racecourse construction resulted in the landfilling of the lagoon – emergence of Vila Autódromo.
- 1987 - Creation of the Residents Association and Fishermen Vila Autódromo.
- 1988 - Constitution includes the right to grant use for housing on public land in the Chapter of the Urban Policy.
- 1989 – Resettlement in the community of groups that emerged from the Cardoso Fontes community.
- 1993 - Community territory’s inclusion in mega-events to attract projects and first removing threat: Civil Class Action filed at the request of the then

- deputy mayor Eduardo Paes, who claims that the community causes damage to the natural environment, urban, aesthetic and visual.
- 1994 - Resettlement in the community of over 60 families by the Department of Housing and Land Affairs of the State Government.
  - 1997 - Real Concession Rights of Use by ITERJ to 104 families in the central area.
  - 1998 - Other Real Right of Use of concessions granted by ITERJ.
  - 2005 - City Hall declared part of the community Special Area Social Interest.
  - 2007 - Removing threat due to the Pan American Games with intense resistance from residents.
  - 2009 - Urban and Environmental Legacy Plan Hall announces removals in the West Zone targeting the 2016 Olympics; Strategic Plan for Government aims to reduce by 3.5% of the areas occupied by slums.
  - 2010 - Housing Secretariat claims to be impossible to urbanize the community; Special Secretary of Rio 2016 justifies removal by security conditions. To carry out the bidding of public concession, the City justifies removing road link in the area to create new pathways Transcarioca and Transolímpica.
  - 2011/12- Popular Plan of Urbanization drafting process of Vila Autódromo together with the locals.
  - 2012 - In June, there is a great act in defense of Vila Autódromo during the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (People's Summit).
  - 2013 - In the context of the June Demonstrations, the mayor says Vila Autódromo will remain.
  - 2013 - In December, the Popular Plan of Urbanization of Vila Autódromo Receives The Urban Age Deutsche Bank 2013 Award.
  - 2014 - The general public defender, Nilson Bruno, overturned an injunction from the Public Defender's Office, which ensured the impossibility of house demolitions in the village.
  - 2014 - From there, begin the demolitions in Vila Autódromo and residents are encouraged because of uncertainty about the possibility of permanence, the psychological pressure and because of aggressive transformations in the territory caused by The City, some residents are taken to negotiate their houses.
  - 2014 - Environmental, health and social conditions of Vila Autódromo start getting precarious with the works of the Olympic Park. Lack of electricity and water are constant.
  - 2015 - Payment of millionaire compensation and expropriation decrees.
  - 2015 - Public defenders claims that a municipal ordinance cannot override a decision of the State Government and comes with a Public Civil Action against the decrees. Similarly, because of the illegality of a decree overlap a municipal act AEIS statement, many councilmen of Rio de Janeiro come with a writ of mandamus against the decrees. The judiciary does not

respond to request for urgency at the trial of two actions and so far there is no decision at all.

- 2015 - In June, a truculent and illegal action of the Municipal Guard results in several bruises in the residents that were resisting against the removal of trial by force.

### *Carioca Park - Minha Casa, Minha Vida Program*

About Vila Autódromo, it is worth noting also that the operation has been carried out to resettle residents who accept the proposal by the city council to leave the community. Although the scope of the concession contract of the Olympic Park include the obligation of the winning concessionaire to implement the so-called infrastructure "new Vila Autódromo", the condo for resettlement of families, called Carioca Park - solution imposed by the Rio City Hall January to enable the complete removal of community - is being built with funds from the federal program *My House, My Life* (Minha Casa, Minha Vida - MCMV), established by Federal Law 11,977 / 2009 and intended to combat the housing deficit in the country (Medeiros, 2014).

This municipal project, like other housing projects promoted by the MCMV program is characterized by the repetition of identical apartment blocks with small spaces and dubious urban quality. As a novelty, it comes with all the strength, the condominium solution, sold with enthusiasm for low-income families, reproducing enclaves that would supposedly replicate the middle-class value system. Conceived by the city without any participation or discussion with the population, the "Carioca Park" will be deployed on land belonging to two companies that financially supported the last election campaign of Mayor Eduardo Paes (Medeiros cited VAINER et al, 2014).

On the map of susceptibility to slippage GeoRIO, most of that land – constituted by a former mining area - is qualified as high and medium risk. A total of 49266.15 m<sup>2</sup> are to be distributed by 920 units organized in four blocks. Of these units, 450 are intended for residents of Vila Autódromo (the remainder would be occupied by other communities removed). In the absence of any dialogue, and without giving the public the right to choose, the trend will be the tearing of social and territorial ties built up over decades by the community (Medeiros cited VAINER et al, 2014).

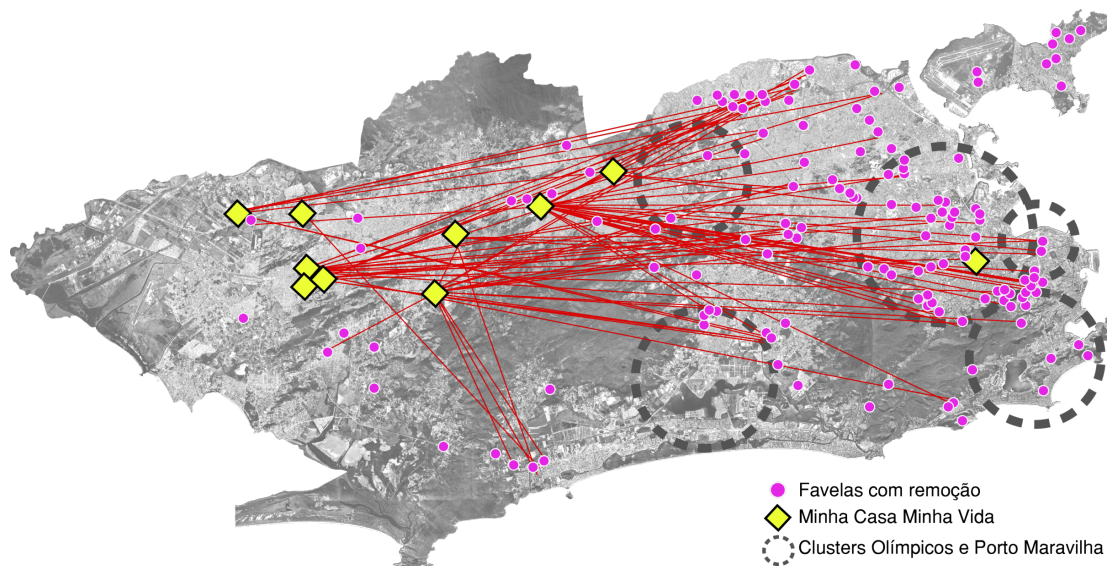
A quick comparison between the Vila Autódromo Popular Plan of Urbanization and the "Carioca Park" can help to highlight two different ideas on the city and public housing. The Vila Autódromo Popular Plan, unlike the Carioca Park project is the result and the expression of resistance and defense of the residents of Vila Autódromo, aiming at staying in the area. Besides taking into account the built environment built by the residents and to express and reflect the diversity of situations, needs and aspirations of families living there, the cost of the plan, initially estimated at around R \$ 13.5 million, is much lower than the cost of City Hall proposal, valued at approximately R \$ 48 million, R \$ 20 million related to the acquisition cost of the land <sup>5</sup> (MEDEIROS in VAINER et al, 2014)

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<sup>5</sup> A table comparing the proposals of the Vila Autódromo Popular Plano for Urbanization and the City Hall proposal is available for download at: <<http://comitepopulario.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/plano-popular-da-vila-autoc81dromo-comparativo.pdf>>.

Contrary to the contention of proposals for territorial expansion of the city and in favour of urban density, the Minha Casa Minha Vida (MCMV) has been promoting "an acceleration of the unprecedented expansion of the urban network process, sharpening, along with the massive removals, the secular process of poverty periphery" (Medeiros cited VAINER et al, 2014). This is because the housing for families in the range 0-3 minimum wages are concentrated in neighbourhoods located dozens of kilometres of major metropolitan centres of employment, but are not provided with sufficient infrastructure to receive this population. Poorly articulated urban plot, these gated communities are lacking in public facilities, transportation services, education and health, trade, and it may be said, in general, of urbanity.

Despite the resettlement in the right place near established by law, the following map<sup>6</sup> shows the implementation of condominiums MCMV program in the most remote areas of the city. One can also see that the areas targeted by involuntary displacements, are mostly in the surroundings of the areas under intense urban transformations related to the preparation for the mega sports events <sup>7</sup>.



Author: FAULHABER, 2102.

Thus, it is clear that the government has promoted involuntary removals to meet the real estate market booming, and in these cases, instead of promoting the reduction of the deficit is increasing this rate, even with the implementation of housing programs like "my Home, My Life ". In Brazil, the housing deficit is more than six (6) million, according to data released at the end of 2013 by João Pinheiro Foundation<sup>8</sup> and,

<sup>6</sup> Prepared by the architect and urban planner Lucas Faulhaber, currently master's student of IPPUR / UFRJ.

<sup>7</sup> An emblematic case and curious by ethnic characteristics of its beneficiaries, which PMCMV was also used for resettlement performing the FIFA World Cup 2014, was the Indians of Maracanã Village resettled in newly opened venture which was once the prison named "Frei Caneca". News about the case is available at: <<http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/indios-do-maracana-sao-reassentados-na-area-do-antigo-presidio-frei-caneca-13082451>>

<sup>8</sup> Statistics available at:

according to these data did not show reductions after the implementation of the program. There would be therefore a misuse of purpose in the case of communities like Vila Autódromo is entitled to stay on site, but that the government intends to remove (MEDEIROS, 2014).

#### 7.1.2. State in action

The Vila Autódromo is a popular neighbourhood that had its origin in a colony of fishermen's margins Jacarepaguá lagoon in the West Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1997, its residents have gone through a land regularization process and were titrated with Real Right of Use Concession titles. In 2005 the area occupied by the community has been declared of special social interest for social housing (AEIS), through Law Complementary 74/2005.

The action of the Municipality aimed at the removal of Vila Autódromo community in association with the main contractors who run business in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil, had its beginning in the 1990s, specifically in 1993, when the City Attorney filed Action Civil for aesthetic and environmental damage against the inhabitants who settled in the marginal range of the pond. The basis of the lawsuit already demonstrated the intention of the City Hall to promote the region as an area of major events, international projection, where a poor community would bring a negative projection of the city to the world. Date of the 90s the first city's bid to host the Olympic Games. In 2009, in his third candidacy, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) finally chose the city.

The area occupied by the old racetrack of the city, next to the Vila Autódromo community, was chosen to house the Olympic Park, the main venue of the Olympic competitions. The development is being built through a partnership with the private sector, in the form of an administrative concession. The winning consortium (called "Rio Mais", equivalent to Rio More) comprises the leading companies in the construction sector active in the country (Odebrecht Infrastructure and Carvalho Hosken and Andrade Gutierrez construction), with great performance in other parts of Latin America and Africa.

The state-market association is also evidenced by the region where Vila Autódromo and the Olympic Park works are located, that is, the administrative region of Barra da Tijuca, area of a large expansion of the real state market, which is receiving the bulk of public investment in the city. With a history of strong land concentration, Barra da Tijuca has among its main landowners the three contractors of the Rio Mais consortium.

The architectural design of the Olympic Park was chosen through a competition organized by the Institute of Architects of Brazil (IAB) and does not provide for removal from the community. However, the economic feasibility study, prepared by the very three contractors who later won the award of the enterprise, demand the resettlement of residents, while recognizing the use of concessions granted by the State Government in the 90s This is because 75% of area - now public - will be sold to the private sector after the games, that is, to contractors to profit more, the area should be valued, free of poor residents in the vicinity.

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<<http://www.fjp.mg.gov.br/index.php/noticias-em-destaque/2680-fundacao-joao-pinheiro-e-ministerio-das-cidades-divulgam-os-resultados-do-deficit-habitacional-municipal-no-brasil>>. Acesso em: 21 nov. 2013.





According to an article published in the newspaper O Globo<sup>9</sup>, the same three companies that won the award of the Olympic Park (Carvalho Hosken, Odebrecht and Andrade Gutierrez form the Rio Mais consortium) are great Mayor campaign donor. The Oak Hosken is the main owner of the shrouded land of the Olympic project. Almost thirty years ago the removal of Vila Autódromo is being planned, since when the current mayor Eduardo Paes was deputy mayor of Barra da Tijuca and demanded that the municipality carried on a public civil action against Vila Autódromo for aesthetic damage.

In addition, more recently, two of the three contractors participating in the construction of the Olympic Park involved in the corruption scandal<sup>10</sup>. In addition, more recently, two of the three contractors participating in the construction of the Olympic Park involved in the corruption scandal<sup>11</sup>. Presidents Odebrecht and Andrade Gutierrez are arrested in Operation Lava jet. The two contractors are also major campaign donor Mayor Eduardo Paes.

Despite the speech that public-private partnerships ensure completion of the work at private expense, all works and services Olympic Park are being funded with public funds. The consortium receives a monthly consideration, totalling R \$ 265 million, and R \$ 250 million for the completion of steps. It receives public lands, also linked to the completion of steps in the amount of R \$ 850 million. Public land is undervalued in the operation, thus ensuring the construction, also a land gain based on public investments.

<sup>9</sup> <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/paes-recebeu-doacoes-de-construtoras-olimpicas-6691264>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2015/06/1644947-pf-prende-executivo-da-odebrecht-em-nova-fase-da-operacao-lava-jato.shtml>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2015/06/1644947-pf-prende-executivo-da-odebrecht-em-nova-fase-da-operacao-lava-jato.shtml>

The estimated operation the total is \$ 1.4 billion. The Federal Government also comes with R \$ 182.7 million for the construction of arenas with PAC resources.

### 7.1.3. Strategies for territorial domination

The main strategies of the City Hall used so far involve the attempt to validate the removal from the community of intent by the judiciary, when filed the ACP for aesthetic and environmental damage (1993). After the demonstrations in Brazil during the month of June 2013, which had as one of the flags the end of removals in the city, Mayor Eduardo Paes admitted publicly that the community treatment was conducted improperly. He said that would be willing to review some decisions concerning not yet removed communities like Vila Autódromo and Indiana. Later, however, with support from the General State Public Defender, it began to exert more pressure to remove the communities Vila Autódromo, Indiana and Providence. The state action takes place also via legislative activity, for example, with the decree resulted in the expropriation of the various community areas.

In the executive branch, there is the use of economic power when it began to offer high compensation to residents to leave the community voluntarily; and especially the psychological pressure by marking the houses, City Hall officials acting spreading rumours and information that generate insecurity among residents - and working to try to induce the community division - demolition of houses with the permanence of rubble, service interruption public (water, electricity, delivery of correspondence and materials) and destruction of community recreation areas. Recently gave an attempt to property taken without prior notification of the family. This initiative was considered illegal by the public defender because there was a precedent decision of the property's seizure, taken on 28 May and published on June 1, which was ignored by the City Attorney: "There was at least bad faith in the attempt [...]" (Defender Maria Lucia to the newspaper O Globo on 04/06/2015).

What can be seen is that there are persuasion strategies, which invoke an economic rationale. These are usually adopted by personnel at the Municipal Secretaries of Social Assistance, of Housing, and by the Deputy Mayor, constantly visiting the area to stimulate negotiations with compensation at market price (result of the struggle for permanence). There are also strategies that take advantage of the resident division, spreading rumours - for example, about who would has accepted or is about to accept the negotiation - or devaluing the legal advice by the Public Defender.

Representatives of the municipal government also often adopt deception as a strategy. For example, in an attempt to justify the removal, were driven different reasons (need to create the Olympic Park, however the project was limited to the race track ground; demand access to the Olympic Park, the need to ensure the security perimeter of the Olympic Park; environmental damage to the lagoon; cosmetic damage to the area; demand of the road layout of Transcarioca, which effectively does not pass through the area, etc.). Similarly, the fact despised himself that the community area is defined as Zone of Special Social Interest Housing for purposes of social interest through the Supplementary Law 74/2005, which its residents were titrated with Real Right Concession use, and therefore should primarily be resettled in areas wilt save the community. Also ignored the Popular Project that kept residents in the area and was less costly than removals. Finally, concealing the speech on behalf of the city, sought to

differentiate its citizens, avoiding the interaction between different social groups conditions.

As a way to gain legitimacy for its intention to remove the Vila Autódromo, often the Mayor seeks to denigrate the image of the community and its residents, associating them with informal occupants without rights over the area, thereby creating illegal situations and Taking advantage from the rest of the population ". Sometimes, however, the City and other levels of government aligned with the preparations for the Olympic Games also make use of discourses and practices aimed at enticing residents. For example, in offering environments which mirror the luxury condominiums in Barra da Tijuca, as the article "Former residents of Vila Autódromo celebrate life in Carioca Park" in the newspaper O Globo:

"Changes are historically sensitive and traumatic in Rio. Most of the time, no one wants to leave your house to live isolated in some ground imposed by the government in unattractive housing projects. All walking to the same result in Vila Autódromo until residents have looked at the plant in the new condo and saw pool with water slide, multipurpose courts, barbecue, party room, fitness room and security for the elderly "(O Globo, April 27, 2014).

Although it is a newspaper aimed at the middle class - who can identify with a certain housing standard - it should be remembered that the lure of such housing, for low-income family becomes very quickly in frustration thanks to difficulty of maintaining the cost of a property in a gated community. The same goes for the damages: there is repentant trading residents since the amount received is not enough to keep elsewhere the same standard of living that kept when he was in Vila Autódromo.

### *The forms of Violence*

The main forms of violence are exercised through psychological pressure by marking the houses, City Hall officials acting spreading rumours and information that generate insecurity among residents regarding their future - and working to try to induce the community division - with the demolition of houses with the permanence of debris, utility interruption (water, electricity, mail delivery, etc.), destruction of community play areas, trees cuts and controlling access to the community by the constant presence of the Municipal Guard car . Robson Santos, resident in the community, who serves as a barefoot researcher observed a breakdown of community ties, arising from the possibility of ever higher compensation:

"The current situation in Vila Autódromo, as I understand, is very tense. It seems like the 'gold rush' in which the 'save yourself if you can' is announced to those who take charge gold first, before they run out. Together with the gold, there is the possibility of leaving this nightmare as soon as possible. Concurrently, hope to stay gradually decreases, before the gold of the argument, but also the psychological pressure, thanks to the fear of an unknown future."

Many residents share the concern. In a public statement, the Community of Vila Autódromo mentions the uncertainty "the city will return to remove the buildings at any cost, which will probably have another confrontation. As we approach the Olympics and that advances in completion of construction of the Olympic Park, the violence has been increasingly objectified (physical violence). It is geared towards the individual properties for the collective space (roads, open areas) and even for residents. On 06.03.2015, the Municipal Guard, the first attempt at forced removal in the community, left seven people injured. What happened was great commotion in the target

community and intense coverage of national and international media. On the subject, Robson Lima noted:

"I'm embarrassed. I look at the Sr. Altair, Lady Jane, Mrs. Penha, Dona Inalva (main community leaders) and many others and wonder what I'm doing here at Vila Autódromo. If I could, I would be far from it all, far this red peace that is human existence. As to what happened, was forming positioning to attack by the municipal guards who strategically promoted an attack with rubber bullets and fireworks that looked like rockets. After one of the guards act as instigator, [centralizing attention,] which actually served to disperse the attention as he was restrained [by the people]. That was enough for the rest of the prison attack and cause the unpleasant event that happened. Every this situation, tense, reflected in meeting the following Saturday, restless, with people speaking from different sides and restless children. I just know that in all this mess... I could just save my mother from that chaos."

With regard to the actions performed on the objective living conditions (physical space, the relationship with the outside), works in the vicinity have contributed to the overlapping problems. In the undersigned document sent to the Mayor, residents comment on the "heavy machinery circulation within the community area, [...] that has generated various disorders in the lives of residents who remain in the community as breaking water supply pipes, interruption of electricity supply and irregular cut public lighting supply generating insecurity among residents. "

Robson notes:

"The living conditions are increasingly unhealthy, such as water shortage problems, indiscriminate comings and goings of tractor down the street, the noise of the houses being put ground below, the amount of dust, at least these are the problems I remember; apart from the problem of delivery of my letters by mail, a service that far I felt harmed. After the demolitions began in Vila Autódromo, the delivery service postal letters was quite precarious, with impacts in my life. To this day I hope the letter from the bank for the delivery of my card that I have not received. Probably I need to go to the bank or the central post office to find out what happened to the letter has not arrived yet. Apart from some points of Vila Autódromo walking dimly lit ".

The fact that lighting problems are also mentioned in the petition to the Mayor shows that the objectives impacts reach subjectivity. Relatively isolated area of the environment, surrounded by the lake, by a highway and the race track walls, the neighbourhood is now surrounded only nation but invaded by works that ultimately point to the complete removal of the community. The feeling of insecurity is therefore reactivated daily.

The testimony of the stock of the project, Robson, when talking about the episode of direct physical aggression of the Municipal Guard, demonstrates the strong psychological impact on residents, the desire to leave the community to escape the tension generated by recurring conflicts generated by the city.

In addition, recently news published in a British newspaper, reported the case of a family that was separated literally by the city. The couple separated, the wife accepted the resettlement and the husband does not. The Municipality demolished half the house belonging to the wife and the husband continued to live in the middle not demolished.

In general, an injunction preventing the demolition of houses in the community led to a serious conflict between villagers who resist the removal of threat and those who negotiated with the City resettlement. Culminated in an episode of aggression attempt to president of the association of residents during a community meeting resistance.

#### 7.1.4. Responses to Violence: Organization, Manifestation, Foreign Support

##### *Legal dimension*

In response the first attempts at removal and the struggle for permanence, residents, conquered the land regularization. Unlike other poor communities in the city, the area is demarcated as AEIS (area of special social interest) and the residents of Vila Autódromo holds the title of Real Right of Use Concession issued by former governor Leonel Brizola in 1998, which It is hindering the removal attempts.

The CDRU, instrument used to titrate the residents of Vila Autódromo, as defined Rock (2005, p.105), "is the business whereby the Government, free or cheap way, by formation of real right of use, transfers particular the use of public land for the use in specific purposes of urbanization, industrialization, building, cultivation or other utilization of social interest. " The main legal frameworks are Decree-Law No. 271, 1967; Status of Cities (Art.4 °, V, g, and § 2, Art.48) and the Federal Law No. 11,481, 2007 (providing for measures aimed at regularization of social interest in Union properties).

In this case the screen you can see the difficulty that has been in practice for completion - or deepening through urbanization - the intention to regularize initiated by the administration of Governor Leonel Brizola, the time when the community had its area demarcated as special social interest and of the houses were titrated with CDRU. In the current municipal administration, Mayor Eduardo Paes, these achievements of the residents in order to see your possession respected and recognized under all exposed protective legislation above, is being emptied with removal of threats motivated each time with a different reason.

Still, the local population was not removed, largely due to being partially titrated with CDRU, which ultimately show the importance of the institute in recognition of the social function of public land exerted by long-time possession of the residents. More beneficial for the community and the city as a whole would be that the municipal government, rather than trying to remove it, to act in order to improve the regularization process started earlier, since the right to regularization is backed by law and it has had its viability demonstrated by the draft prepared by renowned universities (UFRJ and UFF), with the possibility of maintenance of the residents.

Residents continue to resist and fight for their stay. They has been meeting with the defending holders NUTH, Popular Plan staff and other employees in order to devise strategies to ensure that the mayor's promise - permanence of the security of those who want to stay - is met. This group has also articulated to enable the construction of a kindergarten in the community with the money of the Urban Age Award, so that their struggle is devoted to construction projects and life improvement - as opposed to the demolition scenario created by the city. In this intense process of resistance from residents, made in different ways and with many partnerships

Another important point to note was the performance of the Public Defender to overturn an injunction preventing demolitions in Vila Autódromo. Besides interfering and demonstrating disregard for the work of lawyers at the Center for Land (under his jurisdiction) his decision suggested a violation of the right to judicial services for residents of the community (and all those assisted by the Office of the Public Defender). For highlights an institutional alignment aimed at ensuring interests of public officials - Procedural enemies of assisted on several demands - and hurt the credibility of the institution as legitimate to exercise the legal defense of disadvantaged in the pursuit of promoting greater social justice.

To deal with this episode, the Commission on Human Rights of ALERJ held a public hearing with broad participation of residents of Vila Autódromo and representatives of organizations defending human rights - including Amnesty International - to investigate the overthrow of the injunction in the community. As a result, representation was referred to the State Prosecutor's Office against the Public Defender General for bullying and improper conduct<sup>12</sup>. The role of the General Defender was also the subject of entities repudiation of notes as the National Urban Reform Forum (FNRU), the Brazilian Institute of Urban Law (IBDU) and the Public Defenders Association of Rio de Janeiro (ADPERJ).

The case of Vila Autódromo is not isolated. This institutional alignment between the government and the General Defender Nilson Bruno was also evident during the strike by street cleaners in Rio de Janeiro during the 2014 Carnival, a few months prior to the FIFA World Cup: on behalf of the municipal government, the Public Defender interfered in negotiations carried on by the workers (despite the fact that labour conflicts are not among the institutional powers of the State Public Defender; on this occasion, ADPERJ launched a note rebuking the Defender's attitude<sup>13</sup>).

### *Symbolic dimension*

Based on different arguments, the City insists promote community removal Vila Autódromo. Earlier this decade, the promoters of the Olympic project, which also made the removal of these stubborn a matter of honour, have made use of several justifications for building the driving idea removal: landscape pollution; security risks of the Pan American Village; incompatibility of a popular village adjacent to the Olympic Park to be built in the area of the Autódromo Nelson Piquet (with his works currently in "full swing), and described in the Candidature File (2009, p.35) of the city as "the heart of the Games" (VAINER et al, 2013).

The reasons for removal - being naturalized and raised to the status of irrefutable technical reasons - have been forwarded by City Hall and contested one by one, by the community. It is noteworthy however, the asymmetry of power with regard to access to information channels and public communication, which has placed the movement the challenge of transcending the systematic disinformation practiced by the official media. New "motifs" have emerged, replacing the previous, to validate the removal idea. Indeed, families suffer constant threats and pressures, although within the area is supported in legal possession of instruments. Attempts to remove the community date back to the 90s, during mayor César Maia mandate (VAINER et al, 2013).

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<sup>12</sup> News about representation made by Prosecutions office of Rio de Janeiro is available at: <[http://www.adperj.com.br/noticias\\_detail.asp?cod\\_blog=87](http://www.adperj.com.br/noticias_detail.asp?cod_blog=87)>. Acesso em: 21 nov. 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: <<http://www.anadep.org.br/wtk/pagina/materia?id=19322>>. Acesso em: 21 nov. 2013.

In 1993, initial decade of the attraction of mega-events project, citing "aesthetic and environmental damage" in a lawsuit filed at the Court of Rio de Janeiro at the request of the then deputy mayor of the West Zone, Eduardo Paes (1993-1996), the City required the full withdrawal of the community. During this period, Vila Autódromo articulated its juridical defense and hindered the removal through legal assistance of the Public Defender, demonstrating the fragility of the municipal arguments (VAINER et al, 2013).

In preparing the 2007 Pan American Games, in turn, the community resisted new offensive to promote real estate projects, when houses came to be marked for removal. With the choice of Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympics resurfaced the threat of compulsory removal.

On 08/10/2009 the City Hall announced that, with a view to achieving the 2016 Olympics, more than 3,500 families of six (6) communities of West zones and city North would be removed, among which was the Vila Autódromo. According to the Urban and Environmental Legacy Plan of City Hall, the area of the village would serve to *"expand the avenues Abelardo Bueno and Salvador Allende."* Corroborating this "project" City Hall, the Strategic Plan of the Government presented by the mayor in 2009, he placed among its goals to *"reduce by 3.5% the areas occupied by slums in Rio."* Vila Autódromo was included in the list of 119 slums to be removed completely, due to "being in sliding risk areas or flood, environmental protection or for publicly owned spaces"<sup>14</sup>(MEDEIROS in VAINER et al, 2014).

In March 2010, a meeting was held with the presence of the Mayor, the Housing Secretary, community representatives, Public Defender and movements to combat removals. The Housing Secretary claimed to be impossible to urbanize the area of Vila Autódromo, *"because it is between two rivers"*. The Special Secretary for Rio 2016 has subsequently another reason for removal, "the security conditions that should be guaranteed by the creation of a free area along the perimeter of the Racecourse and the marginal range of protection of the Jacarepaguá Lagoon". All these arguments City Hall were consistently refuted by the opinion of the Public Defender, which also subsidized a notification sent to the International Olympic Committee in mid-2010 (Public Defender, 2010).

In the same month, to carry out the bidding of public concession of the Olympic Park, the City said that the community would not be removed to make way for Olympic Park, but to allow the road connection between the new way Transcarioca and Transolímpica, structural corridors that It will be implemented BRT model.

The material and symbolic competition for meanings attributed to this territory, the Olympic project target, residents and social movements gathered in the Cup People's Committee and the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro support the idea of urbanization and community permanence.

Faced with repeated threats of City Hall, the neighbourhood association took the initiative to autonomously elaborate an alternative project, demanding support – both technical and political - from the University. Once City Hall justifications for evictions relied on "technical" arguments (mainly related to environmental preservation, and the

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<sup>14</sup> Available at: <<http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/prefeitura-removera-119-favelas-ate-fim-de-2012>>. Acesso em: 21 nov. 2013.



impossibility of an urbanization project) the community realized an alternative perspective should be presented by an authority in the scientific and technical field.

The Popular Urbanization Plan of Vila Autódromo is an alternative development plan for the removal of residents, prepared with support teams from the Rio de Janeiro Federal University (UFRJ) and the Federal Fluminense University (UFF). The planning initiative won the Deutsche Bank Urban Age Award RIO 2013 (Deutsche Bank and the London School of Economics). Resources from of this award will be used for the construction of a kindergarten in the community. "

The methodology used in the construction of Popular Plan will thus, for the internal review of the relationship between researchers and residents, as part of a dialogical process, which often involved the reformulation of mechanisms and development of resources. By the estate plan, conquered and elaborated in the social struggle process, it can be shown an alternative to pro-market model of urbanization in the vicinity of the Olympic areas (Medeiros in VAINER et al, 2014).

Thus, the Vila Autódromo's Popular Urbanization Plan states the right and the possibility of community stay in the current area and rejects the involuntary removal of any resident. The plan presents a set of principles and four programs: Housing Program, Sanitation Programme Infrastructure and Environment, Public Works Program, and Cultural and Community Development Program. Its preparation involved field surveys, household questionnaires, survey and analysis of legal documents, cartographic and aerial photos bases and conducting a process of discussion that culminated in the production of a diagnosis and the development of a set of proposals under each of the programs - housing, sanitation, environmental protection, public transport, access to services, public facilities, leisure and culture. Also we were discussed and defined mobilization strategies, popular and communication organization (VAINER et al, 2013).

The plan still works, both public spaces (roads and collective spaces for recreation and meeting), as the private spaces (lots and homes), assessing the conditions of subdivision and habitability of housing. The proposal seeks to guarantee to all residents, regardless of their condition on the occupied area and income, access to adequate housing within the community and the possibility of developing productive activities, trying to articulate that space built with its surroundings.

#### *Foreign support and visibility*

More recently, resistance against the first attempt at forced removal in the community generated a new phase of mobilization and resistance. Residents, as well as prevent the removal, mobilized along with several entities, movements and universities, to promote occupation and resistance activities. In the days following the removal of threat, two universities held public lectures in the community (UFRJ and UFF), and an ecumenical act on Copacabana Beach.

The pressure of City Hall and the resistance and mobilization of the community has guaranteed right coverage on the Internet and in national and international media:

- The Guardian: (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/forced-evictions-vila-autodromo-rio-olympics-protests>),
- BBC ([http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/03/150323\\_rio2016\\_vila\\_autodromo\\_novas\\_remocoes.jp\\_rm](http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/03/150323_rio2016_vila_autodromo_novas_remocoes.jp_rm)),



- UOL (<http://olimpiadas.uol.com.br/noticias/2015/06/04/video-mostra-guardas-municipais-do-rj-agredindo-moradores-na-vila-autodromo.htm>),
- O GLOBO (<http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/apesar-de-indenizacoes-milionarias-prefeitura-nao-consegue-acabar-com-vila-autodromo-16153064>),
- AGÊNCIA BRASIL/EBC (governmental; <http://www.ebc.com.br/noticias/2015/06/ex-moradores-da-vila-autodromo-denunciam-problemas-em-imoveis-do-parque-carioca>).

The community and its supporters also make use of social media, particularly Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/vivaavilaautodromo>; <https://pt-br.facebook.com/ComitePopularCopaRJ>; <http://www.portalpopulardacopa.org.br/vivaavila/>).

Finally, there is the relationship with the City Hall: Letters, petitions, hearing requests, etc.

More recently, on 06/11/2015, the residents went to City Hall to deliver the Mayor a petition requesting the hearing to talk about the situation of the community. In the document text question the various claims of the Mayor about the possibility of permanence, without, however, present any concrete alternative urbanization for residents. On the contrary, last week the Home Guard - accompanied by officials of the Municipality - hosted a stage of war an illegal eviction attempt. Eight residents were injured and a video shows the guards using a lot of violence against the dwellers.

At first, when requesting to enter the Hall of the building to go to the office of Mayor, a municipal guard, who quickly asked for reinforcement so that other guards could film the residents, greeted the residents. After some time, she directed that only a small number could rise to file the petition and request the scheduling of the hearing. He reported that the Mayor was not in the building. Then, residents learned that the Mayor was in the works of the Olympic Park - which violate his life in the community - while they went to City Hall to seek dialogue. After delivered the document, residents made their way to the room where they were told to request the marking of the audience. In this room, we were told that they do not there marked the agenda of the mayor, but to wait. Again a municipal guard appeared to say whether the residents could not film or take pictures inside the building, however, an employee of the City Hall had already photographed people waiting service.

Finally, Undersecretary of Government, Mr. David Carlos Pereira Neto, met the group. The residents presented their demand for community urban development and recognition of their right to stay, they talked about the aggression of the Municipal Guard on 06.03.2015, on the actions of the Municipality difficult living conditions in the community about the psychological pressure promoted by agents of the Municipality (especially Marli Peçanha and the deputy mayor of Bar Alex Costa). Councilman Reimont showed the Undersecretary a video with images of aggression promoted by the Municipal Guard ([https://www.facebook.com/100009674200415/videos/120207408311732/?\\_mref=message\\_bubble](https://www.facebook.com/100009674200415/videos/120207408311732/?_mref=message_bubble), spoke about the need of the Mayor personally commit to cease violations of human rights of the residents. Altair, president of the neighbourhood association also reported the aggressive attitude of the municipal prosecutor, Marcelo, which always disregards the residents in attendance, and has stated repeatedly that the entire community will be removed.

About the aggressions of the Municipal Guard, Undersecretary David said he is very sorry and acknowledged the poor management of the City Hall at the time, pledging not to repeat this kind of action. When reading aloud the contents of the petition, the Secretary has pledged to mark the hearing requested the Mayor, but did not give a time frame. Natalia, a community resident for over 20 years, reaffirmed that greater respect for residents by the City Hall would be present and commit to a community urban planning as a way to recognize specifically the right to permanent residents. Also spoke of the development of the Urbanization Plan of Popular Vila Autódromo, done in partnership with the residents technicians UFF and UFRJ, this project demonstrates the feasibility of urbanization, cheaper than the construction of the Carioca Park and the compensation that has been currently paid, and, above all, respect the right of residents to participate in the planning of your community directions

#### *Female leadership*

In the process of resistance from residents, made in different ways and with many partners, it is important to mention a female role in the fight against evictions in the city. The main leaders of the struggle permanence, often the old residents of the threatened communities and, most often are the "bosses" of their families. They use their feminine position to adapt in the best way their lives and those of their families, the environment they occupy. These self-built communities and self-urbanized over the years, through the efforts of residents in cooperation, the children play in the streets because everyone knows each other and care. When you have to work, these women have the help and support of neighbours to look after the children. Many times the family's income is supplemented, or even consists entirely for work done at home by women. Many do crafts or food to sell to the neighbourhood.

So when they are threatened with removal, what is at stake is much more than the house (a roof and four walls). It's all a way of survival of families, adapted to the territory they occupy. So many are the tactics used by these women in the fight. In Vila Autódromo, Dona Jane, part of the residents association, is always with a camera in hand and willing to make visible the fight of his community and the arbitrariness of the City Hall officials. The teacher Inalva guard and defend the history and documents of their community by building a city of rights. Dona Penha with great commitment to the Catholic Church gives strength to its neighbours not to give up everything you have won.

#### 7.1.5. Socio-spatial Justice

There is a dispute over the area of Vila Autódromo. To the City and certainly for real estate investors in the Olympic Park area, the removal of Vila Autódromo seeks an aesthetic repair the area. The pond margins there are houses whose removal besides guaranteeing an aesthetic homogeneity and semantics to the area, would also contribute to environmental recovery (if-he notes, however, that although there was land advances (landfill) on the lagoon by other occupants considered legitimate, only the residents of Vila Autódromo are accused of environmental damage).

#### *Children point of view – Affective cartography*

The purpose of this mapping was precisely recognize the community as a vivid space and built by the residents through a network of relationships, rather than absences as determined by the perception of looking out for these communities. The perception of

children about the place where they live calls attention to other perspectives on the community, on the tension created by the successive removal of threats, spend almost as unnoticed. This perspective is thus a contrast to the community view as just a group of houses, subject to replacement that supports the removal project.

The children's view of the local daily life shows how they form emotional bonds with the place and the people who are closely linked to the space of Vila Autódromo. The shadow of the tree in front of the Cleber Pub, the canal clean-ups, living with the neighbours, play in the street, the animals, the lagoon. The interaction of residents with these places and one another attribute to this physical space an immaterial wealth - cultural, historical and social - that this quest cartography, within its limitations, to portray.

This intangible wealth, however, is not reproducible on a standard condominium Minha Casa, Minha Vida - as is the Carioca Park - where the city plans to relocate all residents of Vila Autódromo.

In activity accompanied by the research team on 04.13.2015, the collective "Favela do not silence", a visit with a walk through the community was made, taking pictures of the houses demolished and several graffiti protest made in the rubble. Registered are several places that were listed by the children in the 2012 Affective Cartography and currently are demolished: the Lan House, the Cleber Pub, most evangelical churches, the houses on the pond's edge, animals amid debris of demolished houses, small shops, supermarket, Ping-Pong table, etc.

Once residents began to make a collective barbecue, they began to arrive many children to participate in the activity. Some families have been resettled in the Carioca Park (nicknamed the "Jambalaya"). Naomi, the daughter of Altair who attended the Cartography Laboratory in 2012, mentioned an attempted occupation of Carioca Park by families from a slum in Curicica. The police intervened with pepper spray and tear gas, generating panic in people. It reported also that most children have moved to the Carioca Park, so she wants to go there to play with them next week. He mentioned that the game dodge ball gets crowded in the Carioca Park. She said many residents repented to go live in the condo and has been apologize to Altair for the episode of conflict in the church on the day that the Defender won the injunction preventing the demolition.

Poliana, Naomi's friend who also attended the emotional cartography and currently lives in the Carioca Park, said he did not like to play in the Carioca Park because everything is paid or limited by security. A membership card is necessary to enter the pool. It costs R\$ 5, while the renovation of the gym will cost R\$ 150 for each family. Children cannot play in the woods that surround the condo.

The community is at stake a cooperative way to experience the city and the territory. In the face of decades of socio-spatial segregation process, the residents of Vila Autódromo were developing their lives on the banks of the housing market and the exploitation of formal services and infrastructure services. This allowed them to create a dynamic of life that living standards of the wealthy classes not realize to fill. So the struggle for permanence in their territories, although the need for urban improvements.

It can be concluded that for the state-market pair, the dispute is seen as a zero-sum game. If the Vila Autódromo is the city's image or the investment value are depreciated.

Interaction is unacceptable when space is thought in terms of exchange value and measured in economic terms.

## **8. ATIVIDADES REALIZADAS**

Since the beginning of 2015, there were about 10 visits to Vila Autódromo. There was also participation in activities related to the community, such as public hearings in the House of Councillors, ECOOU meetings (Meeting of the Oppressed Communities by the Olympics and slum urbanization works), and activities of the Collective Favela Não Se Cala (Not in Silence) at Vila Autódromo (parties to celebrate and mobilize for resistance to eviction). In addition, three residents were interviewed (Dona Penha and Dona Sandra and Robson). These interviews have not transcribed yet. As for the maps, the research team is taking advantage of work already done by colleagues.

In the case study of Providência, in 2015 there were three field visits. Three interviews were conducted with community leaders, and one interview with a "focal group". Other interviews are pending. They depend on the respondents' schedule: Marcelo, from the former committee of residents. the Father of the local parish, a Public Defender, the municipal administrator for the area, GEP Teachers. In Providência the following maps are being developed: i) removals, and ii) subdivisions of the slum and surrounding areas in order to chart the territories of different groups. A draft of the Providence research report has been completed. It is being revised.

At Maré, 19 visits were made as of this report. It has been prepared a map identifying the areas dominated by different criminal groups, as well as an early version of the research report. The biggest breakthrough in research on the Maré Complex refers to the interviews. So far 13 interviews have been transcribed.

### **8.1. TREINAMENTO DA EQUIPE**

In addition to regular meetings, whose frequency has intensified in 2015, the team of researchers (particularly barefoot researchers) meets weekly, since August 2014 for literature discussion on the topic. These meetings are aimed at preparing the team for interpreting information from the field. Another activity was the offering of a course for undergraduate students at the Public Administration for Economic and Social Development ("GPDES") program, at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). The course was held in the first semester of 2014 and had 22 students regularly enrolled, and other listeners.

### **8.2. LITERATURE**

A first product was the city's profile (city profile), under review. It is aimed at contextualizing the settlement of the communities under study in a markedly unequal city. At the moment the analysis of each case study is being finished:

- Article on the case study Maré:
- Article on the case study Providência:
- Article on the case study Vila Autódromo:

Upon completion of these texts a general conclusion will be drawn: a team synthesis of Rio de Janeiro, which will contribute to a discussion on the relationship between the three cities. In addition, articles on specific topics are to be developed

### 8.3. 8.3. PAPERS PRESENTATION

The following works have been or will be presented in academic meetings:

- Semana de Planejamento Urbano 2014
- Semana de Planejamento Urbano 2015
- Jornada de Iniciação Científica 2015 (each Barefoot researcher prepared an article)
- IV World Planning Schools Congress 2016

### 8.4. PARTICIPATION IN ACADEMIC MEETINGS

There was participation or organization of the following academic activities (meetings):

- Participation in the SAIC-IDRC Workshop in Ottawa
- Participation in the team meeting in Durban
- Participation in the SAIC-IDRC meeting in Cape Town

### 8.5. EVENTS ORGANIZATION

The following meetings were organized:

- Workshop in Rio de Janeiro, with the participation of stakeholders relevant to the project and its expected impacts.
- Course for undergraduate students at the GPDES program, at UFRJ.
- Mumbai/Rio/Durban teams meeting in Rio de Janeiro